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THE ROYAL HOUSE OF STUART

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THE ROYAL
HOUSE OF STUART

Vol. I.



ANNABELLA DRUMMOND, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.
1390 - 1406.
WIFE OF KING ROBERT, III.
Ancestor of the STUART SOVEREIGNS.

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THE ROYAL HOUSE OF STUART; FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER

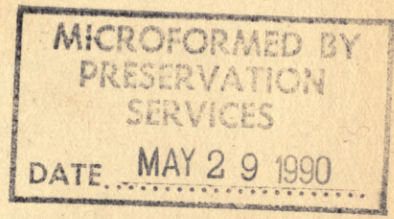


BY
SAMUEL COWAN, J.P.

Author of "Mary Queen of Scots," "The Ancient Capital of Scotland," etc., etc.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.



LONDON
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1908

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AUTHORITIES CONSULTED.

- Andrew Stewart's History of the Stuarts*
Crawford's History of Renfrewshire
Symson's Genealogical and Historical Account of the Stuarts
Richard Hay's Origin of the Royal Family of Stuart
Sir George Mackenzie's Defence of the Royal Line of Scotland
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Story of the Stuarts
The Douglas Peerage
Jesse's England under the Stuarts

PREFACE.

IN submitting a narrative of the Royal House of Stuart, from its origin to the accession of the House of Hanover, the author fully recognises the great importance of the subject as an integral part of Scottish history. The House of Stuart in its detached form every student of history knows, but the precursors of the Stuart sovereigns—the High Stewards of Scotland—form a branch of the subject that hitherto has been very imperfectly known, and probably will always be so from the want of authentic information to create a consecutive narrative.

So far as we have material we have made a brief narrative of the High Stewards, and so far as it affects Scottish history a narrative of surpassing interest it is. The origin of the Stuarts will always be a controversial question until more light is thrown on the subject by scientific research. The reader will remember that "Steward of the King's Household"—an appointment which probably applies to the two first Stewards only—was a distinct office from that of "High Steward of Scotland," the first nominee to the latter office being Walter, the founder of Paisley Abbey, who became High Steward in 1152, and discharged the duties for twenty-five years during the reigns of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion.

In these early feudal times the administration of the kingdom was of slow development, but it is important to observe that Walter, the first High Steward of Scotland, was also Chancellor of the kingdom, and doubtless was in his day the first officer of the realm. The High Stewards were also military officers, as we find Walter, the sixth High Steward, commanding a regiment at Bannockburn, and doing gallant service for

King Robert Bruce on that great occasion. Some early writers believe he did as much to gain this victory as did Bruce himself. His bravery on that occasion was rewarded by his getting the King's daughter to wife, with a large dowry in land : and the issue of this marriage was Robert II., who became the first Stuart sovereign.

It is noticeable that after the first Stuart sovereign only one Stuart King chose a wife from his own people. That sovereign was Robert III., who fell in love with the daughter of John, Lord Drummond of Stobhall. The portrait of this lady is the frontispiece of this volume. It is said by more writers than one that the House of Drummond was notable for its handsome daughters, who in their day were distinguished for their natural beauty and for their many accomplishments.

In considering the administration of the Stuarts we are met on the threshold of the subject with the significant fact that all the sovereigns between Robert III. and Charles I. (the six Jameses), were crowned when they were children. This involved a regency under each of the Jameses, and a large proportion of the crime, lawlessness and rebellion, and attempts to subvert the Crown, which threatened the national life for 250 years after Robert III., is due mainly to the incapability and misgovernment of the Regents, notwithstanding their responsibility to the Scottish Parliament, which always retained the supreme authority. The administration of the first five Jameses after they assumed the reins of government was creditable to them, and if we except James III., they contributed largely to the abolition of crime, anarchy and rebellion, and created laws which greatly influenced the development of a more healthy civilisation. The accession of James VI. set back the dial on account of his feeble administration, and no improvement on that monarch's rule took place until the accession of William of Orange, when the kingdom was once more restored to its normal condition as it was in the days of James V.

All but two of the Stuart sovereigns belonged to the Catholic faith, but there is nothing to indicate that this was in any way prejudicial to the interests or the prosperity of the realm, or to its trade and commerce, until the advent of Charles II. and James VII. These two brothers, the last of the Stuart kings, disgraced their high office by their persecution of those who differed from them in religion, and the last-named ruler was in consequence driven from the throne after a brief reign of three and a half years.

We do not wonder that the Scottish Parliament made it a condition that after that period no Catholic could sit on the throne of Scotland. It is very noticeable that the son of James VII., the Chevalier St. George, would have succeeded Queen Anne but for this prohibitory statute. All the eloquence of Queen Anne, however, would not induce him to change his religion and accept the crown, and so the House of Hanover was called in, and the House of Stuart became extinct.

The Chevalier was a most creditable member of the House of Stuart, as his subsequent career showed, and his whole life indicated that had he ascended the throne he would have been no discredit to his ancestors. Had he even been victorious at Sheriffmuir he would not necessarily have got the throne because of the determined opposition of the Scottish people at that period to the Catholic faith, and their fresh remembrance of the tyrannical rule of his father.

The scheme of the following work is as follows :—

1. Condition and general administration of the kingdom at the Norman Conquest and the Stuart origin.
2. The supposed ancestors or progenitors of the High Stewards.
3. General outline of the High Stewards and their official duties.
4. Administration of the Stuart sovereigns, from Robert II. to the accession of George of Hanover.

The Stuart dynasty is now matter of history, and

whatever we may think of the early rulers of the House of Hanover, we now live in an age of enlightenment and freedom under the rule of a wise and judicious monarchy, enjoying to an unlimited extent civil and religious liberty.

The charters and portraits which accompany this work will be found of great value. We have to acknowledge with thanks the following portraits, among others, received for insertion in this work :—

The frontispiece of Vol. I., Queen Annabella Drummond, from Sir James Drummond of Hawthornden.

The frontispiece of Vol. II., the Orkney portrait of Queen Mary, from His Grace the Duke of Sutherland.

Portrait of Robert III., from the Marquis of Lothian.

Portrait of James IV., from Captain Stirling of Keir.

Portraits of James V. and Mary of Guise, from His Grace the Duke of Devonshire.

Portrait of William of Orange, from His Grace the Duke of Portland.

In the literary department of the work, we have received assistance from the Rev. Professor Kennedy, Edinburgh, Dr. Maitland Thomson, Rev. John Anderson of the Register House, Edinburgh, who gave valuable assistance in the revision of the proofs, and Mr. A. M. Cowan of Perth.

S. C.

EDINBURGH, *January*, 1908.

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KALENDAR OF THE HIGH STEWARDS OF SCOTLAND.

No.	Name.	Born.	Succeeded.	Died.
1	Walter, only son of Fleance, First Steward - - - -	1045	1066	1093
2	Alan, son of Walter, Second Steward - - - -	1073	1093	1152
3	Walter, son of Alan, Third Steward, and First High Steward - - -	1108	1152	1177
4	Alan, son of Walter, Fourth High Steward - - - -	1140	1177	1204
5	Walter, son of Alan, Fifth High Steward - - - -	1173	1204	1246
6	Alexander, son of Walter, Sixth High Steward - - -	1214	1246	1283
7	James, son of Alexander, Seventh High Steward - - -	1243	1283	1309
8	Walter, son of James, Eighth High Steward - - -	1293	1309	1327
9	Robert, son of Walter, Ninth High Steward - - -	1316	1327	1390

THE ROYAL HOUSE OF STUART

CHAPTER I.

Kalendar of the High Stewards of Scotland—Romantic origin of the High Stewards—The thanes and thanages of Scotland in the Middle Ages—Crinan of Dunkeld—Seward's engagement at Scone—The Abthagerie of Dull—Kalendar of the thanes of Lochaber—Macbeth, Bancho, and the witches—Siege of the Castle of Perth by the Danes—Incident of Malcolm Canmore—The Feudal law—William Rufus and Malcolm Canmore—The seven Celtic Earls—Second version of the origin of the Stewards—Siege of Winchester—Stephen and the Empress Matilda—Sir James Balfour Paul's version—Summary of the Controversy respecting the origin—Walter, the first Steward, 1045-1093—Specimen of King David's laws—Alan, the second Steward, 1093-1152—Fergus, Lord of Galloway—Offices of High Constable and Earl Marischal—Charter by Thor, Lord of Tibbermore.

TEN centuries have nearly elapsed since, according to tradition, the first known ancestor of the House of Stuart set his foot upon his native heath. In these ten centuries we are supposed to have the entire history of the British Isles, a history that began with the darkness of paganism and superstition, the dawn of civilisation, the advent of Christianity, the civil wars of centuries which followed, and the gradual development and consolidation of Scotland into a feudal system, with thanages, earldoms or baronies, petty kingdoms, and eventually a unified kingdom.

In seven of these centuries the House of Stuart

guided the helm ; in four of them it held the sceptre. Like other dynasties which have ruled in the history of the world, the Stuarts have had their strong and their weak princes, their capable and incapable members, and when critically analysed, the various administrations have been, so to speak, a brief reflection of the Privy Council of the time. The High Stewards bear a favourable comparison with the Stuart kings who succeeded them, and in some respects, so far as we have the record, they set an example to their successors. Their administrative record, however, is too brief to enable us to form a final judgment. A well-known writer,¹ referring to the antiquity of the Stuarts, says: "To the commencement of the hereditary fief in Scotland may the history of the Stewards be carried, but no higher with the least certainty." The hereditary fief was the right which a vassal had to the lands of his lord, the property of the soil remaining in the superior; the hereditary fief would thus be the thane.

The High Stewards of Scotland, ancestors of the Royal House of Stuart, come into notice at a very remote era of Scottish history. Some authorities on the subject take us back to the legendary period of the thanes of Lochaber, who, it is supposed, flourished early in the tenth century. The thane was an official wielding considerable influence, a landlord *ipso facto* possessing and administering estates or Crown lands within his thanage, and as such was an officer of the Crown. Fordun divides the possessors and occupiers of Crown lands in Scotland into three classes. These were Principes, Thani, Milites; Principes probably meant the earls who represented the old Mormaors, whose demesne was held to be part of the Crown land. The Thani represented the older Toshach, those holding the demesne of the thanage of the King in feu farm and paying the feu-duty. By Milites is meant those who held a portion of the thanage either direct from

¹ Andrew Stuart of Castlemilk.

the King or under the thane or lord as a sub-vassal. The latter were freeholders, and bound to yield service to the King whenever required. The thanage consisted of two parts, demesne and freehold, the former held by the thanes in feu farm, the latter in fee and heritage by sub-vassals or freeholders. Such was the position up to the death of Alexander III.¹ After the War of Independence (1306) the thanage reverted to the Crown.

The thane appears to have been originally known as the maor. Thanage was applied as well to the office as to the district over which it was exercised; the holder, maor or thane, being accountable to the Crown for the collection of revenue and for the appearance of the tenantry at the yearly "hosting." There was a still greater official, the Mormaor,² who was a maor placed over a province instead of a thanage. The thanage was also regarded in feudal times as the ancient Scottish tenure. Malcolm II. was the originator of the change by which the Scottish King enhanced the dignity of personal attendance on the sovereign, and assembled the nobility in his own palace of Scone.³ He resided also at Glamis Castle and the Castle of Perth. The Scottish kingdom, to which Kenneth M'Alpine succeeded, included only the counties of Perth, Fife, Stirling, Dumbarton and Argyll. In the succeeding reign of Malcolm Canmore the province of Gowrie belonged to the Royal family. It is probable the whole of ancient Scotia was divided into Mormaordoms, each made up of an earldom and a regality, and sub-divided into thanages, administered by

¹ Skene.

² Mormaor is the Scottish equivalent of the Irish provincial righ or sub-king. The King remains, but the Celtic Mormaor and Toshach pass into the Earl and thane about the same time that the Columbite family gave place to the Cistercian Convert (about A.D. 1100). The Cistercian Abbeys in Scotland were Melrose, Dundrennan, Kinross, Glenluce, Culross, Deer, Balmerino and Sweetheart or New Abbey.

³ Robertson's "Early Kings."

maors, a dignitary whose signature is said to be found in the earlier charters, and holding office by the side of the Mormaor. Many of these districts were held by the Crown, the King retaining both earldom and regality in his own hands, as in the case of Gowrie.¹ Along the East Coast from the Tay to the Dee are the districts of old called Angus and Mearns, now Forfar and Kincardine. Before the Norman Conquest these districts, as also the province of Moray and Ross, were all under Mormaors.

The office of seneschal, or steward, and of chamberlain belonged to the personal estate of the King, and those who held them enjoyed the supreme authority in the management of the King's household and in the regulation of the Royal revenues. Both are as ancient as the reign of David I.

The Chamberlain of Scotland was the collector and disburser of the Crown revenues, and continued to be so till the reign of James I., when it was extended by the English office of Treasurer. He was the most important and influential of the great officers of the Crown. He had to provide for all the branches of the public expenditure, including the Royal household. He also exercised a jurisdiction over burghs. It was one of his duties to hold a yearly ayre, or circuit, for the purpose of regulating all that related to their trade and government. The immediate receivers of the Royal revenues were the sheriffs and the magistrates and costumars of Royal burghs, who accounted for the same. The costumars were persons appointed by the Crown in each burgh of export, being generally one or two of the leading burgesses, to collect the King's great custom. Various references occur in the public accounts to a lion which appears to have been a pet of the warrior King (Bruce). The costumars of Perth in 1330 and 1331 paid for the hire of a house for it and wages to its keeper; and in 1331 got a cage for it which cost 23s.²

¹ Robertson's "Early Kings."

² Exchequer Rolls.

When Robert Bruce erected the lands extending from the Spey to the West Coast into the Earldom of Moray in favour of his nephew, Thomas Randolph, first Earl of Moray, the gift included townships and thanages and all the Royal demesne rents and duties, and all barons and freeholders, who held of the Crown, to render their homage, attendance at Court, and all other services, to Randolph and his heirs.¹ In the province of Mar and Buchan in the reign of Alexander III. there were no less than ten thanages, and in various counties much the same proportion. Between the rivers Dee and Don, which formed the old Earldom of Mar, were five thanages; the old town of Aberdeen appearing as a thanage in the same reign; near Kettins, and separated from it by the parish of Newtyle, was the thanage of Glamis. It makes its first appearance in 1264, when we find a payment of 16 merks to the thane of Glamis for certain lands taken from that thanage. This thanage appears to have remained in the hands of the Crown until the reign of Robert II., who granted the whole lands to Sir John Lyon (ancestor of the Earls of Strathmore), erected into a barony with the bondmen, bondages, native men and their followers, also services of freeholders. The property is still held by the Lyon family. In the same reign the thane of Forteviot is to answer the King for 20 merks; and we find the Sheriff of Perth accounting for the "firma," or rent-charge, of the land of William of Forteviot. Macbeth, King of Scotland, was at one time thane of Angus.

In the time of Robert, fourth Earl of Strathearn (1220-1240), father of Malise, the seneschalship had fallen to him, and he witnessed a charter to Bricius of Dunning, his seneschal. In 1247 a charter was granted by Malise, fifth Earl of Strathearn, to the Abbey of Inchaffray of 20 merks annually from the thanage of Dunning and Pitcairn. In respect of the ancient Earldom of Atholl, it is from that district that the

¹ Chartulary of Moray.

Royal dynasty emerged, which terminated with Alexander III. Crinan, the founder of the house, sometimes called the Abbot of Dunkeld, which he was not, had been a notable chieftain, a Mormaor and a great personality of the period, and possessor of the abthanerie of Dull. From his son Duncan proceeded not only the Kings of Scotland but the ancient Earls of Atholl. Malcolm, son of Donald Bane, and nephew of Malcolm Canmore, became first Earl of Atholl.

Crinan was married to a daughter of Malcolm II., and was slain in battle in 1045. He was not an ecclesiastic, but a great secular chief, occupying a power and an influence not inferior to a Mormaor. Maldred was a son of Crinan, and Earl Gospatrick, Maldred's son; Thorfinn, another son of Crinan, became first Earl of Caithness and Sutherland. Duncan had a son named Malcolm, afterwards Malcolm Canmore, the mother being of the family of Siward, Earl of Northumbria. Malcolm was a child when his father Duncan was assassinated. Macbeth then seized the Crown. Siward espoused the cause of young Malcolm, determined to drive Macbeth from the throne, and advanced against him with a naval and a land force. His object seems to have been Scone, the capital of the kingdom. The engagement was a fiercely contested struggle, fought at Scone. Siward retired without effecting his object, but he so far advanced the cause of Malcolm that he established him in possession of the territory of the Cumbrian Britons and Lothians as King of Cumbria. In the following year Siward died. Macbeth, three years after, was slain by Macduff on 15th August, 1057. For this heroic act Malcolm gave him the lands of Fife, which are still held by the Macduffs, created him Earl of Fife, and bestowed on him other honours.¹

He and his successors, the Earls of Fife, were in future to have the right of placing the Kings of Scotland on

¹ Douglas Peerage.

the throne at the coronation, and they were to lead the van of the Scottish army wherever the Royal banner was displayed.

The abthanerie of Dull was an extensive district containing two large thanages, Dull and Fortingall. Alexander II. issued a mandate to his thanes and other good men of Dull and Fortingall, in which he granted to the Abbot of Scone the right of taking materials from these two thanages for the work of Scone Abbey. In 1264 Alan, the hostiary, was bound to account for the "firma" of Dull, and in 1289 Duncan, eleventh Earl of Fife, is reuter of the Manor of Dull, which for two years was £500; this Earl lost his life at the battle of Falkirk in 1298.¹ He was also keeper of the prison of Dull, but while the abthanerie with its two thanages was thus in the Crown, the church of Dull with its chapels in Foss and Glenlyon belonged to the Earl of Atholl. By David II. the bailiary of the abthanerie of Dull was granted to John Drummond; and in this and the previous reign the thanages began to be broken up. Besides those held of the Crown there were two held of the Earls of Atholl, and two of the Bishops of Dunkeld.² Fordun, who gives to Crinan the title of abthane of Dull, describes the abthane as the head of all the Royal thanes. The thanage was swept away in England before the Norman Conquest, although it subsisted in Scotland until the close of the reign of Alexander III.

So much then for the nature of this ancient office with which the origin of the Stuarts is supposed to be identified. Some important changes in the administration of the kingdom would appear to have taken place when we come to the time of Malcolm Canmore. It is supposed that the reign of Malcolm was the turning-point at which the Court, which had been a Celtic one, became Saxon. The Saxon dialect prevailed until the close of the twelfth century. Our

¹ Exchequer Rolls.

² Skene's "Celtic Scotland."

national records prior to this reign are more or less legendary—that is to say, they cannot be regarded as absolutely reliable. The succession to the Crown we can trace, but not with certainty, from Kenneth M'Alpine the first King of the united Picts and Scots (843-860), and between him and Malcolm III. there were sixteen sovereigns. In the tenth century, and during the subsistence of the thanages, certain places were appointed to which all legal writs were returned, and these would be the local capitals of their respective districts, viz. : for Gowrie at Scone; for Stormont at Clunie; for Strathearn at Kintillo on the Earn; for Atholl, Rait or Logierait; for Fife, Markinch; for Angus, Forfar; for Mearns, Dunnottar; for Mar and Buchan, Aberdeen; for Ross and Moray, Inverness; there was a Court at Fort William, while the King of Strathclyde had his Court at Dumbarton; Strathclyde was the country from the Clyde to the Solway, and had its own princes; it was, however, by David I. annexed to the Scottish Crown.

Assuming, as some writers do, that the thanes of Lochaber were connected with the origin of the House of Stuart, we are informed that Dorus, brother of Constantine II., King of the Picts and Scots (900-940), and grandson of Kenneth M'Alpine, was created its first thane. He died, it is said, in 936, and left issue, Mordac, second thane of Lochaber, and Garedus, thane of Atholl. Mordac, who succeeded in 936, died in the reign of Malcolm I. (943-954), leaving issue, Ferquhard, third thane, who died in 987, and was succeeded by his son Kenneth as fourth thane. This Kenneth married Dunclina, daughter of Kenneth II. (970-994), and left issue, Bancho, fifth thane, born in 990. He is said to have been an important personality in the history of that period. Garedus was father of Lachlan, thane of Atholl, and Lachlan was father of Maud, wife of Bancho; Bancho succeeded his father in 1030 as thane. The history of the High Stewards of Scotland is said to begin with Bancho, who was the grandfather of Walter,

the first Steward. Bancho's son Fleance, who was born in 1020, succeeded his father as sixth thane, and his son Walter, it is supposed, became first Steward. The matter will be better understood by reference to the accompanying kalendar.

No.	Name.	Born.	Succeeded.	Died.
1	Dorus, first Thane, brother of Constantine II., grandson of Kenneth M'Alpine - - -			936
2	Mordac, son of Dorus, second Thane - - - - -		936	943-954
3	Ferquhard, son of Mordac, third Thane - - - - -			987
4	Kenneth, son of Ferquhard, fourth Thane—married 970-994 -		987	1030
5	Bancho, son of Kenneth, fifth Thane - - - - -	990	1030	1043
6	Fleance, son of Bancho, sixth Thane - - - - -	1020	1043	1045
7	Walter, son of Fleance, seventh Thane and first Steward, -	1045	1066	1093

(This Kalendar, the reader will understand, is hypothetical.)

There is a legendary story regarding Macbeth and Bancho. These men, in the reign of King Duncan, are said to have encountered the Danes near Culross, on the banks of the Forth, but were defeated. With some followers Bancho escaped to Perth and took refuge in the castle, which, it is said, was full of all sorts of provisions. Macbeth made his way to Inchtuthill, where he lay with a contingent of troops and was able to keep up a communication with Bancho at Perth. The castle was vigorously attacked by the Danes, who became short of provisions, and Macbeth and Bancho induced them to sign a bogus treaty in order to gain time. By that treaty the Danes managed to secure

provisions, as they were in absolute want. The provisions, by a trick of Macbeth and Bancho, were strongly spiced with hemlock and other ingredients. The result was that Macbeth arrived from Inchtuthill and, in company with Bancho, fell upon the intoxicated Danes and made an easy prey of them.

King Duncan, it is believed, kept his Court at Forres. As Macbeth and Bancho were on their way from Perth to Forres, and while they were diverting themselves in a wood, three witches appeared to them. One of them foretold Macbeth's violent death, adding: "You, Bancho, shall not attain to sovereignty, but from your posterity shall issue a race of kings who shall govern the Scots through all ages." They then disappeared. Another writer (Crawford) relating this incident says: These women had an uncommon address. The first made obeisance to Macbeth and saluted him as thane of Glamis; the second by the appellation of thane of Cawdor; and the third as King of Scotland. "This is unfair dealing," said Bancho, "to give my friend all the honours and none to me." To which one of the women replied that "indeed he should not be a king but by him should descend a race of kings that should for ever sway the Scottish sceptre." And having said this they vanished. Whatever may be the truth of this story, Macbeth on his arrival at Court was created thane of Glamis, and some time after thane of Cawdor. In 1040 King Duncan was assassinated by Macbeth; and about 1043 Bancho and three of his sons were also slain by that tyrant; the fourth son, Fleance, escaping. His daughter Beatrix was afterwards married to Macduff, thane of Fife (who slew Macbeth). When Macbeth learned that Fleance had thus escaped he made a plot to assassinate him, but Fleance hearing of it disappeared, and was next heard of at the Welsh Court. He afterwards, it is said, went to the Court of Malcolm Canmore some years before Malcolm ascended the throne. Fleance died by the hands of the assassin in 1045, in the reign of Macbeth, in the twenty-fifth year

of his age, leaving issue an only son, Walter. For services to the King and the realm, and particularly for his active management of the King's revenue, Walter, it is said, was, some years after the death of his father Fleance, and in the reign of Malcom III., appointed Steward of the Royal household. Walter received this appointment on attaining his majority. The office, including that of the Stewardship of Scotland, to which his successor was appointed, remained in Walter's family for nine generations, when the last Steward was elected King as Robert II.

In tracing the descent of the Stuarts, we must remember that the line of William the Conqueror was branched out in the houses of Lancaster and York. To the former the Steward succeeded as heir to the marriage of Joan, daughter of the Duke of Somerset, and successor of the family of Lancaster. To both Lancaster and York they succeeded as heirs to Henry VII., in whom these successions were reconciled, he having married Elizabeth, elder daughter of Edward IV., who had transferred the succession from Lancaster to York. Henry VII. had four children. His daughter Margaret married James IV., who bore to him James V.; by her second marriage to the Earl of Angus she bore Margaret Douglas. Lady Margaret married the Earl of Lennox and had two sons: the eldest was Henry, Lord Darnley, father of James VI., so that on all sides James VI. was directly descended from William the Conqueror and Henry VII.

An incident is recorded of Malcolin III.: He received intelligence that one of his nobles had formed a design against his life, and he sought an opportunity of meeting the traitor in a solitary place. "Now," said he, unsheathing his sword, "we are alone, and armed alike; you seek my life—take it." The penitent threw himself at the King's feet, begged for forgiveness and obtained it.¹ Malcolin assembled a convention of the chief men of his kingdom immediately after his accession,

¹ Hailes "Annals."

and restored their possessions to the families who had been forfeited in the previous reign; he did not introduce the feudal law. With respect to the internal policy of his kingdom he appears to have been guided by Queen Margaret. There is no reason for supposing that he made any considerable donations of Crown lands. That he did not disperse the demesnes of the Crown is evident from the many grants which his son David made to the Church. Many strangers fixed their residence in Scotland during the reign of Malcolm and his sons. They acquired estates by marriage, by occupying waste lands, by purchase. As in their own country they knew that security in the enjoyment of land depended on a charter or written grant, so in a foreign country they knew they had no security in land without writing. While the vestiges of the old custom of *tanistry* remained, every father would wish to secure his estate to his son. This could only be done by his taking a feudal charter from the Crown and placing his son under its protection. While the administration of justice was precarious, and every powerful man was an oppressor, small proprietors of land could not defend themselves from the violence of the great without the aid of a protector. With that view they resigned their lands to him, and received them back on the condition of performing feudal service. In disorderly times it often happens that lands are acquired with insufficient titles, obtained by fraud or usurped by violence. A charter from the Crown would have the appearance of ratifying the possession by Royal authority. Even he who succeeded to his ancestors would wish to have his possession confirmed by a charter from the Crown. In the case of ecclesiastics, they sought from every sovereign a renewal of the grants made by their predecessors. These were undoubtedly the chief causes of the introduction of the feudal law into Scotland. Every new forfeiture would add strength to the feudal system, by enabling the Crown to make grants of the forfeited

lands under the wonted conditions of fiefs. Thus would the change be accomplished by a natural train of consequences and by favourable accidents. It is remarkable that Malcolm and his queen, zealous as they were for religion, made very few donations to the Church. They founded an endowment of Benedictines at Dunfermline, and granted an inconsiderable portion of land to the Culdees in Fife; no other traces of their liberality to ecclesiastics are to be discovered.¹

William Rufus, son of the Conqueror, and Malcolm III. did not agree. Malcolm invaded England, penetrated to Chester le Street, but hearing of the approach of the English, he avoided a battle and retreated. A peace was afterwards concluded between them, and Rufus was reconciled to Edgar. In 1092 Rufus erected a castle at Carlisle as a barrier against the Scots. Malcolm was opposed to this scheme, and a personal interview between the two Kings took place at Gloucester. This interview did not go satisfactorily, and Malcolm entered the north of England with an invading army and attempted to secure the Castle of Alnwick (13th November). He was attacked unexpectedly, by Robert de Mowbray, and slain, and his eldest son fell with him. Malcolm's troops fled on the death of their sovereign; and Mowbray, who was guilty of this base conduct, interred Malcolm at Tynemouth. Though Malcolm was the ruler of an uncivilised nation, and destitute of foreign resources, he had such antagonists as William the Conqueror and William Rufus to encounter. Yet for twenty-seven years he supported this unequal contest, sometimes with success, never without honour. That he should have so well asserted the independence of Scotland is astonishing, when the weakness of his own kingdom and the strength and abilities of his enemies are fairly estimated.²

¹ Hailes "Annals."

² On receiving the news of his death (Malcolm III.), Queen Margaret, who was dying, said: "Praise and blessing be to Thee, Almighty God, that Thou hast been pleased to make me endure so

Some of our more ancient families are proud to trace their lineage to this eventful period of our national history. According to the feudal law, all the vassals appeared or would appear in Court at stated periods, and consulted what was desirable for the welfare of the kingdom; and also in declaring that it was necessary to have their consent for raising troops when such were required. And from this arose the expression, "By the advice and consent of the three estates of Parliament." (Barons, Clergy, Burgesses or Traders.¹)

The estates of the Stewards in later times became the appanage of the King's eldest son, and by act of the Scottish Parliament of 1469 the titles of Prince, and High Steward of Scotland, Duke of Rothesay, Baron of Renfrew, and Lord of the Isles were vested in the eldest son and heir apparent to the Crown for ever; High Steward of Scotland thus became one of the titles of the Prince of Wales.

It is evident that Malcolm III. discontinued the thanage of Lochaber; he or Malcolm IV. gave the lands of Renfrew and Kyle to the Steward, presumably instead of it, and also as there is no subsequent mention of Lochaber in connection with the High Stewards.

The principal residence of the Stewards was the ancient Castle of Paisley, in Renfrewshire, which county was in early times part of Northumbria under the Saxons. Dundonald Castle in Kyle, and Rothesay Castle in Bute, were erected as residences in addition to Paisley, Roxburgh, Bathgate, Torphichen, etc. We are not informed where they actually resided from time to time, but we know from official documents that the last Steward occupied the two first-named castles, as did his son, Robert III., who also resided in the Castle of Perth.

bitter anguish in the hour of my departure, thereby, as I trust, to purify me in some measure from the corruption of my sins; and Thou, Lord Jesus Christ, Who through the will of the Father hath enlivened the world by Thy death, O deliver me." While saying "deliver me" she expired.

¹ Mackenzie's "Foundation of Monarchy."

The title of Earl is supposed to have been created by Malcolm III. The first Earls were probably Fife, Atholl, Moray, Mar, Strathearn, Angus, Menteith. These were sometimes called "The seven Celtic Earls." No Scottish coins have been discovered earlier than the reign of Alexander I., son of Malcolm.

The lordship of Stewarton was among the lands of the High Stewards before their accession to the throne. These lands previously were possessed by the De Morevilles. The two islands of Cumbrae were at the time the property of the High Stewards, and were part of their possessions, and were granted in life-rent by Robert III. to Prince James, afterwards James I., in 1404.¹

Another version of the origin of the Stuarts is the following:—In the reign of Henry I., King of England (1100-1135), there was a certain Alan, the son of Flaald, a great magnate in Shropshire. He was frequently at Court, and among the persons of high rank who witnessed the charters of King Henry are *Alanus Flaalde filius*. Alan married a daughter of Warenne, Sheriff of the county, by whom he had three sons—William, Walter, and Simon. Walter was a soldier of Fortune, and while his brother William settled down as an English baron, Walter turned his face northwards and settled in Scotland. King David I. of Scotland was at the siege of Winchester in 1141, supporting the claims of his niece, the Empress Matilda, in a contest with Stephen. When David, overpowered by superior numbers, had to retreat, he was accompanied, according to this authority, by Walter, who was glad to attach himself to David in the hope of bettering his fortune. This is Walter, the High Steward, who founded Paisley Abbey, whose term of office was 1152 to 1177, when he died. The reference to Walter in 1185 must therefore be incorrect, as Walter was some years dead. King David took him into his household and made him Steward of Scotland. David's successor, Malcolm IV., ratified the title to him and his

¹ Exchequer Rolls.

heirs, and bestowed on him lands in Renfrewshire. Being in attendance on Malcolm at Fotheringay (inherited by Malcolm with the Earldom of Huntingdon) about 1163, he entered into an agreement with the prior of Wenlock Monastery (Salop) for the foundation of Paisley. In 1154 Walter appears as a vassal holding lands under William, the son of Alan, in Shropshire; and in 1185 William, the son of Alan, granted certain towns to the Knights Templar; while Walter, the son of Alan, granted them part of Coveton. Chalmers, the historian, argues from this that in the said Alan and William we have the father and elder brother of Walter, the High Steward under David I. and Malcolm IV.¹ The elder of these brothers became the ancestor of Arundel, and the younger is held by Chalmers to have been the ancestor of the House of Stuart.²

No historian can say with certainty which of these recitals is the right one. There is something to be said for both. The second makes no reference to the thanes of Lochaber, nor to Walter the son, and Alan the grandson, of Fleance. Assuming that these two were Stewards of the Royal household only, and not High Stewards of Scotland, both recitals agree that King David appointed Walter, son of Alan, High Steward of Scotland; and some historians say this was the first High Steward, the founder of Paisley Abbey. The question then arises: Was this Walter who got the appointment from David I. the son of Alan, the son of Walter; or was he the son of Alan, the son of Flaald of the county of Salop? Walter, the son of Fleance, fought at the battle of Hastings in 1066; Walter, the grandson of Flaald, is said to have been with David I. at the siege

¹ In 1141 there was a young man named David Oliphant who served in the army of Stephen; David I. had been his godfather. Oliphant conducted David so dexterously as to elude the strictest search and conveyed him in safety to Scotland.—(Dalrymple.) What, then, becomes of Walter, who is said to have accompanied the King from Winchester?

² "Story of the Stewarts."

of Winchester in 1141. There is, however, no such person as this mentioned in the account of the siege of Winchester of 1141. That siege was a strife between Stephen, King of England, and the Empress Matilda for the possession of the Crown. There were three Royal personages of this name at that period: King David I. of Scotland was married to Matilda, daughter of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland; King David had a sister named Matilda, and she was the wife of Henry I., King of England; King Henry, who was the youngest son of William the Conqueror, had only one lawful child, Matilda, who was known as the Empress Maud, and heiress to the crown of England. Stephen was a grandson of William the Conqueror, by the female line, his mother being Adela, the Conqueror's daughter. King David of course espoused the cause of his niece Matilda. At the first engagement on 2nd February, 1141, Stephen was defeated near Lincoln and taken prisoner by the Earl of Chester. Matilda had attached the clergy to her interest, and on the defeat of Stephen ordered an Ecclesiastical Synod to be convened, after which she was proclaimed Queen of England at Winchester Cathedral, by the unanimous voice of the clergy. This was confirmed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Stephen was released from prison. A conspiracy to seize Matilda was got up because she had not consulted the laity, nor convened them in the matter of the succession. Matilda anticipating defeat made her escape. These were some of the troubles of the time, which in reality began with the battle of the Standard in 1138. At this battle the Scots, under King David, who made his escape, lost, it is said, 10,000 men, but these figures are probably over-estimated.¹

¹ The Standard was a machine like a vessel with a tall mast. From this were hung various relics and sacred banners, and at the top of all was the crucifix and the consecrated host; surrounded by the banners of St. Peter, St. John, and St. Wilfrid, it formed the centre of the English army. Another writer says the Standard was the mast of a ship filled into the perch of a high four-wheeled

Another writer informs us that we have no certain knowledge of the Stewards till the reign of David I., when Walter the son of Alan appears as Steward of Scotland: and this points to the ancient English family of Fitzalan. Walter was succeeded in his high office by Alan, who was followed by the second Walter. No action worthy of the historic page is authentically recorded of these three. Their lands were principally in Renfrewshire and on the shores of the Clyde. A higher fate awaited Alexander, the fourth Steward, who united the Island of Bute to his patrimony by marrying the heiress. In 1255 he is among the great nobles who opposed the Comyns, and three years afterwards was one of the regents of Scotland during the minority of Alexander III. (This writer's information is imperfect. His second Walter was founder of Paisley Abbey, and appears with credit on the page of history.)

If we admit the existence of Macbeth and Bancho—and the existence of these is matter of history—we cannot disregard their descendants, beginning with Bancho's grandson Walter, who is said to have been the first Steward of the household. This Walter's grandson, founder of Paisley Abbey, was by David I. appointed to the office of High Steward as already stated, and consequently was the first holder of that office, probably a distinct office from that of Steward of the household. This is the Steward who in 1158 received a charter from Malcolm IV. confirming the office in perpetuity on Walter, the son of Alan, and his descendants. On the other hand, if no such person as Walter is to be traced at the siege of Winchester, the second recital, notwithstanding the opinion of Chalmers, the historian, cannot be accepted as final.

carriage: minstrels, posture-makers and female dancers accompanied the army, and there can be little doubt that in Scotland, as in France and England, the profession of a minstrel combined the arts of music and recitation with a proficiency in the lower accomplishments of dancing and tumbling.—(Bishop Percy's Essay on Ancient Minstrels.)

Again, if King David, in 1141, appointed Walter, Steward of the household, how was it possible for Walter in 1154 to be a vassal holding lands in Shropshire under William his brother? His office of Steward would involve his whole time; so also would the management of lands in the South of England as a vassal. It was therefore impossible he could hold both offices. From the want of information, however, it would probably be premature to form an absolute opinion. The reader is referred to the Chartulary of Paisley.

We come now to the version of Sir James Balfour Paul, a very eminent authority, and what he says is important. That the Stuarts are of Breton origin will, he thinks, be generally admitted, for the Lochaber version points out that Walter, son of Fleance, born in 1045, fled from the Court of Edward the Confessor to that of Alan, Duke of Brittany, and afterwards married the Duke's daughter, by whom he had a son named Alan. Sir James Paul points out that Alan, son of Flaald, Count of Dol in Brittany, became Sheriff of Shropshire from 1100 onwards, that he had three sons—Jordan, William, and Walter; that William supported David I. in asserting the rights of the Empress Matilda; and that Walter accompanied David into Scotland. There does not appear to be any authority for William and Walter assisting David I., and in the report of the siege of Winchester, where the rights of the Empress Matilda were asserted, William or Walter are not even mentioned. It is at this point where the difficulty arises, as with Walter, who founded Paisley Abbey in 1165, and his successors in the Stewardship, all accounts agree. According to Sir James Paul there were seven Stewards; according to the Lochaber version there were nine.

A strong point in the case is the charter of Walter Fitzalan in the reign of Malcolm IV., dated at Fotheringay. This Walter is the son of Alan, and is the Steward who founded Paisley Abbey, and Alan is probably identical with Alan Fitz Flaald, Seneschal of

Dol ; but if so, he had a son named Simon who signed the charter, and he should be substituted for "Jordan" in Sir James Paul's account.

Some writers state that Walter, the son of Fleance, was appointed "Steward of the household" by Malcolm Canmore, and that Alan his son succeeded him in 1093; this Alan being the father of Walter who founded Paisley. What, then, was the connection between the Duke of Brittany and the Counts of Dol in Brittany? Were they one and the same family? Sir James Paul's version, which is as follows, may very probably be the right one, but it is impossible to discredit the Lochaber version, until further research has determined the value of the statement that Walter the son, and Alan the grandson, of Fleance, were Stewards under Malcolm Canmore and his sons, Edgar, Alexander, and David. At this date the materials at our disposal to enable us to form a judgment are insufficient, although it seems sufficiently clear that if Walter of Paisley was the first Steward, then the origin of the Stuarts was in Brittany.

The traditional account as to Bancho, Sir James Paul thinks, is now discredited. It is more certain that the Stuarts are of Breton origin, descended from a family which held the office of Seneschal or Steward of Dol, under the Counts of Dol in Brittany in the eleventh century. In the Chartulary of the Abbey of St. Florent (an obscure authority) we find in 1080 and 1086 *Alanus Senescallus*, or *Alanus Dapifer Dolensis* witnessing grants of land to the Abbey. He engaged in the Crusades of 1097, and died apparently without issue.¹ The office of Seneschal of Dol reverted to Flaald, who had a son Alan who accompanied Henry I. to England. Alan Fitz Flaald appears on the English records as Sheriff of Shropshire from 1100 onwards.

¹This Alan, Seneschal, is said by some writers to be the son of Walter, the son of Fleance. He was the High Steward who went to the Crusades in 1096. That he died "apparently without issue" cannot be verified.

He founded Spord Priory in Norfolk before 1122. He married Avelina de Hesding, by whom he had three sons—Jordan, Seneschal of Dol, who inherited the lands in England; William Fitzalan, Lord of Oswestry in Salop, ancestor of the English house of Fitzalan, his grandson, John Fitzalan, married Isobel, second daughter of William, third Earl of Arundel; Walter, the son of Alan. In a charter of 1185 William and Walter, the sons of Alan, appear as benefactors of the Order of Knights Templar.

William Fitzalan supported David I. in asserting the rights of the Empress Matilda to the English throne, and his brother, Walter Fitzalan, seems to have accompanied David into Scotland, and to have been identical with the Walter, son of Alan, who appeared as High Steward under David I. and Malcolm IV. This is strengthened by the fact that in 1335 that office was claimed by Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, descended from William Fitzalan, just mentioned, as his by hereditary right; the real holder, Robert Stewart the representative of *Walter Fitzalan*, the original granter, having been temporarily dispossessed by the English. On his creation as High Steward of Scotland Walter received estates in the Lowlands from David I.

In 1157 Malcolm IV. ratified the grants of the office of Steward of Scotland to his family. In 1164 he repelled an invasion in Renfrewshire, and founded Paisley Abbey, the Foundation Charter of which further proves his connection with Shropshire, by showing that the monks to carry on the work came from there, and that it was dedicated to St. Milburga of Wenlock. *He died* in 1177, leaving his wife, Eschena de Molle, widow of Robert de Croc, and daughter apparently of the Thomas de Londoniis, whose son Malcolm was the first Door Ward of Scotland. Alan, who carried on the family and its honours, senior brother of Walter, the son of Alan, is a witness to the Foundation Charter of Paisley Abbey. To him

the Boyds, who bear the same arms as the Stuarts, trace their descent, but there seems to be no proof of this, and no other notice of such is known. Alan, son of Walter, and *second* High Steward, is supposed to have accompanied Richard Cœur de Lion to the Crusades, and married Eva, daughter of Swaine, son of Thor, lord of Tibbermore and Tranent, but this seems to be founded on a mistaken reading by David Stewart of a charter in the Register of Scone. He died in 1204 and left two sons—David, who appears a guarantor of King Alexander's engagement to marry the princess of England; Walter, who succeeded him as the High Steward. Walter, the *third* High Steward, was the first to adopt the name of his office as a surname. He was appointed Justiciar by Alexander II. in 1230, and negotiated the King's second marriage. He is said to have married Beatrix, daughter of Gilchrist, Earl of Angus, but no proof has been found of this, and he died in 1241, leaving issue, Alexander his successor, and John, killed at Damietta in 1249. Walter married Mary, daughter of Maurice, Earl of Menteith; Euphemia married Patrick, sixth Earl of Dunbar; Margaret married Nigel, Earl of Carrick; Elizabeth married Malcolm, Earl of Lennox. Sir William Stewart of Tarbolton is said to have been a son of this Steward; as also William de Ruthven, ancestor of the Ruthvens, but this is founded on a mistaken reading of the charter. Alexander, *fourth* High Steward, designated of Dundonald, was born in 1214. In 1253 he appears as one of the regents of Scotland during the minority of Alexander III. In 1263 took place the battle of Largs. He died in 1283, leaving two sons and one daughter—James, his successor; Sir John, who married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir Alexander de Bonkyl; Elizabeth, married to Sir William Douglas of that ilk. James, *fifth* High Steward, was born in 1243. He was one of the six guardians appointed in 1286 on the death of Alexander III.; and in 1292 one of the auditors appointed by Bruce to represent him

in his claim to the crown. In 1292 he was one of the leading men who opposed the attempts of Edward I.; and he was present with Wallace at the battle of Stirling in 1297; he died in 1309. He married Egidia, sister of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, and left four sons and one daughter—Andrew, who predeceased him; Walter, his successor; Sir John, killed at Dundalk with Edward Bruce; Sir James, of Durrisdeer; Egidia or Giles, married to Alexander Menzies, ancestor of the Menzies of that ilk.

Walter, *sixth* High Steward, was born in 1292. He commanded a wing of the Scots army at Bannockburn. He took part in all the principal episodes of the War of Independence against Edward II., and he acted as regent of Scotland during King Robert's absence in Ireland. He married Marjory Bruce, and died on 9th April, 1326, aged thirty-three years. He left issue one child, afterwards Robert II., and by his second wife, Isobel, daughter of Sir John Graham of Abercorn two sons and one daughter—Sir John of Railston, Sir Andrew and Egidia. The latter was three times married—first to John Lindsay of Crawford; second to Sir Hugh Montgomery of Eglinton; third to Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith.¹

There is nothing recorded against the character of any of the Stewards; they all appear to have been men capable of administering their high office, and having the confidence of the King and the nation: evidently the various kings under whom they served entrusted them with the greater share of the national responsibility. In short, they were the advisers of the King and evidently exercised the power and authority of the sovereign. It was an arrangement that at the time was considered beneficial to the nation; indeed some of the kings during the period of the High Stewards were very deficient in those administrative qualities which are essential to good government.

¹ Sir James Balfour Paul.

This great controversial question is difficult of solution, and notwithstanding what can be said for the Lochaber origin of the Stuarts, something is to be said on behalf of the Breton or Brittany origin of the family. Walter, the son of Fleance, thane of Lochaber, it is admitted, went over and married the daughter of Alan, Duke of Brittany. Nothing in the circumstances could be more likely, for it appears that even his mother was related to this ducal house. By this lady Walter had a son named Alan, in proof of which we refer to the Douglas Peerage (Edition, 1764). The Counts of Dol, curiously enough, belonged also to Brittany, and apparently were related to the same ducal house. One of them came over to England, married the daughter of the Sheriff of Shropshire, and eventually became Sheriff of that county. It is said he had three sons, and that one of these was Walter, who founded Paisley Abbey. Sir James Paul says the first Walter died without issue, but this is disputed, and that the Count of Dol who came over was Flaald, whose son, Alan, married the Sheriff's daughter, and had three sons, one of whom was Walter of Paisley. This is the point of the controversy. We do not admit that the first Walter died without issue, specially as Sir James gives insufficient authority—the Chartulary of St. Florent. This statement is vital to the question, and could only be accepted on the production of authentic proof. It has generally been understood, on the authority of more than one writer, that Walter had a family of eight sons and three daughters. It has been further stated that his daughter Ellen was married to Alexander, Lord Abernethy. This Walter had a son named Alan, and Flaald, Count of Dol, according to this authority, had also a son named Alan, who became Sheriff of Shropshire. According to the Douglas Peerage, Alan, the son of Walter, became Steward after his father. The Duke of Brittany's daughter was the wife of this Walter, the son of Fleance, thane of Lochaber, and consequently mother

of Alan, the supposed ancestor of the Stuarts, while Flaald, Steward or Seneschal of Dol, was related to the same ducal house, also connected indirectly with Lochaber. But it is important to observe that the connection of these Counts of Dol with the High Stewards of Scotland is by no means proved, nor is it definitely stated. All that Sir James Paul ventures to say is: "William Fitzalan supported David I. in asserting the rights of the Empress Matilda to the English throne, and his brother, Walter Fitzalan, seems to have accompanied David I. into Scotland, and to have been identical with the Walter, son of Alan, who appeared as High Steward under David I. and Malcolm IV." This seems to be a purely hypothetical statement, as we have no authentic proof that either William or Walter Fitzalan accompanied David in his support of Matilda. It is not denied that Alan, son of Flaald and father of Walter, was Sheriff of Shropshire, but his connection with the High Stewards of Scotland is not proved. Sir James Paul states that: "In a charter of 1185 William and Walter, the sons of Alan (Sheriff of Shropshire), appear as benefactors of the Order of Knights Templar." Walter, the High Steward of Scotland and founder of Paisley Abbey, died in 1177, so that it is evident that the theory that Walter, son of Alan (Sheriff of Shropshire), was High Steward of Scotland cannot be maintained. The statement of Sir James Paul is a convincing proof, and helps to solve the difficulty. The text of the Foundation Charter of Paisley Abbey, in as far as it refers to Shropshire and the monks of Wenlock, is easily understood when we consider that the High Stewards and the Fitzalans, two distinct families, were related to each other by marriage, that both, especially the former, could claim relationship with the ancient thanes of Lochaber, while both, specially the latter, could claim relationship with Brittany. Assuming this summary to be correct, the balance of evidence would certainly be in favour of Loch-

aber as the place of origin of the House of Stuart.

It has long been known that the Stuarts and the English House of Fitzalan possessed a common ancestor in Alan, son of Flaald, living under Henry I. This was established by Chalmers in his "Caledonia" on what he declared to be most satisfactory evidence. According to him, Alan acquired the Manor of Oswestry, some time after the Conquest, and married the daughter of Warenne, Sheriff of Salop. Riddell, the Scottish antiquary, followed up this argument in 1843 with a paper on the origin of the Stuarts, accepting the theory that Walter Fitzalan brought with him to Scotland followers from Salop, and gave them lands. Research has been unable to discover the origin of Flaald, father of Alan. No less an authority than Mr. Eyton has concluded that after all Alan Fitzalan was a grandson of Bancho, thane of Lochaber, whose son Fleance fled to England, "My belief is," said Mr. Eyton, "that the son of Fleance was this Alan. He married not a daughter of Warenne, but Avelina, daughter of Ernulf de Hesdin, a Domesday tenant." Alan has hitherto been credited with two sons, William and Walter, ancestors respectively of the Fitzalans and Stuarts. He had, however, another son named Jordan, his heir in Brittany, and apparently at Burton (England) we detect him entered in the English Pipe Roll in several places, though one of the entries suggests his Breton connection. Walter Rye, a well-known writer, set himself a few years ago to destroy the alleged descent. He further held that these and other deeds in Norman French, found in the said Chartulary, were forgeries, and that Augusta Steward, a lawyer, to whom we owe the Chartulary, was the man who is believed to have concocted his pedigree in 1567.¹ This writer's contribution to the subject practically leaves the matter where it was. Walter, we think, was the son of Fleance, and Alan the son of Walter.

¹ Horace Round's Peerage and Family History.

WALTER,
FIRST STEWARD OF SCOTLAND,

A. D. 1066—1093.

FLEANCE, son of Bancho, thane of Lochaber, escaped from Macbeth to the Court of Wales only to meet at other hands the doom which he had sought to avoid. He is said to have been assassinated within a few years of his arrival on account of the jealousy of some of the Welsh lords, whose ill-will he had incurred by his attention to the Princess Nesta, daughter of the Welsh prince, the lady to whom he was married. Walter, the son of Fleance by this lady, was born in 1045, and spent his youth in his grandfather's Court, but as he grew to manhood he resolved to avenge his father's murder. He put to death Owen, the supposed culprit, and thereafter went to the Anglo-Saxon Court of Edward the Confessor. On a quarrel between him and Oddo, a retainer of Harold, the future king, he assassinated him. He was therefore, on account of this, obliged to take to flight again. Travelling from the Court of Edward to that of Alan, Duke of Brittany, he ultimately attached himself to that prince, to whom his mother Nesta was related. Following the example of his father, he fell in love with, and married Emma, the Duke's daughter, by whom he had a son named Alan. With his father-in-law he was at the battle of Hastings in 1066, and commanded a division on that memorable occasion. This event conveyed the crown from Harold (who succeeded Edward), who was slain at this battle, to William the Conqueror, who had treated Walter with peculiar favour, until he found that Walter was a supporter of Edgar Atheling, one of the Anglo-Saxon

kings. Edgar Atheling's sister Margaret was the wife of Malcolm Canmore. Walter determined therefore to go to Scotland, where he thought he would be welcome. He left the English Court in 1091, went to Normandy, but the Duke and he quarrelled, and he thereupon went to Scotland.

The men of Galloway did ravage and commit murders over that district. Walter, who had been received into favour with the King, was sent against the Galloway men, and Macduff against the other rebels, whilst the King himself was gathering forces. Walter slew the head of that faction, and so quelled the common soldiers that the King, on his return, made him Steward of Scotland for his gallant services. It was this officer's duty to collect the Crown revenues. He had a jurisdiction such as the sheriffs of counties had, and was practically a thane. He who was anciently called Abthane is now High Steward of Scotland: from this Walter the Stuarts took their beginning.¹

Buchanan is not considered a reliable historian, and it would be premature to accept his statement without verification. The words we have quoted, however, are important: referring as they do to a period of great antiquity, when records are not to be obtained. Buchanan is probably the only historian who says that this Walter was the first High Steward of Scotland. It is more probable that he was simply Steward of the King's household, and that the first High Steward of Scotland, the founder of Paisley Abbey, was appointed when the charter of Malcolm IV. was executed.²

¹ Buchanan.

² I have seen no evidence that such a person as Walter, Steward of Scotland, in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, did ever exist. In the reign of David I., before the middle of the twelfth century, the family of the Stewards was opulent and powerful. It may therefore have subsisted long previous to that time, but its commencement we cannot determine.—(Dalrymple.) (From the death of Malcolm to the accession of David was thirty years. If they were opulent in David's reign, they must have been in authority in the reign of Malcolm, David's father.)

Alan, or Alexander, one of the Abernethy family, was a man of the first rank in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, and married, tradition says, Ellen, daughter of Walter, the first Steward.¹ Hugh, Lord Abernethy, flourished in the reign of David I., and is mentioned in several charters and confirmations in the reign of William the Lion. Walter, who died in 1093, in the last year of the reign of Malcolm III., aged forty-eight years, left eight sons and three daughters by his wife Emma, daughter of the Duke of Brittany. Alan, his eldest son, succeeded him as the second Steward.

The whole of the public Records preserved in the Archives of Scotland at the death of Alexander III. were swept away by Edward I.; but of the intentional destruction of any of these there is no evidence. From the few which remain at the Chapter-House, Westminster, it seems probable that the rest have perished by neglect and the gradual ravages of time. None of the Records carried away by Edward are now to be found in Scotland. Different districts or provinces enjoyed the privilege of using peculiar laws and customs, but over all the King's Court had a right of control. In it David I. and William the Lion were accustomed to sit and judge in person. They also imposed laws in respect of disputed boundaries.²

Laws of David I.:—If within the sanctuary of any place, where the peace of the King or of the lord of the tenement be protected, any man through ill-will lifts his neave to strike another, and that may be proved by twa leal men, he shall give to the King four kye, and to him that he would have struck a cow; and if he strikes with his neave, not drawing blood, he shall give the King six kye, and to him that he struck two kye; and if he draws blood, he shall give to the King nine kye, and to him that he struck three kye; and if he slays him with his neave, he shall give the King twenty-nine kye and a young cow, and he shall compensate

¹ Douglas Peerage.

² Cosmo Innes.

the family of him that is slain, according as the Assize of the land shall ordain.¹

The appointment of Turgot to the bishopric of St. Andrews by Alexander I., in 1107, and the proceedings connected with the election and retirement of his successor, Eadmer, in 1120-21, are the earliest events of Scottish history where we have evidence of the concurrence of a national council which consisted of bishops, earls, and good men of the country.

Malcolm IV. was crowned at Scone, a ceremony which is not recorded of any of his predecessors. In 1160 he held a convention at Perth. In the following year he obtained a subsidy for the marriage of his sisters to the Counts of Brittany and Holland. This indicates a close connection with Brittany, the supposed cradle of the Stuarts. A Burgher Parliament, or Convention of Burghs, was one of the most remarkable institutions of these early times. In that Convention were voted the taxes which the burghs contributed for the wants of the State. The second period of the constitutional history of Scotland may be said to commence with the War of Independence, and disputed successions at the close of the thirteenth century, and to extend to the return of James I. from England in 1424.

¹ Acts of the Scottish Parliament.

ALAN,
SECOND STEWARD OF SCOTLAND,

A.D. 1093—1152.

ALAN, eldest son of Walter, was born in 1073, and in 1093, presumably, became the second Steward. He is recorded in the Douglas Peerage as being the second High Steward, the son of Walter, son of Fleance, son of Bancho, thane of Lochaber. It is reported of him that he joined the Crusaders in 1096, went to the Holy Land, and in 1099 was present at the memorable sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem. He returned in the reign of Edgar (1097-1107), and is said to have enjoyed great favour at the Courts of Edgar, Alexander I. and David I. We have no record of his administration, although he had the rare privilege of serving under three kings. He was a witness to various charters and donations in the reign of David I. There is a charter in connection with the Chapel Royal at Stirling respecting the disposal of tithes and dues of sepulture. Among the witnesses are Hugh de Moreville, Constable; Walter, son of Alan the second Steward; and David Olifard, Justiciar of Lothian. In a charter of excambion in the reign of William the Lion, among the witnesses are Richard de Moreville, Constable, and Alan, son of the Steward. This Alan became fourth Steward. Scotland, during the reign of Alan, the second Steward, was at peace. He was fortunate in being Steward under the three sons of Malcolm Canmore, who were among the wisest and most peaceful of our early kings. King David, whose reign extended to thirty years, gave the greater portion of his time to the foundation of abbeys and

monasteries. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Steward, in imitation of his Royal master at a time when the realm was at peace, resolved to accompany the Crusaders to the Holy Land.

By the style of Earl, Prince David is said to have kept Court at Carlisle for thirteen years, officially recognising that powerful magnate, Fergus, Lord of Galloway.

Fergus married Elizabeth, natural daughter of Henry I., and by this union became brother-in-law to Alexander, the Scottish King. Fergus was an able, powerful, and judicious ruler; a man of great force of character, with accomplishments in advance of his age. During his administration he built the priories of Whithorn, Tongland, and St. Mary's Isle; and the partition of Galloway into parishes was carried out by his skilful hand. He died in 1161 as a Canon Regular in the monastery of Holyrood, whither he had gone to spend the evening of his life. David I. had an only son, Prince Henry, who predeceased him. This prince, who was interred in Roxburgh Abbey, left issue by his wife Ada, daughter of the Earl of Surrey, three sons, who each had a distinguished career—Malcolm IV. the Maiden, William the Lion, and David, Earl of Huntingdon.¹ In the reign of David I., or more probably that of Malcolm IV., the offices of Steward and High Constable of Scotland became hereditary in the families of the Steward and De Moreville.²

The High Constable was originally, as the name implies, the officer who had charge of the Royal stables, who rose by degrees to be Commander-in-chief under the sovereign. The earliest High Constable on record was Edward, son of Siward. In 1318 Robert Bruce conferred the dignity in perpetuity on Sir Gilbert Hay of Errol for his eminent services to the State and his fidelity to the King. The Errol family still hold the honour, the present Earl being

¹ Agnew's Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway.

² Acts of the Scottish Parliament.

the 22nd High Constable of Scotland. The Earl Marischal was Master of the Horse. The Marischal would arrange the army in order of battle; he was the chief judge in the Courts of Chivalry to determine points of honour and arms; he was also considered a commander in the field. The Chancellor was President and Speaker of Parliament, examined and passed charters under the Great Seal, and he was also President of the Privy Council. The great Chamberlain, an office originally joined with that of Treasurer, collected, after the abolition of the thanages, the Royal revenues, and accounted for the expenditure. The authority of the magistrates, the use made of the property of the towns, the complaints and disputes of burgesses and craftsmen, and prices of provisions, were among the objects of his authority. His jurisdiction was extensive and his authority supreme.

During the administration of Alan, second Steward, we have preserved a curious paper, a charter of the gift of Ednaham by Thor, Lord of Tibbermore :

Translation.

To his dearest Lord, David the Earl, Thor, entirely his, wisheth health. Know, my Lord, that King Edgar, your brother, gave to me Ednaham, waste, which I, by his assistance and my own money, have inhabited, and have built from the foundation the church which your brother, the King, caused to be dedicated in honour of St. Cuthbert, and enlivened it with one *calvegh* of land. This same church I, for the souls of my Lord, King Edgar, and of your father and mother, and for your weal and that of King Alexander, and of Queen Matilda, have given to the aforesaid saint and his monks. Wherefore I pray you, as my dearest Lord, that, for the souls of your parents, and for the well-being of the living, that you grant this donation to St. Cuthbert, and the monks who shall

serve him, for ever.¹ (The date of this charter would be between 1107 and 1117.)

Alan, the second Steward, had a long lease of office, and it is a great misfortune that we have almost nothing recorded about him. For the administration of Scotland during his Stewardship, we must refer to the reigns of Edgar, Alexander I. and David I. He died in 1152, at the age of seventy-nine years, and was succeeded by his son Walter, the Steward who founded Paisley Abbey. Allan left issue three sons.

¹ National MSS. of Scotland.

CHAPTER II.

Walter, third Steward, and first High Steward of Scotland—Charter of Malcolm IV. confirming Office of High Steward—Second Charter to Walter by Malcolm IV., 1158—Foundation of Paisley Abbey and Foundation Charter—Second Charter of Walter, the Steward, to Paisley Abbey—Third Charter of Walter, dated at Fotheringay—Charter of the Lady Eschena, wife of Walter—Walter defeats and slays Somerled, Lord of the Isles—Dispersion of the property of the Abbey—Alan, fourth High Steward, 1177-1204—William the Lion, the Abbot of Scone, and the ransom—Foundation Charter of Inchaffray Abbey; The original Charter; the translation—Walter, fifth High Steward, 1204-1246—Foundation Charter of Dalmilling, Ayrshire—Charter of Walter, fifth High Steward, to the Monks of Melrose—The romantic marriage of King Robert Bruce's parents—Letter of Malise, Earl of Strathearn, to King Henry III.—Alan, Lord of Galloway, and High Constable of Scotland—John Baliol, and Devorgilla, founder of Baliol College—Foundation of Dundrennan Abbey.

WALTER,

FIRST HIGH STEWARD AND CHANCELLOR OF SCOTLAND.

A.D. 1152—1177

WALTER, the third Steward and first High Steward of Scotland, son of Alan, was born in 1108. He succeeded to the office of "Steward of the Household" on the death of his father in 1152, and before the death of King David, in 1153, he was recognised at Court as an able and intelligent minister. King David's son having predeceased his father, young Malcolm, the grandson of the King, succeeded to the throne in 1153. Malcolm was a youth of only twelve

years, and there seems little doubt that Walter administered the duties of the Crown during Malcolm's minority. Five years after Malcolm's succession Walter appears to have been appointed "High Steward of Scotland." This would be in recognition by the King of his highly responsible services to the State, for he evidently had all the authority of a regent. It is important, in discussing this question, to find, when we come to the reign of Malcolm IV., that we have more sure and substantial ground to go upon.

The appointment was accompanied by a charter bestowing the office on Walter and his descendants in perpetuity. This charter is a remarkable document, and we give a translation of it; it will be noticed that Walter, the High Steward, signs as "Chancellor," and that he is called *the son of Alan the Steward*.

CHARTER OF MALCOLM IV. TO WALTER, SON OF
ALAN THE STEWARD, MAKING HEREDITARY
THE OFFICE OF HIGH STEWARD OF SCOTLAND.

Malcolm, King of Scots, to the Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Justices, Sheriffs, Provosts, Ministers, and all other good men, cleric and laic, French and English, Scots and Gallowegians, of his whole dominions, both present and to come, greeting. Be it known to you all that after I have taken up arms I have granted, and by this my Charter have confirmed to Walter, son of Alan, my Steward, and to his heirs in fee and heritage, the donation which King David, my grandfather, gave to him, namely, Renfrew and Paisley, and Pollok and Tulloch, and Cathcart and Eaglesham, and Lochwinnoch and Innerwick, with all the pertinents of those lands. And likewise I have given to him heritably, and by this my Charter have confirmed, my Stewardship, to be held by him and his heirs of me and my heirs freely in fee and heritage as well, and as fully as King David gave and granted his Stewardship to him, and as freely and fully as he held it from him. Further, I myself have given in fee and heritage to the said Walter, and by this same

Charter have confirmed, for the service which he rendered to King David and myself, so far as King David held the same in his hand, and Inchinnan and Steintum, and Halestonesden and Legardswood and Birchinside. And, moreover, in each of my burghs, and in each of my choice domains throughout my whole land, a toft for building dwellings to himself, and with each toft 20 acres of land. Therefore it is my will, and I ordain that the said Walter and his heirs shall hold all the before-named in fee and heritage of me and my heirs, as well those which he possesses by the gift of King David as those which he has by my gift, with all their pertinents and rights; and by the correct meaths of all the before-named lands, freely and quietly, honourably and in peace, with sac and soc, and thool and theme, and infang thief¹ in towns, in quarries, in fields, in meadows, in pasturages, in moors, in waters, in mills, in fishings, in forests, in wood and plain, in roads and pathways, as any of my barons freely and quietly holds his fee of me. Rendering to me and my heirs from that fee the service of five knights.

Witnesses :

Arnold, Bishop of St. Andrews.	Philip de Colville.
Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow.	William de Somerville.
John, Abbot of Kelso.	Hugh Riddell.
William, Abbot of Melrose.	David Olifard.
Walter, The Chancellor.	Waldeve, son of Earl Gospatric.
William and David, King's brothers.	William de Moreville.
Earl Gospatric.	Baldwin of Mar.
Earl Duncan.	Liulf, son of Maccus.
Richard de Morville.	At the Castle of Roxburgh, on the feast of St. John the Baptist, in the 5th year of our reign—1158.
Gilbert de Umfraville.	
Robert de Bruce.	
Ralph de Soulis.	

¹“With sac and soc, and thool and theme, and infang thief.” These words mean the right of Barons to hold a court in their own domains, and summon and try their vassals in that court; also the right of sitting or holding serfs or servants, or those attached to the soil, in such a state of bondage that their children or goods might also be sold; also authority to arrest and punish thieves.

In the same year Walter received from King Malcolm the following charter of the lands of Birkinside and others :—

CHARTER BY MALCOLM IV. TO WALTER, SON OF ALAN, OF THE LANDS OF BIRCHINSIDE AND LEGARTSWOOD.

Malcolm, King of Scots, to the Bishops, Abbots, Earls and Barons, Justiciars, Sheriffs, Provosts and Ministers, French and English, Scots and Gallowegians, cleric and laic, and all the men of his whole realm, greeting. Know ye that after I have taken up arms I have given and granted, and by this my Charter have confirmed, to Walter, son of Alan, my Steward, Birchinside and Legartswood, by their right meaths as fully and entirely as King David, my grandfather, held the foresaid lands in lordship. I have also given to the said Walter, Molle, by its right meaths, and with all its just pertinents ; to be held and possessed by him and his heirs, of me and my heirs in fee and heritage, as freely and quietly, fully and honourably, as any earl or baron in the realm of Scotland holds and possesses any land of me. Rendering to me and my heirs from the said lands the service of one knight.

Witnesses :

Arnold, Bishop of St. Andrews.	William, brother of the King.
Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow.	Richard de Morville.
John, Abbot of Kelso.	Gilbert de Umfraville.
William, Abbot of Melrose.	Waldeve, son of Earl Gospatric.
Osbert, Abbot of Jedburgh.	Jordan, Riddel.
Walter, The Chancellor.	

At Roxburgh Castle (1162).

The next great event in Walter's career, so far as recorded, was one destined to play an important part in the future history of Scotland. This was the erection and endowment of Paisley Abbey in 1160, the greatest event that had occurred since the foundation of Dunfermline Abbey by Queen Margaret in the

previous century. Walter dedicated the foundation to St. James (and others), the special saint of the Stewards. He endowed it munificently with churches, fishings, lands, tithes, and other property, until the abbey became one of the wealthiest institutions of the time. At the Reformation the annual rent was £2,468 in money; 72 chalders and 4 bolls of meal; 40 chalders and 11 bolls barley; 44 chalders oats; and 708 stones (nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ tons) of cheese.¹

This was a princely foundation handed down to posterity, and marks Walter as one of the most distinguished of the High Stewards. In his official capacity he appears to have been a highly capable Steward, and after the death of Malcolm in 1165 was an indispensable minister to William the Lion. This event was followed by the erection of a Mausoleum at Paisley, where the Stewards were interred.

We are warranted in saying that this great work formed the chief event of Walter's life. The business-like way in which it was done is manifest from the various charters which the occasion called forth, some of which we reproduce. Considering the early date of these documents, they are drawn out with a skill and precision that would do honour to a later age. Their value lies in their antiquity, for they are among the most ancient historical papers we possess. The first charter was in the following terms:—

CHARTER OF FOUNDATION, MONASTERY OF PAISLEY,
1163 A.D., BY WALTER, THE HIGH STEWARD.

Be it known to all present and to come that I, Walter, the son of Alan, High Steward to the King of Scotland, for the soul of King David, King Henry, and Earl Henry; and also for the salvation of the body and soul of King Malcolm and myself, and of my wife and

¹ The abbey was endowed with large revenues by the High Stewards of Scotland, who were both patrons and constant benefactors to it. It had under its patronage no less than thirty churches.

my heirs ; also for the souls of all my ancestors and benefactors ; for the honour of God and the Blessed Virgin Mary ; erect a certain house of religion below my lands of Paisley (of the Order of the Brotherhood of Wenlock) viz., according to the Order of Cluny, with consent of the Convent of Wenlock for the erection of that house. I have thirteen of the Brotherhood of Wenlock, and the prior who of these thirteen is qualified for presiding over said house is to be chosen by me and my council. And if it happened that the prior, either by death or criminal transgression, be deposed from his office, he shall be deposed by me and my council ; he who succeeds him shall be chosen by me and my council. And for holding these privileges of the present house of Wenlock I will give in perpetual alms : one full measure of land in my burgh of Renfrew, and one fishing net for catching salmon in my waters, and one net for catching herring and one boat. And I will also give the monks of Paisley, in perpetual alms and exempt from every other temporal service, the church of Innerwick with the Mill thereof and its pertinents, except one chest of silver in it, which I have given Randolf of Kent ; and the church of Legerwood with all its pertinents and one carucate of land, and the church of Cathcart with its pertinents, and all the churches in Strathclyde except the church of Inchinnan and the church of Paisley, with its pertinents, carucates of land, measured and meithed upon the water of Cart hard by the church ; and that land lying beyond the Cart which I and Alan my son meithed to them ; and that portion of land which is below the sleeping-place of the monks ; and the whole Inch near my town of Renfrew, with the fishing between that Inch and Partick and one full toft in said burgh, and half a mark of silver of the revenue of that burgh for the light of the church ; and the Mill of Renfrew with the land where the monks formerly lived, and that carucate of land which is between Cart and Clyde. I have also given and confirmed to them the church of

Prestwick, and that whole land which Donald, the son of Ewen, measured to them between the land of Simon Lockhart and Prestwick as far as Pul-Prestwick, and by Pul-Prestwick as far as the sea, and from the sea along the river between the land of Arnold and Prestwick as far as the marches of Simon Lockhart and the church of my burgh of Prestwick; and the whole salt-pit in Calender which belonged to Hector Cameron. I have further given them four shillings out of the Mill of Paisley for the light of the church; and the privilege of grinding there without multure, and the tenth of that mill and of all the mills which I have. I have, moreover, granted them the tenth of all my muirs, and of all my lands below my forest of Paisley, which have been improved, or may be improved, and pasture thereon for their cattle. And to this foresaid charity of mine I moreover grant with its privileges and liberties sac and soc, thol and theme. In presence of these witnesses :

Engelram, Bishop of Glasgow,
Chancellor.
Richard, Bishop of St. Andrews.
John, Abbot of Kelso.
Osbert, Abbot of Jédburgh.
Mr. Mark Salomon, Deacon.
Elias, the Clerk.
Robert, of Montgomery.
Baldwin, of Biggar.
Robert, of Costenten.

Geoffrey, of Costenten.
Alexander, of Hastings.
Robert, son of Fulbert.
Hugh, of Padvinan.
Richard Wallace.
Robert Crock.
Roger Ness.
Richard, my clerk, and many
others.¹

There was a second charter by Walter, which gives more details respecting the property, etc., of the abbey. It was in these terms :—

Be it known, etc. : I have given and granted for the soul of Henry, King of England, and for the souls of David and King Malcolm and Earl Henry, and my departed forefathers, and for the spiritual welfare of my lord, King William, and David his brother, and of myself,

¹ Crawford's Genealogical History of the Stewarts.

my wife, and my heirs in perpetual alms, free from all temporal service, the church of Innerwick, with all its possessions, and the mill of Innerwick except a mark of silver in it which I have given Randolf of Kent ; and the church of Legerwood with all its possessions, and one carucate of land in Hassendean which Walter the chaplain held, and the church of Cathcart with all its possessions, and the churches in Strathclyde with all their belongings except the church of Inchinnan (already bestowed by David I. on the Knights Templar), and that carucate of land which Grimketel held with the boundaries by which he held it ; and the Drip with all its possessions by land and water, according to the boundaries by which William held it ; and the church of Paisley with all its possessions, and two carucates of land about the River Cart beside the church, and that portion of land which is below the dormitory of the monks, and all the land which Scerlo held, according to its boundaries, with that house above the rock where my hall was built ; and the whole island near my town of Renfrew, with the fishing between that island and Perthec, and a full toft in Renfrew, and half a mark of silver from the rent of that burgh for lighting the church ; and a net for salmon, and the mill of Renfrew, and where the monks first dwelt, and that carucate of land between the Cart and Clyde, and the church of Prestwick, with all that land which Donald the son of Ewen measured for them between the land of Simon Loccard (Lockhart), and the land of Prestwick as far as Pul-Prestwick ; and along Prestwick as far as the sea ; from the sea by the water between the land of Arnold and the land of Prestwick to the boundaries of Simon Loccard ; and the church of my burgh of Prestwick with all its possessions, and the salt-pit in Calender which belonged to Herbert the Chamberlain. I have given and confirmed a full tenth of my hunting, with the skins and all the skins of the deer which I slay in my forest of Fereneze ; and four shillings from the mill of Paisley for the lighting of the church. And that they may

grind there without multure next to him whom they may find grinding there, except when I myself am grinding the corn which comes from my own granary. And besides this, a full tenth of my mill of Paisley, and of all the mills which I have or may have hereafter. I have given to them, and by this charter have confirmed to them, a full tenth of all my waste lands, and lands in my forest which have been or will be reclaimed; and all the privileges of my forest of Paisley, and the same right of pasture as belongs to me and mine. In addition to this foresaid charity of mine, I grant and confirm these privileges:—Right to fines and to hold courts; freedom from tolls and customs; and to hold slaves and punish thieves.

Witnesses :

Engelram, Bishop of Glasgow.	Robert de Costentin.
Richard, Bishop of St. Andrews.	Geoffrey de Costentin.
John, Abbot of Kelso.	Robert, son of Fulbert.
Osbert, Abbot of Jedburgh.	Ewen, son of Donald.
Master Mark Salomon, Deacon.	Walter de Costentin.
Elia, Clerk.	Niel de Costentin.
Master John.	Alexander de Hesting.
Alan, my son.	Hugh de Padvinan.
Robert de Montgumbri.	Richard Wal :
Baldovin de Biggar.	Robert Croc :
Roger de Ness.	Richard, my clerk.

And many others.

This charter was evidently issued in the reign of William the Lion between 1165 and 1214, and it is a separate and distinct charter from the previous one, which was issued in the reign of Malcolm IV.

Walter was at great pains to encourage the finishing of the beautiful abbey and church of Paisley. It is recorded that he lived, an illustrious example of piety and virtue, in the uninterrupted favour of King David, King Malcolm, and King William; that he was the ornament of the Court in time of peace, and a faithful servant of the Crown in time of war. From David I. he got a charter of confirmation of the Barony of Renfrew, Kyle, and other lands, bestowed by Malcolm III. on

his grandfather, Walter, the first Steward. By marriage with Eschena de Londonia, Walter obtained the baronies of Molle and Huntlaw, in the county of Roxburgh. This lady was also a benefactor to the abbeys of Kelso and Paisley. On Kelso she bestowed the patronage of the church of Molle for the salvation of her soul, and that of Walter, the son of Alan, her husband (*see* Charter which follows), and to Paisley she gave, in pure alms, one carucate of land, with pasturage for 500 sheep, for the soul of King William, and his brother David, Earl of Huntingdon.

Sir David Dalrymple acknowledges that Walter, the third Steward, who lived in the reign of David I. and Malcolm IV., and who founded the Abbey of Paisley, "was indeed Steward of Scotland"; but no historian doubts that. There are still extant many deeds and charters of the kings of Scotland in which *Walterus filius Alani* (Walter, son of Alan, founder of Paisley) is one of the witnesses; particularly there are in the Scots' College at Paris—charter by David I. in favour of the church of Glasgow, dated from Cadzow (no year)—witnesses: *Walterus filius Alani*, etc. There are other two charters to St. Mungo's Church by David I., wherein *Walterus filius Alani* is also witness. Though these charters have no precise date, they were evidently granted in 1153, the year of Walter's appointment to the Stewardship, and the year of David's death. There is also in the Scots' College at Paris a charter by Henry, son of David I., who predeceased his father, in favour of the church of St. John, of Roxburgh Castle, granted at Traquair (no date). Among the witnesses are *Walterus filius Alani*; also two charters of Malcolm IV. (1153-65), to which Walter is a witness. One of these is dated at Jedburgh. There is also a charter of Ricardus de Moreville, *Constabularius Regni Scotiæ*, in which the first witness is *Walterus filius Alani*. This charter, though not dated, was to take effect from 1170 and continue fifteen years.¹ At the Court of William, he

¹ Symson's Genealogical Account of the Stuarts.

signed many charters as a witness, *e.g.*, *Walterus filius Alani, dapifer meus*; and specially the Foundation Charter of the Priory of May, in the Island of Lochleven. In the appendix subjoined to an essay as to the origin of the Stuarts by Richard Hay (1722) there is a charter by Eschena, wife of *Walterus, filius Alani*, by which she gives to the monks of Paisley, for the souls of the persons therein named, one carucate of land in Roxburghshire, and the pasturage of 500 sheep. Amongst the witnesses are *Walterus filius Alani*, described *Dominus meus*, and *Alanus filius ejus*. In the "Chronicle of Melrose" it is recorded: *Anno Domini 1177 obiit Walterus, filius Alani, dapifer regis Scotiæ qui fundavit Pasleto [Paisley], cujus beata anima vivit in gloria.*¹ Charters of that period are important; we have had those from Richard Hay's book translated.

CHARTER BY WALTER, THE SON OF ALAN,
FOUNDING THE MONASTERY OF PAISLEY.

Know all men present and to come that I, Walter, the son of Alan, Steward of the King of Scotland, for the souls of King David, King Henry, and Earl Henry, and the souls of all my forefathers and benefactors, as also for the salvation of the soul and body of King Malcolm and of myself, to the honour of God, with the help of His grace, do found a certain religious house within my land of Paisley, according to the order of the friars of Wenlock, viz., according to the order of the friars of Cluny, with the common consent of the prior and Convent of Wenlock. For the construction of that house I have thirteen friars from the house of Wenlock, and the prior who shall be appointed from these thirteen to rule the said house shall be elected by me and my council; and should it happen that the said prior, even by criminal collusion, be deposed from his priorate, he shall be deposed by me and by my council, and he who is to succeed him in the said priorate shall be elected by me and my council. And

¹ Andrew Stuart's "History of the Stuarts."

thus it shall be, if among these friars of this house which I shall found, there can be found a discreet and fit person to undertake this dignity ; but if not, whomsoever I will, I shall elect of the friars of the said house of Wenlock, the prior excepted, for ruling this house which I shall establish. And so this house shall not in any way be dependent on the house of Wenlock save only as regards the recognition of the order. These freedoms, however, the prior and convent of Wenlock shall obtain for me from the abbot of the monks of Cluny, and from the prior of La Charité who shall, by their charters confirm the said freedoms to the religious men of Paisley. And for the having of these freedoms I shall bestow in perpetual alms upon the foresaid house of Wenlock a full toft in my burgh of Renfrew, and a fishing net for taking salmon in my own waters, and six nets for taking herring, and a little boat. And these freedoms shall be maintained unchanged between me and the friars of Wenlock, and others of the order of Cluny ; and after my death between my heirs and the foresaid friars, present and to come.

Witnesses :

Engelram, Chancellor of the King of Scotland.	Simon, brother of Engelram the Chancellor.
Ælred, Abbot of Rievaulx.	Robert de Costentin.
Simon, the Cellarer of Wardun.	Simon, brother of Walter, son of Alan.
Richard, Chaplain of the King of Scotland.	

At Fotheringay.

CHARTER BY LADY ESCHENA, WIFE OF WALTER,
OF THE LAND OF MOLLA.

Eschena, wife of Walter, son of Alan, Steward of the King of Scotland, to all the sons of Holy Mother Church present and to come, greeting. Know ye that I have given and granted, and by this my charter have confirmed to God and the blessed Mary, and the Church of St. James, St. Mirren, and St. Milburga of Paisley, and the prior of that place, and the monks there serving God

according to the order of Cluny, for the salvation of my Lord, King William, his brother David, and my Lord Walter, and for the salvation of myself and our heirs; as also for the soul of Henry, King of England, and for the souls of King David and King Malcolm and Earl Henry, and for the soul of Margaret, my daughter, who lies buried in the Chapter-House at Paisley, and for the souls of all our forefathers and friends, in perpetual and peaceful alms, one carucate of land in Molle, by those bounds by which it has been measured and perambulated; also pasturage for 500 sheep, and accommodation for another herd so far as pertains to one carucate of land in the said town, with all other easements, free and quit from all customs, exactions, and free of all secular service, and as freely quit and honourably as any abbacy in the whole kingdom of Scotland holds any possession granted to it in perpetual alms. And that this donation may remain sure and steadfast I confirm it, by this my charter, and by the appending of the seal of my Lord Walter, I grant these things aforesaid confirmed to the before-named monks for ever.

Witnesses :

Walter, son of Alan, my lord.
 Alan, his son.
 Osbert, Chaplain of Okeham.
 Luke, the Chaplain.
 Helya, the Chaplain.
 Walter, Clerk of Molle.
 Richard, the Clerk.
 James the Clerk.
 John, the son of Horum, who,
 with Ædulph, the Provost of
 that town, and Gilbert, and
 other good men, at my com-
 mand perambulated the said
 land measured off to the
 monks.

Walter de Costantin.
 Neil, his brother.
 Robert de Montgomery.
 Rotheland de Merness.
 William de Lanark.
 Walter, the Chamberlain.
 Walter, son of Robert.
 Alan, the Chamberlain.
 Alan de Leia.
 Richard, his brother.
 Rodulph, the Provost; Robert
 Crok.
 Robert, son of Fulbert; Simon
 Flamench.
 Robert, nephew of the Prior.

Molla, or Molle, is in the parish of Morebattle, Roxburgh. Eschena married first, Robert de Crok, and

secondly, Walter, the High Steward, ancestor of the House of Stuart.

In 1164 Walter, in the course of his administration, fought and defeated Somerled, Lord of the Isles, in his descent on the Barony of Renfrew, when Somerled was slain. In this engagement the King's troops were commanded by Walter, the High Steward. After this engagement Walter is found in possession of the whole of Strathclyde (Renfrewshire, etc.), and the western half of Kyle, in Ayrshire, lying between Irvine Water on the north, and the Ayr and Lugar Waters on the south. The district of Kyle took from him the name of Kyle Stewart. On his vast estates Walter encouraged the settlement of many Normans and others whose descendants were destined in after years to play an important part in the history of Scotland. Prominent among these were the Montgomerys, whose ancestor, Robert Montgomery, obtained from the Steward a grant of the lands of Eglinton. From him descended the Earls of Eglinton, through Sir John Montgomery, who captured Hotspur Percy at Otterburn. Surnames came into general use at this period; in the matter of orthography, the word "Steward" was spelled "Steward," and frequently "Stewart," of Scotland; the substitution of "u" for "w," and the omission of the "e," belong to the period of Robert III. and James I. The form "Steuart" is simply a compromise between the original and the new method, and is perhaps traceable to a connection with France. Walter, the High Steward, died in 1177, in the reign of William the Lion, and was interred in Paisley Abbey before the high altar. He left issue, by his wife Eschena, Alan and Margaret, and a second son.

The whole estates of the abbey were after the Reformation diverted from the purposes of religion, for the benefit of which the Stewards had divested themselves, and were converted into a temporal Lordship in favour of Lord Claud Hamilton, the Commendator, from whom are descended the Dukes of Abercorn.

Lord Claud Hamilton was the fourth son of James, second Earl of Arran, and was appointed Commendator of Paisley on the resignation in 1553 of his kinsman, John Hamilton, who was Archbishop of St. Andrews in succession to Cardinal Beaton. He was a devoted supporter of Queen Mary, and fought on her behalf at Langside in 1568. For this he was outlawed by the regent, Moray. In the regency of Morton he fled to England, though his forfeiture had been repealed by act of the Scottish Parliament. King James VI. bestowed on Lord Claud and his heirs male, the lordship and barony of Paisley, with the property of the abbey and monastery—anno 1585—and created him Lord Paisley. This was doubtless for his loyalty and devotion to the King's mother. Lord Claud's eldest son, James Hamilton, a man of great ability, was created Baron Abercorn in 1603, and first Earl of Abercorn in 1606, as also a Lord of the Privy Council. He died in 1618, having predeceased Lord Claud, his father, by three years. Walter died, as already stated, in 1177.

ALAN,
FOURTH STEWARD AND SECOND HIGH
STEWARD,

A.D. 1177—1204.

THE succession of Alan to the High Stewardship followed on the death of his father Walter, just recorded. Alan, who was born in 1140, succeeded to office in 1177, and though our records of him are not numerous, what is recorded indicates that he was no less a personality of the time than was his distinguished father. The duties of his office brought him into daily communication with the King, and he took an active and prominent part in the King's welfare, and in that of the realm. He was evidently consulted by the King (William the Lion), and permitted to give advice to his Royal master. His second son, David (Marescallus), was one of the guarantors of Alexander for the performance of an engagement which that King came under in 1219 to the King of England, obliging himself to marry Joan, eldest daughter of King John, if she could be obtained; if not, to marry her sister Isobel. The King married Joan. David, who was thus one of the King's guarantors, must have been a man of high rank: and the name of Steward, having at that time been confined to the family of the High Steward, would give him a position of distinction at the Court of the Scottish King. Alan's wife is recorded as being Eva, the daughter of Swane, the son of Thor, Lord of Tibbermore,¹ an ancient family of whom we have practically no records. Alan is recorded to have been rather a grave and serious man, active, zealous, and much respected:

¹ Duncan Stewart.

he is said to have been present with his father at the overthrow of Somerled, Lord of the Isles, and to have been early initiated into the stratagems of war. Along with David, Earl of Huntingdon, he accompanied Richard Cœur de Lion to the Holy War, and was present at the siege of Ptolemais in 1191. Returning to Scotland, he is recorded to have suppressed a rebellion in Moray, the leader of which, the Earl of Caithness, fell by the Steward's sword afterwards at an engagement near Inverness. It is recorded in the Douglas Peerage that from 1179, when Harold, the second Earl of Caithness, was attainted, until 1222, when the honours were bestowed by Alexander II. on Magnus, son of the Earl of Angus, the earldom was vacant. The statement, therefore, about a rebellion led by the Earl of Caithness shortly after 1191, must be a fable. There was, however, in 1187 an engagement, when one Donald Bane, seized the county of Ross, wasted Moray, and was slain in battle near Inverness by Roland, Lord of Galloway, who led the Royalists. Another writer states that Alan's wife (evidently a second marriage) was Alcestor, daughter of Morgund, fifth Earl of Mar, and that he had issue one son Walter, who succeeded him, and another son David. This of course is a conjectural statement. Alan was a notable benefactor to religious houses. From motives of pious zeal, great persons at that period were lavish in their acts of charity in making liberal provision for the monks who had gained so far upon the minds of the people by an outward show of holiness, everyone believing that the prayers of so many devout men assembled in one place would be more effectual than the devotion of a single priest, to invoke the Divine blessing on the benefactor. Good works were so generally believed, that they thought the bestowing a part of God's liberality to them on His servants and the Church was a ready way to atone for a sinful life and insure their entrance into Paradise. Many of the early kings and great men, such as the High Stewards, frequently mortified churches of which they were patrons with endowments of lands and

tithes. The charters we have reproduced will illustrate this.

Alan, the High Steward, in charters, is designated *Alanus filius Walteri, dapifer meus*; and *Alanus filius Walteri, dapifer regis Scotorum*. Alan gave many donations to the monasteries of Melrose and Kelso; and to the Canons of St. Andrews a donation of land for the salvation of the souls of King David and King Malcolm, and for those of himself and his wife. These grants indicate that the High Stewards were men of means and influence, and extensive owners of property. The Chartulary of Paisley bears strong testimony to the piety and munificence of Alan. He gave the monks the right of fishing in Lochwinnoch, and confirmed to them the churches in Bute. This island had been granted him in his father's lifetime. In the eyes of Churchmen it was a sacred spot. Thither, in the beginning of the seventh century had come, it is said, St. Blane, in a boat without oars. Here he had ruled as bishop and wrought many miracles, and on the headland of Kingarth had placed his church, which was associated for centuries with his presence and regarded with the greatest reverence. The custody of this sanctuary, with all its revenues, Alan, the High Steward, gave to Paisley for the souls of his father and his mother Eschena. The church of Kingarth, with its chapels and parish, with the whole lands of which the boundaries said to have been fixed by St. Blane are still apparent from sea to sea. This was his last gift to the church.¹

There are two charters in the Scots' College at Paris granted by William the Lion, to which one of the witnesses is *Alanus, dapifer*; also a charter by William confirming an agreement between the bishop of Glasgow and Robert Bruce regarding certain lands and charters in Annandale. This charter is dated at Lanark, and *Alanus, dapifer*, is one of the witnesses; he also witnesses a convention or agreement between the bishop of Glasgow and Roger de Valence concerning the church

¹ Cameron Lees' "Paisley Abbey."

of Kilbride. There are various other charters extant wherein Alan is described *filius Walteri, dapifer*, and particularly that mentioned in the Foundation Charter of Paisley Abbey, and in others recorded in the Chartulary of Paisley.

Alan died in 1204, in the fortieth year of the reign of William, and was interred in Paisley Abbey before the high altar.

In 1189, during the Stewardship of Alan, and immediately on the death of Henry II., there was the memorable event of the release of William the Lion from his obligations to England, the restitution of his castles and fortresses, and all proofs of homage remaining in the hands of the English King, Richard Cœur de Lion, in terms of the treaty of Falaise. The price of this restitution, which secured the independence of Scotland, was 10,000 marks. What the sterling value of the mark at that period was is very uncertain on account of the frequent change of currency, but the gross amount represented a large sum of money. Whatever the amount might be, William could not pay it without an appeal to the people for assistance. In what manner this appeal was issued we do not know, but there is a curious ordinance on the subject directed by King William to the Abbey and Clergy of Scone, and recorded in the Chartulary of Scone, which was in the following terms :—

Mando et firmiter praecipio, ut ubicunque Abbas de Scone, aut serviens ejus, invenire poterit homines, qui pro auxilio a terra sua fugerint, postquam auxilium assisum fuerit apud Musselburgh, ad eum et ad terram suam redeant, et cum eo sint quousque auxilium reddetur; et prohibeo firmiter, ne eos ei injuste aliquis detineat super meam plenam forisfacturam; ita tamen quod, si aliquis aliquod jus in eis clamaverit, post solutionem auxilii, ei rectum inde teneatur.

A free translation of this would be: I order and strictly enjoin that wherever the Abbot of Scone or his

servants shall be able to find men who have fled from their territories because of the tax after the tax has been adjudged at the convention at Musselburgh, these men shall return to him, and to his territories, and remain with him till the tax is paid. I strictly forbid that anyone in my dominions unjustly detain them; yet if anyone shall claim any right in them it must be after payment of the tax. The witnesses are Hugh de Moreville, Cancellarius, and Malcolm, son of Duncan, sixth Earl of Fife. It is evident from this ordinance, dated probably 1203, that the Abbot and Clergy of Scone contributed a substantial share of this ransom, and reimbursed themselves by imposing a capitation tax on the inhabitants in their territories or under their jurisdiction; and that this tax was so heavy as to cause some of the inhabitants to escape from the district in order to elude payment.

An event of considerable moment took place during the close of Alan's administration, and that was the foundation and endowment of the Abbey of Inchaffray, in the county of Perth, in the district of Strathearn, by Gilbert, third Earl of Strathearn. The abbey was erected in 1200, in the reign of William the Lion. Unlike the Abbey of Paisley, it cannot be said that Inchaffray has disappeared, for its ecclesiastical library still remains a memorial of that ancient foundation. The Foundation Charter of Inchaffray has been considered by antiquarian students to have been lost along with other Scottish National MSS. during the War of Independence or the Civil Wars of the Stuart period; but this important and most interesting relic of antiquity has just been discovered—1906 (by the Hist. MSS. Com.) amongst the archives of the Earl of Kinnoull in Dupplin Castle. Its discovery is of great importance to Scottish history, and to our Scottish national literature. We give the original text of the charter, also a translation, as we are sure both versions will be keenly studied by students of our National Annals.

FOUNDATION CHARTER OF INCHAFFRAY.

CARTA GILBERTI COMITIS DE STRATHERYN.

In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui coequalis et coeternus est Deo Patri et Spiritui Sancto, Ego Gilbertus filius Ferthet, Dei indulgentia Comes de Stratheryn, et ego Matildis filia Willelmi de Aubegni comitissa, inspirante gratia divina, volentes in feodo nostro et patrimonio ecclesiam Dei exaltare et ad Dei cultum sancte religionis ibidem plantaria inserere, assentientibus devotioni nostre venerabilibus Episcopis nostris Johanne Dunkeldensi et Jonatha Dunblanensi, liberisque nostris militibus et thanis concedentibus, damus concedimus et tradimus Incheafferen, quod latine dicitur Insulam missarum, domino nostro Jesu Christo et beate Marie genetrici ejus sanctoque Johanni Apostolo, liberam solutam et quietam ab omni exactione servicio consuetudine et subjectione seculari ea voluntate et intentione, qua aliquis locus in toto regno Scottorum liberius solutius quociens et honorificentius divino cultui et sancte religioni deputatur, eamque cum omnibus possessionibus quas hactenus ei per nos sive per alios fideles divina largitas contulit vel amodo collatura est custodie et dispensationi domini Malicii p. . . . et emerite committimus de ipsius discretione et religione plurimum confidentes. Unde volumus ut idem Malicius libera utatur facultate quoscunque voluerit secum aggregandi, et eos secundum regulam sancti Augustini eo quem potius statuerit modo ad Dei servitium informandi. Post decessum vero illius ex parte Dei prohibemus ne aliquis omnino per cupiditatem congregationi illius loci se preponat nisi quem fratrum concors electio per assensum nostrum sibi preposuerit, nec aliquis sive Episcopus sit sive heres noster presumat inibi aliquem contra meram fratrum voluntatem intrudere —locum enim eundem ita dilectum habemus quod in eo nobis et successoribus nostris sepulturam eligimus et jam primogenitum nostrum ibidem sepelivimus. Deo

igitur et sancte Marie semper Virgini et Sancto Johanni apostolo, ejusdem procuratori, et prefato Malisio et omnibus in predicta insula Deo servientibus et servituris, ecclesias et possessiones subscriptas damus et concedimus, et presentis scripti munimine per impressionem sigilli nostri confirmamus: ecclesiam sancti Kattani de Aberruotheven, ecclesiam sancti Ethirnani de Maddyruin, ecclesiam sancti Patricii de Strafketh, ecclesiam sancti Mechesseok de Eochterardouar, ecclesiam sancti Beani de Kynkell, decimam omnium cannorum nostrorum et reddituum nostrorum in frumento farina brasio grano caseis et omnibus cibariis que annuatim expenduntur in curia nostra, et decimam totius piscis que ad coquinam nostram defertur, et decimam venationis nostre et decimam omnium lucrorumque proveniant de placitis nostris et de obventionibus omnimodis; licentiam quoque piscandi in ferin quando et quoquo voluerint, et capiendi in nemoribus nostris ubicunque sibi magis oportunum fuerit materiem ad edificationem domorum suarum et utensilium et ad pastum ignis, et tres acras terre illius que proxima est insule versus aquilonem quas dedimus ad dedicationem capelle ipsius. Hic igitur omnia cum omnibus ad ea pertinentibus volumus ut prefatus Malisius, et universi cum eo vel post eum in prefata insula Deo servientes et servituri in pace Dei et domini regis et nostra, teneant et possideant de nobis et heredibus nostris in puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro salute nostra et liberorum nostrorum et omnium amicorum nostrorum et pro animabus omnium antecessorum nostrorum, et precipue pro anima Gillecrist primogeniti nostri ibidem quiescentis ita libere quiete plenarie et honorifice, sicut aliqua domus religionis in toto regno Scottorum suas possessiones liberius quietius plenarius et honorificentius tenet et possidet. Omnibus vero nostris ex parte Dei et nostra firmiter prohibemus ne quisquam eorum eidem loco vel ejus ministris sive etiam pro pace querenda ad eum confugientibus aliquid molestie vel injurie inserat super nostram plenariam forisfacturam;

quicumque vero amicorum vel fidelium hominum nostrorum eidem loco aliqua de suis facultatibus caritative contulerit, conferat ei dominus bona in terra viventium. Facta est hac confirmatio anno ab Incarnatione Domini millesimo CC^{mo} indictione tertia anno regni regis Willelmi XXXV^o ab obitu prenominati filii nostri Gillecrist anno secundo; obiit autem tertio nonas Octobris. Hujus autem donationis et confirmationis sunt testes hii: Rogerus Episcopus Sancti Andree; Johannes Episcopus Dunkeldensis; Jonathas Episcopus Dunblanensis; Henricus, Abbas de Abbybrothok; Reimbaldus, Abbas de Scone; Robertus, Abbas de Dunfermlyn; Robertus de Quincy; Sejerus de Quincy; Malisius, frater comitis; Willelmus, Ferthead, Robertus, filii comitis; Gillimes, dapifer; Malisius filius ejus; Constantinus judex; Dunecanus filius Malicii; Anechol, theinus de Dunine; Gillecrist Gall', Nigellus de Dolpatrick; Tristrannus; Constantinus pincerna; Henricus Rennarius.

Translation.

CHARTER OF GILBERT,¹ EARL OF STRATHEARN.

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is co-equal and co-eternal with God the Father and the Holy Spirit, I, Gilbert, son of Ferthet by the kindness of God, Earl of Strathearn; and I, Matilda, daughter of William of Albemarle, Countess, by the suggestion of Divine grace, being desirous of advancing the Church of God within our domain and patrimony, and to sow such plants therein as shall spring up to the service of God in holy religion, our venerable bishops, John of Dunkeld and Jonathan of Dunblane assenting to our pious wish, and our children, knights, and thanes, being agreeable thereto, do give, grant, and make over Inchaffray, which in Latin is called the

¹ This was Gilbert, third Earl of Strathearn.



Isle of Masses, to our Lord Jesus Christ and the blessed Mary, His Mother, and to St. John the Apostle, free, discharged and quit from every exaction, servitude, custom, and secular imposition, with that same will and intention as any place in the whole realm of Scotland is freely, safely, quietly and honourably set apart for the Divine worship and holy religion, and that with all the possessions which hitherto the Divine bounty has conferred upon it, either through us or others of the faithful, or which hereafter shall be conferred upon it, and we commit the keeping and dispensing thereof to Sir Malise, priest and hermit, in whose discretion and piety we have the fullest confidence. Therefore it is our will that the said Malise shall freely use this power for gathering together with him whomsoever he desires and of instructing them for the service of God, according to the rule of St. Augustine, in that way which he shall consider best. And after his death, in the name of God, we forbid anyone through covetousness to place himself at the head of the congregation of that place, other than him whom the unanimous election of the friars, with our consent, shall have placed over them; nor shall any, whether it be the bishop or our heir, presume to intrude anyone therein against the ascertained will of the friars. For we hold the said place in such esteem that we have chosen it to be the burial-place of ourselves and our successors, and there we have already buried our eldest son; therefore we give and grant to God and St. Mary, ever Virgin, and to St. John the Apostle, her Procurator, and to the foresaid Malise, and all serving and who shall serve God in the foresaid Isle, the churches and possessions under-written, and we confirm the same by corroborating this present writ by the impression of our seal—the church of Saint Kattan of Aberuthven, the church of Saint Ethirnan of Maddyruin, the church of Saint Patrick of Strageath, the church of Saint Meckessok of Auchterarder, the church of Saint Bean of Kinkell;

the teind of all our canes and our rents in corn, meal, malt, grain, cheese, and provisions of all kinds which are bought yearly in our Court, and the teind of the whole fish which are brought to our kitchen, and the teind of our hunting, and the teind of all the emoluments which arise from our law pleas, and other chances of all kinds, with liberty also of fishing in the Pefferin when and wheresoever they will, and of taking in our woods wheresoever it seems most fitting material for the construction of their houses and utensils and for fuel; also three acres of that land which is nearest to the Isle on the north side, which we bestow for the dedication of the said chapel. All these, therefore, with all that pertains to them, it is our will that the foresaid Malise and all serving God, or who shall serve God with him and after him in the foresaid Isle, shall possess and hold in the peace of God, of the King and ourselves, of us and our heirs, in pure and perpetual alms for the salvation of our souls, the souls of our children and all our friends, and for the souls of all our predecessors, and especially for the soul of Gilchrist, our first-born resting there, as freely, quietly, fully and honourably, as any house of religion in the whole kingdom of the Scots holds and possesses its property. And all our dependents, in the name of God, and in our own name, we straitly command, upon pain of utter forfeiture, that none of them do any injury to the said place, or to its ministers, or even molest any who shall be fleeing thereto for protection. But whosoever of our friends or faithful retainers shall bestow on this place of his means or charity, on him may the Lord bestow good things in the land of the living. This, our confirmation, was granted in the year of our Lord 1200, the third indiction, and thirty-fifth year of the reign of King William, being the second year since the death of our before-named son Gilchrist, who died on 5th October.

Of this, our donation and confirmation, the following are witnesses :

Roger, Bishop of St. Andrews.
 John, Bishop of Dunkeld.
 Jonathan, Bishop of Dunblane.
 Henry, Abbot of Arbroath.
 Reimbald, Abbot of Scone.
 Robert, Abbot of Dunfermline.
 Robert de Quincy ; Seier de Quincy.
 Malise, brother of the Earl.
 William, Ferthead, & Robert, sons of the Earl.

Gillimes, the Steward.
 Malise, his son.
 Constantine, the Judge.
 Duncan, son of Malise.
 Anechol, Thane of Dunning.
 Gilchrist Gall.
 Nigel de Dolpatrick.
 Tristan.
 Constantine the butler.
 Henry Rennarius.

WALTER,

FIFTH STEWARD AND THIRD HIGH STEWARD AND JUSTICIAR OF SCOTLAND,

A.D. 1204—1246.

THE High Stewards, one by one, passed away to their account, and though the monks of old were the writers of history at that early period, they have given us marvellously little in the shape of narrative respecting any of these distinguished Scotsmen. We have thereby a great blank in Scottish history, and although writers on the subject do their utmost in the way of research to acquire material for an intelligent biography, the result must always be disappointing, while the information given must in many respects be conjectural and of doubtful authority. Walter, the fifth Steward and third High Steward, was the son and successor of Alan, the fourth Steward. He was born in 1173, and in 1204 succeeded his father. Walter was the first who imposed Senescallus or Stewart as surname on his younger children, which before was limited to the representative of the line. This is the Walter designated of Dundonald. He gave to the religious house of Balmerino an acre of land in the burgh of Perth, and was a great benefactor to convents and bishops' sees. He was by Alexander II. in 1230 created Lord Justiciar of Scotland, after which his designation as a witness was *Walterus filius Alani, Senescallus et Justiciarius Scotiae*. This was additional to the office of High Steward. One of Walter's greatest efforts was the defeat in 1235 of a rebellion that was got up in Galloway connected with the division of property. In

this he displayed all the courage and gallantry of his ancestors. In 1238 he was commissioned to proceed to France as the King's ambassador, to negotiate a marriage between Alexander II. and Mary, daughter of the Count de Coucy. He also accompanied the lady on her voyage to Scotland: this was the King's second wife. His first wife, Joan, died without issue. The King, from all accounts, was unwilling to marry again, but he was desired to do so by his subjects, who presented several addresses to him to that effect; and in compliance therewith he sent over his ambassador to France. The lady accepted the King, and the marriage took place at Roxburgh Castle on the Feast of Pentecost, 1239, in presence of a gay assembly. This was two months after the death of Queen Joan. The Steward is credited with having managed this mission with great ability and discretion.

In acts of liberality towards the Church, the ordinary test of piety in those superstitious times, Walter maintained the traditions of his ancestors. Besides his confirmation to the monastery of Paisley, he gave to that convent the patronage of the churches of Dundonald and Auchinleck, with the tithes thereof, and an annuity of six chalders of meal for the support of a priest to celebrate Divine service for the soul of Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale.

Bruce was fifth Lord of Annandale, and grandfather of King Robert Bruce. His son, Robert Bruce, father of the King, was sixth Lord of Annandale, and fought on the side of the English at the battle of Dunbar in 1296, when the Scots were defeated. He died in 1303, and was succeeded by his son Robert Bruce, seventh Lord of Annandale, afterwards King of Scotland. The erection of monasteries at this period being discouraged by the Popes' usurping the right of patronage reserved by the founders in their Charters of Foundation, this diverted the thoughts of persons inclined to liberality to the Church from building abbeys to the setting up of collegiate charges, to promote which the ecclesiastical

canons allowed to the founders and their heirs the right of patronage. So Walter, the High Steward, founded a religious house of this kind at Dalmilling, near Ayr, which he endowed with divers lands and tithes, as will be seen from the interesting charter which we are able to reproduce:—

Walter, High Steward of Scotland, greeting in the Lord. Be it known to you that I, from a regard to the Divine love, to the honour of God and the Blessed Mary, have founded a house of canons and monks in the place which is called Dalmilling. And to the said monks I grant and confirm for ever the whole land of Mearns, with all the contents below those divisions, as the river descends into the Ayr between the new village and the chapel of the Blessed Mary; and so on ascending by the same river as far as the divisions of Auchencruive, even to the land of Richard Wallace of Auchencruive; and so by the divisions of the said Richard Wallace, as far as Ayr. And besides, the free and full common in the turf moor of Prestwick, and the half of all my fisheries which are between the Castle of Ayr and the town of Irvine.

In witness whereof I have affixed my seal, etc.

Witnesses :

Walter, Bishop of Glasgow.	Malcolm Lockhard, his son.
Reginald Crawford, Sheriff of Ayr.	Hugh, son of Reginald.
Walter Olifhard, Justice of Loudoun.	Richard Wallace.
Malcolm Lockhard.	John of Montgomery.
	Hector of Curry.

Walter confirmed his father's charter of Mauchline, and Swane, the son of Thor, his charter of the lands of Tibbermore to the Abbey of Scone. Besides his confirmation of previous charters to the monastery of Paisley he presented to it the patronage of the churches of Sanquhar, Auchinleck, and Dundonald. He also gave a benefaction to the monastery of Paisley for the salvation of the souls of his ancestors interred there.

Dalmilling was a munificent gift. The canons and nuns, however, did not stay long there. The northern air did not agree with them, and pleading bad health they returned to Yorkshire. The Steward with a liberal hand transferred all their possessions, temporal and spiritual, to Paisley. Dalmilling became a cell of the Priory, and was filled with Cluniacs, while its great wealth passed into the hands of the Paisley Chapter. The Steward always reserved to himself certain rights and privileges in granting the charters. The game on the lands transferred to the monks was always specially retained. The preservation of game, and the whole economy of the forest, were necessarily of importance in an age when the time of the free-born was divided between war and the chase. The Stewards were strict preservers of game. In their early grants to Melrose game was expressly reserved—excepting only that neither the monks nor their brethren nor any by their authority were to hunt or take hawks in the forest, for that suited not their order, and was not expedient for them.¹ In 1219 Paisley was removed from its connection with Cluny, and an abbot of its own was appointed. Walter was a generous benefactor to this abbey. He had stood well by the abbots in their many contentions, and more than one charter favourable to this abbey was made at Blackhall where he resided. The last time he appears in connection with the abbey is giving an annual payment of two chalders of meal from the Mill of Paisley for the support of a monk to perform Divine service for the soul of Robert Bruce.²

In a charter of William the Lion, dated at Dumfries, Walter, the High Steward, is a witness, and again he witnesses a charter under the Great Seal in possession of the Scots' College, Paris, granted by Alexander II. in favour of the church at Glasgow, dated Ayr, 8th May, 1222. He is the first witness, and eight come after him, which include Reginald Crawford, Sheriff of Ayr

¹ "Sketches of Early Scottish History."

² Cameron Lees' History of Paisley Abbey.

Walter also granted a charter in favour of the church of St. Mungo, Glasgow, wherein he describes himself, *Walterus filius Alani, dapifer, regis Scotiæ*. This charter is in the Red Book of the Chartulary of Glasgow. Walter granted a charter of some importance to the monks of Melrose enlarging the grant of the forest. It was in the following terms:—

To all the sons of the Church who shall see or hear the present writing, Walter, the son of Alan, the Steward, etc. Be it known to all of you that I, willing to provide for the honour of God and the peace of the Church, and chiefly for the quiet of the monastery of Melrose, have thought fit to make clear certain doubtful things contained in the charter of Walter, my grandfather, to the monks of Melrose; in that part of it where my grandfather speaks of lands and haughs and of the pasture of the forest; I will, moreover, whatever of less affection and security is contained in it, express more clearly in this instrument and provide more fully for the monks. I have granted accordingly to the monks all the lands and haughs as well in my forest as beyond it, on the north side of the River Ayr, and all my forest to use as may seem most useful to them for ploughing and sowing; and for rearing, pasturing, and having constantly in the forest their cattle as many as they will, according to what the forest can sustain. I have granted to them, moreover, the use of the forest to be had and possessed peaceably in all its easements and uses for all their wants; this only excepted that neither the monks nor their lay brothers nor anyone by their authority shall hunt or take falcons into the forest, for that is not becoming for their order, nor is it expedient for them. All these things I have given and granted, and by this my charter confirmed to God, and to the said monks for ever. I truly, and all my heirs and successors, will warrant and defend to the monks all the things above-mentioned, and will make them possess them in peace freely and quit of all service, exaction and secular custom.

And in order that this grant of mine may be steadfast and for ever unimpaired, I have delivered the present writing to the monks confirmed by my present seal.

Witnesses :

William, my Chaplain.	Alan Wallace.
Malcolm, son of the Earl of Levenau's (Lennox), my grandson.	Humphrey de Bosco. John of Lindsay. Hugh, son of Simon.
John of Montgomery.	The son of Bertas, and many others.
Roger, son of Elay.	
William of Hackerston.	

The seal of this charter shows the fesse cheque upon the shield slung round the neck of the mounted knight—a bearing which the great family of Fitzalan had now assumed and transmitted to their descendants in allusion to their hereditary office of Steward of Scotland.¹

In his dual capacity of Steward and Justiciar of Scotland, Walter possessed vast influence and power which a semi-Royal alliance tended to consolidate and increase. He married Marjorie, daughter of Henry, Prince of Scotland, brother of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion. In the veins of Walter's descendants, therefore, flowed the blood of the ancient kings of Scotland, whose crown was destined, through another Royal alliance four generations later, to adorn the brow of the Steward's heir.

We are informed that Duncan, first Earl of Carrick, son of Gilbert, brother of Ughtred, Lord of Galloway, founded the extensive Abbey of Crossraguel, Ayrshire, and endowed it out of his own lands in 1185. He was succeeded by his son Neil, who was second Earl, and a liberal benefactor to the monastery of Crossraguel. From the marriage of his daughter to Robert Bruce, the Earldom of Carrick went to the Bruces.

In 1244 Neil, second Earl of Carrick, was married to Margaret, daughter of Walter, the High Steward. Neil

¹ Cosmo Innes' National MSS. of Scotland.

died in 1256, leaving issue an only daughter, Margaret, who, when a young woman as Countess of Carrick, meeting, returning from the chase, Robert Bruce, son of the Lord of Annandale, by Isobel, aunt of Devorgilla, in 1271, took him to her Castle of Turnberry and married him there. The son by this marriage was Robert Bruce, King of Scotland.

Walter, the High Steward, died in 1246, leaving issue, Alexander, Walter, Robert and John, and three daughters. Alexander succeeded him; Walter, the second son, became fifth Earl of Menteith by marrying the heiress of Walter Comyn, the then Earl. From Robert, the third son, were descended the Stewarts of Darnley, and Lennox.¹ Elizabeth married Malcolm, Earl of Lennox; Christian, or Euphemia, married Patrick, Earl of Dunbar; Margaret, Neil, Earl of Carrick; William is said to have been ancestor of the Ruthvens, as in official documents William de Ruthven is designated son of Walter, son of Alan, the son-in-law of Thor.²

Walter is said to have been the first of the family who used Stuart as his family name. His father was styled "Dapifer," as were his ancestors, but he changed it to "Senescallus," whence came the surname Stuart or Steward.³

In 1235 Patrick Dunbar, sixth Earl of March, accompanied by Walter, the High Steward, subdued a formidable rebel named Thomas Dow MacAlan, and compelled him to submit to the King's mercy. Dunbar's second wife was Christian, the second daughter of Walter, the High Steward, and her only son succeeded to the Earldom.

Maldwin, third Earl of Lennox, who died in the beginning of the reign of Alexander III., married Elizabeth, daughter of Walter, High Steward of Scotland. In the charter of the lands of Colquhoun from Maldwin, third Earl of Lennox, Walter the High

¹ Crawford's Genealogical History of the Stewarts.

² Douglas Peerage. ³ Noble's "Genealogy."

Steward, and Malcolm Beg Drummond are witnesses, 1225.

During the administration of Walter, we have a curious and interesting letter preserved, written by Malise, Earl of Strathearn, to Henry, King of England:—

To the most excellent prince and his ever honoured Lord, Henry, by the grace of God, the illustrious King of England, his devoted and faithful servant in all his affairs, Malise, Earl of Strathearn sends health, and with all reverence and honour, a will prepared in everything to do his pleasure. The letter of your Lordship, dated on Wednesday, on the eve of the Ascension last past, with joyful hand as became me, I received information of what the letters contained: that upon sight of them, I should approach our lady, the Queen of Scotland, your dearest daughter, and should stay with her, and should not permit her to be taken to any place distasteful to her against her will. It is on this account that I inform your excellency that both in this and in other affairs your desire is to me a command, which with joyful mind I seek to obey to my utmost power in all things that concern your person, the person of our dearest lady, the Queen of Scotland, and your honour and her convenience and credit. And I entreat your excellency if it please you, to signify your will in these and other matters to your liegeman and vassal. Given at St. Andrews on the day of St. John at the Latin Gate, in the ninth year of the reign of our Lord, the King of Scots (1225.)

This letter was addressed by Malise, fifth Earl of Strathearn, to Henry III., King of England, whose daughter, the Princess Margaret, was married to Alexander III., King of Scotland. Walter, the High Steward, died in 1241, and left issue, but we are not informed what family he had.

ALAN,
LORD OF GALLOWAY.

A RECORD of the High Stewards of Scotland would be incomplete without a narrative of this distinguished official who flourished in the time of Walter, fifth Steward, and was a great personality during that period.

What the complexion of the Court in these early times would be we have no means whatever of ascertaining. At the Court of David I. was Walter, son of Alan, second High Steward, said by some writers to be ancestor of the Earls of Galloway, Malcolm IV. having died in 1165, Ughtred,¹ second Lord of Galloway, son of Fergus, first Lord,² was immediately afterwards in attendance on William the Lion. He witnessed a charter in favour of Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, signed by King William at Lochmaben Castle. Subscribing first after the bishop is Richard de Moreville, Constable of Scotland. His daughter Eva married Roland, Ughtred's eldest son, who, through her, became heir to his father-in-law's estates.

In the end of the eleventh century Hugh de Moreville, of Norman descent, whose family had previously settled in the North of England, coming to Scotland, obtained a grant of the Royalties of Cunningham (Ayrshire), together with the office of High Constable of the kingdom. On the death of Richard de Moreville in 1198 Roland, in right of his wife, succeeded him as Constable

¹ Ughtred was murdered by his nephew Malcolm, son of Gilbert, who surprised him in his island home by tearing out his eyes and tongue, and leaving him in that state to perish. (Robertson's "Early Kings.")

² Douglas Peerage.

of Scotland, inheriting also his vast estates. In 1199 Roland, as High Constable and third Lord of Galloway, accompanied William the Lion to Lincoln, who there did homage to King John of England (son of Henry II.), who had just succeeded to the Earldom of Huntingdon. A few weeks afterwards Roland died and left issue—Alan, his heir, afterwards Lord of Galloway, the subject of this sketch, Thomas, who, in right of his wife, became fifth Earl of Atholl, and a daughter Ada, married to Sir Walter Bissett, the head of a notable family of the time.

Alan was probably the most distinguished of all the Lords of Galloway. He was an administrative officer of ability and energy, and his accession to office as High Constable of Scotland was attended with good results to the nation. He established authority throughout his jurisdiction, restored order, and materially aided the development of civilisation at a time when the realm was in a state of chaos, and the national government weak and unequal to the task. William the Lion had no more capable minister, as is abundantly manifest in the history of that period. He had a strong will of his own which was absolute, and whatever he undertook he accomplished. His brother Thomas, as already stated, became Earl of Atholl, having married Isobel, second daughter of Henry, third Earl, an earldom that was much more extensive than it is now. Earl Thomas was a fighting chief with a large retinue, and during his lifetime was regarded as a great warrior in the Highlands. He and his brother Alan, in 1232, carried on a successful war against the Scottish chiefs and pirates of the Western Isles, and expelled the King of the Isle of Man from his dominions. Alan is said to have been an independent chief who often disdained to acknowledge the sovereignty of Scotland. He fitted out 150 ships for this buccaneering expedition. The prestige of Alan exceeded that of his father and grandfather. He is styled by Chalmers "one of the greatest nobles of his time." In Galloway he was supreme, being Lord of

Galloway, and his dealings with both the sovereigns to whom he owed fealty were rather those of an ally than a subject. His marriage with the daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, the King's brother, brought him into the most intimate relations with William the Lion. On Candlemas Day, 1212, he was present at Durham at a meeting between the English and Scottish kings, at which the delicate matter of the latter doing homage for his English estates was compromised, by arranging that they should be vested in Prince Alexander, and that he should do homage to Prince John. Alan afterwards accompanied the King to Norham where, in presence of the ministers of both sovereigns, his seal as High Constable was attached to deeds professing to secure peace between England and Scotland for ever, and by leave from his Royal master, Alan did homage for himself for possessions which the English king gave him. King John had previously granted him lands in Ireland for services in 1207, when he had assisted him with an army and a fleet. Five years later he bestowed on him the whole of Dalriada, in fee of which his brother Thomas, Earl of Atholl, took possession. Alan, it is said, succeeded in resuscitating the buccaneering tastes of the Galwegians which had slumbered since the departure of the Vikings, his fleets under his brother Thomas becoming the terror of the whole coast. Although his ships and men were engaged in plundering the Nith, he was able to raise a second army to support King John in the Welsh marches. He had previously sent 200 men-at-arms, but these proved insufficient as the following letter shows :—

The King, to his faithful cousin Alan de Galweja, and requests him for the great business regarding which he lately asked him, and as he loves him, to send 1,000 of his best and most active Galwegians so as to be at Chester at midday next after the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. Alan to place over them a constable who knows how to keep peace in the King's army,

and to harass the enemy. The King will provide their pay.

Thither accordingly Alan led his men in person, and so efficiently handled them that a month later we find an entry of a largesse (55-8) given in excess of the stipulated pay:—"At Nottingham, 16th August, 1212—To Alan of Galloway by way of a gift, 500 marks to pay his squires who had come with him to the King's service in the army of Wales."

Three years later Alan sided with the English lords who at the point of the sword demanded attention to their complaints. He appears to have joined his fellow-barons in the spring of 1215, their first act of rebellion being the siege of Northampton, near which Alan owned extensive property. He advanced with them to London, and was with them on the memorable 15th June, 1215, at Runnymede, on the Thames, where the signing of MAGNA CHARTA completed their success and John's discomfiture. Only a fortnight before the King's capitulation at Runnymede Alan sent a present of a fine hound to the King, receiving in return two geese—the latter reading almost like a joke. The previous December, 1214, William the Lion died at Stirling Castle, and the first Parliament of Alexander II., his son and successor, a youth of seventeen, was held in Edinburgh shortly after, when the Constablership of Scotland was ratified to Alan, Lord of Galloway. King John died 17th October, 1216, and so great was Alan's influence supposed to be by the English Council that they addressed a letter to him in name of "the boy king," Henry III., entreating that his counsels may be used in the interests of peace, and for the restoration to the English of the Castle of Carlisle. Alan complied with both requests. By special invitation he was present at York at the conference of the two kings, Henry III., son of King John, and Alexander II., and shortly after assisted at the marriage of King Henry's sister with the Scottish king, signing as a witness to the

settlements by which the young Queen's jointure of £1,000 a year was secured over the lands of Jedburgh, Kinghorn, and Crail.

Alan in 1209 married Margaret, eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, and brother of William the Lion, by whom he had three daughters and one legitimate son, who died young, and his lordship of Galloway and his extensive estates by feudal law passed to his daughters; the Constablership of Scotland to the husband of the eldest, who married Roger, Earl of Winchester; the second, Devorgilla, married in 1233 John Baliol of Barnard Castle, father of John Baliol, King of Scotland; the third, Marjory, married Sir John, the "Red Comyn," sixth Lord of Badenoch; Devorgilla's daughter, Marjory, married John Comyn, seventh Lord of Badenoch. Isobel, second daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, married Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale.¹ After the Earl of Winchester, the office of High Constable was by King Robert Bruce bestowed on David of Strathbogie, eleventh Earl of Atholl. This nobleman went over to John Baliol and lost the appointment; Bruce then bestowed it in 1315 on Sir Gilbert Hay of Errol.

Dundrennan Abbey in Galloway, which was one of the most ornate and beautiful abbeys in Scotland, and is still majestic in its ruins, was founded in 1142, by Fergus, Lord of Galloway, grandfather of Alan. In the aisle of the north transept is the monument of Alan, Lord of Galloway, of date 1233. Beneath the once beautiful window of the aisle adjoining the west pier in the walk, is the tomb under a Norman arch containing the recumbent figure of this once famous man. It is enveloped in a hauberk of chain mail covered partially by the surcoat, a belt passed round the waist, buckled and looped on the left side, divided by bands at regular intervals; a smaller belt passes over the right shoulder. The statue measures five feet in length, and one foot ten inches from shoulder to shoulder in the

¹ Agnew's "Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway."



broadest part. It is to be regretted that the arms, legs, and face are destroyed, but the preservation of so interesting a relic for nearly seven centuries is altogether remarkable. The life of Alan and that of his family forms a chapter of considerable moment in the history of Scotland. Though he had no sons, two of his daughters became ladies of distinction. The eldest, Devorgilla, as already stated, was the mother of John Baliol, King of Scotland; while she founded and endowed Baliol College, Oxford, erected and endowed Sweetheart Abbey (New Abbey) in her native country (Galloway), and performed other acts of benevolence there. Alan's second daughter married the Red Comyn, and became the mother of John, the Black Comyn, the seventh Lord of Badenoch. It was the son of the Black Comyn who was assassinated by Bruce in Greyfriars' Church, Dumfries. Alan, who gave liberal donations for religious purposes, died in 1234, and was interred in Dundrennan Abbey. He left a natural son, the Thomas Dow MacAlan before referred to.

CHAPTER III.

Alexander, fourth High Steward, 1246-1283—The Empress Helena and the Holy Sepulchre — Departure of the High Steward to Jerusalem—Sir John Stuart of Bonkyl ; remarkable Genealogy — James, fifth High Steward — The ancient Turnberry Castle Bond—Names of nobility supporting Bruce and Baliol—The Succession controversy—Remarkable Funeral procession of Eleanor, wife of Edward I.—Last words of Queen Philippa, wife of Edward III.—The Comyn and Bruce fatal incident—The High Steward guarantees Bruce's loyalty —The High Steward and Sir William Wallace—Battle of Falkirk—Burning of Paisley Abbey—Death of Edward I.—Declaration of the Clergy on the Succession—Devorgilla mother of Baliol ; her munificence — Walter, sixth High Steward, 1309-1327—Letter from Queen of Robert Bruce to the King of England—Marriage of Walter, the Steward, to Marjory Bruce — Charter of the marriage dowry — Lady Marjory killed by an accident — Marjory's Tomb in Paisley Abbey—Walter, the High Steward, and the Siege of Berwick —Grants of Kelly and Methven Estates to the Steward—Parliament at Scone, 1320—The Steward endeavours to capture Edward II.—Parliament at Cambuskenneth, 1326—Death and character of Walter, the High Steward.

ALEXANDER,

SIXTH STEWARD, AND FOURTH HIGH STEWARD OF SCOTLAND.

A.D. 1246—1283.

WE come now to a Steward of a very different stamp from any of his predecessors. Alexander, the sixth Steward, and fourth High Steward, was a man of great force of character, and does not appear to have interested himself, or to have devoted his time to religion or piety, so much as his ancestors did ; he was rather a man of the world, giving his attention to the affairs of

the realm, and the political requirements and political troubles of the time. The monarchy at that period was weak under the two Alexanders, the son and grandson of William the Lion, and the Steward took his full share in the troubles which arose. Alexander, the Steward, was born in 1214, and succeeded to the office of High Steward of Scotland in 1246 on the death of his father.

Shortly after his accession, he finished the enclosing of an extensive deer-park in the vicinity of his house. The wild deer which his father and grandfather had hunted in the forest had probably begun to disappear before the encroachment of agriculture, and he enclosed this space that his larder might not want for venison.¹ He gave the monks permission to draw water from the river for their mills at Paisley, and bestowed on them eight chalders of meal from his rents of Inchinnan. In 1248 he joined Louis IX. of France in the Holy War, and in order to obtain the approbation of the monastery of Paisley to his proposed visit he ratified and confirmed the donations formerly made to it by his ancestors. His expedition to Jerusalem to visit the Holy Sepulchre was a superstitious custom from the time the Empress Helena visited it in A.D. 326. Her footsteps were traced by many, and among others by Alexander, the High Steward. The memorable visit of the Empress Helena (mother of Constantine the Great) to Jerusalem was with the intention of seeking out the places which had been hallowed by the events of Scripture. The sight of the Holy Sepulchre was to be marked by a church which should exceed all others in splendour.

The Temple of Venus with which Hadrian had defiled the place was demolished ; the earth under it was dug up as polluted, when it is said that three crosses were discovered, as also the label on which the superscription had been written over the Saviour's head. The Bishop desired to test the truth of this. A lady of his flock who

¹ Cameron Lees' "Paisley Abbey."

was supposed to be at the point of death was carried to the spot ; prayers were offered that the true cross might be revealed through her cure, and after two of the three crosses had been applied to her in vain, the third wrought an instantaneous cure.¹

Afterwards the Steward made a pilgrimage to Spain to see the holy places. The shrine of St. James, the patron saint of the Stewards, was there. He was one of the saints to whom Paisley Abbey was dedicated ; and his image in pilgrim garb, with staff in hand, gourd by his side, and cockle-shell on his hat, appeared on its seal. Before taking the journey, the Steward sought the blessing of the Abbot. On the second Sunday of Advent, 1252, he came to Paisley Abbey and received his benediction and permission to depart in peace on his sacred errand : "That in devotion and holy pilgrimage he should visit the bounds of the blessed Apostle James." After confession the Steward and his companions lay prostrate before the altar. After devotional exercises the pilgrims rose, and the Abbot consecrated their scrips and staves, saying : "The Lord be with you." He then sprinkled holy water on the scrips and staves, and placed the scrip round the neck of each pilgrim, accompanying these acts with other religious rites. Then he delivered to them the staff with a similar blessing. The departure of the Steward was a day of great solemnity at the abbey. In the darkness and superstition of that age—the thirteenth century—this incident of the departure of the High Steward was regarded as a supreme event. We have various instances recorded in early times of pious persons visiting the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. Such persons who could afford the expense of the journey were not numerous, but so far as can be ascertained the High Stewards were of that class. We are not informed what Alexander saw either in Spain or in the Holy Land, nor have we any report of his pilgrimage.

¹ Robertson's "Christian Church."

On his return to Scotland, in 1255, during the young King's minority, he found the country broken up into factions. The powerful family of the Comyns headed the so-called national party, and had seized the persons of the young King and Queen, while Robert de Ross and John Baliol had assumed the regency. This was the father of John Baliol, afterwards King of Scotland. To counteract this state of matters, the Steward and his brother Walter, Earl of Menteith, his brother-in-law Neil, Earl of Carrick, his nephew, Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March, and Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, joined the party of Henry III. of England, the Queen's father. This coalition proved too much for the Comyns, and in 1255 the young King and Queen were seized and taken from them and new regents appointed—Robert Bruce, Alexander the Steward, and four others; and to them Henry undertook to deliver any prince or princess who might be born during the stay of his daughter, the young Queen of Scots, at his Court. Three years afterwards, troubles again broke out, and the Pope was induced to excommunicate the counsellors of the young King. The result of this was that the Comyns seized the King and Queen at Kinross and carried them to Stirling. A new regency was thereupon appointed (1258), which left the government practically in the hands of the Comyns. On the death of Patrick, Earl of March, Alexander the High Steward succeeded him as Commander-in-Chief of the army.

In 1262 took place the rupture between King Alexander and Haco, King of Norway. This culminated in the battle of Largs, in 1263, when the High Steward, Commander of the forces, had an opportunity of distinguishing himself, and by his gallant conduct on that occasion, the result was an overwhelming defeat of the Norwegians.

He commanded the right wing, routed the left wing of the enemy, and had the honour of disengaging his sovereign. He pursued the Norwegians to the Western

Isles which he reannexed to the Crown, as also the Isle of Man. The same year he got from King Alexander a grant of the Barony of Garlies in Galloway for his distinguished services.

Alexander granted various charters, confirming those of his ancestors, to Paisley and other abbeys and churches, particularly at the feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin, a great festival specially observed in those times. In 1263, after Largs, King Alexander sent the Steward to the Court of Henry III. to demand the arrears of dowry which Henry had promised to pay on his daughter's marriage with the King of Scots. In 1266, in presence of the King (and many nobles witnesses), the Steward gave the Abbey of Melrose a new charter, ratifying certain lands which they possessed and granting them exemptions and privileges. In 1277 the Steward and his son James are witnesses to a charter of Alexander III. confirming a deed of Nigel, Earl of Carrick, to Roland Carrick, declaring him Chief of his clan and arbitrator in all pleas, differences, and other affairs of that kind. The Steward was one of the Privy Council who undertook, on behalf of the King, the due observance of the articles of marriage between Margaret, the King's daughter, and Eric, King of Norway. This transaction is dated at Roxburgh Castle, 1281.

This Steward was one of the greatest men of his time, possessing abilities worthy of his illustrious race. He was esteemed by his countrymen, was zealous in his religion, and a generous patron of commerce. He died in 1283 at the age of sixty-nine years, in the thirty-third and last year of the reign of Alexander III., and was interred in Paisley Abbey. He left two sons, who both distinguished themselves, and one daughter, who married Sir William Douglas of Dalkeith. The Steward who was married to Jean, daughter of James, Lord Bute, was succeeded by his eldest son James. His second son was Sir John Stuart of Bonkyl, and as his career was quite extraordinary, and from his numerous family

became connected with a great many of the Scottish nobility, it will be desirable to give a brief narrative of so important a member of the House of Stuart—Sir John was ancestor of some distinguished families, and was born in 1246. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Alexander of Bonkyl, and had issue seven sons, who became heads of great families of the name of Stewart; and one daughter, who married Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray.

The family of Sir John Stuart is believed to have been:—

1. Sir Alexander, father of John, Earl of Angus, ancestor of Douglas, Earl of Angus.
2. Sir Alan of Dreghorn, ancestor of Darnley, Lennox, and the Earls of Galloway.
3. Sir Walter, to whom Robert Bruce gave a charter of Dalswinton; as did Randolph, Earl of Moray, give one of Garlies.
4. Sir James, ancestor of Innermeath and Craighall; from Innermeath, Lorn; from Lorn, the Earls of Atholl and Buchan, Stewarts of Grandtully, Kinnaird and Appin.
5. Sir John: issue unknown; ancestor of Castle-milk; killed at Halidon Hill.
- 6 and 7. Sir Hugh and Sir Robert: issue unknown; Sir Robert, ancestor of the Stewarts of Allanton.
8. Isobel, married to Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray.

Stewarts of Angus—Sir Alexander Stuart of Bonkyl and Sir Thomas Randall, were taken prisoner by James, Lord Douglas, in 1308. Sir Alexander was a son of an uncle of Lord Douglas, consequently son of Sir John of Bonkyl. Douglas's father, William, Lord Douglas, married Elizabeth Stuart, sister of James, the High Steward, and Sir John Stuart.

Sir Alexander Stuart is said to have been created

Earl of Angus by Robert Bruce in 1327, as he is mentioned by Barbour in that year as Earl of Angus. He left a son and daughter. The son was Sir John of Bonkyl, who, according to some writers, was first Earl of Angus of the Stewart line. The daughter, Isobel, was married to Donald, Earl of Mar, and secondly, to John, second son of Randolph, Earl of Moray, who, on the death of his elder brother, Thomas (killed at Dupplin, 1332), succeeded to that earldom. Sir John Stuart, Earl of Angus and of Bonkyl, son of Sir Alexander, succeeded his father before 1329. He married Margaret, daughter of Alexander, Lord of Abernethy, as appears from a disposition of the Pope in that year. He died in 1331, and was succeeded by his son Thomas, who married a St. Clair of Roslyn.

This Thomas, Earl of Angus, died of the plague in 1361, while a prisoner in Dumbarton Castle. He left one son, Thomas, who succeeded him, and two daughters: Margaret, who married first, Thomas, Earl of Mar, and secondly, William of Douglas, by whom she had a son, George Douglas, who afterwards became Earl of Angus. Elizabeth, the second daughter, married Sir Alexander Hamilton of Innerwick. There is a charter by Robert II. in 1389, in favour of George Douglas, by which the Earldom of Angus and Lordship of Abernethy were granted to him and his heirs, whom failing, to Alexander Hamilton and his heirs. Thus the male line from Sir Alexander Stuart, eldest son of Sir John of Bonkyl, became extinct in 1387. Sir Alan, second son of Sir John of Bonkyl, served in the wars of Robert Bruce, and received a grant of the lands of Dreghorn. Dalrymple says that at Halidon Hill two Stewarts fought under the banner of their chief, viz., Alan of Dreghorn, paternal ancestor of Charles I.; and James of Rosyth. The three charters of 1356 and 1361 furnish authentic evidence respecting the Darnley family. In the beginning of 1362 there were of the Stuarts of Darnley then alive, Sir John and

his three brothers, Walter, Alexander, and Robert, the son and heir. Alexander, the youngest brother, succeeded to the estates and titles ; John, Walter, and Robert, must have died without male issue.¹

¹ Andrew Stuart's "History of the Stuarts."

JAMES,
SEVENTH STEWARD, AND FIFTH HIGH
STEWARD OF SCOTLAND,

A.D. 1283—1309.

JAMES was the first of the name and seventh in the direct line of the High Stewards of Scotland. He was born in 1243, and in 1283 succeeded Alexander, his father. In 1285 Alexander III. fell from his horse at Kinghorn and died, and the following year James, the High Steward, was chosen one of the six Guardians or Regents of Scotland, during the minority of the infant Queen. Edward I., immediately after the death of the Scottish King, demanded the young Queen, the Maid of Norway, in marriage for his son Edward, afterwards Edward II. The proposal was favourably entertained, and the High Steward was, by the estates of the realm, commissioned along with various nobles to treat with the English commissioners with a view of completing the proposal. The convention met at Salisbury in 1289, and came to the following resolution on the conditions of the marriage:—"The kingdom of Scotland to be free and independent of England. If no issue of the marriage, the crown to return to the next heir and the kingdom to retain name and dignity as before, including the holding of Parliaments and the making of laws." The death of the infant Queen, however, put an end to this. The important question of the succession to the crown now occupied the full attention of the Scottish Estates. Henry, Prince of Scotland, son of David I., left three sons—Malcolm, who

died without issue; William the Lion, whose line became extinct with the death of the Maid of Norway; and David, Earl of Huntingdon. Earl David left three daughters: Margaret, married to Alan, Lord of Galloway: issue, Devorgilla, who became the mother of John Baliol, King of Scotland; Isobel married Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, by whom she had Robert Bruce, the competitor with Baliol.

In 1288, at Turnberry Castle, the Steward entered into a bond of association with several other barons with a view of securing the descent of the crown to Robert Bruce. To this bond the principal signatories were Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale; his son, Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick; Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March, and his three sons, cousins of the Steward; Sir John Stuart of Bonkyl, his brother; Walter Stuart, Earl of Menteith, and his two sons, Sir Alexander and Sir John Stuart. A contract was also entered into between the Earls of Gloucester and Ulster on the one part, and James, the High Steward, his brother John, and others; by which they agreed to stand by each other in all questions and causes, saving their allegiance to the kings of England and Scotland. This agreement is also dated at Turnberry Castle, 20th September, 1288.

In 1290 the Steward succeeded Sir Andrew Moray as Sheriff of Ayr, and the following year his accounts were given in by Reginald, the clerk and factor, for whom Sir John Stuart of Bonkyl was cautioner. His name, and that of his uncle Walter, Earl of Menteith, appear among the Scottish nobles present at the conference held at Brigham in July, 1290. This was a convention appointed by Edward, of six English commissioners to meet the Scottish Estates, having power to conclude a treaty on the basis of which the marriage of the Maid of Norway was to take place; and after consideration to concur in those securities which the Scottish Estates demanded for the preservation of the independence of their country. In the same

year Malise, Earl of Strathearn, was farmer of the burgh of Auchterarder and bailie of the Sheriffdom.¹

The question was whether Robert Bruce, son of the second daughter of Earl David and the first male, or John Baliol, grandson of the eldest daughter, was to be preferred. This Robert Bruce was the grandfather of King Robert Bruce. The famous meeting to settle this question took place at Berwick on 2nd June, 1292, presided over by Edward I. Bruce and Baliol each attended with their supporters. The excitement of a Parliamentary contest in our own day would be nothing to it. The names of the nobility chosen to appear for each of the candidates were as follows:—For Bruce—The Bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld; the Abbots of Melrose and Jedburgh; Patrick, Earl of March; Donald, Earl of Mar; Walter, Earl of Menteith; John, Earl of Athol; Malcolm, Earl of Lennox; James, High Steward of Scotland; William, of Soulis; Nicol, of Graham; John, of Lindsay; John Stewart, Alexander, of Bonkyl; William Hay, David, of Torthorwald; John, of Callander; William, of Renton; Reginald Crawford, Nicol Campbell, William, of Stirling; John, of Stirling; John, of Inchmartin; knights—William and Gilbert, of Colinsburgh; William, of Preston; and Galfred, of Caldcote.

For John Baliol—The Bishops of St. Andrews, Aberdeen, and Dunblane, Galloway, the Isles, Ross; the Abbots of Dunfermline, Holyrood, Cambuskenneth, Kelso, Tongland, Scone; the Earls of Buchan, Angus, Strathearn, Ross; and the following knights—Alexander of Argyll; Andrew, of Moray; Galfred, of Mowbray; Herbert Maxwell, Simon Fraser, Patrick Graham, William, of Sanquhar; Reginald, of Shen; Nicol Hay, John Stirling, William Murray, of Tullibardine; Ralph Lascelles, David Graham, etc.

Edward resolved to decide the matter in favour of the issue of the eldest daughter, or to be more accurate, in favour of the one who would be subject to the King

¹ Hamilton Papers.

of England. Bruce scornfully refused such a condition, but Baliol accepted it, and was preferred. Bruce retired from the contest, and his son Robert, Earl of Carrick, and father of King Robert, took his place. James was one of the auditors for Robert Bruce, but he swore allegiance to Edward as liege Lord of Scotland, and gave sasine of the kingdom to Baliol upon a brief of Edward, directed to him as one of the guardians. This controversy respecting the succession lingered for years, and was only finally settled by the sword at Bannockburn. By Act of Parliament it was then declared that King Robert's grandson John, Earl of Carrick (Robert II.) should succeed him in the crown. David II., Bruce's son, was married twice, first to the Princess Joan of England, and secondly to Margaret Drummond, or Logie, but left no issue. The historian adds: "Which Act of Parliament is extant in the public records to which the Great Seal is appended with fifty-two seals of prelates, noblemen, and barons, by which it plainly appears that there was no illegitimacy in the case of Robert III., as some writers have insinuated, and that he needed not an Act of the Estates to qualify him to succeed, his title being clear beyond all dispute."¹ The same year, 1292, the High Steward was a witness to the indenture between Robert Bruce, grandfather of the King, and Florence, Count of Holland—two competitors for the crown. This indenture shows a bargaining over the succession; these two competitors, foreseeing that Edward's award would not settle it permanently. The Count of Holland was the great-grandson of Ada, daughter of Prince Henry, and sister of William the Lion.

The turbulent condition of the kingdom gradually became more acute on account of the unreasonable attitude of King Edward, who insisted on an absolute surrender of the independence of Scotland. To this the Estates of Scotland would not agree, although Edward, by his arbitrary behaviour, succeeded in getting

¹ Crawford.

several of the nobles and others to do homage to him.

The first wife of Edward I. was the Princess Eleanora of Castille (Spain), a lady who has left an unblemished record. Her family consisted of four sons and nine daughters. She was married at ten years of age, while Edward was fifteen. Over Edward she gradually acquired great influence, and he was devoted to her. She died in November, 1291, at the early age of forty-seven, at her residence of Harrowby near Grantham. It is stated that in the bitterness of his grief Edward, who was in Scotland settling the succession to the crown, instantly relinquished Scottish affairs and proceeded to Grantham. The interment of Queen Eleanora was to be in Westminster Abbey, and Edward followed the cortege thirteen days, that being the time of the journey to London. At the end of each day the Royal bier rested in a central part of the town till the neighbouring clergy came to meet it, and placed it before the high altar of the principal church. At each of these thirteen resting-places Edward vowed to erect a cross in memory of the *chère reine*, as he passionately called Eleanora. These splendid monuments or crosses were duly erected. Two of them, viz., that at Northampton and that at Waltham Abbey, were standing in the early part of the nineteenth century. The principal citizens of London, with the Lord Mayor and aldermen, clad in black hoods and mourning cloaks, met the cortege several miles out from London, and the body was, in due course laid in its last resting-place. Night and day perpetually wax lights burned around her tomb, until the Reformers extinguished them, and seized the funds that kept them alight. Charing Cross, London, where a cross was erected, is named after this Royal lady, Charing being a corruption of *chère reine*.

Queen Philippa, wife of Edward III., was a lady whose memory was long cherished for her good deeds. She died in 1369, and her last words to her husband, who was

overwhelmed with grief, were : " We have, my husband, enjoyed our long union in happiness, peace, and prosperity. But I entreat before I depart, and we are for ever separated in this world, that you will grant me three requests." King Edward, with sighs and tears, replied : " Lady, name them ; whatever be your requests, they shall be granted." " My lord," she said, " I beg you will fulfil whatever engagements I have entered into with merchants for their wares as well on this as on the other side of the sea ; I beseech you to fulfil whatever gifts or legacies I have made or left to churches wherein I have paid my devotions, and to all my servants, whether male or female ; and when it shall please God to call you hence, you will choose no other sepulchre than mine, and that you will lie by my side in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey." The King, in tears, replied : " Lady, all this shall be done." They had been married at York, 24th January, 1328, both being about fifteen years of age.

John Comyn, son and heir of the Black Comyn, was a man of fierce and uncontrollable passions. In 1294 he had been committed to prison for assaulting the doorkeeper of the Exchequer, and breaking his wand of office. Five years later, in 1299, at a council of the nobles held at Peebles, Sir John Comyn leapt on Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and took him by the throat ; and John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, leapt on William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, and they held them fast until the High Steward and others went between them and stopped the scuffle. At Dumfries Bruce's dagger was unsheathed in all probability in self-defence, Comyn who was well able to defend himself, falling a victim, as much to his own fury as to Bruce's violence.

In common with the other Scottish lords the Steward took an oath of fealty to Edward, and in 1296 was appointed Governor of Roxburgh Castle under John Baliol, but at the battle of Dunbar the same year, he was obliged to surrender it. He took

an active part in the troubles of the time respecting the succession when Scotland was oppressed by Edward I. In the record kept at the Tower of London of those who swore fealty to Edward I. on the 15th May, 1296, the first on the Roll (which contains 1,700 names) is James, Steward of Scotland, and next to him John Stuart, his brother.

On Christmas Day of that year, a grant was made by Sir John Stuart to the Abbey of Melrose before these witnesses :—James, Steward of Scotland (brother of the donor); Walter and Bernard, abbots of Paisley and Kilwinning, and others. “John, brother of James, Steward of Scotland, for the health of his own soul and that of his ancestors and successors, and for the health of Margaret his wife, and children, gives to Melrose and the proper canons of St. Waldeve abbot, two pounds of wax at the fair of Roxburgh to the honour of that said saint; to be paid yearly out of his lands by him and his heirs.” Regarding the events of 1298, Dalrymple says: “Meanwhile the Scots were assembling all their strength in the interior of the country.” Those whose names are recorded are John Comyn of Badenoch, Sir John Stuart of Bonkyl, Macduff, grand-uncle of the Earl of Fife, etc.

On 7th July, 1297, James came to terms with Edward,¹ and having on 9th July confessed his rebellion and placed himself at Edward's disposal, he became a guarantor for the loyalty of Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, until he delivered up his daughter Marjory as a hostage. The services he had rendered to Edward in inducing many barons to submit, caused Edward to put considerable confidence in James's loyalty, but on the outbreak shortly afterwards of the rebellion under Wallace, he pretended to side with the English, and before the battle of Stirling, was, along with the Earl of Lennox, sent by Surrey the English commander to treat with Wallace; but probably his main object was rather to supply Wallace with information

¹ Kalendar of Documents relating to Scotland.

than induce him to make submission. The negotiations failed, and as soon as the tide of battle turned in favour of the Scots, he joined in the pursuit of the English. Along with his brother Sir John Stuart, he joined Sir William Wallace, Sir William Douglas, Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, and others in their efforts to free their country.

In 1298 took place the unfortunate battle of Falkirk. The Scots were divided among themselves. Comyn, who commanded the Scottish cavalry, led his force off the field without striking a blow, and Wallace himself retired in disgust with his own force to some distance, leaving Sir John Stuart and his division to sustain the assault of the whole English army. The Scots were unable to contend against the English bowmen, and while encouraging his men to stand fast, their brave leader was himself struck, and fell from his horse, mortally wounded. Deprived of their leader, the Scots eventually gave way, and retired under cover of the night, with the assistance of Wallace and his force, who had remained inactive. Sir John Stuart and Sir John Graham were slain, and both were interred at Falkirk.

James, the High Steward, was probably more taken up with his duties as a politician than with those he owed to the Church. He was prominent in all the intrigues, plots, and counterplots of that turbulent time, and was concerned in all the political transactions of the kingdom from the death of Alexander III. until Robert Bruce was settled on the throne. It is recorded that he gave the monks of Paisley power to quarry stones for building, and limestone for burning, within the Barony of Renfrew. He also allowed them to dig coal for the use of the monastery, and permitted them a right of water-course for their mills from the adjoining river, on condition of being allowed the use of such mill for his own corn.¹ Paisley Abbey was burned by the English in 1307, and nothing but blackened walls were left standing. Whether the English committed this act of

¹ History of Paisley Abbey.

vandalism because of the close relations of the Steward and Robert Bruce does not appear.

In 1302 the High Steward was one of the commissioners who went to France to seek assistance from King Philip and to watch over the national interests, and to see that Scotland would be respected in a proposed treaty with France. The mission was unsuccessful. In 1304, at a meeting at Strathord, it was agreed that the Steward should return from France and take the oath of allegiance to Edward, that his life would be safe, that he would not be imprisoned or disinherited, that he should be exiled for two years only out of Scotland, and during that time his castles should be in the hands of Edward. It does not appear that the Steward submitted to these conditions. Whether at this period he returned from France or was an exile in England, lurked at home, or kept correspondence with Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, is not recorded. The two families were on the most friendly terms.¹ King Edward, who had three times penetrated into Scotland with his troops, viz., in 1296, 1298, and 1303, wintered on the last occasion at Dunfermline. He died near Carlisle in 1307. This year (1304), when John Comyn of Badenoch, Guardian of Scotland, submitted to Edward at Dunfermline, the High Steward was among those who were excepted from the benefits of Edward's act of indemnity. He was one of those who, on 11th March, 1309, wrote Philip, King of France, in name of the Scottish nation approving of the accession of Robert Bruce to the throne.

Edward in 1305 appointed the Duke of Bretagne Governor of Scotland, Sir William Bevercote, Chancellor, and Sir John Sandale, Chamberlain.

In 1309 a general council or convention of the clergy was held at Dundee to consider the question of the succession, when the following declaration (slightly condensed) was drawn up and signed:—

¹ Symson.

Be it known, etc., that when John Baliol, raised to be King of Scotland by the King of England, and Robert Bruce, grandfather of Robert the King, a dispute arose which of them was nearest, by right of blood, to inherit the kingdom and reign over the Scottish people. The people had learned from their predecessors that Robert, the grandfather, after the death of Alexander III. and his granddaughter, the Maid of Norway, was the true heir, and ought, in preference to all others, to be advanced to the government of the kingdom.

On account of the want of kingly authority heavy calamities have resulted to the kingdom. The people, therefore, worn-out by many tribulations, seeing Baliol, by the King of England, on various pretexts, taken, imprisoned, stripped of his kingdom and people, and the kingdom ruined and reduced to slavery, laid waste by depopulation, desolated from the want of right government, the people stripped of their goods, tortured by war, led captive, bound and imprisoned. By massacres of the innocent, by continual conflagrations, oppressed and enslaved to the brink of ruin unless by Divine guidance steps should be taken for the restoration of the government.

With the consent of the people Bruce was chosen King that he might reform the kingdom and correct what required correction. With him the people of the kingdom will live and die as with one who, possessing the right of blood, and endowed with other virtues, is fitted to rule over them since, by repelling injustice, he has by the sword restored the realm. We, therefore, the bishops, abbots, priors, and the rest of the clergy acting under no compulsion, knowing that the premises are based on truth, and approving of the same, have made due fealty to the said Lord Robert, the illustrious King of Scotland. We acknowledge, and by these presents publicly declare, that the same ought to be rendered to him and his heirs by our successors for ever. In testimony and approbation hereof we have caused our seals to be affixed to this writing. Given in the



DEVORGILLA.
Mother of John Baliol, King of Scotland.

(From a Portrait in the Bodleian Gallery.)

General Council of Scotland, held in the Church of the Friars Minors of Dundee, 24th February, 1309.¹

Note by Cosmo Innes:—This brings us to the third year since Bruce assumed the crown with a following miserably insufficient to resist the power of Edward. The first years of his reign had been to himself and his family and the people of Scotland a period of unparalleled hardship and suffering. But the people had already shown great power of endurance, and a resistance which rose with the violence of the oppressor. All classes recognised the qualities of their hero-king, and the clergy were the first to declare in a formal manner their adherence to Robert Bruce.

John Baliol and the Black Comyn were the sole potentates west of the Nith in right of their wives. Marjory, only daughter of Baliol and Devorgilla, was married to the lord of Badenoch, the Black Comyn, son of the Justiciar. It was at Buittle, on the banks of the Urr, that Devorgilla gave birth, in 1249, to the future competitor to the crown, John Baliol. Her husband died in 1269; and it was at Buittle that she dated and signed the statutes of Baliol College, founded and endowed conform to the wishes of her husband, to whose memory she built a splendid memorial and resting-place called Sweetheart Abbey: so called from the embalmed heart of her husband placed in an ivory casket, built in over the high altar, and after her death placed on her bosom in her coffin. She had four sons—Hugh, married to Anne, daughter of the Earl of Pembroke (Aymer de Valence); Alan and Alexander died young, and John Baliol, the future king. She built a bridge of nine arches over the Nith, which still spans that river. She also founded and endowed a monastery for the Blackfriars of Wigtown, and another for the Greyfriars at Dumfries; and there is a tradition that she built Kenmure Castle in New Galloway. She died in 1289,

¹ National MSS. of Scotland.

and was interred in Sweetheart Abbey, now called New Abbey (Dumfries).

James continued to be High Steward until Bruce was settled on the throne, which event he only survived three years. He confirmed all the former donations and charters given by his ancestors, and died in 1309, aged sixty-six years, and was interred in Paisley Abbey. James was married to Cecilia, daughter of Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March. He left four sons and one daughter, and Walter, his second son, succeeded him. His third son, Sir John, fell at Dundalk; his fourth son James, who acquired the Barony of Durrisdeer from Robert Bruce, was the ancestor of the Stewarts of Rosyth in Fife.¹

Andrew, eldest son of the High Steward, had been placed by his father in the hands of Edward as a hostage. Edward entrusted him to Lamberton, bishop of St. Andrews; but hearing of the relations between the Steward and Bruce, and hearing also of Comyn's assassination, he required the Bishop to deliver up the Steward's heir. Instead of doing so Lamberton placed him in the hands of Bruce. It would appear from the "Dalrymple Annals" that Andrew was the eldest son of the Steward. It does not appear what became of him; he evidently died without issue, as Walter succeeded to all the possessions of the High Steward. The daughter, Egidia, married Alexander Menzies, and was the ancestor of that ancient family.

The official career of James, the High Steward, was completely shadowed by the domineering conduct of his more powerful neighbour, Edward, the English king.

¹ Crawford.

WALTER,
EIGHTH STEWARD, AND SIXTH HIGH
STEWARD OF SCOTLAND,

A.D. 1309—1327.

THE accession in 1309 of Walter, the High Steward, to the hereditary office of his ancestors was a great event, as the sequel shows, in the political history of the time. With the exception of the King, Walter was the greatest personality of that period. His courage, intrepidity, daring, coupled with a judicious and clear intellect, were manifested in a high degree at Bannockburn, when the success of that momentous struggle, and the route of the English forces, were in a great measure due to his heroic conduct. The whole career of this Steward, extending over a period of eighteen years, was of the most distinguished character, and wound up with securing the hand of Marjory Bruce, the only daughter of the King, an honour that at that period would be considered paramount. He is well entitled to be regarded as the ancestor of the Royal House of Stuart, and he bequeathed to his posterity the Stuart kings, an example of a high-principled and singularly active and useful life, which it would have been well for them had they endeavoured to imitate.

Walter, who was the son of James, seventh Steward was born in 1293, and succeeded his father in 1309. The first account of him in history is in 1314, in the twenty-first year of his age, when at the assembling of the Scottish army at Torwood, near Stirling, a little before the battle of Bannockburn, he brought a noble body of men to the aid of Bruce against King Edward. In the arrangement of the Scottish troops on that

occasion they comprised four divisions; the first commanded by Randolph, Earl of Moray, Bruce's nephew; the second by Edward Bruce, the King's brother; the third by Walter, the High Steward, and Sir James Douglas; the fourth or rear by the King himself. The Steward was a man of a strong military disposition, and enthusiastically assisted Bruce in his warlike undertakings. After Bannockburn he was knighted, and received a grant of the Barony of Kilbryde. In the end of that year, 1314, he was appointed to receive on the borders Elizabeth, wife of Bruce; Marjory, daughter of Bruce; Christian, Countess of Mar, and sister of Bruce; Donald, Earl of Mar, her son, and Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow; these being released from confinement in England, where they had been detained since the battle of Methven in 1306. In connection with this matter the following pathetic letter was sent by Elizabeth, wife of Bruce, to the King of England, Edward II. :—

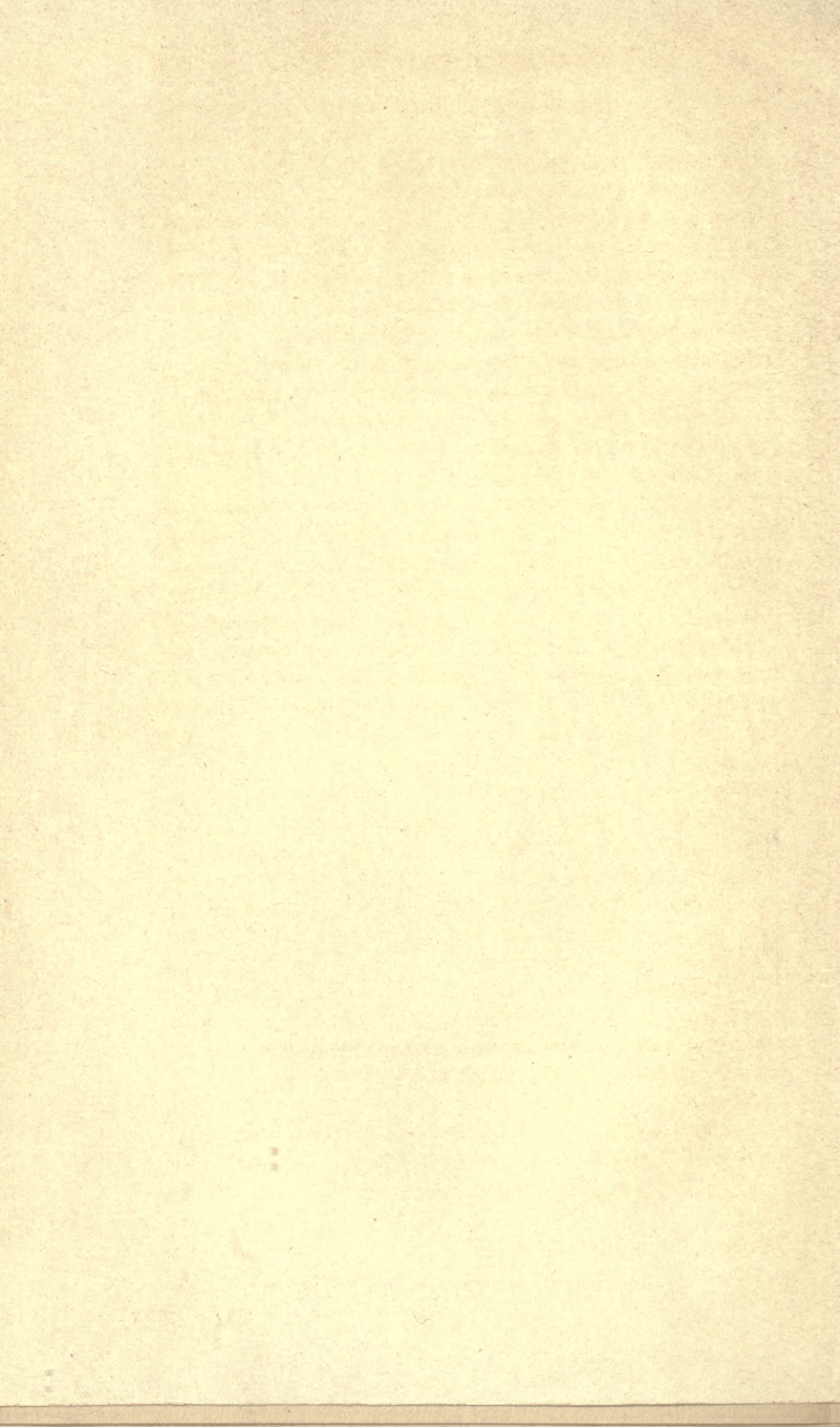
MY LORD,—May I thank you for the great benefits and honours which you have done me, and will yet do if it please you; and chiefly, sire, that you have commanded your bailiffs of Holderness that I and mine by your command be sustained honourably and sufficiently in everything as far as we could reasonably want. My lord, please you to know that they will not find for me clothes for my body, nor attire for my head, nor bed, nor aught that pertains to my chamber, save only a suite of three changes of apparel by the year, nor for your people who serve only your commands, save for each a robe for all purposes. Wherefore, my lord, I would pray you, if I dared, that you would give orders that my estate be amended, and your people who serve me should be so considered for their labour that I be not left unserved; or that I have certain monies by the year from which I may be sustained at your pleasure. My lord, I pray God to give you good life and long.

(It is supposed that this letter was written from Hull about 1309.) The lady had been dragged from the



AFTER BANNOCKBURN.

Delivery of the Captives to Walter, the High Steward.



sanctuary at Tain, and imprisoned in different castles in England.¹

In 1315 a great event took place ; the King gave his daughter in marriage to Walter, the High Steward. Having accompanied Bruce in 1315 on a successful expedition for the reduction of the Western Isles, he was rewarded with the hand of the King's daughter, the Princess Marjory, in recognition of his eminent military services. The details of the ceremony and the festivities on that auspicious occasion are unfortunately not recorded, but rejoicings on a large scale undoubtedly took place. The dowry, as might be expected, was large, and is fully detailed in the charter which was then granted, and of which the following is the text. It possesses great historical interest as a charter of feudal times. King Robert was son of the seventh Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale. The first was a follower of William the Conqueror. His son, the second Robert Bruce, received a gift of the Lordship of Annandale from David I. This charter marks the alliance between the family of the Steward and that of Robert Bruce, through which our Royal family now hold the throne. It is the charter by which Robert Bruce granted to Walter, the High Steward, the faithful companion of his sufferings, and sharer of the glories of Bannockburn, the Barony of Bathgate, and other lands in Linlithgowshire, in free marriage with his daughter Marjory. Marjory was the issue of Bruce's first marriage with Isobel, daughter of Donald, Earl of Mar. She was the companion of her step-mother in her English captivity ; and when that ceased after Bannockburn, the Steward, as already stated, had the honour of conducting the Royal ladies back to Scotland, an auspicious event of no ordinary moment, and one that sent a ray of sunshine over the whole kingdom:—

ROBERT I., KING OF SCOTLAND, ETC.—Be it known to you that we have given, granted, and by this our

¹ National MSS. of Scotland.

present charter confirmed to our beloved and faithful Walter, Steward of Scotland, in free marriage with Marjory, our daughter, the Barony of Bathgate, with the lands of Riccarton, and the lands of Barnes near Linlithgow ; the land called the Broom, near the Loch, and the lands of Bonnington, Kingcleugh, and Gallowhill near Linlithgow, and the annual revenue out of the Carse of Stirling, which the Abbot and canons of the Holy Cross of Edinburgh hold of us ; the yearly rent of 100 shillings to be lifted from the lands of Kinpont in Roxburgh, to be held by the said Walter and his lawful heirs, by him, and the said Marjory, our daughter, in fee and heritage, by all their rights, bounds, and divisions, freely, quietly, fully, and honourably ; together with free tenants, the services of the same, with bonds, bondages neyfs, and their sequels, mills, multures, with all other liberties, as well not named as named, to the said baronies and lands, with rents belonging, or that may hereafter belong. Performing for the same to us and our heirs the said Walter and his aforesaid heirs, the services due and accustomed according to the nature of the infestment of free marriage.

Witnesses :

The venerable Fathers.	Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray.
William and Nicholas, Bishops of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane.	Malcolm, Earl of Lennox.
Bernard, Abbot of Aberbrothock, our Chancellor.	James, Lord Douglas.
Patrick of Dunbar, Earl of March.	Gilbert de Hay, Constable of Scotland.
	Robert de Keith, Marischal of Scotland.
	Knights, and others.

This handsome dowry the lady unfortunately did not live long to enjoy. Riding on Shrove Tuesday, a year after the marriage, between Paisley and the Castle of Renfrew, then the principal residence of the High Stewards, the Lady Marjory was thrown from her horse and dislocated her neck. She was pregnant, and

the accouchement had to be performed on the spot. The child's eye was touched by the instrument, and the wound proved incurable. The child, afterwards Robert II., was sometimes called "King Blear Eye." The unfortunate and esteemed lady died immediately, to the great grief of her husband and the profound vexation of the Scottish people. On the spot where the accident occurred there was afterwards erected a cross, which was standing in the early part of the eighteenth century. The Lady Marjory was interred beside the High Stewards in Paisley Abbey. In commemoration of this event Walter, the High Steward, in 1318 made a donation of the patronage of the Church of Largs, with the tithes, to the monastery of Paisley for the welfare of the soul of Marjory Bruce.¹

A modern writer (Dr. Cameron Lees) gives us an interesting reference to this subject:—Midway between the Abbey of Paisley and the Castle of the Stewards at Renfrew there is an eminence called "The Knock," a name which it has borne from the earliest times. This little elevation then rose in the midst of the wood which stretched between Paisley and the Clyde, and was probably the frequent hunting-ground of the Stewards. Here, it is said, Marjory Bruce, while following the chase, to which the family of her husband were devoted, was thrown from her horse, in its struggles through a marshy piece of ground, long after shown as the scene of the accident. Down to modern times a stone pillar stood on the spot where the mother of the Royal House of Stuart was said to have met her death. It was an octagonal column, ten feet high, inserted on a solid pedestal, also octagonal, and about six feet in diameter. It bore the name of "Queen Bleary's Cross." No vestige of it now remains.

In the centre of the Chapel of St. Mirren in Paisley Abbey stands the supposed tomb of Marjory, wife of Walter, the High Steward. It is of beautiful workmanship, and is in every way worthy of inspection. It was

¹ Crawford's "History of Renfrewshire."

reconstructed by Dr. Boag, one of the ministers of the parish, from fragments which he found lying about, and placed by him in its present position. The tomb is an altar tomb, with a recumbent figure of a woman resting on a pillar; over her head is an ornamental canopy, with a sculpture of the Crucifixion. Round the tomb is a series of compartments filled with sculptured figures of ecclesiastics and shields with armorial bearings. On a scroll is written the name of Robert Wyschard, and under another figure—that of an abbot celebrating Mass at an altar—is inscribed the name, "Johes d Lychtgw," which is repeated below another kneeling figure. The stone at the head of the monument is divided into three compartments, each containing a shield. The shield on the right bears the fesse cheque between three roses; that on the left the fesse cheque surmounted by a lion rampant, and the one in the middle two keys *en saltire* between two croziers *en pale*. There has been considerable controversy as to the credibility of the tradition which assigns this tomb to Marjory Bruce, but we see no reason to set it aside.

The figure on the tomb is obviously that of a female of rank connected with the family of the Stewards. The abbey was the place where Marjory was interred, and the Steward is said to have caused a monument to be erected to his wife. Robert Wyschard, whose name is on the tomb, was bishop of Glasgow, and was a captive in England with Marjory. He returned in her company to Scotland, and was bishop of the diocese at the time of her death. John Lithgow was abbot during a great part of the reign of her son, and the monument was probably erected during his term of office, which accounts for his name being found upon it. The features of the statue are said on good authority to resemble strikingly those of Robert Bruce, father of Marjory.¹

The lands were erected by James II. into a regality,

¹ Cameron Lees' "History of Paisley Abbey."

of which the Abbot was lord. The mausoleum of the Stewards was there till their accession to the throne. The abbey was burned in 1307 by the English, and again in 1561 by Lord Glencairn. In 1484 the grounds were surrounded by a lofty wall, one mile in circumference. The buildings inhabited by the monks have disappeared, The Chapel of St. Mirren, forming part of the transept, and now used as a place of sepulchre by the Abercorn family, contains, as already stated, the monument to Marjory Bruce, mother of Robert II., which has been reconstructed. The original castle of the Stewards seems to have stood on the island called "The King's Inch," between the two channels of the river. Renfrewshire was at that period part of the kingdom of Strathclyde. Knock Hill, where Marjory Bruce was killed, is between Paisley and Renfrew.

When Robert Bruce went over to Ireland to assist his brother Edward, he appointed Walter, the High Steward, and Sir James Douglas joint-governors of Scotland in his absence. On the death of Edward Bruce, who fell at the battle of Dundalk in 1318, and being without lawful male issue, a Parliament was held at Scone to determine the succession to the crown. It was ordained at this Parliament, King Robert Bruce presiding, that in the event of the King's death without male issue, the succession should go to the King's grandchild Robert, the son of Marjory and Walter the High Steward. To this act the seals of many of the nobles were appended, including that of Walter.

In 1318 the town of Berwick was taken from the English and given in charge to the High Steward, who made vigorous preparations for sustaining a siege by assembling his kindred and vassals. In 1319 it was besieged by Edward II., but Walter defended the town with signal bravery, against an army commanded by Edward in person, who was obliged to abandon the siege after exhausting his utmost efforts. The Steward, attended by a select body of a hundred personal friends, patrolled the walls throughout the whole day, detaching

numbers of his bodyguard where the exigencies of the siege demanded extra support or fresh leadership. In spite of all the efforts of his garrison, however, the English, by force of numbers, succeeded in filling up the ditch and fixing their ladders to the walls. In the afternoon they captured the drawbridge and set fire to the gate at St. Mary's Port. The Steward immediately hastened thither, accompanied by the only one of his hundred followers who was left. Perceiving the serious nature of the situation, he called down the guard from the rampart, ordered the gates to be thrown open, and rushing through the flames fiercely attacked the enemy in his turn. The combat which ensued was heroically maintained by the Scots on most unequal terms until nightfall, when the English retired, having, it is said, lost 4,000 men. Bruce created a diversion in favour of his son-in-law by sending Randolph and Douglas with 15,000 men to raid the north of England, and this compelled Edward to abandon the siege. Walter thereafter committed the management of his estates and private affairs to his brother, Sir James, while he himself gave attendance at Court, which was frequently held at Berwick. In 1320 the nobles and barons of Scotland assembled at the monastery of Aberbrothock, and wrote a famous letter to his Holiness, Pope John, which is recorded by various historians. Walter was one of the nobles who signed this letter. In 1321 the lands of Sir William Soulis, the Baronies of Nisbet and Eckford (Roxburgh), and the Baronies of Kelly and Methven, which belonged to Sir Roger Mowbray, were given to the High Steward on the attainder of Soulis and Mowbray, who had been concerned in a conspiracy against Robert Bruce, for which they were tried at a Parliament held at Scone in August, 1320, and attainted. In 1322 the Steward was engaged in the same enterprise with Randolph and Douglas, when by a forced march they endeavoured to surprise Edward II. at Beland Abbey, in Yorkshire. Edward with difficulty escaped to York, and was very nearly taken prisoner.

The Steward, with 500 horse, pursued him and his troops, and remained at the gates of York till the evening, waiting on the enemy to come out. The Steward returned home enriched with booty. Edward again, in 1322, led a large force into Scotland, but was compelled ignominiously to retreat, the Scots having, according to the usual tactics of Bruce, retired before him, wasting their own country as they went, and thus leaving nothing for the support of the enemy. No sooner had Edward recrossed the border than Bruce, with his three generals, Douglas, Randolph, and the Steward, marched into England. Bruce and the Steward invested Norham Castle, while Douglas and Randolph harassed the enemy and defeated them.

At a Parliament at Cambuskenneth in 1326, in the presence of King Robert, to provide for the expenses of the war those present gave an oath of fidelity to David Bruce, the King's son: and if he should die without lawful issue, to choose Robert Steward, the King's grandson; whereby the rights of hereditary monarchy were confirmed, and the High Steward had the satisfaction of having his son declared the next of the Royal blood and heir-apparent to the crown. Walter died in 1327, at the Castle of Bathgate, at the early age of thirty-three years, and in the twenty-first year of the reign of Robert Bruce.¹ His first wife was Marjory Bruce, by whom he had issue Robert, Steward of Scotland (his successor), afterwards Robert II. His second wife was Isobel, daughter of Sir John Graham of Abercorn, by whom he had issue Sir John Stuart of Railstoun, called brother of Robert, Earl of Strathearn (the Steward), in a donation by the Earl to the Church of Glasgow; and a second son, Sir Andrew Stuart, who enjoyed an annuity from the customs of Perth and Dundee, but of whom little is known—he died in 1314; and Lady Egidia, his youngest daughter who was thrice married—first, to Sir James Lindsay of Crawford; second, to Sir Hugh Eglinton of Ardrossan;

¹ Symson.

third, to Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith. By this marriage the Montgomeries inherited Eglinton and Ardrossan. His grandson, Sir John Montgomery was by James I. created first Lord Montgomery.

It is recorded that this Walter, the High Steward, was a man of just and noble character, of an agreeable and cultivated disposition, and a man of a very handsome build.

It is disappointing to have such a short record of the official life of this High Steward. We are warranted in saying that he was not only a close companion to King Robert Bruce, but an indispensable officer during the War of Independence, and the civil wars which troubled the country during that period. Walter was more than a capable Steward, he was a military expert, as his brilliant behaviour at Bannockburn showed. We are probably as much indebted to him as to Bruce for that victory. The calamity that befel him in being deprived of his young wife a year after they were married, must indeed have been a great blow to him, more particularly because of the nature and deplorable results of the accident. Though Walter again got married, his premature death at the age of thirty-three years could not but be felt at the time as an overwhelming calamity to both king and people. The record of Walter is an unusually interesting page in the brief, but remarkable history, of the High Stewards of Scotland.



ROBERT II.
King of Scotland, and Seventh High Steward.

(Pinkerton's Iconographia.)



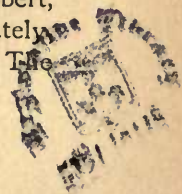
CHAPTER IV.

Robert, the Ninth Steward—Edward Baliol defeated, and escapes in his Shirt—Battle of Halidon Hill and escape of Steward—Steward's estates confiscated—Execution of English Governor of Bute—Capture of Sir Andrew Moray—Randolph, Earl of Moray, poisoned—Earl of Mar appointed Regent—Archibald Douglas, Regent—High Steward and Randolph joint-Regents—Regents' Parliament at Dairsie—Capture of Randolph, Earl of Moray—Treaty of Perth—The Earldom of Atholl—Atholl slain at Kilblain—Marriage of the Steward and Elizabeth Mure—Return of the King with Joan, his Queen—Battle of Durham or Neville's Cross—Queen Philippa commands English forces—King David captured and put in the Tower—Execution of Sir John Graham, Earl of Menteith—High Steward appointed sole Regent—His marriage to Euphame Ross—Edward Baliol resigns the Crown—The Famous Conference at Berwick—King David and Estates at Scone quarrel—The Steward created Earl of Strathearn—The Steward issues his own Proclamation—King David's counter Proclamation—Death of Queen, and King's second marriage—Queen imprisons the Steward and his sons—Scottish Parliament and the King's Ransom—Death of David II.—Coronation of Robert II. and Queen Euphame—Scottish Parliament at Scone—John Mercer of Perth—The French Knights—Battle of Otterburn—Retirement and death of Robert II.—His Character—The ancient House of Rowallan—The remarkable Family of Robert II.

ROBERT, NINTH STEWARD, AND SEVENTH HIGH STEWARD OF SCOTLAND.

A.D. 1326—1390.

OF all the High Stewards of Scotland, probably there was none who achieved so many valiant deeds as Robert, the last Steward. The annals of his time are, fortunately, more fully recorded than those of his predecessors.



fourteenth century, the period of this Steward, is one of the most eventful in Scottish history. Neither before nor since have we had such overwhelming events recorded. After the deposition of John Baliol in 1296 and the troubles created by Edward I., Wallace and Bruce came on the scene, and the War of Independence, which was then carried on between the two nations, culminated at Bannockburn, when peace was firmly secured. But the death of Walter, the High Steward, in 1326, and the death of Bruce in 1329, were great calamities for the Scots, resulting in a return of hostilities with England. Edward Baliol, in 1332, by what could only be called an accident, totally defeated the Scots army at Dupplin, slew the regent, and by the help of Edward III., asserted his authority and occupied Perth and several of the Scottish fortresses. Three months after this Baliol and his troops, whose movements were closely watched by the warlike Scots, were ignominiously defeated at Annan by the Earl of Moray, and Baliol fled into England. This led up to the battle of Halidon Hill in July following, which was almost as disastrous in its results to the Scots as was the battle of Flodden, nearly two centuries later. The flower of the nobility were slain, including the regent, Douglas, a man of outstanding ability. Again the Scots suffered disaster of a most serious character at Neville's Cross, near Durham, in 1346, when David II. was taken prisoner and his army almost annihilated. And to crown all, the Steward, who had dared to oppose the foolish marriage of King David with Margaret Logie, was in 1368 thrown into prison in Lochleven Castle. These were the outstanding calamities of the fourteenth century, which the grandson of Robert Bruce was called upon to face. Robert was the only son of Walter, the eighth Steward, and Marjory Bruce, and was born in 1316. He succeeded very early to the Stewardship, his father having died, as already stated, in 1326, the year before the Treaty of Northampton. By that treaty England recognised the independence of Scotland and Bruce's right to the

crown. The first notable event after the young Steward's accession to office, excepting the battle of Dupplin, for which he was not responsible, was the defeat of Baliol. In December, 1332, four months after the battle of Dupplin, Baliol, who was crowned at Scone on 24th September, was encamped at Annan. He was suddenly attacked by a body of troops, under the command of the Earl of Moray, second son of the great Randolph, Sir Archibald Douglas, and Sir Simon Fraser. These advancing from Moffat fell on Baliol's camp at midnight. Taken completely by surprise, Baliol's troops were put to the sword without mercy. His brother Henry, Walter Comyn, Sir John Mowbray, and many others, were slain, and the newly-crowned King was ignominiously chased out of the country; almost naked, he threw himself on his horse, and with hardly an attendant, escaped to England. His next appearance was at the siege of Berwick in May, 1333, which culminated in the battle of Halidon Hill, fought on the 19th July, 1333, when, as just stated, so many of the Scottish nobility were slain. What led up to this engagement was the conduct of Keith, the Governor of Berwick, who refused to surrender to the English in terms of a treaty. He was permitted by the treaty to have an interview with the regent, Archibald Douglas, and at that interview represented to Douglas the desperate situation of the inhabitants; magnified the importance of the town, which must, he said, be lost unless immediately relieved, and eventually persuaded the regent to risk a battle rather than surrender—a resolution that was most injudicious, as the result showed.

In obedience to this understanding the Scottish army, on 16th July, 1333, crossed the Tweed. The Scots were in four divisions, the first commanded by the young Earl of Moray, the second by Robert, the High Steward, the third by the regent, Archibald, tenth Earl of Douglas and Lord of Galloway, and the fourth by Hugh, Earl of Ross. The Scots numbered, it is said, 15,000, which included camp followers. An extensive

bog lay between them and the English, and this eventually caused their defeat. They broke their ranks and struggled in confusion through the bog. The English archers from the slope of the adjoining hill poured on them volleys of arrows by which hundreds were wounded or slain. The better part of the army extricated themselves, and advancing up the hill made an attack on the enemy. They were unable to sustain the conflict with fresh troops posted in a most advantageous position against them, and after a brief struggle were driven down the hill with great slaughter. The regent and the Earls of Ross, Sutherland, Carrick, Menteith, Lennox, and Malise, Earl of Strathearn, were slain, several barons, and 10,000 troops. Very few of the leaders escaped, and the engagement was disastrous to the Scots. The High Steward was one of the few who did escape, and he found his way to Bute, where he concealed himself for some time. It is said that Baliol, immediately after the battle, confiscated the Steward's estates, and conferred them on David de Strathbogie, eleventh Earl of Atholl. From Bute the Steward found his way to Dumbarton Castle, where he was welcomed by Sir Malcolm Fleming, the Governor. Shortly after this he, in company with Campbell of Lochow, seized Dunoon Castle, and this was followed by the Steward's vassals in Bute assassinating the English Governor of the Island, Alan de Lisle, and sending his head to their master. The Steward then gathered a considerable following, and Randolph, third Earl of Moray, who had escaped to France after Halidon Hill, returned to Scotland and joined him.

Randolph, first Earl of Moray, was by King Robert Bruce, his uncle, when dying, nominated to the regency, and he enjoyed the dignity for a very short period, having died at Musselburgh in 1331, said to have been poisoned by a monk. The following year his son, Randolph, second Earl of Moray, fell at Dupplin, Donald, Earl of Mar, Bruce's nephew, succeeded Randolph as regent. He proved himself to be

incapable, and was one of those who fell also at Dupplin. Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, uncle-in-law to the King, succeeded Mar as regent. He was a capable man, and an experienced soldier, but the following year was made prisoner at the siege of Roxburgh Castle, and kept in captivity by the English for nearly two years. At this crisis the Scottish Parliament appointed Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, regent in Moray's place.¹

This distinguished officer was mortally wounded at Halidon Hill. The Scots next appointed the Steward and Randolph, Earl of Moray, as joint-regents. This Randolph was brother of young Randolph, slain at Dupplin. The King, David II., was at this period in France prosecuting his education. In April, 1335, the regents held a Parliament at Dairsie, which was attended by the principal Scottish barons. It would appear that the insolence of Atholl, who was a supporter of Baliol, his relations to the Comyns, and his princely possessions in Scotland and England, indicated his having an eye to the crown. His behaviour was so offensive to Randolph and the other nobles, that after a stormy scene the meeting broke up in confusion. A battle appears to have taken place soon after in the Burghmuir of Edinburgh. When all was over Randolph conducted some Flemish soldiers across the border, and on his return was captured by the English Warden of Jedburgh Forest and imprisoned. Some years afterwards he was released, and commanded a division of the Scots army in 1346 at Neville's Cross, where he lost his life.

On the 18th August, 1335, what is called the Treaty of Perth, was concluded between the Steward as regent and Edward III. It was provided by this Treaty that Atholl and the other barons should have their lands

¹ In speaking of Scottish historians, we must be careful to separate Boece and his followers from those who flourished before him. The last class, including Barber, Winton, Fordun, and Bower, are valuable; the first full of invention and apocryphal details.—(Tytler.)

restored and should be pardoned ; that the liberties of the Scottish Church should be preserved ; the laws and ancient usages of Scotland in the days of Alexander to be continued in force ; and all offices to be held by natives of Scotland. On the same day Atholl, who was nephew of King Robert Bruce (David of Strathbogie, eleventh Earl), renewed his submission to Edward III., in return for which he obtained a special pardon ; his English estates were restored, and he was appointed Governor of Scotland under Baliol. Atholl was one of the largest claimants among the disinherited barons, and the history of his house is a fair example of the fluctuations and changes so prevalent at that turbulent period. The Earldom goes back with a very direct genealogy, to the reign of Malcolm Canmore, and was one of the Earldoms then created. These were the first Earldoms in Scotland. In the middle of the thirteenth century the Lady Fernelith was Countess of Atholl in her own right ; she married Sir David Hastings, seventh Earl, who traced relationship with the Royal Family of England. Their daughter, heiress of the two houses, married John of Strathbogie, grandson of the Earl of Fife, and carried with her the Earldom, her husband becoming eighth Earl. The next heir, David, married an English heiress, Isabella, granddaughter of John, King of England, who brought him Chilham Castle and other possessions in Kent. The son of this lady was John, tenth Earl of Atholl, who supported Bruce's claim to the crown, and was executed in London in 1306. His son, David, the next Earl, was for a short time High Constable of Scotland under Bruce, but afterwards went over to Baliol, when his estates and offices in Scotland were forfeited. He was owner not only of the Atholl estates and the Chilham domains in England, but represented a co-heiress's share in Badenoch and other possessions of the Comyns. One of his first acts was to lay siege to the Castle of Kildrummy, Aberdeen, in which Christian, sister of Robert Bruce, and wife of Sir Andrew Moray, had

taken refuge. Moray, on hearing this, hastened, along with the Earl of March and the Knight of Liddesdale, at the head of 15,000 men to the relief of the fortress. The troops of Atholl encamped in the forest at Kilblain, near Braemar, were surprised and speedily routed, Atholl refused to surrender, and continued fighting till he was slain under a great oak tree, along with five knights who attended him. The result of this incident was that a meeting of the Scottish Parliament was held in Dunfermline, when Sir Andrew Moray who, in 1334, was released from captivity, was again elected regent. He held the office till his death in 1338, when the Steward became sole regent. Immediately on assuming the regency, the Steward made vigorous preparations for expelling Baliol and the English from Scotland.

In 1337 the Steward fell violently in love with Elizabeth Mure, daughter of Sir Adam Mure of Rowallan. They were cousins in the third or fourth degree, and could not lawfully marry without a dispensation from Rome. But they would not wait, and got married at once at the little chapel of "Our Lady's Kirk of Kyle," near Ayr, now called Lady Kirk. In 1339 the Regent invested Perth, which he took on behalf of David II., after a siege of four months, including the Castle of Perth, one of the most important strongholds. This was the memorable seventh siege of Perth, already fully recorded.¹ The Regent's next enterprise the same year was against Stirling Castle, which surrendered on similar conditions to those of Perth; Edinburgh was recovered in 1341, and Roxburgh in 1342. This enterprise, which destroyed Baliol's influence in Scotland, kept the realm in constant excitement and trouble. In 1341 the young King returned from France, with his Queen Joanna, sister of Edward III., and received obeisance from the Regent, who rendered up the government, retaining his office of High Steward. In 1346 Douglas,

¹ The Author's "Ancient Capital of Scotland."

the Knight of Liddesdale, regardless of the truce between the two countries, broke across the border at the head of a considerable force and burned the border towns of Carlisle and Penrith. This foolish incident was the beginning of hostilities with England, and was an act which the English King regarded with unqualified resentment.

Edward was at this period in France, and in his absence King David thought he would steal a march upon him. The Scottish troops mustered at Perth by the King's order, and went to the border to join Douglas in his filibustering conduct. Douglas advised the King to return, but the King was too impetuous to fight the English, and refused the advice. He advanced to Hexham, and plundered and laid waste the country, burning the monastic buildings up to the gates of Durham. Edward, hearing of this outrageous proceeding, countermanded a force of 10,000 men who were being sent to his assistance from England, to be used against the Scots, and an army of 30,000, well officered, was appointed to give battle to the Scottish King. One of the most serious engagements in the official life of the Steward was the battle of Durham, or Neville's Cross, fought on 17th October, 1346. The Scots were drawn up in three divisions; King David commanded the centre; the Earl of Moray and Sir William Douglas, the Knight of Liddesdale, afterwards first Earl of Douglas, the right wing; while the Steward and the Earl of March commanded the left. It is recorded that the ground was intersected with enclosures and ditches which separated the divisions, and rendered it impossible for them to support each other. The English began the attack on the right wing, commanded by Randolph, Earl of Moray, by keeping up a deadly shower of arrows, which flew as thick as hail. Moray was slain, and Douglas made prisoner, which threw the division into disorder, and it took to flight. The English then attacked the centre commanded by the King. The contest was obstinately maintained for three hours, and

the King, it is recorded, though severely wounded by two arrows, fought bravely in the midst of his nobles, who fell fast around him. At length Coupland, an English knight, in a hand-to-hand fight disarmed the King, and made him prisoner. Like grim death did he and his men stand to the last; like a tower they stood clustered together protecting their sovereign, till scarcely 40 were left, of whom not one could escape.¹ The Steward and the Earl of March retired with the remainder of the army and escaped. It is said that 10,000 of the Scots were killed or captured, but this is probably exaggerated. Many of the Scottish nobles were slain, and it is said 50 barons and knights made prisoners. Among the former were the Earls of Fife and Menteith, who were tried for joining the party of Bruce after having sworn fealty to Baliol. The Earl of Fife (Duncan, thirteenth Earl), had his life spared because his mother was the niece of Edward I., but the unfortunate Earl of Menteith (Sir John Graham, ninth Earl) was dragged at the horse's tail through the streets of London, and afterwards executed at Durham. The Scottish King was conveyed to London by an escort of 20,000 troops, mounted on a tall black horse that he might be seen by all the people. His arrival there was made the occasion of a public celebration in honour of the victory. The procession in London was swelled by the city guilds in gala costumes, and passed through the streets to the Tower amid a vast concourse of citizens. Here he was to remain for twelve years, Edward compelling him to pay the cost of his maintenance. Considering that he was married to Edward's sister this conduct was tyrannical. This disaster brought the Scottish nation, it is said, to the brink of ruin. Roxburgh Castle again surrendered, and the whole country south of the Forth was abandoned to the enemy. The nobles who escaped from the battle appointed the Steward heir to the throne, and regent of the kingdom. He at once entered into negotiations for

¹ Mackinnon's "Life of Edward III."

his uncle's release, and sent money to England for his maintenance. After the capture of the King embassy after embassy went to arrange terms for his surrender, but Edward was in no hurry to deal with the matter : he had possession of too good a prize ; and it does not quite appear that David was very anxious to be released, as his captivity was not evidently very oppressive. In the beginning of 1352 he was allowed to pay a visit to Scotland, leaving in Edward's custody seven sons of the nobility as hostages for his return. This visit was with the view of persuading the Scots to accept Edward's terms, which were the recognition of his supremacy over Scotland. King David had agreed to this in writing without the consent of his nobles. When he put it before them they emphatically refused the proposal, and announced that they would rather pay the oppressive ransom than be subject to England. Douglas was this year released from the Tower of London.

In 1354, in his efforts to obtain his sovereign's freedom, the Regent bound himself to give one of his sons for a perpetual hostage to Edward, beginning with the eldest, and so on in succession till David's ransom should be paid.

It is believed that in 1355 King Robert II. married Lady Euphame Ross, eldest daughter of Hugh, third Earl of Ross, who fell at Halidon Hill. The lady had been previously married to John Randolph, third Earl of Moray, who fell at the battle of Durham in 1346.

The Steward, who was now Regent during the captivity of David, issued a new coinage, which was not only far below the original standard in value, but even inferior to the English currency. We are informed of this by a proclamation of Edward III. In a letter to the Sheriff of Northumberland, the King informs him that the new coinage of Scotland was not of the same weight and quality of the sterling money of England : and ordered the Sheriff to make proclamation in his district that the new Scots money should be taken only for its value in bullion, but that the

old money of Scotland should be still current as before.

At Roxburgh Castle, on 20th January, 1356, Baliol, weary of the constant strife and of a sovereignty which he possessed only in name, renounced the crown in favour of Edward, in return for which he received from England an annuity of £2,000, and this closed for ever the record of the House of Baliol. This year Edward III. led an army into Scotland, and as usual laid waste the country. The Steward gave orders for the people to retire before the enemy, denuding the country of all means of support; Edward was thereby compelled to retrace his steps. In his retreat he was pursued and harassed by the Regent's son, John, afterwards Earl of Carrick, and Robert III., who, carrying his arms into Nithsdale, compelled that district to submit to David. This seems the only heroic incident recorded of John, Earl of Carrick. Edward resumed negotiations for David's ransom and for peace, on the understanding that he recognised the independence of Scotland.¹ The representatives of the Estates of Scotland met the English representatives at Berwick to discuss King David's ransom.

This conference, held on 26th September, 1357, was an imposing function. For England there appeared the Primate, the bishops of Durham and Carlisle, and Lords Percy, Neville, Scrope and Musgrove; for Scotland the bishop of St. Andrews, and thirty knights and their squires, while the captive King was escorted to the meeting by the English military. The King's ransom was fixed at £100,000, which, after prolonged discussion, was agreed to. The King was

¹ Queen Philippa, consort of Edward III., attended Neville's Cross in Edward's absence. She rode a white horse and inspired the English troops with courage. Coupland, an English officer, refused to surrender the King of Scots to her without Edward's consent, and he went to France, where Edward was, and got that consent. Philippa thereupon ordered King David to be put in the Tower of London.

released from captivity on the following terms, having been detained eleven years:—As security for payment of the ransom, twenty young men of the flower of Scotland, including the eldest son of the Regent, to be given as hostages, and for further security three of the principal nobles, for a temporary period, to place themselves in the hands of the English. This Treaty was ratified at Scone on 6th November following. The payment of this oppressive ransom—for it was eventually paid—was a serious matter for the Scots. They found it next to impossible to raise the money.

The whole life of David II., after he returned from captivity, was given to pleasure and frivolity, and his extravagance led to a rebellion among some of the nobles. They were exasperated at seeing money which should have been retained for payment of the ransom positively squandered.

For effective service rendered in the midst of these troubles, the Steward was in 1359 created Earl of Strathearn. A meeting of the Scottish Parliament took place at Scone in March, 1363, when King David proposed that one of the sons of Edward, King of England, should succeed him as King of Scotland. At this speech Parliament stood aghast, and the suggestion was received with a burst of indignation: "We never will allow an Englishman to reign over us." Had this suggestion been carried, it would have excluded from the throne the Steward and the descendants of Robert Bruce. The Steward strongly suspected the sincerity of the King, and he had good reason for doing so. The King, it is said, was playing into the hands of Edward during the entire eleven years of his captivity; and eventually he became unfriendly to the Steward. It is even said that he was displeased at the Steward because he escaped from the battle of Neville's Cross. It must be kept in view that the question of the succession was, during David's reign, the cause of much trouble throughout the realm; complicated by the King's ransom; by his

connivance with the English King against the interests of Scotland; by Baliol; by the tyrannical conduct of Edward; and by the influence of the Queen.

The result was that the Steward, in company with some of the principal nobles, issued a proclamation that they would either compel the King to renounce his designs and adhere to the succession, or they would banish him from the throne.¹ They assembled their retainers, traversed the country, and some of the nobles who supported David were seized and cast into prison. David issued a counter proclamation commanding the rebels to lay down their arms, while he summoned the nobles to arm themselves in his defence. The Steward, who was not anxious to fight, agreed, along with the barons who supported him, to lay down their arms and submit to the King, and await the course of events. In return for this submission, the Steward's title to the succession was recognised and the Earldom of Carrick conferred on his eldest son, afterwards Robert III.

It was at this critical time (1363) that the King—Queen Joanna having died the previous year—married Margaret Drummond or Logie, a lady, it is said, of great beauty. It was an imprudent act, and disapproved by the nobles. Animosity and jealousy soon afterwards arose between her and the Steward and the nobility. After the King's marriage with this lady, who is said to have been a daughter of Sir Malcolm Drummond, Stobhall, and aunt of Annabella Drummond, Queen of Robert III., his relations with the Steward became more strained than ever. In 1368, at the instigation of Queen Margaret Logie, who opposed the Steward's succession to the crown, and whose influence over the fickle King was paramount, the Steward and his three sons, John, Robert and Alexander, were thrown into prison in Lochleven Castle, she believing that this would settle the succession as regarded the Steward. The duration of the Steward's confinement

¹ Fordun.

is uncertain, but is supposed to have been from June, 1368, to 1369. The King evidently repented of this base and unjustifiable transaction, for the next thing we hear of is a proposal to be divorced from this lady. The Scottish Church, in 1370, granted decree of divorce, and the lady, who refused to recognise the decision, appealed against it to the Pope, who after the King's death reversed it. King David gave her for her dowry lands in Kinclaven, Abernethy, Rait, etc., together with the Abthagerie of Dull, of which her youngest brother, Maurice, ancestor of the Drummonds of Megginch, was "bailie," and which she conveyed to her son. Her son, John de Logie, got the Annandale lands of Robert Bruce. She died in 1374.¹ Whether Margaret Logie was a daughter of Sir Malcolm Drummond has never been finally determined.

A serious quarrel, involving an animated and troublesome controversy, was long maintained between the houses of Drummond and Menteith, which proved fatal to several members of the Menteith family. It was at last compromised by the King's command. The arbiters were Robert, High Steward of Scotland, the Earls of Douglas and Angus, Murray of Tullibardine, Campbell of Lochow, and Sir Colin, his son, before the two Lord Justiciars of Scotland, Sir Robert Erskine and Sir Hugh Eglinton, who, having met by appointment on the banks of the Forth, passed sentence, to which parties seals were appended, 1st May, 1360. By this indenture John, Lord Drummond, gave up certain lands in Dumbartonshire on a promise from the King of receiving other lands of greater value in Perthshire. By his marriage with Mary, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Sir William Montifex, Justiciar of Scotland, he got the lands of Cargill, Stobhall and Kincardine²; whereby he became one of the most opulent subjects in the kingdom. He left four sons and two daughters. His eldest son, Sir Malcolm, succeeded him. His eldest daughter, Lady Annabella, became the Queen of Robert

¹ Liber Pluscardensis.

² Douglas Peerage.

III., and his second daughter, Margaret, married Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, ancestor of the Dukes of Argyll.¹

A meeting of the Scottish Parliament was held at Scone on 20th July, 1366, when the following ordinance was issued :—

This Parliament was appointed to deliberate on the treaty of peace to be made with the King of England concerning payment of the ransom of the King at the conclusion of the truce, which will last for three years, should peace in the meantime not be renewed, or a farther truce obtained ; and regarding the necessary expenses of the King and his ambassadors about to be sent to England. With respect to the matter of peace, it has been ordained that the ambassadors should again be sent into England, viz., the bishop of St. Andrews, Sir Robert Erskine, Walter of Wardlaw, and Gilbert Armstrong, as having already full commission to treat of peace, so that it may be established, good and lasting, between the two kingdoms, conceding all things which in the first instance were for the sake of peace cancelled ; and concerning another point, viz., the aid of soldiers to be furnished by each party to the other, how it may best be done, and the least burden. And farther, failing such treaty, to negotiate for an extension of the truce to the end of twenty-five years, paying the sum of ransom money which remains due, viz., every year £4,000, as was formerly provided in the treaty : it was also ordained that as by the returns made both the old extent and the true value of all revenues of churches and lands, ecclesiastical as well as secular, are now ascertained, these should be taxed : also all the goods of burgesses and of husbandmen, excepting for the present white sheep, and a return thereof made to the Council at Edinburgh against the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin next to come ; and thus the value of all goods in the kingdom being ascertained, a

¹ Douglas Peerage.

contribution shall be levied, and pound shall be held equal to pound, so that their debts may be raised 8,000 merks for the expenses of the King, for payment of his debts within the kingdom, and for the expenses of the ambassadors, and no more; and the great custom is appointed for the payment of £4,000 towards the ransom, until the ambassadors shall return. And whereas our lord the King has for greater security surrendered his great custom for the payment of the said £4,000, that sum shall be raised from the contribution to be levied; and 2,000 merks also out of the contribution; 1,000 to pay the King's debts and to meet his current expenses, and 1,000 for the expenses of the ambassadors; which 2,000 merks have been advanced in loan, viz. by the barons 1,000 merks, by the clergy 600, by the burgesses 400, which shall be refunded to them when the contribution has been levied. The sureties for payment to the burgesses were Sir Robert Erskine, and Sir Walter Biggar, Chamberlain of Scotland. Since the estates have now charged themselves with so heavy a payment for meeting the King's ransom and the expenses thereof, none of the sums ordained for this purpose shall be applied to any other use whatever, either by gift, remission, or otherwise. Churchmen and their lands bestowed in alms shall enjoy their liberties and privileges; no other burden or impost to be laid upon them beyond those conceded by Parliament. If there be any who impede the assecution or securing of tithes they shall be prevented by the King on the complaint of those who are aggrieved; so that they may enjoy their tithes peaceably under pain of excommunication on the part of the clergy, and a fine of £10 to the King.

Nothing shall be taken from the Commons for the use of the King without prompt payment; nor shall anything be taken in prisage or butterage, except in place and manner as issued, and there shall be made prompt payment for the same. Those rebels—Atholl, Argyll Badenoch, Ross and others—shall be arrested to underlie

common justice, and specially to pay the contributions and otherwise be corrected as shall be conducive to the peace and welfare of the kingdom. The officers of the King—sheriffs and other inferior officers—within and without burghs, shall be obedient to the Chamberlain and other Ministers under pain of removal from office without hope of being restored to the same. No one to be sent with horses to quarter on religious persons, rectors, vicars, or husbandmen, nor shall anyone with horses be sent into the country to consume the goods, corn or meadows of husbandmen or others; nor shall anyone presume to do so under the penalty which ought to be inflicted for the said offence, according to its extent and the quality of the person.

To this ordinance the following note by Cosmo Innes is appended:—

This narrative of the Parliament at Scone is taken from the earliest book of record which remains to us in Scotland, familiarly known as "The Black Book." It was discovered in 1793, in the State Paper Office, London, and was removed by order of George III. to the Register House, Edinburgh. The student of our Constitutional history finds here some of the most important information regarding our own manner of taxing and valuing of lands, the foundation of the political system. Unfortunately, we find no record of the proposed valuation of the goods of burgesses and husbandmen.

The Scottish Parliament thereafter, in view of the arrogant demands of Edward, agreed to pay £5,000 sterling per annum for twenty-four years, exclusive of what was already paid. If Edward was not satisfied they were willing to make farther sacrifices to pay the ransom rather than re-open the question of the succession.

King David did not long survive the foregoing ordinance, and died in Edinburgh Castle in 1370, in the



forty-seventh year of his age and forty-second of his reign; a reign that was a conspicuous failure from whatever point of view it may be regarded.

In 1371 a new treaty of peace was concluded with France by the Scottish Ambassadors, Wardlaw, bishop of Glasgow, Sir Archibald Douglas, and the Dean of Aberdeen, at Vincennes, on 30th June of that year. It was stipulated that in consideration of the frequent wrongs sustained by both realms, from England, they should be mutually bound together as faithful allies to assist each other against any future aggression. No treaty of peace was to be concluded in future by either kingdom in which the other was not included. In the event of a competition for the crown, the French King should maintain the right of that competitor approved by a majority of the Scottish people; this treaty was ratified at Edinburgh on 28th October, 1371.

A curious incident is recorded to have occurred before the High Steward could be crowned. William, first Earl of Douglas, only son of Archibald, Lord of Galloway, and one of the most powerful nobles of the time, proclaimed his intention of questioning the title of the Steward to the throne, presumably from motives of jealousy, the result of some real or imaginary offence. It was considered so serious that Sir Robert Erskine advanced to Linlithgow at the head of a large force, where he was joined by the Earls of March and Moray. A conference took place with Douglas, when an amicable agreement was come to. To further conciliate him the King's daughter, Isobel, was promised in marriage to his eldest son, on whom an annual pension was settled, and Douglas was made Justiciar south of the Forth, and Warden of the east Marches.

The Regent and Steward of Scotland was thereupon, on 26th March, 1371, crowned at Scone, as Robert II., by the bishop of St. Andrews. Next day the King, sitting on the Moot Hill of Scone, according to custom, received the homage of the assembled prelates and nobles. The new monarch then stood up, and in

imitation of his grandfather, Robert Bruce, pronounced his eldest son, the Earl of Carrick, heir to the crown at his decease. This nomination was ratified by the clergy, nobility, and barons, and by the acclamation of the people. The oaths of homage were also taken by the Earl of Carrick as the future king, and the whole proceedings recorded in a public instrument, and attested by the seals of the principal nobility and clergy.¹ This paper constitutes the charter by which the House of Stuart held their title to the crown.² This was the first king of the Royal House of Stuart. His judicious and temperate rule as regent under David II.; his courageous and heroic nature, of which we have abundant proof; while he was a grandson of King Robert Bruce, marked him out as in every way the fittest nobleman to administer the crown. His official character was an example not only to posterity, but to the Stuart kings, his successors. From his ancient and hereditary office of High Steward of Scotland he took the name of Robert Stewart, afterwards converted into "Stuart."

The Steward was fifty-five years of age when he was crowned, and having obtained the summit of his ambition, his energy, it is said, worn out with the troubles of the period, gradually gave way to retirement, being surrounded by nobles bent on constant warfare, invasions of England, and raids on the border. Retirement could not be expected to please a fierce and lawless nobility in view of the constant attacks and designs of England. There was at this date two-thirds of the King's ransom to pay, and the English were in possession of Annandale, where Edward continued to exercise the rights of a feudal sovereign pending payment of it. Edward's career closed with his death in 1377.

Euphemia Ross, second wife of Robert II., was in 1372 crowned at Scone by the Bishop of Aberdeen. This lady died in 1387.

¹ Robertson's Index to the Charters

² Tytler.

The country for some time enjoyed peace, and King Robert employed himself in maintaining that condition of the realm ; in providing for the security of the succession ; in regulating the expenses of the Royal household ; and in the making of wise and useful laws for the administration of justice and the punishment of crime. The Scottish Parliament met at Scone on 4th April, 1373, when the succession to the crown, the great question of the hour, was again fully debated. It was resolved that the King's eldest son, John, would succeed him ; the whole assembly of prelates, earls, barons and others, both clergy and people, with one consent affirmed, acknowledged, and willed that the Lord John, eldest son of the King, shall be king, and with hands uplifted promised that, God willing, they would have him for their future sovereign after the death of his father, and would defend him with all their might against all mankind. They then affixed their seals to this writing for a perpetual memorial. The next Parliament resolved that the sons of the King by his first wife would succeed each on the failure of his elder brother and the male children of that brother. If the sons of the first marriage provide no successor, those of the second to come in their order. This Parliament enacted that John, eldest son of the King, had a right of succession, and heirs male of his body, whom failing, Robert, Earl of Fife and Menteith, the King's second son ; whom failing, Alexander, Lord of Badenoch, the King's third son ; whom failing, David, Earl of Strathearn, the King's fourth son ; whom failing, Walter, afterwards Earl of Atholl, the King's fifth son. Immediately thereafter the clergy and people in the church of Scone, before the great altar, this declaration, ordinance, and statute being explained to them in a loud voice, each raised his hand in token of absolute consent.

By this resolution and proceedings of the Scottish Parliament the crown was entailed on the sons of Robert's first marriage and the heirs male of their bodies, with remainder in the same way to the sons of

the second marriage and heirs male of their bodies, failing whom the crown was to go to the legal heir of the Stewards whomsoever. As a matter of fact the succession only opened to Mary, Queen of Scots, and her heirs, through the failure of legitimate male heirs of any of the sons of Robert II. The last heirs male were James V. and Robert, Duke of Albany, both of whom died within a century of each other. Mary succeeded her father in virtue of the provision in question, that on the failure of the male line of Robert II. the crown should go to his heirs-at-law. Her succession proved that within two hundred years of their ascending the throne the male line of the Stuarts had become extinct, and the male representation would revert to the Stuarts of Darnley. Mary married Lord Darnley, and therefore united the representation of the direct line of the Stuarts, both male and female.

In 1377, at the fair of Roxburgh, an officer belonging to the staff of the Earl of March was slain in a brawl by the English who then held Roxburgh Castle. March demanded redress, and threatened to disregard the truce if it was not given, but his request was treated with scorn. He calmly awaited the course of events. At the next fair of Roxburgh the town was filled with the English, who had taken up their residence for purposes of pleasure. March, at the head of an armed force, surprised and stormed the town, set it on fire, and commenced a slaughter of the English, sparing neither age nor sex. Many who had barricaded themselves in booths or houses were dragged into the street and murdered; and thus March had his revenge.

In 1380 occurred Hotspur's "Warden Raid," when 7,000 English troops under Percy encamped at Duns. The great proportion consisted of knights and men-at-arms, whose horses were picketed on the outside of the encampment under the charge of camp boys, while their masters slept on their arms in the centre. At the dead of night the encampment was surrounded by a multitude of serfs and shepherds, armed with rattles,

which they used in driving away the wild beasts from their flocks. Such was the consternation produced amongst the horses and their keepers by the sounding of the rattles and the shouting of the assailants, whose numbers were magnified by the darkness, that all was thrown into disorder. The horses broke loose and fled over the country; numbers galloped into the encampment and created a panic among the knights, who stood to their arms, every moment expecting an attack, but no enemy appeared. When morning dawned Northumberland had the mortification to discover the ridiculous cause of the alarm, and to find that a great proportion of his best soldiers were unhorsed, and compelled in their heavy armour to find their way back to England; and so this highly amusing incident terminated.

It was about this period that the John Mercer incident occurred. The Baron of St. Johnstoun and his retainers harassed the English on the western border, while at sea John Mercer (the famous Perth merchant) infested the English shipping, and at the head of a squadron of armed vessels, Scottish, French, and Spanish privateers, scoured the Channel and took many rich prizes. The father of Mercer is said by Walsingham to have been a merchant of opulence who resided some time in France. During one of his voyages John Mercer had been taken prisoner by a Northumbrian cruiser, and carried to Scarborough. In revenge for this insult his son, Andrew Mercer, attacked that seaport and plundered its shipping. Philpot, a London merchant, at his own expense, fitted out a squadron of several large ships and attacked Mercer, defeated him, and took him prisoner, and captured his whole fleet. Mercer was shortly after released by order of the King; he was in 1377 Chamberlain to the King.

In 1381-2 a truce was concluded between England and Scotland, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, acting for his nephew, Richard II., and the King of Scotland represented by his son, John, Earl of Carrick, Sir

Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, the Earls of Douglas and March, and the bishops of Dunkeld and Glasgow.

In 1385 a truce was negotiated between France and England, and notice of the same was sent to the Scots by ambassadors sent over from France for that purpose. They were accompanied by 30 French knights. King Robert and his nobles were divided in opinion as to the course to be followed. The King wished peace, and desired to comply with the truce. Moray, Douglas, and others held a secret meeting in the church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, when it was resolved that the French knights who had come over for adventures should not be disappointed. Douglas invited them to his palace of Dalkeith, where they were cordially welcomed. The result of this conference was that a force of 15,000 light cavalry assembled under the command of Douglas and Mar. They ravaged the northern counties of England, including the estates of the Percys, Mowbrays, and the Earl of Nottingham, and laid waste the whole country with fire and sword as far as Newcastle, and returned home laden with booty.¹ King Robert sent a message to the English King disclaiming all knowledge of this invasion, as being done without his authority, and his explanation was accepted as satisfactory.

In April, 1385, there was a meeting of the Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh, when the King's son, John, Earl of Carrick, was directed to repair to the scene of these outrages, and to take prompt measures for the punishment of the guilty and the restoration of order.

The Earl of Carrick was further directed to carry out the restoration of order in the Highlands, committed to him by the Parliament of 1384. All the accounts point to the bodily, and perhaps mental, decline of Robert II. at this period.

In 1385 the large district of Teviotdale, which had long been in the possession of the English, was restored to the Crown by the bravery of the Earl of Douglas,

¹ Froissart.

and the English expelled. It was ordered that the inhabitants, who had lately transferred their allegiance to the King of Scotland, should within eight days exhibit to the Chancellor their charters containing the titles of the lands and possessions which they claimed as their hereditary right, and the names of those who now possessed them. The sheriffs were ordained to summon all parties before the King and council, along with charters and title-deeds, and hear the King's decision. The ordinance was obeyed, and no trouble seems to have arisen from it.

The French knights returned to France, where they reported what they had seen, and represented how eminently available Scotland might be made for checking and harassing England. It was further resolved, notwithstanding peace negotiations, to attack the English King on his own ground, by sending a large body of auxiliaries into Scotland, and co-operating for an invasion. The command of this expedition was entrusted to John de Vienne, admiral of France, who immediately embarked with 2,000 knights, squires, and men-at-arms. He carried with him 1,400 suits of armour for the Scottish knights, and 50,000 gold francs to be paid on arrival to the King and his barons. This fleet anchored at Leith and Dunbar, and was warmly received. Robert only met them at Edinburgh, and according to Froissart, "he would rather lie still than ride." The Scottish nobles were determined to fight, but Robert, who was incapable for military duties, retired to the Highlands, where he remained till the war was over. The Scots, however, were unable to give the French troops the luxurious food and living of France. Edinburgh at this date, it is said, contained only 4,000 houses, and accommodation had to be found in the adjacent towns and villages for the French soldiers. These troops got very tired of their visit to Scotland, and in 1388 made arrangements to return home. A curious incident now occurred. They were not to be permitted to leave Scotland, but were to be

detained for the claim against France for the debts they had incurred and the damage they had done. They were asked why they had come over, seeing they were not invited; coming as friends, they had done more mischief than an invading army. "What evil spirit has brought you here; who sent for you; cannot we maintain our war with England well enough without your help? Pack up your goods and begone, for no good will be done as long as you are here! We neither understand you, nor you us; we cannot communicate together, and in a short time we shall be completely rifled and eaten up by such troops of locusts. What signifies a war with England? The English never caused such mischief as ye do; they burned our houses, it is true, but that was all; and with four or five stakes and plenty green boughs to cover them, they were rebuilt almost as soon as they were destroyed."

Hearing of an invasion of England, the English King sent an army into Scotland to attack the Scots. King Robert was against war, but was overruled. The English troops were under the command of Northumberland and Nottingham. John de Vienne, the French admiral, was anxious, along with the Scots, to give the English battle, but the Earl of Douglas persuaded him not to do so. The English arrived in Scotland, burned the Abbeys of Melrose, Dryburgh, and Newbattle, plundered and burned Edinburgh, sparing Holyrood, because it had lately afforded a hospital to John of Gaunt, the King's uncle. The English wished to go on to the North and ravage the country, but the King disallowed this. In the meantime the Scots, with their French auxiliaries, broke into England by the western marches, and ravaged Cumberland. Towns and villages were plundered, and in some instances razed to the ground, and large herds of cattle carried off. They then assaulted Carlisle, but unsuccessfully, as the fortifications held out. Then they recrossed the border. Vienne not caring for a second invasion of England, permitted his troops to return to France. On

the departure of the French, the war was continued between the English and Scots.

The petty invasion of England at this period by the Scots culminated in the memorable battle of Otterburn. The King, feeling himself getting old, delegated the command of the army to his son Robert, Earl of Fife, a youth of great spirit; his elder brother, John, Earl of Carrick, the heir to the crown, being of a feeble constitution and unable to endure the fatigues of war. According to Froissart the Scottish barons held a feast at Aberdeen, when it was resolved that in August, 1388, they should assemble their forces at Jedburgh in view of an invasion of England. They resolved not to advise the King of this. As the time approached they appointed another meeting to take place at Yetholm. On the day appointed the Scots assembled there with 1,200 horse and 40,000 infantry. This number is probably exaggerated. The Earl of Fife, Commander-in-chief, arranged his forces in two divisions so as to attack England by the western and eastern marches. At the head of the first division he advanced to Carlisle; the second division under Douglas went *via* Northumberland to Durham. Douglas then went to Newcastle, and in due course attacked the Castle of Otterburn, situated twelve miles from that city. The Scots made their encampment there, and fortified it so as to give them every advantage over the enemy. Percy, the English commander, when he learned that Douglas was unsupported by the other division of the Scots, left Newcastle with 8,000 foot and 600 Lancers, and made for the Scots encampment at Otterburn. Owing to the heat (August), the Scots had taken supper and fallen asleep, when they were awakened by a cry of "Percy." The English, believing that they would soon carry the encampment from the superiority of their numbers, attacked it with great fury, but they were checked by the waggons and the defence made by servants and camp-followers. This caused delay, and enabled

Douglas to put his men in order. Douglas silently defiled round the woody eminence that surrounded his camp and attacked the rear of the English. It was night and the moon shone brightly. Percy saw that he had made a mistake, and withdrew his men from the march, and attacked the Scots again. The battle raged with fury for several hours, banners rose and fell, the voices of the knights shouting their war-cries were mingled with the shrieks and groans of the dying; whilst the ground covered with dead bodies scarcely afforded room for fighting, so closely were the soldiers engaged, and so obstinately was every inch of ground contested. It was at this time that Douglas, wielding a battle-axe in both hands, cut his way into the press of the English knights, and throwing himself too rashly upon their spears, was mortally wounded in the head and neck. Sir James Lindsay of Crawford was the first to discover Douglas, and eagerly inquired how it fared with him. Said Douglas: "But poorly. I am dying in my armour as my fathers have done, thanks be to God, and not in my bed; but if you love me, raise my banner and press forward, for he who should bear it lies slain beside me." Lindsay instantly obeyed, and the banner of the Crowned Heart again rose amid the cries of "Douglas." The Scots believed their leader was still in the field, and pressed on the English ranks with a courage which compelled them to give way. A different version of Douglas's last words is given by another writer (Taylor). "How fares it with you, cousin?" asked Sir John Sinclair. "But so-so," replied Douglas; "yet God be thanked, few of my ancestors have died in chambers or in their beds. There has long been a prophecy that a dead Douglas should win a field; I trust it will now be fulfilled; my heart sinks, I am dying. Do you, Walter, and you, John Sinclair, raise my banner and cry 'Douglas,' and tell neither friend nor foe that I am dying here." Percy surrendered after a brave resistance, and he and his brother were made prisoners.

Nearly the whole chivalry of Northumberland and Durham were either slain or taken prisoners. The English loss was 2,000 killed and 1,000 wounded. So ended the memorable battle of Otterburn. The loss of Douglas was a great calamity to the Scots, so much so that the return march to Scotland resembled more a funeral procession than a triumphal progress, for in the midst of it was the car in which the body of the brave Douglas lay. In this manner it was conveyed to Melrose Abbey for interment, his banner torn and soiled being hung over the tomb. Lundie, his chaplain, followed him to the war and fought at his side. When his body was discovered this brave man was found bestriding his dying master, wielding his battle-axe, and defending him from injury. He was afterwards appointed Archdeacon of North Berwick.¹ The remaining division of the Scots, under the Earl of Fife, returned to Scotland. According to Froissart there never was a more chivalrous battle than Otterburn: the singular circumstances in which it was fought; a sweet moonlight; the heroic death of Douglas; the very name of Percy invests it with that character of romance so seldom coincident with the cold realities of history; and we experience in its recital the sentiment of Sidney, "who never could hear the song of the Douglas and Percy without having his heart stirred as with the sound of a trumpet." This battle had a salutary effect on the English nation. It was also a great factor in securing Scottish independence and in restoring peace to both realms. The victory was due to the ingenuity of Douglas. He was a distinguished general, and while defeating Percy by a skilful manœuvre died in the hour of victory. This battle would atone to some extent for the losses the Scots had sustained at Halidon Hill, Neville's Cross and other places, and it evidently inspired them with great hopes regarding their capability of compelling the English to keep to their own territories in future. Douglas was a son-in-law of the

¹ Froissart.

King. This battle, famous in song under the name of Chevy Chase, was fought on 5th August, 1388.

Not long after the battle of Otterburn a three years' truce was concluded at Boulogne, between England and France, and a mutual embassy of English and French knights arrived in Scotland and proceeded to the Court at Dunfermline, where they prevailed on the Scots to become parties to this truce—an act that pleased the King of Scots. Since his accession he had not ceased to desire peace.

At a meeting of the Estates in Edinburgh in 1389 King Robert formally intimated his retirement from public affairs, and committed the governorship of the kingdom to his second son, the Earl of Fife, who commanded the Scots at Otterburn, and who was then fifty years of age, after which he went to the Castle of Dundonald, where he died on 13th May, 1390, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and twentieth of his reign. It is recorded that he was interred in the Abbey of Scone, before the high altar, on 13th August following.

It cannot be forgotten that, at a time when the liberties of the country were threatened with total overthrow, Robert II. stood forward in their defence with a zeal and energy which was eminently creditable to him and he was the main instrument in defeating the designs of David II. and Edward III., when Edward's son was attempted to be imposed on the Scottish nation. Further he had the wisdom to perceive that peace with England was indispensable to the maintenance of order in the kingdom and the development of its internal resources, but his lot was cast on evil days, while in his later years he lacked the energy necessary to keep his rude and turbulent nobles in due subordination, and evidently sacrificed the duties of his office in his desire for retirement. He administered justice during his long life impartially, and was faithful to his word, while by justice and equity he gradually restored internal tranquillity to his kingdom.¹ The policy he pursued after his

¹ Taylor.

accession to the throne was essentially pacific, although the circumstances in which the realm was placed were changed. To maintain peace between the two countries became then as much the object of a wise governor as it had formerly been his duty to continue the war. We have not sufficient material to enable us to estimate conclusively the character of Robert II. So far as we have it, his official life as Steward of the kingdom, manifests firmness of character, as was shown at Halidon Hill, Neville's Cross, and in the release of the King from captivity, when he issued a proclamation which was called for by the injudicious conduct of David II. It must be said that he guided the affairs of the realm at a period of great trouble with wisdom and discretion. Probably his greatest foe was the English King. The restless, ambitious, and arrogant nature of Edward III., and his continual attacks on Scotland, called forth the administrative qualities of the Steward, while the oppressive ransom afterwards exacted by Edward, and the almost hopeless prospect of raising the money, no doubt paralysed the Steward's enthusiasm as governor of the kingdom. These troubles probably explain why the Steward, after he was crowned King, felt that his vital energy was sapped at the root, and indicated the necessity of a more peaceful and less exacting life. The vast hereditary possessions of the Stewards, as one writer¹ says, were scattered throughout nearly every county south of the Forth and Clyde, and thus their military strength, in an emergency, lacked the cohesion which the rival house of Douglas enjoyed from the compactness and solidarity of their possessions. Had the lands of the Douglases been as detached, that family would never have been so formidable to the Crown as it ultimately became.

In his administration of the crown King Robert succeeded in establishing many improvements in the government of the country. Particularly were his efforts directed towards making life and property more

¹ "Story of the Stewarts."

secure from violence than they had been; and though his wise and judicious policy was too frequently frustrated by his unruly barons, to whom war was more congenial than peace, yet we must give him the credit of striving to do his country service rather than to astonish it by deeds or actions which would have conferred no lasting benefit on his people. King Robert was easy of access, affable and pleasant in his address, while his person was of a commanding stature (said to be over six feet) and he was never wanting in dignity; his manners were so tempered by a graceful and unaffected humility, that what the Royal name lost in pomp and terror it gained in confidence and affection. The kingdom, during the years immediately following his accession, was visited by a grievous scarcity. The nobility appear to have been supported for a time by grain imported from England and Ireland, and a famine which fell so severely on the higher classes must have been keenly felt by the great body of the people.¹

In Ashmole's "History of the Order of the Garter" it is stated that in a tournament held at Windsor in 1349, the mountings of the charger of the Scottish King were of blue velvet, with a pole of red velvet, and beneath a white rose embroidered thereon. This, on the authority of Lord Hailes, is the earliest mention of the Scottish White Rose, destined in after years to be the party badge of the Royal Stuarts. It is of more ancient date than the White Rose of York.

King Robert II. was the first of the Scottish Kings to adopt a Royal device. The device and motto selected by him,

Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas,

indicated the King's appreciation of the vanity of worldly grandeur; and the true significance which the device which he had chosen conveyed to his own mind, and was intended to convey to the minds of others.²

¹ Tytler.

² "Story of the Stewarts."

In the reign of Robert II. there were the following Royal castles or fortresses in Scotland:—On the borders were the castles of Jedburgh, Roxburgh, and Berwick; those of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Wigtown, Ayr, Tarbet, Dumbarton, and Stirling, formed a semi-circle of fortresses which commanded Annandale, Galloway, Carrick, Lanark, Stirling, and the passes through the Highlands. North of Stirling there were Perth and Dundee, after which were the castles of Forfar, Kincardine, and Aberdeen; while still further north were the castles of Cromarty, Dingwall, Inverness, Nairn, Forres, Elgin and Banff. The Stewards had private residences at Paisley, Rothesay, Dundonald, Torphichen or Bathgate, and Linlithgow. The Scottish kings possessed Royal manors in almost every shire, which were cultivated by their own tenants; and to which, for the purpose of gathering the rents, they were in the habit of repairing in their progress through the kingdom. Frequent grants were made by David I., William the Lion, and the two Alexanders, to convents and religious houses, of agricultural produce drawn from the Royal manors. David, for example, granted to the monks of Scone the half of the skins, and the fat of all the beasts which were killed for the King's use, on his lands to the north of the Tay.¹ The monks of Kelso granted to the men of Innerwick, in 1190, a thirty-three years' lease of certain woods and lands for the annual rent of 20s., which was approved by Alan, the son of Walter, the High Steward, to whom Innerwick belonged.²

His relations with the ancient House of Rowallan will be found in detail in the history of that house by Sir William Mure. According to him, the Mures of Rowallan, from whom Robert II. obtained his first wife, are a very ancient family. Sir Gilchrist Mure, as a reward for valiant services to King Alexander at the battle of Largs in 1263, obtained a gift of the lands

¹ Chartulary of Scone.

² Chartulary of Kelso.

and Barony of Rowallan. His daughter was married to Boyle of Kelburn, ancestor of the Earls of Glasgow. He built the ancient chapel of Kilmarnock, in which is Mure's Aisle, or burying-place of the family. Sir Gilchrist is ancestor of the Mures of Caldwell, and his death is recorded as in 1277. John Learmonth, chaplain to Alexander, Archbishop of St. Andrews, in a narrative of the House of Rowallan, says: "Robert, the High Steward of Scotland, having taken Elizabeth Mure, gave Sir Adam Mure, her father, an instrument in writing that he should take her to be his lawful wife; which paper I have myself seen," says the collector, "as also a paper in Latin by Roger Macadam, priest of 'Our Lady's Kirk of Kyle.'" Roger Macadam married Robert and Elizabeth; but thereafter there were great troubles in the reign of David II., to whom the Earl of Ross continued long a great enemy.¹ Our Lady's Kirk of Kyle, was situated about six miles south of Dundonald Castle and three miles north of Ayr in the parish of Monkton. The building is said to have been a square, with turrets at each corner; the chapel placed in the middle or centre. The site is now occupied by the mansion-house of Ladykirk, which, along with two or three farms, forms an estate by itself.

The marriage was objected to because the parties were within the third and fourth degree of consanguinity. If so, the children were illegitimate unless made legitimate by a dispensation from Rome. By the canon law, a brother and sister were within the first forbidden degree; a cousin-german within the second; children of the cousin-german within the third; and grandchildren of the cousin-german within the fourth. The dispensation for Elizabeth Mure's marriage was long sought for in vain, but was at length discovered in 1789, at which time a dispensation for the marriage of Euphame Ross was also found. These discoveries have, we think, decided the question. That for Elizabeth Mure is dated in December, in the sixth year of the Pontificate

¹ History of the House of Rowallan.

of Clement VI., or 1347. That for Euphame Ross is dated the third year of the Pontificate of Innocent IV., or 1355. In that of 1347, their children who had already been born, as well as those to be born in that connection, were made legitimate, and the succession to the crown was further confirmed by Parliament.¹ As Elizabeth Mure's eldest son, Robert III., was born in 1340, it is evident that these dispensations were not applied for for some years after the marriage ceremony. We have no record of the date of the two marriages, and cannot verify the allegation that some of the children were born out of wedlock. We must have more light before we arrive at that conclusion. We are without authentic information as to when these two ladies died. It has been stated that Elizabeth Mure died in 1358; if so, she never was Queen, for her husband was not crowned until 1371, and if he married Euphame Ross in 1355, both wives must have been living from that date to 1358. It is said Euphame Ross died in 1387.

Children of Robert II., by his first wife, Elizabeth Mure:

John, Earl of Carrick, afterwards Robert III.

Walter, who married Isobel, daughter of Duncan, Earl of Fife.

Robert, Earl of Menteith and Duke of Albany, who obtained this earldom through his wife, Margaret, daughter and heir of Mordac, Earl of Menteith and Regent of Scotland. The earldom was forfeited in 1425 by the execution of Mordac.

Alexander, Earl of Buchan (Wolf of Badenoch), married the daughter and co-heir of William, Earl of Ross, and assumed the title; Alexander received a charter of Badenoch, it being forfeited by the Comyns through adherence to Baliol. In 1371 he obtained the lands of Strathaven, and in 1372 was made lieutenant of the whole district north of Moray. He was a man of splendid proportions, with a total disregard for law and order, and he was a terror to the whole district of Badenoch and the neighbouring counties. Notwithstanding his vast estates he got into liabilities, which his father paid. In 1390 he burned the

¹ Chambers.

towns of Forres and Elgin, including Elgin Cathedral, and the houses of eighteen canons. He married Euphemia, Countess of Mar. He left no lawful son, but five natural sons — Alexander, Andrew, Duncan, Walter, and James. From the first two were descended the Atholl Stuarts, and from the last, Sir James Stuart of Forthingall, descended the Stuarts of Garth and their numerous cadets. Alexander Stuart, Earl of Mar, was son of the Earl of Buchan. He obtained that earldom through his wife, Isobel Douglas, Countess of Mar, only daughter of William, first Earl of Douglas, and Margaret, heiress of Mar.

Margaret, married to John Macdonald, Lord of the Isles. Their son, Donald, was a hostage for his father in 1369.

Elizabeth, married to Sir Thomas Hay of Errol, High Constable of Scotland.

Marjory married John Dunbar, son of the Earl of March, with whom she obtained the Earldom of Moray in 1372.

Jean, married to Sir John Lyon, who obtained the baronies of Glamis and Kinghorn in 1379. He became Lord Chamberlain, and is ancestor of the Earls of Strathmore.

Egidia, or Giles, married to Sir William, natural son of Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway. The King of France was so enamoured by the beauty of this lady that he obtained a miniature of her and sought her hand. She, however, preferred Douglas. Her only child, also Egidia, married Henry, Earl of Orkney.

Jean, or Catherine, married Sir David Lindsay of Glenesk, afterwards Earl of Crawford, in 1380.

By Euphame, daughter of the Earl of Ross, and widow of Randolph, Earl of Moray—

David, created Earl of Strathearn in 1370. Dying without male issue, his estates devolved on his daughter, Euphame, who married Patrick Graham, of Kilpont, ancestor of the Earls of Menteith.

Walter, afterwards Earl of Atholl, who married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir David Barclay. His two sons predeceased him. He was prominent in the assassination of James I., for which he was executed and his estates forfeited.

Isobel married, in 1371, James, Earl of Douglas, who fell at Otterburn: no issue. It is not clear whether this lady belongs to the first or second marriage of the King.

The natural children of the King were :—

Sir John Stewart, Sheriff of Bute, ancestor of the Marquises of Bute and Earls of Wharncliffe.

Sir John Stewart of Dundonald, ancestor of the Earls of Galloway.

Thomas Stewart, Archdeacon of St. Andrews.

* Sir John Stewart of Kinclaven.

* Sir James Stewart of Kinfauns.

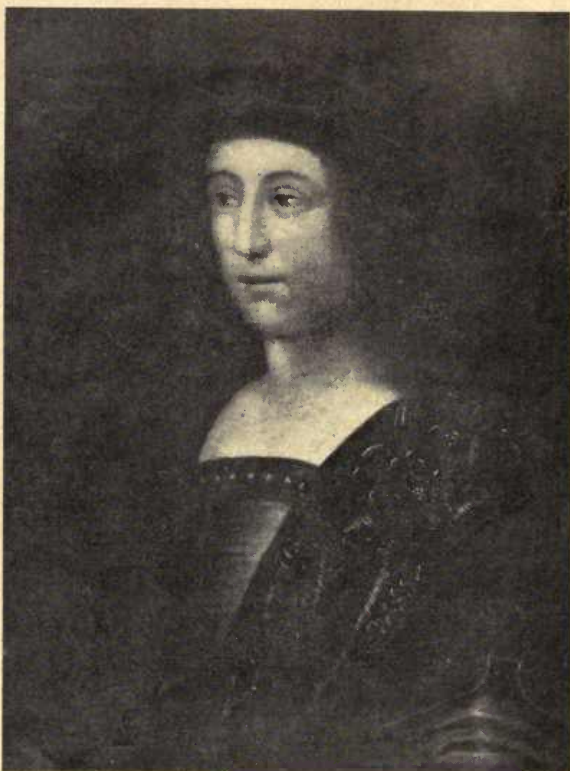
* Sir Alexander Stewart of Lunan.

Alexander Stewart, Canon of Glasgow.

Walter Stewart.

* Mother of these, Mariott, daughter of Sir John Cardney.

Note.—Alan, second Steward, by Margaret his wife, daughter of Fergus, Lord of Galloway, left three sons :—Walter, third High Steward of Scotland ; Adam, who is mentioned in a Charter of Confirmation of David I. *anno* 1139 ; Simon, progenitor of the Boyds of Kilmarnock. In the Foundation Charter of Paisley, 1161, he is designated *frater Walteri filii Alani dapiferi regis Scotiae*.



KING ROBERT III.

*(From a Portrait in the Marquis of Lothian's Collection,
Newbattle Abbey.)*

To face p. 141.

CHAPTER V.

Accession and Coronation of Robert III. and Queen—Robert, Duke of Albany—Coronation incident of the monks of Scone—Wolf of Badenoch and Elgin Cathedral—Letter, Queen Annabella to Richard II.—Clan fight at Perth—Prince David and Albany created Dukes—Rothesay appointed Governor of the Kingdom—Scottish Parliament of 1398—Henry IV. invades Scotland and burns Edinburgh—Rothesay's marriage—Douglas and March quarrel—Estates meet at Scone—Starvation and death of Rothesay—Trial of Albany and Douglas—Battle of Nisbet Moor—Battle of Homildon—Battle of Shrewsbury—Wolf of Badenoch's son, Sir Malcolm Drummond, and the Countess of Mar—Capture of Prince James—Sir David Fleming and Douglas of Abercorn—Death of King Robert III.—Regency of Albany—Character and Family of Robert III.

REIGN OF ROBERT III.

A.D. 1390—1406.

THE death of Robert II. left the kingdom in a state bordering on rebellion. His peaceful policy was disapproved by the leading nobles, and they practically took the law into their own hands. The succession having been settled by the Scottish Parliament at Scone, and by the ordinance of 1366, John, Earl of Carrick, son of Robert II., ascended the throne as Robert III. He was a ruler with no will of his own, and disqualified by nature for such an office as now fell to his lot. He is said, however, to have been a man of affable and pleasing manners, with an amiable disposition, and a strict love of justice. The welfare of his people was his paramount object, promoted as it was by his determination to maintain peace. On the whole, Robert III. was a poor representative of the Royal House of Stuart. He was born at Dundonald Castle

about 1340; his mother, Elizabeth Mure, was daughter of Sir Adam Mure of Rowallan, consequently when he ascended the throne he would be fifty years of age. He was crowned at Scone on the 14th August, 1390, while his wife, Annabella Drummond of Stobhall, was crowned the following day. At this date they had been thirty years married. Why they were crowned on separate days we are not informed. The clergy and nobles took the oath of allegiance the following day at the Moot Hill of Scone.

The reign of Robert III., though it lasted only sixteen years, was a turbulent and eventful period in the history of Scotland; a state of matters undoubtedly due to his incapability and weakness. It required a strong hand to guide the helm, to check destructive influences, and such a one was not to be found at the Court of Robert III. He was easily influenced by designers and plotters, preferring his own ease to the responsible call of duty. He began his reign by renewing the treaty of peace with England for a period of eight years, an act that redounds to his credit.

During these eight years, Scotland enjoyed the blessing of exemption from the miseries of war, while her trade and agriculture revived and steadily improved. The nobles, however, being deprived of warlike operations, and unrestrained by the feeble government of Robert III., got the country into fresh disputes.

The most frivolous were settled by an appeal to arms. In illustration of this a quarrel arose between Robert Keith and his aunt, Lady Margaret Lindsay, daughter of the Earl Marischal. The lady, who was heiress of Fromartine, Aberdeenshire, had employed some masons at Fyvie Castle, with whom the followers of Robert Keith quarrelled about a water-course. Keith took up the matter so warmly as to besiege his aunt in her own castle. She sent notice to her husband, then at Court, and he instantly started with 400 men to her relief. Keith intercepted him in the Garioch, but was defeated by Lindsay, with the loss of 50 of his men, who were

slain on the spot. In these days, with practically no king, everyone did what seemed right in his own eyes.

The next to the King's son in authority was the King's brother, Robert Stuart, afterwards Duke of Albany, a man with a strong will, cruel and unscrupulous, who played the part of a usurper, while none of his resources, it is said, went to the benefit of the people; all were retained to further his own aggrandisement. The Regent Moray, in the reign of Queen Mary, was a man of the same selfish and aggressive character. Law and justice at this time were practically obsolete; the strong took what they could get a hold of, and the weak without recourse had to endure. The Estates had not discovered, or did not want to discover, the maxim that the King can do no wrong.

Passages of arms took place between valiant knights, who in tilts and tournaments maintained the honour of their respective countries. The rude manners of the times gradually became softened and refined by these friendly encounters. One of the most famous of these took place between John, Lord Wells, and Sir David Lindsay, first Earl of Crawford. The encounter took place at London Bridge. At the blast of the trumpet, the knights on horseback rushed at each other with spears; in the first course, both spears were broken, but Lindsay kept his feet. They again rushed at each other with new spears. In the third encounter, having changed their spears for stronger ones, Lord Wells was struck out of his saddle with such violence that he fell to the ground. They then commenced a foot combat with their daggers, which ended in the discomfiture of Lord Wells. Lindsay, who was a strong man, fastened his dagger between the joints of his antagonist's armour, lifted him off his feet, and hurled him to the ground, where he lay at his mercy. Lindsay courteously raised him from the ground, and leading him beneath the ladies' gallery, presented him to the Queen as his gift, "wishing, like a true knight, that

mercy should proceed from woman." The Queen thanked him, and gave Wells his liberty. The Queen was a much greater personality than her husband, and took an active part in the administration of the kingdom.

The day after the coronation, we have a characteristic incident of the monks of Scone. The fields and enclosures round the monastery had been destroyed by the nobles and their followers, and as it happened when the crops were ripe, the mischief fell heavily on the monks. The storekeeper, one of the monks, asked an audience of the King to claim compensation, but the Chamberlain dismissed him with scorn. He must, however, have his revenge. The following morning, before the King awoke, the storekeeper assembled a multitude of farm servants and villagers, who, bearing before them an effigy, and armed with drums, horns, and rattles, stationed themselves under the King's bedroom window, and struck up such a peal of yells, horns, and discordant music that the Court awoke in terror. The storekeeper was dragged before the King, and asked what he meant. "Please your Majesty, what you have just heard are our rural carols, in which we indulge when our crops are brought in, and as you and your nobles have spared us the expense of cutting them down this season, we thought it grateful to give you a specimen of our harvest jubilee." The King inquired into the damage, paid the full amount, and complimented the humour and courage of the monk.

The Earl of Buchan, the King's brother, known as the "Wolf of Badenoch," was, as is alleged, a scourge on the nation, in illustration of which, on some provocation by the Bishop of Moray, he, in 1390, sacked and plundered the Cathedral of Elgin, carrying off its chalices and vestments, polluting its shrines with blood, and setting fire to the building, which was burned to the ground. No attempt was made to punish that vandalism, which was a proof of the lawless state of the country and the feeble nature of the administration. In 1393, we find

among the Records a letter of some interest in connection with the House of Stuart.

The King had two daughters: Margaret, married to the Earl of Douglas; and Mary, married in 1396 to the Earl of Angus. It is possible the letter refers to the Princess Margaret. The date of her marriage is not recorded. Richard II. resigned the Crown of England in 1399. The letter is from Queen Annabella to Richard II., King of England: To the most high and mighty Prince Richard, by the grace of God King of England, our dearest cousin; Annabella, by the same grace Queen of Scotland, greeting and affection. For your friendly letters to us, presented by Douglas, the Herald of Arms, we thank you entirely and from the heart, by the which we have understood your good estate and health, to our great pleasure and comfort. And as to the treaty touching the marriage to be made between some kindred of your blood and one of the children of the King, my lord and me, please you to know that it is agreeable to the King, my lord, and to us, as he has so signified by his letters. And in particular that, as the said treaty could not hold the 3rd day of July last, for certain and reasonable causes contained in your letters to the King, my lord, you have agreed that another day shall be kept on the 1st of October next, the which is agreeable to the King, my lord, and to us. We thank you with all our will and heart, and pray you dearly that you would continue the said treaty and make it be kept the said day, so that the said day be held without fail. And we request and pray that it give no displeasure to your Highness that we have not sooner written to you, seeing that we were lying in childbirth of a male child, who is named James; and we have been well and graciously delivered by the grace of God and of our Lady; and also because that the King, my lord, was at the coming of your letters at a great distance in the Isles of his kingdom, we did not receive these letters till the last day of July. Most high and mighty Prince, may the Holy Spirit

always keep you. Given under our Seal at the Abbey of Dunfermline the 1st August, 1393. Queen Annabella was wife of Robert III. and daughter of John, Lord Drummond, of Stobhall. (*See Frontispiece.*)

There was, in 1396, a tragic occurrence, the Clan fight, on the North Inch of Perth. It took place in presence of the King, his Queen, Annabella Drummond, the Governor of Perth, and a great gathering of nobles and people. The Earls of Dunbar and Crawford failed to effect an amicable arrangement of a feud between two clans, and eventually proposed that it should be settled by open combat. It was agreed that thirty on each side should fight it out before the King and nobility. Barriers were erected to keep off the spectators, and a grand stand was put up for the King and Court. The clans marched to the battle-ground to the sound of the pibroch, armed with bows and arrows, swords and targets, knives and battle-axes. As the fight was about to begin, one of the Clan Chattan lost courage, swam across the river, and escaped. The rest of the clan refused to fight unless the vacancy were filled up. One of the spectators, Harry Smith, for a consideration took the place. The battle lasted for some hours, and must have been a disgusting spectacle notwithstanding its having been countenanced by the King. It must have resembled infuriated wild beasts, and was a disgrace to the local annals of Perth.¹ In the Exchequer accounts of 1396 is the following entry: For timber, iron and making of lists for sixty persons fighting on the Inch of Perth, £14 2s. 11d. The title of Duke, a dignity originally Norman, had been brought from France into England, and was for the first time introduced into Scotland at a Parliament held at Perth in 1398 by Robert III.

The truce between Scotland and England continued to be faithfully observed, and the animosity of continuous war gradually disappeared by the amicable

¹ For extended report see the "Ancient Capital of Scotland."

intercourse which existed between the kingdoms. During the eight years truce the government was practically carried on by Robert, the King's brother, afterwards Duke of Albany. According to some writers,¹ he was a man of high accomplishments, equally qualified to shine in the arts of peace and in the troubles of war, for which reason his father, Robert II., when he became infirm made him governor of Scotland; and Robert III., being a weak man, continued him in that office. This view of his character is not corroborated by history. At the end of the truce the King's eldest son, David, Earl of Carrick, disputed the authority of Albany, and at a conference in 1398 to confer with John of Gaunt and other English nobles as to prolonging the truce, Prince David attended by authority. At a meeting of the Scottish Parliament at Perth, on 28th April, 1398, the Prince was created Duke of Rothesay, and his uncle Duke of Albany. These were the first dukes created in Scotland. The Prince is described as a handsome man, having elegant accomplishments and winning manners, and was a favourite of the people. His acquaintance with the literature of the age gave a refinement to his character rare at that period; and the sagacity which he had already exhibited on various occasions in the management of public affairs gave promise of future eminence.² The King sought to protect him from the intrigues of Albany by entering into agreements for his defence with the most powerful of the nobles, whom he induced by grants of money to give their service and support to defend himself and his eldest son in time of peace as well as war.³ The formation of these bonds between the sovereign and his vassals shows the great increase which had taken place in the power of the barons, and the diminution in the influence of the Crown since the death of Bruce. Rothesay was impatient

¹ Crawford's Peerage.

² Taylor.

³ Chamberlain's Accounts, vol. ii.

of Albany's supremacy, and his mother, Queen Annabella, supported him ; aided by her influence and a strong party of nobles, Rothesay at length compelled Albany to resign the office of Governor. Then took place the Parliament of Perth sanctioning the lieutenancy of the kingdom to Rothesay. The Estates declared that since the King, "in consequence of the sickness of his person, is unable to undergo the labour of governing the kingdom, Rothesay should be appointed the King's lieutenant for three years, possessing all the powers and prerogatives of the sovereign under Parliament, and of a council of experienced and faithful men." The elevation of Rothesay to the office of governor was destined to be of short duration.

During his administration official orders were to be reduced to writing, with the name of the counsellors by whose advice they were adopted, so that each counsellor should answer and be responsible for his own deed ; the Prince was ordered the same salary as the Duke of Albany. In the matter of finance, £11,000 was to be raised for the requirements of the kingdom ; the clergy were to contribute their share ; the rate to be levied on goods, cattle, and lands, riding horses, and oxen for labour. Burgesses beyond the Forth were to contribute this tax as well as the more opulent in the south ; pay the same duties on wool, hides and skins, as in the time of the late King Robert, and be free from tax on salmon. The statutes passed at the Council held in Perth were to be continued. Sheriffs were instructed as to transgressors of the laws, and regarding higher and more daring offenders (nobles, etc.), the sheriff was to name those who would or might not be arrested, enjoining them within fifteen days to find bail to stand their trial when called upon ; failing which to be put to the horn, and their estates and goods forfeited.

Rothesay's administration was not to be hindered by countermands of the King ; any such would be ineffectual. At this Parliament several bonds were executed for the support and defence of the King and

Rothsay, and the King by charter granted certain barons annuities in return for supporting him and his son. Under these judicious instructions of the Scottish Parliament, Rothsay entered on his term of office, but we have no official record of his administration. From the position and influence of Albany, and his enmity to Rothsay, it is more than probable that Rothsay was thwarted in the exercise of his duties and absolutely failed in his administration, as his persecution by Albany, which culminated in his murder, seems an undeniable proof.

The Scottish borderers watched the termination of the truce in 1399 that they might invade England. Henry IV., who was now on the throne, began his reign by an invasion of Scotland, and intimated his intention of advancing on Edinburgh. A duplicate of this paper was sent to the Scottish nobility, in which they were desired to persuade the King to do his duty to his Lord superior, and if unsuccessful, to come and offer the Lord superior their homage. The Scots having refused to recognise the title of Henry IV. to the English crown, Henry, at Newcastle on 24th July, 1400, issued a summons to King Robert to appear at Edinburgh on 23rd August, and do homage to him. This was refused, and Henry advanced to Edinburgh, burned the town, and laid siege to the castle, which was heroically defended by Rothsay and Douglas, and Henry was obliged to desist on account of the determined resistance he encountered. Two canons belonging to Holyrood waited on King Henry and implored him to spare their house. He replied: "Never while I live shall I cause distress to any religious house whatever; and God forbid that the monastery of Holyrood, the asylum of my father, John of Gaunt, when in exile, should suffer aught from his son. I am myself a Comyn, and by this side half a Scot; and I come here with my army not to ravage the land, but to answer the defiance of certain amongst you who have branded me as a traitor." The English King having failed in his invasion of Scotland

was compelled to recross the border, and take refuge in his own dominions.

The next outstanding event in the life of the King was the marriage in 1400 of his son, the Duke of Rothesay. The Earl of March (George Dunbar, eleventh Earl) proposed his own daughter, with the promise of a large dowry, as a wife to Rothesay, and the offer was accepted, and the match agreed to ; it is said March paid a considerable sum to the King to account of the dowry ; but before the marriage could be celebrated, Archibald, Earl of Douglas, said to be the greatest man in the kingdom at the time, appeared on the scene, and objected to the alliance without the consent of Parliament. He took the Duke of Albany into his confidence, who proposed that Rothesay should be given to the highest bidder. Douglas proposed his own daughter, and he eventually succeeded ; his great dowry, much greater than that of March, being a factor in the matter at Albany's suggestion. The King's conduct was reprehensible, considering he had entered into an agreement with March. Rothesay was immediately married to Lady Elizabeth Douglas at Bothwell Castle but the marriage did not improve his character. This was the third Earl, who died in 1400.

March resented this affront, renounced his allegiance to the King, became an enemy to his country, and went to England to the Court of Henry IV., to whom he became a liegeman. The English King conferred lands and an annuity of 500 merks upon him, and March became a useful officer of King Henry in his wars with Scotland. It is recorded that March entered into an alliance with the Percys and other English borderers, the enemies of Scotland, invaded Scotland with a considerable force, laid waste the country with fire and sword, for which he was outlawed and forfeited. Being a highly capable military officer and a good general, the English gained several advantages over the Scots under his conduct, particularly at Homildon in 1402, and at Shrewsbury in 1403. Eventually March became

wearied of distressing his native country, and made application to the Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland, for a pardon, which was granted. He returned to Scotland, and was restored to his estates in 1409, and lived peaceably the remainder of his days.

Rothsay continued to be wayward and licentious ; at the same time he was considered to be a man of honour, hated double dealing, whilst he despised the selfish cunning which he had detected in Albany, his uncle, whose ambition was notorious. A curious proof of the weakness of the Government is given by the historian, Tytler. In the event of a baron having a claim of debt against any unfortunate individual, it seems to have been a common practice for the creditor, on becoming impatient, to proceed to his house or lands, and there help himself to an equivalent, or in the language of the Statute-Book, "to have taken his poynd" ; and in such cases where a feudal lord, with his vassals at his heel, met with any attractive property such as horses, cattle, and rich household furniture, he would stand on little ceremony as to the exact amount of the debt, but appropriate what pleased him without much compunction. This practice was declared illegal, unless the seizure was made within his own dominions and for his own proper debt.

On 21st February, 1401, a meeting of the Estates was held at Scone when many judicious laws were passed chiefly affecting the tenure of property and the precedence of the Criminal Courts. Feudal superiors were forbidden to resume the lands held by their vassals without due and lawful cause, and resumption not to be valid unless conducted according to legal form. Justiciary Courts or Justice Ayres were to be held twice a year on both sides of the Forth ; that ecclesiastical offenders should have right of appeal, first to the clergy, and then to the General Assembly ; and trial by combat should be allowed only when a capital crime had been committed so secretly that ordinary sources of revenue could not be appealed to.

Some remarkable statutes were passed in the reign of Robert III. A law was made against anyone attempting by his own power and authority to expel a vassal from his lands as not being the rightful heir; whether he be possessed of the land lawfully or otherwise, he shall be restored to his possessions until he lose them by regular course of law, whilst no penalty was inflicted on him who took the execution of the law into his own hands. In the matter of weights and measures, the stone of wool was to be 15 lbs.; the stone of wax 8 lbs.; and there were to be 15 oz. in the pound; and in the administration of judges, it was enacted that sheriffs were to appear yearly in person or by deputy in the Court of Exchequer under the penalty of removal from office. All Lords of Regality (feudal barons) were commanded in their annual courts to inquire into the conduct of the sheriffs and other inferior officers, to scrutinise the manner in which they discharged their duties. If they found them guilty of malversation, to remove them from office until the meeting of next Parliament. Anyone thus removed was to find security for his appearance before Parliament, who would determine his punishment, and whether the removal were to be perpetual. The offender to lose one year's salary, and a temporary officer appointed.

Albany's objects were pursued with a pertinacity of purpose and command of temper which gave him a superiority over the turbulent nobility by whom he was surrounded. When once in his power his victims had nothing to hope for from his pity. Rothesay he detested, and he determined on his destruction as the only obstacle which stood between him and the throne. The relations between them grew worse, and after a time, on false representations made to the aged King at the instigation of Albany, orders were given to arrest Rothesay. Shortly after, as the Prince was riding to St. Andrews with a small retinue, he was seized and put in the Castle of St. Andrews until Douglas, who was now become his enemy, should determine his fate. In a few

days he was removed to Falkland and thrown into the dungeon of that place. For fifteen days he was without food, and he eventually died there of starvation. This occurred in 1401. Rothesay was committed to the keeping of John Wright of Falkland. Wright was paid £108, and this from the public accounts was allowed by Albany from the customs. The Prince was buried in Lindores Abbey, and the expense of the funeral as shown by the customs account at Perth was £2 1s. 4d. The King founded a chaplainry at Dundee for his soul, and made daily masses for him at Deer and Culross.

Albany and Douglas were denounced by the people as being the cause of the murder of the Prince, and a general council assembled at Holyrood on 16th May, 1402, to discuss the matter. Unfortunately, no official record of the proceedings is preserved. It is said, on being charged with the murder, they made a plausible defence and were acquitted, and that the proceedings were simply a farce. There is every probability of this being true. The decision was declared insufficient, and a public remission was drawn up under the King's seal, declaring their innocence, in terms which, it is said, were quite conclusive of their guilt. The brutality of Albany's conduct was such as no words can adequately condemn. The conspicuous power of Albany and Douglas, and the weakness of the King, who bitterly repented the fate of his son, were much felt by the nation. Albany resumed his place as governor, and the unfortunate Prince, it is said, was soon forgotten. The feud between Douglas (son of the Earl who gave his daughter to Rothesay) and March showed no sign of abatement, and the feeling between them led to serious consequences. On one occasion, in 1402, the Scots advanced into England under Sir Patrick Hepburn and some of the Border barons. The Earl of March, now at the English Court, and Percy intercepted them at Nisbet Moor, three miles from Dunns, and defeated them. The battle is described as having

been of a desperate character ; 1,400 Scots fought, and eventually Hepburn and his bravest knights fell. This defeat brought the powerful Earl of Douglas to the rescue. He and Mordac, son of Albany, immediately collected a force of 10,000 archers and spearmen and prepared to revenge this defeat. Moray, Angus, Douglas, Lord of Galloway, and the greater part of the chivalry of Scotland, lords, knights, and squires, assembled, under Douglas, and went on to Newcastle. The English were led by Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy (Hotspur), his son, and the Earl of March, who had renounced his allegiance to his sovereign. The Scots had reached Wooler, where they were advised that the English were advancing on them. Douglas immediately drew up his forces in a deep square on Homildon Hill, an unfortunate position, the historian says, seeing the English forces were archers. The English are said to have pierced with ease the light armour of the Scots, few of whom were defended by more than a steel cap and a thin breastplate ; whilst the Scottish bowmen drew a wavering and uncertain bow and did little execution. Numbers of the bravest barons and gentlemen were mortally wounded, and fell on the spot where they were first drawn up. Sir John Swinton and Sir Adam Gordon, at the head of their followers, formed a body of 100 horse, and made a desperate attack on the English, and, had they been supported, might have retrieved the fortunes of the day. Such was the confusion that they both fell before Douglas could advance to their rescue. So splendid was the English archery that Douglas himself, though he wore a coat of mail, had five arrow wounds, though none of them fatal. All the work was done by the bow ; no hand-to-hand fighting. The Scots were defeated, and Douglas (the fourth Earl), who lost an eye at this engagement, was made prisoner, along with Mordac, the Earls of Moray and Angus, and the entire nobility who were engaged. The number of the slain was great, exclusive of 1,500 drowned crossing the

Tweed. It is said to have been a decisive and bloody defeat, occasioned by the military incapacity of Douglas, whose pride was probably too great to take advice, and his judgment and experience in war too confined to render it essential. Hotspur might now rejoice that Otterburn was atoned for. Homildon was fought on 14th September, 1402. The King of England, Henry IV., was so elated with this victory that he issued orders to Hotspur Percy not to admit to ransom any of the Scots prisoners of whatever rank or station. The Percys rebelled at this interference of the King, and assembled a large force said to be to take the side of Albany. Percy afterwards released Douglas and other Scots captives taken at Homildon, and this was done in defiance of King Henry's order. Douglas afterwards collected an army and advanced into England, but he and Percy were vanquished at the battle of Shrewsbury in 1407.

In June, 1403, the Percys laid siege to Cocklaws, a town near the village of Yetholm, but so resolute was the defence that Percy came to terms with the besieged. Albany was at the head of affairs in Scotland, and was personally hostile to the government of Henry IV. He determined to carry relief to Cocklaws, and led a very considerable army there, but on his arrival found no enemy to fight. The enemy had gone to Shrewsbury. Albany therefore disbanded his troops and returned home.

Not long after the victory of Homildon Hill the Percys began to organise the conspiracy against Henry IV., the monarch whom their own hands had placed on the throne, which ended in the battle of Shrewsbury and the defeat of Percy. The two armies were 14,000 strong on each side, and included not only the flower of the English chivalry but of the English yeomen. Hotspur and Douglas were reckoned two of the bravest knights then living. Henry felt that the battle must decide whether he was to be king or be branded as a usurper. In the heat of the battle Hotspur Percy, as

he raised his visor for a moment to get air, was pierced through the brain with an arrow, and fell dead on the spot. His fall turned the fortunes of the day. The rebels were broken and dispersed; the Scots almost entirely cut to pieces; and the Earl of Douglas and many others captured and imprisoned. The captivity of so many of the nobles and gentry who had been taken at Nisbet Moor, Homildon, and Shrewsbury had the effect of quieting the warlike Scots, encouraging pacific relations, and increasing commercial enterprise. It is said that the years which succeeded these battles were occupied with numerous expeditions of the Scottish captives, who, under the safe conducts of Henry IV., travelled into their own country and returned either with money or cargoes of wool, fish or live stock, with which they discharged their ransom and procured their liberty.

The following is an illustration of Albany's government:—Sir Malcolm Drummond, brother of the late Queen Annabella, had married Isobel, Countess of Mar, whose estates were rich and extensive. Drummond, in his own Castle of Kildrummy, was attacked by a band of ruffians, said to be under Alexander Stuart, a natural son of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, "Wolf of Badenoch," brother to the King, thrown into a dungeon where, by barbarous treatment, he died. Stuart the following year, 1404, stormed the castle, and obtained by force the hand of the Countess in marriage. He presented himself at the outer gate of the castle, and in presence of the bishop of Ross, the assembled tenantry and vassals, was met by the Countess, to whom he surrendered the keys of the castle. The lady then holding the keys in her hand declared that she freely chose Alexander Stuart for her lord and husband, and that she conferred on him the Earldom of Mar, the Castle of Kildrummy, and the lands which she inherited. The proceedings terminated by charters being taken on the spot; and this remarkable transaction, exhibiting so singular a mixture of the ferocity of feudal manners,

was confirmed by charter of the King, and Stuart assumed the title of Earl of Mar.

The instrument of protest taken before the gates of Kildrummy, 10th September, 1404, sets forth that he did present and deliver to the Countess, the Castle of Kildrummy with the whole papers, silver plate, and plenishing, with the keys, into the hands of the Countess, inviting her to dispose of them as she pleased, thus she thereupon chose Stuart as her husband, and in free marriage gave him the castle and its belongings, the Earldom of Mar, and all her possessions, including Jedburgh Forest. There is a charter of confirmation, sealed and dated, before Alexander, bishop of Ross, of 9th December, 1404. Stuart was in 1406, 1407, and 1416 Ambassador Extraordinary to England; he was a strong and powerful man, but destitute of principle. At the battle of Harlaw in 1411 he commanded the Royalists. The Countess Isobel died in 1419 without issue.

It would appear that the intrigues of Albany and the unsettled state of the country filled King Robert with constant alarm respecting the safety of his only son, James, the future king, a youth of twelve years of age. As France was at that period considered the best school for the education of a youth of his rank, it was resolved to send him there. The expedition set sail in March, 1405, with no apprehensions about their safety, as the truce with England and Scotland had not expired. They had not been long at sea when the vessel containing the Prince was captured off Flamboro' Head by an armed English vessel and taken to London, where Henry IV. committed the Prince and his attendants to the Tower. So flagrant a breach of International law as the seizure and imprisonment of the heir-apparent during a truce should have called for violent remonstrance. But to Albany, the usurper of the superior power, the capture of the Prince was an unqualified relief. To detain him in captivity now became his great object. Sir David Fleming of Cumbernauld aroused

the wrath of Albany by espousing the cause of the Prince, and it does not appear that Fleming was among those captured by the English pirates, for it is recorded that on his return he and his attendants, on the moor of Lang Hermandston, were attacked by James Douglas, of Abercorn, second son of the Earl of Douglas, and Alexander Seaton, where, after a fierce conflict, Fleming was slain, and most of the barons who accompanied him made prisoners. The Douglasses were protected by Albany, and no attempt was made to punish Douglas. The King, who was living at Rothesay Castle, did not long survive the capture of his son, and on 4th April, 1406, he died, it is said, of a broken heart, in the sixty-sixth year of his age and sixteenth of his reign.¹

¹The Earl of Douglas was slain in battle in France in 1424. He was married to Lady Margaret Stuart, daughter of Robert III.

REGENCY OF ALBANY.

BETWEEN the death of Robert III. and the accession of his son, James I., there is a period of no less than eighteen years, arising from the captivity of James in England. This period represents the second half of the regency of Albany, and being a member of the House of Stuart, it will be necessary to incorporate the substance of his rule in this work.

On the death of Robert III. the Scottish Parliament met at Perth, and formally appointed Albany, Regent until the liberation of James. His first act was to renew the treaty of peace with France. That was considered important, on account of the ambitious designs of Henry IV., which frequently alarmed the French King. The Regent's son, Mordac, and the Earl of Douglas were in the Tower of London, having been taken prisoners at the battle of Shrewsbury. It was the Regent's object to keep James in captivity, and his further object to be on good terms with Henry IV., in case James might be released, return to Scotland, and dismiss the Regent from office.

A quarrel at this time took place between the Regent and Donald, Lord of the Isles, who wanted to seize the Earldom of Ross, now vacant. Donald would not give way, and both parties fought it out at Harlaw, ten miles north of Aberdeen, when there was great slaughter on both sides, the result of the battle being very doubtful. At this unfortunate engagement, fought on 24th July, 1411, the flower of the Scottish barons fell. Mar, who led the Regent's troops, was son of the Wolf of Badenoch. The Lord of the Isles submitted to the Regent, and this was followed by a truce with England for six years, from 16th May, 1412. This was the third truce since

the death of Robert II. The death of Henry IV. took place on 20th March, 1413, but it produced no change between the two kingdoms. It is said that three separate embassies were sent to the English Court for the release of James, but it is not stated that Albany was a party to any of these. Henry Percy, son of Northumberland, who was a prisoner in Scotland, was released in exchange for Mordac, the Regent's son. Negotiations were opened in 1416 for James's ransom, but did not succeed; James, however, was to be allowed to go to Scotland for one year, on giving hostages in security for 100,000 merks if he did not return. Henry V., however, when it came to the point, recalled his promise. The historian, Pinkerton, is of opinion that the correspondence of Albany with the Duke of Orleans, then a prisoner in England, gives strength to the suspicion that the interruption of the treaty was the work of Albany. Immediately after this Albany, believing the bulk of the English troops were in France, laid siege to the Castle of Roxburgh, held by the English, but he was at once attacked by a considerable force under Bedford and Exeter, and compelled to retreat. This foolish conduct of the Regent caused Umfraville, the Governor of Berwick, to invade Scotland by the eastern marches, and lay waste and burn the towns of Hawick, Selkirk, Jedburgh, and Dunbar. Henry V., who was engaged in hostilities in France, was having a successful career there when the French king requested assistance from Albany to counteract Henry's movements. Albany sent over a contingent of 7,000 men. They reached Normandy in safety, where they were joined by the French soldiers under the Dauphin. Albany did not live to see the result of this campaign, for he died at Stirling Castle on 3rd September, 1419, in the eightieth year of his age, having, it is said, virtually governed Scotland thirty-four years, though his actual regency extended only to fourteen years.

Notwithstanding his faults, which were many, and his behaviour to the young King, his nephew, in allowing

him to remain in captivity, Albany seems to have been regarded by the people in his later years with favour, and to have left a good impression on the nation. His son, Mordac, a highly incapable nobleman, assumed the regency, with the approval of the nobles, at his father's death. He was destitute of ambition and of his father's cunning, and manifested indolence and good-nature, with a mind that was vacillating, and in no way suited to govern a fierce and warlike people like the Scots of these times. According to a writer in the Chartulary of Moray, "there was then no law in Scotland; the great men oppressed the poor, and the whole kingdom was one den of thieves: slaughters, robberies, and fire-raising went unpunished."

Under such administration as that of the Regent Albany in the time of Robert III. and after, it is important to notice the condition of the customs and their mismanagement. It was an everyday occurrence for the nobles to ship the produce of their lands customs' free, in open defiance of the collectors of customs, and also to abet the merchants who were under their protection in doing the same thing. The nobles, when they thought fit, actually robbed and plundered the collectors, and even imprisoned them till they delivered up whatever balance they had in hand.

In the audit of 1413 the Earl of Douglas refused to pay the custom on his wool, estimated at £69, and also carried off the whole balance in the hands of the collectors of Edinburgh, amounting to £634. The following year the Earl and his faction seized the whole of the balance—£1,339. In 1415 the new depredations amounted to £1,254. It further appeared that Douglas had directly taken from the merchants the sum of £240. On one occasion James Douglas seized the collectors of Linlithgow and carried them to the Castle of Abercorn, and imprisoned them there till they disbursed the sums demanded. Such, it is said, was the reward which Albany allowed Douglas in return for his support.

At this crisis Henry V. determined to take the young King of Scots with him to France, in the hope that the Scots would abandon the French service rather than fight against their sovereign. The English King, however, did not complete this, his third campaign in France, but was suddenly seized with illness, and died on 31st March, 1422, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, leaving an infant to succeed him.

When we come to consider the character and reign of Robert III. we are met at the threshold with blank disappointment. He was an amiable, good-natured man, with no mind of his own. His pusillanimity, his indecision, his want of administrative power, eventually resulted in imbecility, and the kingdom was left to govern itself. The Queen had predeceased her husband. Albany's administration was selfish, aggressive, without principle, and never acquired public confidence. The realm, under the circumstances, was in a state of chaos during this reign; there are few records, and historians are all brief in what they have to say of Scotland at this period. Although Robert III. was a man of peace, his nobles indulged in war to the knife. The battles of Nisbet Moor, Homildon, and Shrewsbury, were attended with a dreadful slaughter of the Scots, but the King was altogether unconnected with them. The unfortunate marriage of the King's son created a deadly feud between the two greatest nobles of the time, Douglas and March, and many of the troubles of this period followed on that event. The murder of the Duke of Rothesay by Albany was an indefensible act, which Albany lived to regret, but the fact is conspicuous that the King and his Privy Council were too weak to condemn the murderer, and the matter was actually allowed to go unpunished. It was during this reign that the Clan fight took place at Perth, a disgraceful incident, which can only be explained by the rule of a weak-minded king, absolutely unable to control the acts of his people. As a matter of fact, King Robert never personally governed. Irresolution,

timidity, and an anxious desire to conciliate all parties, induced him to abandon useful designs because they opposed the selfishness or threatened to abridge the power of his barons, and this weakness of character was ultimately productive of fatal effects in his own family and throughout the kingdom.

Though wanting in energy and courage, he was fond of domestic life. It required firmness, almost violence, to carry his convictions into the administration of the Government in these troublous times, but these he could not command. It is said that if he had been born a subject he would have been among the best and most exemplary of men. King Robert is said to have been like his father, a tall, handsome man, with a florid countenance, pleasing and animated. He was lame from the effects of an accident, and he wore a long, white, patriarchal beard. Another writer (Hume) says he was a man of slender capacity, and extremely innocent and inoffensive in his conduct. Scotland was less fitted than England for enduring a sovereign of that character, and being unfortunate in its sovereigns, it paid the penalty by its civil wars, which brought the kingdom to the brink of ruin.

Robert III., as already stated, was married to Annabella Drummond of Stobhall, daughter of John, Lord Drummond, eleventh laird of that ilk, in direct succession. She is said to have been a lady of great beauty and accomplishments. According to the historian, Camden, "the women of the family of Drummond for charming beauty and complexion are beyond all others." She was the grace and dignity of that Court of which she was the Queen. She was a lady who had the courage of her opinions, and was not slow in taking her husband's place at social and political functions, and at a great tournament in Edinburgh on one occasion, it is recorded that the Queen, and not the King, presided. King Robert, who was interred in Paisley Abbey, had issue: David, Prince of Scotland and Duke of Rothesay, starved to death at

Falkland by Albany, his uncle; John, who died in infancy; James, Prince of Scotland, who succeeded his father as James I.; Margaret, married to Archibald, Earl of Douglas, by whom she had issue, Archibald and James, successively Earls of Douglas; Mary, married to George, Earl of Angus, who was taken prisoner at Homildon, and died same year, leaving one son, William, Earl of Angus. The Countess thereafter married, in 1404, James Kennedy of Dunure, and by him had issue, Gilbert, first Lord Kennedy. He was ancestor of the Earls of Cassillis and Marquises of Ailsa. James Kennedy predeceased his wife, and she married, for the third time, Sir William Graham of Kincardine, ancestor of the Dukes of Montrose, by whom she had issue, Robert, ancestor of the Grahams of Fintry, and Patrick, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews. A natural son of Robert III. was John Stewart of Ardgowan, ancestor of Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall, and Sir Michael Shaw-Stewart of Ardgowan.

Sir George Mackenzie, a well-known writer on the genealogy of the Stuarts, says:—"I have seen an act of Parliament (1371), having the entire seals of the members of Parliament appended. In it they swear allegiance to Robert II., the first King of the race of Stuarts, and after him Robert, Earl of Carrick, his eldest son. Amongst those seals is that of James, Earl of Douglas, and how ridiculous it is to think that he would sit and declare (if Robert III. was born out of wedlock) a bastard preferable to the brother of his own lady, and to his own lady who would have succeeded, if her brother had died without issue. I have seen a charter granted by Robert II., when he was Steward of Scotland, in which Robert III. is a conjunct disponer with him under the express designation of the eldest son and heir, which charter confirms to the Abbey of Paisley several lands disposed to them."

There is no authentic evidence to prove that Robert II. had children by his first wife, Elizabeth Mure, "out of wedlock." He had children by her before he was

King, and before he got a dispensation from the Pope ; but this was after his marriage. The dispensation, it is understood, legalised the children of Elizabeth Mure, notwithstanding the obstacle of consanguinity.

CHAPTER VI.

Birth, early Education, and capture of James—Terms of the Ransom and his release—His Marriage with the Lady Joanna Beaufort, and arrival in Edinburgh—Text of the Obligation of James to the four Burghs—Coronation of James at Scone—Parliament at Perth of 1424 and its enactments—James and his Parliament at Inverness—Forty Highland Chiefs arrested and several executed—Macdonald the Freebooter and the widow—St. Andrews University in 1424—James defeats the Lord of the Isles—Macdonald appears in Edinburgh barefooted before the King—Parliament at Perth of 1427 and its enactments—Arrestment of Albany and his Sons and several nobles—Trial and execution of Albany, his Sons and Lennox—Betrothal of the Princess Margaret and the Dauphin—Lord Crichton and Eric, King of Norway—James at Dunstaffnage and executions of turbulent Highlanders—Arrestment and sentence of the Earl of March—James's conduct disapproved—The English attempt to capture the Princess Margaret—Marriage of the Princess—The English invade Scotland—James declares war and besieges Roxburgh Castle—Parliament of Perth, 1436—Strathern estates confiscated—Arrest of Sir Robert Graham and his escape—Assassination of the King—Arrest and execution of the Conspirators, and of Atholl and Sir Robert Graham—James as a Poet—Character and legislation of James ; his Family, and his Parliaments.

REIGN OF JAMES I. OF SCOTLAND.

A.D. 1406—1437.

THE accession of James I. to the crown of Scotland was an event of no common importance to the Scottish people. He had long been absent from the kingdom, and had acquired in England a good education and Court experience, while after his exile he became a man of decision of purpose and high principle. James was



JAMES I.
King of Scotland.

(From the Engraving in Pinkerton's Iconographia.)

the son of Robert III. and Annabella Drummond, and was born at Dunfermline in 1393. For protection from the English king he was in 1406 sent to France, but in spite of every precaution the vessel which conveyed him was, as already stated, captured, and the Prince carried to London and put in the Tower. This unfortunate event caused the death of his father, who died the same year at Rothesay Castle. The first payment to the Constable of the Tower, in respect of costs incurred on behalf of James, was from 6th July, 1406, which indicates the date of his entry there. He was removed to Nottingham Castle on 10th June, 1407, where he remained till the middle of July, but some authorities say longer. From Nottingham he was removed to Evesham, where he remained till 16th July, 1409, when he went to Croydon, where he was probably the guest of Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury. There he exercised certain functions of government, for a general confirmation which he addressed from there to Douglas of Drumlanrig on 13th November, 1412, is, in *fac-simile*, preserved in the *Diplomata Scotiæ*. On 20th March, 1413, he was again put in the Tower along with the Welsh Prince, and Mordac, Earl of Fife, and on 3rd August these captives were removed to Windsor; but Mordac was shortly after released by his father. The Constable of the Tower continued to receive costs down to 18th December, 1416. In 1414, when the Prince was twenty-one years of age, Sir John Pelham was appointed his governor, and resided at Windsor. There the Prince had much freedom. He accompanied the English king to France, and was present at the triumphal entry of Henry V. into Paris on 1st December, 1420, and in 1421 he went to Rouen with King Henry, where he remained some time. Henry admired his virtues, and sought to utilise them. Henry was then engaged in subjugating France, and being retarded by the Scottish auxiliaries, he hoped to quell their resistance by inducing James to accompany his army. James, though he joined the English troops in France, refused to dictate to his

people while his liberty was restrained. Henry commended the prudence of his answer, and having his consent to act as an auxiliary, placed a division of his army under his command. In 1420, and two following years, James fought in France under the English, attended by a band of Scottish knights, who voluntarily waited upon him.¹

It was generally believed that Albany was responsible for some years of the Prince's absence from Scotland. In his position of Regent he might have secured his nephew's release, but he was careful not to do anything in case he should lose the regency. The death of Henry V. in 1422 opened up brighter prospects for the Prince, and negotiations were entered upon for his liberation. A conference appears to have been held on 12th May, 1423. The Scots commissioners were—Archibald, Earl of Douglas; William Hay, of Errol; Alexander Irvine of Drum, Leighton of Dunblane, and Cornwall, Archdeacon of Lothian. Leighton was spokesman, and made an eloquent speech, complimenting the English for their generous treatment of the young King. The point to be settled was the amount of the ransom. In debating this question the English commissioners stipulated for the payment of £40,000 to defray the expenses of James's maintenance and education, payable by yearly instalments of £2,000. Hostages were required in security, and Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen became bound by a separate deed to secure payment to the English treasury. The Scottish troops were to leave France, and James was to select for his wife an English lady of high rank. In the autumn of 1423 the English and Scottish commissioners met at Pontefract, and there the terms of the treaty were finally arranged. The ransom was fixed at 60,000 merks, or £40,000 sterling, to be paid by six instalments of 10,000 each, hostages to be given in security. The treaty was signed at York on 10th September following, and in December the Scots agreed

¹ Rymer Fœdera.

that Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen were each to guarantee 10,000 merks.

James became affianced to Joanna Beaufort, daughter of the Earl of Somerset, the King's brother, niece of Richard II. and grand-daughter of John of Gaunt. They were, in 1424, married in the church of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, with all due magnificence. This union enabled James to get £10,000 of his ransom struck off as the lady's dowry. The banquet at the marriage was celebrated in the adjoining palace of the lady's uncle, the bishop of Winchester. James and his bride then set out for the North, and on 28th March at Durham the hostages, twenty-eight of the principal nobles or their eldest sons, were delivered along with the obligation of the four burghs. A truce was thereupon agreed for several years from 1st May, 1424, between England and Scotland, and was duly signed. On 5th April, at Melrose, James issued letters under the Great Seal confirming this treaty.

The burghs who undertook to see the ransom paid received from James the following personal obligation, signed, as will be observed, at Durham. He was then on his journey to Scotland with his young wife, as they arrived in Edinburgh about the middle of April:—

Obligation by King James I. to Relieve the Four Burghs of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen in Reference to the Payment of his Ransom:

James, by the grace of God, etc.: we make known that, by our Royal authority, we are bound, and by the tenor of these presents do firmly and faithfully oblige ourselves, to keep free and scaithless our faithful burgesses, to wit, the provosts and bailies and communities of the four burghs of our realm aforesaid, Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, and their heirs and successors, and each of them, respecting the payment of the 50,000 merks, which is to be paid to Henry, King of England, for our liberation, and for payment of which, at the term therein agreed upon, the



said provost and magistrates of our four burghs have, at our command, granted their written bond. And for doing what is above written without any exception, revocation, or impeachment whatsoever, we oblige ourselves by the authority of our Royal Majesty, and our heirs and successors, Kings of Scotland, and that firmly without fraud, by the tenor of these presents.

Moreover, we promise, and will be careful to make all and sundry provosts and magistrates of the remaining burghs of our realm, and their heirs and successors oblige themselves in competent form under their commom seals, to assist and adhere to the provosts and magistrates of the four burghs, in payment of the said sum of money (with power to distrain upon them for the same if they do not pay either in whole or in part), and to take part in and contribute with them according to law in all burdens whether on account of the non-making of the principal payment of the said sum of money, or on account of the cost and expense of implementing this obligation either already incurred or to be incurred hereafter.

In testimony whereof we command our seal to be appended to these presents at Durham, 26th March, 1424, in the eighteenth year of our reign.

JAMES R.

The hostages were—David Stewart, eldest son of Walter, Earl of Atholl; Alexander, Earl of Crawford; Alexander, Master of Huntly; Malise Graham, Earl of Strathearn; Patrick Lyon, Master of Glamis; Sir William Ruthven, Sir David Ogilvy and David Mowbray. It appears that the King's ransom money promised to England was never paid, except a part of the first year's instalment, and in consequence of this the unfortunate hostages were detained. Some of them died in England, some ransomed themselves, and a few escaped.¹ In James I., Scotland was destined to receive an industrious and capable

¹ Exchequer Rolls.

sovereign. The school at which he obtained his inspiration could not but produce a wise and excellent ruler, and the history of his reign is a proof of this. Under the guardianship of Henry IV., he had been instructed in all the warlike exercises and polished manners of the school of chivalry, and provided with masters in the arts and sciences, while he studied the principles of the administration of justice in England, and during some time spent with Henry in France, he became familiar with the politics of both countries. James and his consort, on arriving in Edinburgh, kept the festival of Easter, and a month later they were crowned at Scone, on 21st May, 1424.

Mordac, Duke of Albany and Earl of Fife, exercised his ancient right of placing the sovereign on the throne, and Bishop Wardlaw anointed the King and Queen and crowned them. One of the first things the King did after the coronation was to call a Parliament, which, assembled at Perth on 26th May, in order to provide means for relieving the hostages, and for inquiring into the abuses of the Government under Albany's regency. The imposition of the tax to pay the ransom was very unpopular; it was a universal tax throughout the realm—twelve pennies in the pound Scots—and lasted only two years. The King, who was anxious on the subject of military training, caused it to be ordained by this Parliament that all the male subjects in his dominions, after the age of twelve years, provide themselves with the usual equipment of archers; and in all ten pound land bowmarks were ordered to be constructed, specially near parish churches, where the people were to practise archery. In every sheriffdom wappenschaws were to be held four times a year, and football was forbidden in order that full attention be devoted to archery. This was probably for military purposes. At his second Parliament at Perth the King assembled all the officers who had authority during the regency of Albany. He then discovered that the greater part of the Royal revenues

was bestowed by Albany on his friends or dependants.

At this Parliament, the ancient freedom and privileges of the Church were confirmed. It was decreed that the King's subjects should maintain a firm peace throughout the realm; and the barons were forbidden under the highest penalties from making war against each other, or from travelling with a more numerous retinue than they could maintain; efficient administrators of the law were appointed in the various districts of the kingdom. Treason and rebellion were to be punishable with forfeiture of life, lands, and goods. The great customs, which had very much diminished in value by the improvident rule of Albany, were to remain in the hands of the King for the support of his Royal estate; and the gold and silver mines discovered in the kingdom to become, under certain restrictions, the property of the sovereign. Gold and silver were not to be carried out of the realm except on payment of a duty of 3s. 4d. per £1. Stranger merchants were enjoined to expend the money which they had received for their goods either in the purchase of Scottish merchandise or in the payment of their personal expenses. A new coinage of equal weight and fineness with the English currency was ordered. The clergy were forbidden to pass over the sea, or to send procurators on any foreign errand without a licence from the King; or to purchase any pension payable out of any benefice, religious or secular, under penalty of forfeiture of the same. Strict enactments were made against the killing of salmon between the Feast of the Assumption and the Feast of St. Andrew in winter, and cruives for the taking of fish were to be put down for three years. For the protection of agriculture, rooks were ordered to be destroyed; and the burning of moors from March till the corn was cut was prohibited under a penalty of imprisonment for forty days or a fine of 40s.¹

¹ Acts of the Scot. Par.

Of the reigns of James I. and II. no part of the original records are extant, and the statutes of these two sovereigns have been obtained from a collection of several old manuscripts. With the first printed edition of 1566, the existing series of original Parliamentary Records commences only in 1466, and even from that period down to the year 1578, the series is broken by numerous mutilations and deficiencies, most of which are altogether irreparable.¹

Subsequent events indicate that the sharp eye of the King was fixed on Mordac, Duke of Albany, and his sons (the Regent Albany died in 1419), and that the murder of the Duke of Rothesay had still to be avenged. Ten months elapsed before the King convened this Parliament and felt himself strong enough to deal with Albany. He had evidently secured a strong Privy Council, to whom he communicated his designs, while the utmost secrecy appears to have been observed as to his ultimate intentions. Mordac and his friends had all settled down on their estates, and had retired from the administration of the Government. Referring to the turbulent times, the King said: "Let rapine and outrage no more be heard of, but every man recall himself to a civil and regular form of life; especially you, my nobles, think virtue and civility true nobility; that to be accounted noblest which is best; and that a man's own work begets true glory." This Parliament created a Session as the Judicial Court of Scotland.²

The most important legislation provided for the registration of infeftments or titles to land in the King's register, personal attendance in Parliament by clergy, barons, and freeholders' revision of the old books of the law by the three estates, punishment of heretics by the aid of the laity, and a judicial committee to sit three times a year.

Albany and his friends attended without hesitation,

¹ Cosmo Innes.

² Exchequer Rolls.

not supposing anything serious was to happen. It was not till the ninth day of the sittings that the Albany affair was taken up, no doubt prearranged by the King and Council. On that day, without any warning, Mordac, the late governor, with Alexander Stuart, his younger son, was suddenly arrested. Twenty-six of the nobles and barons: Archibald, Earl of Douglas, Earls of Angus and Lennox, Sir Robert Graham, William Hay of Errol, Maxwell of Caerlaverock, Ramsay of Balhousie, John Stewart of Dundonald, etc., were attainted for high treason. The King immediately seized the castles held by Albany and his sons, Falkland and Doune, and imprisoned Albany's wife, who was the eldest daughter of Lennox, in Tantallon Castle. This movement was mainly directed against Mordac, whose father probably starved to death the Duke of Rothesay in the dungeon of Falkland Palace, a crime that, in the opinion of the King, cried for vengeance.

Previous to the meeting of Parliament, the King, as already stated, had imprisoned Walter, the eldest son of Albany, along with Lennox and Sir Robert Graham. (The latter afterwards assassinated the King.) For this affront Graham avowed the most determined revenge. Young Albany was shut up in the castle on the Bass Rock; the other two were imprisoned in Dunbar; Albany himself was put in St. Andrews Castle and afterwards transferred to the prison of Caerlaverock.

At this Parliament the institution of the Lords of the Articles appears to have been established. The various subjects on which the decision of the Great Council was requested were declared to be submitted by the sovereign to the determination of certain persons to be chosen by the three estates from the Clergy, Earls, and Barons, then assembled. The legislative enactments which resulted from their deliberations convey to us an instructive picture of the condition of the country. This Parliament was adjourned, and met at Stirling on 24th May, or

two months afterwards, when Walter, the eldest son of Albany, was brought up for trial, but no records have been preserved. It seems evident that in the interval these nobles were restored, for at the trial of Albany and his sons at Stirling on 24th May, before a jury of twenty-one, seven were among the attainted nobles. The King, sitting on his throne, clothed with the robes of majesty, with the sceptre in his hand and wearing the crown, presided.¹ The trial of Walter lasted a single day; he was found guilty, condemned to death, and executed same day. On the following day Albany himself, with his second son Alexander, and Lennox, his father-in-law, were tried before the same jury, found guilty, and condemned to death. They were all executed on the hill adjoining Stirling Castle, known as the "Gowlan Hill." Albany's remaining son, James Stuart, escaped and became the head of a troop of freebooters, attacked Dumbarton, and slew John of Dundonald, the Red Stuart, the King's uncle, and burned the town. The Royal troops set out in pursuit of Stuart: he escaped to Ireland, but five of his followers were caught and executed. Albany and his sons were very tall men, and it was impossible, the historian says, to look on them without admiration. Lennox was eighty years of age. This was Duncan, the seventh Earl. James took possession of his estates and retained them to the close of his life. For these executions the King has been severely criticised; and while they cannot altogether be justified, there is something to be said on behalf of the King.

The loose government of Albany's regency compelled James to administer stern and inflexible justice as a warning to his subjects that the lawless regency was at an end, and that the laws of the realm must in the future be respected. The success with which the King conducted this overthrow of the house of Albany gives us, the historian says, a high idea of his ability and courage. The undertaking was of a

¹ Tytler.

nature the most delicate and dangerous which could have presented itself to a monarch recently seated on a precarious throne, surrounded by a fierce nobility to whom he was almost a stranger, and the most powerful of whom were connected by blood or marriage with Albany. Nothing but an example of great severity could have made an impression on the nobles whose passions under the late regency had culminated in reckless indulgence and contempt of all legitimate authority.

On account of the turbulent condition of the Highlands, James went with a powerful escort to Inverness, and summoned a Parliament in 1427 there, for the transaction of business affecting the welfare of the people. It would appear that disputes, imprisonments, and murders were constantly taking place, all of which called for redress. The most powerful chiefs were summoned to attend this Parliament, and curiously enough they respected the summons. It is recorded that on entering the hall, forty of them were arrested and put into separate prisons where communication was impossible ; while some of them, whose crimes had been obnoxious, were executed.

Among those arrested were Alexander, Lord of the Isles, and the Countess of Ross, his mother, Alexander M'Reiny, and John Macarthur, each of whom could bring into the field 1,000 men, and many other Highland chiefs. According to Bower, James was so overjoyed to see these ferocious chiefs caught in the toils prepared for them, that while his officers were binding the prisoners, he repeated some Latin rhymes over the doom which awaited them. M'Reiny and Macarthur were beheaded for robbery ; James Campbell was hanged for the murder of John, a former Lord of the Isles. Others were put to death or banished, and the remainder set at liberty. Alexander, Lord of the Isles, returned home from the Inverness Parliament and raised an army of 10,000, and attacked and burned Inverness. The King immediately drew

up his forces and attacked him in Lochaber, and defeated him. He sued for peace, but the King refused to have any negotiations with him, and ordered his apprehension, but he could not be got. Shortly after, on a solemn festival at Holyrood, attended by the King and Queen, a miserable man, clothed in his shirt and drawers, holding a naked sword in his hand, manifesting grief and destitution, delivered the sword to the King and implored mercy. This was the Highland chief, the Lord of the Isles. The King granted him his life, but imprisoned him in Tantallon Castle.¹ It has been said that this severity of the King was necessary, seeing that when he ascended the throne his kingdom was little else than a den of robbers. The highly judicious mind of James was illustrated at the Parliament held at Perth in July, 1427. It was then ordained that all persons who should be elected judges for the trial of causes or disputes should take an oath that they would decide these questions to the best of their judgment, impartially, and without fraud and favour. If a plea took place between citizens of burghs, the provost and council were to select the oversman, as all arbitrations were to be determined by an even, not an uneven, number of arbiters.² Further, no man was to interpret the statutes contrary to their real meaning as understood by those who framed them; and litigants must attend court simply accompanied by their counsel, and not with a multitude of armed followers on foot or on horseback.

It was further ordained that in all burghs and thoroughfares in the country there be hostelries and keepers, with stables and sleeping apartments, and that men find with these bread and ale and all other food for a reasonable price; the King forbids anyone travelling through the country on horse or on foot from the time these hostelries are established to lodge in any other place; that there be made a stone for goods bought

¹ Tytler.

² Acts of the Scottish Parliament.

and sold by weight, which stone shall weigh 15 lbs. Troy—the Troy lb. to be 16 oz., and to be divided into 16 Scots lbs. All buyers and sellers of goods within the realm were to use these and no other weights. It was also ordained that each sheriff inquire diligently if any idle men have not means to live of their own, and are received within his bounds. The sheriff was ordered to arrest these men and keep them in prison until it be known how they live, after which he shall assign forty days to such men to get them masters or to bind them to lawful crafts. If they find not employment in forty days, they were to be again arrested and kept in prison during the King's pleasure. Each burgh, according to its size, was required to provide itself with six, seven, or eight 20-foot ladders, to be used in cases of fire, and for no other purpose. Deacons of crafts were to see that the workmen were cunning (ingenious), and the work sufficient, and such work to be examined every fifteen days. In a succeeding Parliament it was ordained that no man wear clothes of silk and furs, except knights and lords who possess 200 merks at least of yearly rent, and their eldest son and heir, by special leave of the King. Each burgess having £50 in goods to be armed as a gentleman ought to be. Burgesses having only £20 of goods to have doublet or habergeon, sword and buckler, bow, shaft, and knife. He that is no bowman to have a good axe and sure weapons. Also, that no man in burghs be found in taverns after the strike of nine o'clock p.m., and the bell to be rung in all burghs. The provost and bailies were to put trespassers in the King's prison, and cause them to pay for each offence 50s. to the Chamberlain. No man under pain of forfeiture was to buy English cloth, or other, from Englishmen within or without Scotland save by leave given, and no Scotsman to sell salmon to Englishmen, but Englishmen may buy such in Scotland with English gold. If Englishmen do not buy, Scotsmen may send the salmon to Flanders.¹

¹ National MSS. of Scotland.

In the Parliaments which met from 1427 to 1430 many important enactments were added to the Statute-book. Deacons of crafts were prohibited from altering the rules of their trades or summarily punishing their subordinates. Burgh magistrates and corporations were authorised to fix the price of labour in their several jurisdictions. Landowners and husbandmen were enjoined, under a penalty, to sow annually wheat, peas, and beans. Those occupying houses of strength were ordered to keep them in repair; small barons and free tenants were allowed to elect Parliamentary representatives, whose expenses were to be paid, and these representatives were to elect a speaker, who was to maintain the privileges of the Commons. Those seeking justice at courts of law were to appear without retainers and unarmed. Landowners and tenants were to hunt the wolf four times a year. Between Lent and Lammas partridges and moor fowl were to be unhurt, and husbandmen were not summarily to be ejected from their farms.¹

For the administration of justice certain persons were to be chosen by the King to sit three times in the year at such places as the King should appoint, for the adjustment of all causes and quarrels which might be determined before the King's Council. A register was ordered to be kept of all charters and infeftments, letters of protection or confirmation of ancient rights and privileges, which had been granted since the King's return; and within four months of the passing of this act all such charters were to be produced and entered on this register; that no one could practice as a solicitor unless the barons were satisfied that he was sufficiently educated. Six wise and able men acquainted with the laws were chosen to mend the laws that needed mending, in order that fraud and cunning "may assist no man in obtaining an unjust judgment against his neighbour."

A chief called Macdonald, leader of a band of free-

¹ Acts of the Scottish Parliament.

booters in Ross-shire, had plundered a poor widow of two cows. She declared to Macdonald that she would never wear shoes till she had carried her complaint to the King. "It is false," answered the savage; "I'll have you shod myself before you reach the Court," and he caused two horse-shoes to be nailed to the poor woman's feet. The widow being a woman of high spirit determined to keep her word, and as soon as her wounds were healed she travelled to Perth, where the Court was then held, and acquainted the King with what had happened and showed her feet and the wounds. The story aroused the indignation of the King, and he ordered Macdonald to be arrested and brought to Perth. He was tried and found guilty of the atrocious crime, and condemned to be executed. He was then clad in a linen shirt upon which was painted a representation of his cruel deed, and, after being paraded through the streets of the town he was dragged at a horse's tail and then executed. There was at the same time another illustration of James's stern administration of justice. Two noblemen quarrelled in presence of the Court and one of them struck his adversary on the face. James ordered his hand that committed the offence to be extended on the council table, and unsheathing his cutlass gave it to the noble who received the blow and commanded him to strike it off, threatening him with instant death if he disobeyed. The Queen and some of the clergy and nobles who were present implored forgiveness, and at length a remission was allowed, but the nobleman, the culprit, was banished from Court.

James was at peace with England; the ties between France and Scotland were about to be more firmly drawn together by the proposed marriage between his daughter and the Dauphin. England and France were on unfriendly terms, and James, in 1426, sent 4,000 troops to France. This action offended England, and Lord Scrope was sent to Scotland to propose that the King's daughter should be married to Henry VI.

of England. James declined to listen to this proposal.

The French king, Charles VII., sent over an embassy consisting of the Archbishop of Rheims, the Primate of France, and John Stewart of Darnley, to negotiate a marriage between the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI., and Margaret, daughter of the King of Scots. James received the ambassadors with great distinction, agreed to the proposed alliance, and despatched Stephen, bishop of Dunblane, with Lauder, Archdeacon of Lothian, and Sir Patrick Ogilvy, Justiciar of Scotland, to return his answer to the Court of France. It was resolved that in five years the parties should be betrothed, after which the Princess was to be conveyed with all honour to her Royal consort.

The treaty was signed by the King at Perth on 14th July, 1428. This marriage turned out unhappily on account of her ill-treatment by her husband. A tax of two pennies in the pound was in 1431 imposed in connection with the marriage.

Malise Graham, Earl of Strathearn, was detained in England as a hostage for King James's ransom for the long period of thirty years, 1423-1453. In 1427 James deprived him of the earldom and annexed it to the Crown, giving Malise instead the much smaller Earldom of Menteith. Malise was the last Earl of Strathearn. This unreasonable conduct of the King created much disapproval, and was one of the reasons that led up to the conspiracy against his life.

In 1429 these men returned for the purpose of carrying out the contract. It was stipulated that instead of a dower James should send 6,000 men to the assistance of the French king, and that the Princess should receive an income as ample as had ever been granted to any queen of France. When the time arrived, circumstances rendered it unnecessary to send the Scots troops. The marriage, however, took place in 1436. It would appear that the Norwegians had claims against the Crown of Scotland for the arrears of an annuity granted to them

by Alexander III., in return for the surrender of the sovereignty of the Isle of Man and the Western Isles. Accordingly, in 1426 an embassy was despatched to Bergen consisting of William, Lord Crichton, Chamberlain of Scotland, and two other envoys, for the purpose of adjusting the debt. This was duly accomplished, and a treaty of alliance renewed with Eric, King of Norway and Sweden, and James, King of Scotland.

James continued to occupy his time with efforts to improve the kingdom, the Government, and the general condition of the people. It is stated that his great principle was to govern his people through the medium of Parliament; that statutes and legislative enactments he ordered to be transcribed in the King's register, and copies given to the sheriffs for distribution. Such statutes to be published and proclaimed in the chief places of the sheriffdom, so that none could pretend ignorance.¹ It was ordained that the owners of land beyond the Mounth (Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness), where in old times there were castles or fortresses, should be compelled to rebuild or repair these, and either reside there themselves or appoint friends to do so.

At a Parliament held at Perth on 26th April, 1429, it was enacted that the barons and lords possessing estates within six miles of the sea, or in the western and northern counties, and opposite the islands, were to furnish a certain number of galleys according to the terms of their tenures. This was suggested from the want of a fleet in subduing the late rebellion of the Lord of the Isles.

On 16th October, 1430, to the great joy of the nation, the Queen was delivered of twin sons; the eldest, Alexander, died in infancy, the other became in 1437 James II. The event was celebrated with great public rejoicings, and at the baptism the King conferred the honour of knighthood upon them.

In 1431 the Highlands continued to be in a very

¹ Acts of the Scottish Parliament.

disturbed condition, and a fierce and desperate encounter took place between two of the great clans, Mackay and Moray, at Strathnaver in Caithness. It is said that nearly 1,200 on each side were slain, but we cannot verify this. Another encounter took place at Inverlochy, where the Earl of Caithness and many squires were slain. James, immediately on receipt of this intelligence, went with his troops as far as Dunstaffnage Castle, near Oban. His arrival struck terror into the insurgents, who in crowds repaired to him to make their submission, and entreat pardon. It is said that James ordered 300 to be seized and executed, and the rest were allowed their liberty.

At a Parliament held at Perth in 1431, Lord Scrope's proposals for negotiating peace with Scotland were declined, and the Scottish alliance with France was continued.

When James returned from England in 1424, he found the University of St. Andrews flourishing under the protection of its venerable founder, his own early instructor. Besides granting it a charter, dated at Perth 3rd March, 1432, confirming all its privileges and immunities, James assembled the most distinguished of the professors and the students, and after conversing familiarly with them, and applauding their exertions, rewarded them according to their merit with offices in the State, or benefices in the Church. It is said the university enjoyed great prosperity under his patronage, having at that time thirteen Doctors of Divinity, and eight Doctors of Law, whose classes were popular, and numerous attended.

A Parliament was held at Perth on 10th January, 1434, at which, amongst other matters, the position of the Earl of March was taken up: the forfeiture of his estates, and their reversion to the Crown. George Dunbar, eleventh Earl of March, who renounced his allegiance to Robert III., was in 1409 pardoned by the Regent Albany, restored to his estates, and returned to Scotland, where he remained peaceably

till his death in 1420 or later. His eldest son, George, succeeded him as twelfth Earl, and was one of the commissioners appointed in 1423 to negotiate for the release of James I., and was knighted at James's coronation. The fate of this Earl, who had committed no offence against the State, is very extraordinary. James was informed of his father's rebellion, his allegiance to the English King, and on certain occasions fighting against the Scots as an English officer. The nobles, in short, endeavoured to persuade the King against him. For these so-called offences of his father, the young Earl was arrested, and put in Edinburgh Castle, by the King's order. He was indicted and tried before the Scottish Parliament at Perth on 10th January, 1434, which was called specially for this trial. He pled that his father had been pardoned by the Duke of Albany, and that he had never been guilty of any crime against the State. The advocates for the King replied that the power of restoring rebels was vested in the King alone. Albany's pardon was recalled, and the March estates declared forfeited to the Crown. This was regarded as an unreasonable proceeding, and is one of the acts of the King which cannot be defended; but it is another proof of his determined and inflexible nature.¹

There can be no doubt, though this extraordinary proceeding called forth no remonstrance or open rebellion, it created great dissatisfaction and unsettled the minds of the nobles; and the injustice of the act which deprived March of his estates swelled the tide of discontent against the policy of the King. Many of the nobility began from this date to regard the sovereign with fear and hatred. A conspiracy against him began

¹ After the forfeiture of the Earl of March, James I. and his immediate successors made Doune Castle a Royal residence. It was also a residence of Margaret, Queen of James IV. Her son, James V., during his pilgrimages from Stirling Castle, must have made several visits to Menteith, in disguise, as the gudeman of Ballingeich. One occasion is recorded of his having surprised his neighbour, the King of Kippen, while the "King" was at dinner.

to be whispered at the close of this Parliament. It came to the King's ears, and it is recorded that before Parliament rose he made the nobles and commissioners of burghs promise to give their bond of fidelity to the Queen. The King conferred on March the title of Earl of Buchan, with an annual pension of 400 merks. March scorned to assume a title that spelled degradation, and manifesting much resentment at the King's conduct, bade adieu to Scotland and retired with his son into England.

In 1435 the English Government was guilty of a highly discreditable act in endeavouring to intercept the Princess Margaret on her way to France to be married to the Dauphin. The Princess was ten years old and the Dauphin thirteen. She was escorted by the bishop of Brechin, Sir Walter Ogilvie, Lord Treasurer; Sir John Maxwell, Sir John Campbell of Loudoun, and others; also 140 squires and 1,000 men-at-arms. The fleet to convey the Princess and her train consisted of three large ships and six barges, commanded by William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney. The English Government, said to have been irritated by the rejection of their proposals for a permanent treaty of peace between the two kingdoms, sent out a fleet of 180 vessels to intercept the Princess on her passage. The number of vessels is probably exaggerated. While they were watching for the Scottish fleet a number of Flemish merchantmen hove in sight (laden with French wine), which they pursued and captured. A Spanish fleet then came up, recaptured the prizes, and put the English to flight. During these manœuvres the Princess and her suite escaped and reached France in safety. The marriage was solemnised at Tours, in presence of the King and Queen of France and a vast assembly of the nobility of both kingdoms.

From the date of the King's liberation to the marriage of the Princess Margaret, a period of nearly ten years, may be regarded as the golden period of his life. He was at comparative peace with his subjects,

and he was able to devote his time to the country's civilisation and prosperity.

The English Government showed every desire to keep the peace with Scotland, but on the borders peace could not be maintained. Sir Robert Ogle, it is recorded, broke across the marches at the head of a body of knights, but at Piperdene, near Berwick, was met and defeated by the Earl of Angus and others, when he was taken captive along with most of his followers.

James was so indignant at the dishonourable conduct of the English Government attempting to intercept his daughter during the existence of a truce, that he declared war against England in August, 1436, raised a sufficient number of troops and began the siege of Roxburgh Castle, which was in the hands of the English. After spending the first fifteen days in the siege, and the engines for the attack had been broken or rendered useless, and when the castle was about to surrender, the Queen arrived in camp with secret information for the King, the result of which was that the siege was abruptly stopped, the army disbanded, and with haste the King returned home. All this was in the highest degree mysterious, and it is supposed that the King was suddenly informed of some treacherous design against himself, and rightly suspected that the conspirators were in his own kingdom. His faithful wife, Queen Joanna, was right. There was a conspiracy on foot, headed by Robert Graham, Walter, Earl of Atholl, and Robert Stuart, his grandson. The reason undoubtedly was that the King had confiscated the Strathearn estates because the direct succession through the male line had ceased, whereas Graham was the heir by a female branch, but the King, with great indiscretion, would not recognise him. It has been said, and not without reason, that James gave the younger members of his father's family reasons for dissatisfaction by seizing these lands, thus rendering desperate the Grahams, one of whom had married the heiress. Nor could this manifest injustice be made tolerable by a grant, as was proposed, of the

Earldom of Menteith to Malise Graham. Sir Robert Graham, uncle of Malise, remonstrated with the King on the injustice of his procedure, but unfortunately to no purpose, and Graham determined on revenge. At the next Parliament Graham spoke with open disapproval of the tyrannical conduct of the Government and the ruin of the noblest families, and appealed to the barons to respect the authority of the law, were it even at the risk of putting a temporary restraint on the King.

Laying his hand on the King: "I arrest you, in the name of the three estates of the realm here assembled in Parliament, for as your people have sworn to obey you, so are you constrained by an equal oath to govern by law, and not to wrong your subjects, but in justice to maintain and defend them." The members, struck with consternation at Graham's conduct, remained in profound silence.

James instantly rose to his feet and commanded them to arrest Graham, which was promptly done. He was hurried to prison, banished from Court, and his estates confiscated. He managed, however, to secure his liberty, and fled to the Highlands, where he collected followers, wrote the King renouncing his allegiance, and defied him as a tyrant who had ruined his family, also that he would yet slay him when he found an opportunity.

We come now to the last act of this drama. It was customary for the Court to quarter itself on one of the religious houses from time to time, especially at sacred festivals, and James and the Court, it would appear, agreed to spend the Christmas season some weeks in the Dominican Monastery at Perth.

This was announced at the rising of Parliament. The assassination of James I. in this monastery is one of the outstanding, not to say mysterious, events of Scottish history. The seizure of the Strathearn estates because limited to heirs male; the seizure of the March estates because of the conduct of the Earl's father; and the arbitrary treatment of that Earl and of Graham, was, as after events showed, an unfortunate and highly

injudicious policy of the King which no historian would attempt to defend. Many of the nobles, apprehensive of their position, would appear to have united for their own protection, and it was out of this movement that Atholl and Graham championed the conspiracy for the overthrow of the King.

On the night preceding the outrage—20th February, 1437—the King, who evidently was under the impression that Graham's conspiracy had dropt, was, along with the Queen and a number of ladies, whiling away the time at chess, some of the ladies reading romances, playing on the harp, or singing love-songs. Sir Robert Stuart, the Chamberlain, and Atholl, were guests of the King on the fatal evening. Evidently they were playing a double part, as they were in regular communication with Graham. On the King and Queen and their company proposing to retire for the night, Stewart, it is recorded, secretly opened the doors of the monastery and let the conspirators in. To facilitate their entrance, Stewart had previously destroyed the locks and removed the bars of the doors of the Royal bed-chamber and the outer room adjoining, which communicated with the passage; and about midnight he had placed wooden boards and hurdles across the moat which surrounded the garden to enable the conspirators to enter without alarming the warder.

The revels of the Court were kept up to a late hour. The common sports and diversions of the time, the game of tables, the reading romances, the harp and the song, occupied the night, and the King himself was in unusually gay and cheerful spirits. When engaged playing at chess with a young knight, whom in his sports he called the King of Love, he warned him to look well to his safety, as they were the only two kings in the land. Christopher Chambers, one of the conspirators, being seized with remorse, repeatedly approached the King to warn him of his danger; but either his heart failed him, or he was prevented by the crowd of knights and ladies who filled the chamber

from getting at the King. Soon after this James called for the parting cup and the company dispersed.

Shortly after the King had on his night-dress and was standing before the fire of the room adjoining, engaged in conversation with the Queen and some of the ladies, when the sound of clashing of armour and the glaring of torches startled him, and he at once suspected it was Graham and his followers. The Queen and the ladies ran to secure the doors leading to the apartment, but to their dismay found them open and the bolts removed. The King, who must by this time have realised his position, requested the ladies to prevent entrance by the door so long as they were able, and he would endeavour to escape by the windows. These unfortunately were protected by iron bars which rendered escape impossible. Under the bedroom was a subterranean passage which led to an outer court, and he immediately wrenched open one of the boards of the floor undiscovered: one of the ladies carefully replacing the board. This was a certain way of escape, but unfortunately the passage had been built up at the further end a few days before by the King's order. The conspirators now found their way to the King's bedroom, forcing open the door, amid the cries of the ladies, who heroically attempted to barricade it. The statement that Elizabeth Douglas, to barricade the door, placed her arm in the socket and got it broken, is evidently a fable. The conspirators rushed into the apartment, and wounded some of the ladies as they fled out. The Queen, who was overpowered by this unexpected outrage, stood paralysed in silence, and did not move. One of the traitors wounded her, when a son of Graham ran forward and protected her, saying to the assailant: "Harm not the Queen; she is but a woman; think shame of yourself; go and seek the King." The King hearing no noise, and supposing the conspirators had left the apartment, called to the ladies to bring him sheets and draw him out. In endeavouring to do so, Elizabeth Douglas fell through the trap-door into the vault, and

at that moment some of the conspirators appeared. On seeing the floor turned up, one of them named Chambers, by the light of his torch saw the King and the lady, and called for his companions. Sir John Hall at once descended, with a large knife in his hand, but the King, who was a strong man, seized him and threw him at his feet. Hall's brother next descended, and the King seized him violently by the throat and threw him beside his brother. Sir Robert Graham, seeing that the King had mastered the two Halls, descended with a drawn sword, and struck the King, who cried for mercy, Graham is reported to have said: "Thou cruel tyrant, never hadst thou any compassion on thine own kindred, or the nobles of Scotland when under thy power, therefore none shalt thou have here." The King: "I beseech you at least let me have a confessor for the salvation of my soul." "Thou shalt have no other confessor than this sword," said Graham, giving him a mortal wound, after which the unfortunate King was despatched with upwards of sixteen wounds from Graham and the two Halls. During this appalling tragedy the Queen escaped, but the citizens of Perth and resident nobles, hearing of the outrage, were fast assembling and surrounding the monastery; the conspirators seeing this fled, but not before one of them was killed by Sir David Dunbar, brother of the Earl of March, who had the courage to follow them, but Sir Patrick Dunbar, another brother of March, was killed in the melee. In the morning, when the event became known, there was profound consternation everywhere, and great indignation manifested.

The Queen, who was a courageous woman, instantly took steps to arrest the murderers, and within a month they were apprehended, tried, and executed. The first who suffered were Robert Stuart and Thomas Chambers, whose heads were afterwards fixed on the gates of Perth. Atholl and Graham were drawn on hurdles on separate days through the streets of Edinburgh and Stirling, tortured in a revolting manner,

and afterwards hanged, drawn, and quartered. The circumstances which led up to this conspiracy appear to have been those already stated, and in an age when rude and savage customs prevailed among wholly uneducated people, the seizure of these two Earldoms and estates was an indefensible act of the King, which posterity will neither approve nor homologate. Why he did not himself see the matter in this light must ever remain a mystery.

This terrible tragedy, brought about by what might be called the two greatest tyrants of the period, threw the nation into a condition bordering on anarchy. After thirteen years of a wise but severe ruler, who had succeeded in restoring everything to order at a great sacrifice of human life, and now the sacrifice of his own, the administrative work of the past thirteen years was practically undone. To the nation it was an overwhelming calamity which meant the re-opening of disturbances and probably rebellion all over the kingdom.

James accomplished a great reformation both in the aspirations and habits of the people during his reign. Considerable alterations were projected by him in the form of government, in the administration of justice, and other matters. The political condition of the State underwent crucial examination. Even Parliament, in his reign, was attempted to be modelled after the English fashion. During the few years that passed after his return from captivity, twelve Parliaments were held, and various statutes for legislative regulation were passed. Attendance by proxy was common, but in the third Parliament of James an act was passed abolishing proxies, and ordering all who were bound to be present to attend in person. Not only were schools and seminaries, at which philosophy and science were taught, founded and endowed by him, but he invited into Scotland learned men from foreign universities. Genteel fashions, as well as rich stuffs imported from foreign countries, were studied at James's Court, while

healthy entertainment, such as balls, masques, and concerts was encouraged and became frequent. Organs, which before his reign were scarcely known in Scotland, were erected in various cathedral churches, as well as in his own chapel; he was very fond of music, and sang and played on several instruments.

The most important changes which he introduced were the publication of the acts of Parliament in English, the introduction of the principle of representation by the election of commissaries for shires; the institution of the court called the Session, and the regularity with which he assembled Parliament. Before his time it had been the custom for the laws, resolutions, and judgment of Parliament to be written in Latin. The judges who thus administered the laws—the barons, bailies, sheriffs, and other officials—were incapable of reading or understanding the statutes, and the importance of the change from Latin to English, cannot be too highly estimated. He was a leader, not a follower of men, a man who had in a high degree the courage of his opinions, and the ability to express them in academic language.

The enlightened character of his political views is proved by the courage with which he up-rooted time-honoured abuses, and introduced the most extensive and beneficial changes into the constitution of the kingdom. The numerous enactments of his reign for the maintenance of law and order, and the proper administration of justice throughout the realm, vindicate his claim to the character of a wise and good sovereign. He drew the lower orders to him by the reformation of abuses, and a temperate and equitable administration of justice. He mingled occasionally among the common people in disguise; visited their firesides, entered into their cares, pursuits, and amusements, and informed himself of their mechanical arts. The nation felt the benefits they enjoyed from his vigorous and judicious rule. The nobility, however, regarded him in a different light; and it cannot be denied that in his

efforts to curb their power, and strip them of those dangerous immunities which they had usurped during the anarchy of Albany and Robert III., and to punish those who had been guilty of flagrant offences, he displayed a severity which sometimes bordered on cruelty.

That his assassination was a national calamity cannot be doubted; and that he laid himself open to it by his injudicious conduct, as we have already pointed out, is also true. His active and jealous rule left its impress on the nation, notwithstanding the lawless condition and insubordinate character of the feudal nobility. It is evident that a large proportion of the nobles bowed to his rule and recognised the wisdom of his administration. The prompt execution of the conspirators within a month after the deed, is a proof that the supporters of the throne were in a majority.

Not only so, but the cruelty which accompanied the execution of these men not being attended with any appearance of disapproval, indicated what were the feelings of the people. Some historians¹ have pointed out that the event would enable the nobles once more to get into power, and that that was precisely what they wanted. We have no reliable proof that this feeling existed outside the Grahams and their supporters. The heroic conduct of the Queen cannot be disregarded; but for her prompt efforts, the conspirators would not have been so summarily dealt with. The town of Perth, where the deed occurred, ceased from that date to be the capital of Scotland, and the Court was removed to Edinburgh. The conspiracy, says the historian, was essentially a dynastic plot, an attempt to vindicate the rights of the second family of Robert II. against the first, and its real head was one on whom the King had heaped many benefits, his uncle, the Earl of Atholl. In the accounts of the Chamberlain of Atholl—1436 to 1438—there is an entry of £66 13s. 4d. paid to John Gorme for arresting Robert Graham, the

¹ Tytler.

champion of the conspiracy. We do not agree with this writer. The conspiracy, assuming the narrative which is handed down to us to be correct, was no doubt the work of Sir Robert Graham, because the King deprived him of the Strathearn estates.

One of our historians¹ says, in seeking out the effective motive for such a crime, had only one cause of enmity to the King been known, that alone would have been set down as the reason of it; but the inquirer is confused by finding several causes, while to one of them in particular has the origin of the tragedy been separately and distinctly traced. It must at the same time be borne in mind that the first Duke of Albany, who starved to death the King's brother at Falkland, was never called to account for that brutal deed. He died in 1419, at which date James expected to have been called back to the kingdom, but Mordac, the second Duke, was determined to succeed his father in the regency, which he did, and this meant a prolongation of the King's captivity. In short, he might have been liberated during the regency of the first Duke had proper steps been taken. His captivity lasted some years longer than it should have done, and this was an additional reason for the strong feeling James had on the subject. The Albanys had confiscated a large portion of the Royal revenues, while their administration of the kingdom was highly unsatisfactory. In the opinion of the King these two events were necessary for the restoration of peace and the tranquillity of the realm. But posterity will probably not accept this ruling on the record of facts which has been handed down to us. At the same time, if we exclude these from the rule of James I., we cannot but conclude that his reign was creditable to the House of Stuart. It is unfortunate, however, that with his high character he was not absolutely a just man. James was one of the bravest and most heroic of the Stuart kings, and has left to posterity an administrative record of which any

¹ Hill Burton.

ruler might be proud. That he was a courageous, determined, and dictatorial king there is abundant proof, and though at times he carried his arbitrary views too far, we must remember he was the ruler of a wild and lawless kingdom which had developed into a state of anarchy under Robert III. and his brother, Albany. Nothing but stern and inflexible administration could restore the peace of the nation, a due respect for its laws, and its principles of justice.

James was an able legislator, administrator, and organiser, and it may be said that the regular statute law of Scotland commenced in his reign.¹ He encouraged industry and commerce, and had an establishment of his own at Leith, which was used as a shipbuilding yard, a workshop, and a storehouse. He had several ships, and entered into trading on his own account. The wools and hides of the Crown lands, instead of being sold to the Scots merchants, were directly exported by him to Flanders duty free. The remissions of customs show that in one year he had exported wool and hides to the value of £900.²

James was a man of refined literary taste, and has left to posterity substantial proof of what he accomplished in that direction. His principal work, called the *King's Quhair*, or *King's Book*, is a poem in six cantos, in which he describes the circumstances of the attachment which he formed while a captive in Windsor Castle, to Lady Joan Beaufort, the lady he afterwards married. In this work he narrates, in affecting terms, his departure from Scotland, his cruel and unjust capture on his voyage to France, and he bewails his long captivity in a foreign land, his lonely and inactive life, shut out in the vigour of youth from the enterprise and delights of the world. The window of his room looked out on a small garden at the foot of the tower, with a green arbour and a romantic walk, protected from the outside world by trees and hedges. Here the Lady Joan took

¹ Mackintosh's "History of Civilisation."

² Exchequer Rolls.

her morning stroll, and captivated his heart. His feelings he expresses in the *King's Quhair*, of which the following lines (modernised by Tytler) are a specimen :—

Early astir to taste the morn of May,
 Her robe was loosely o'er her shoulders thrown,
 Half open, as in haste, yet maidenly,
 And clasped, but slightly, with a beauteous zone,
 Through which a world of such sweet youth had shone,
 That it did move in me intense delight,
 More beauteous—yet whereof I may not write.

In her did beauty, youth, and bounty dwell,
 A virgin port, and features feminine ;
 Far better than my feeble pen can tell,
 Did meek-eyed wisdom in her gestures shine ;
 She seems perfay, a thing almost divine,
 In word, in deed, in shape, in countenance,
 That nature could no more her child advance.

This poem has been very favourably criticised : and in elegance of diction and tender delicacy has been considered equal to any similar work produced in England at that period. According to Washington Irving, it presents female loveliness clothed in all its chivalrous attributes of almost supernatural purity and grace. James's next poem, *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, describes, in a humorous vein, a country fair or merry-making, where the rustics danced, drank, and finally quarrelled. The scene of the poem is traditionally said to be a village called Christ's Kirk in Kennethmont (Aberdeen), where a fair was in old times held during the night ; but in the "Poetical Remains of James," by Rogers, the ancient kirk of Leslie, in Fife, is supposed to have been the scene of the poem :—

Was never in Scotland heard nor seen
 Sic dancing nor deray (merriment) ;
 Neither at Falkland on the Grene,
 Nor Peebles at the play ;
 As was of woers as I wene
 At Christ's Kirk on a day,



JAMES I.
King of Scotland.

(From the Portrait in the National Gallery.)

feature—the almost entire absence of civil war. England and Scotland were at peace with each other, a very unusual state of matters when we look at the experience of his predecessors. It was only at the close of his reign that peace was broken by the English king attempting to capture the Princess Margaret. As a *quid pro quo* James immediately laid siege to Roxburgh Castle, which was occupied by an English garrison, but he was not destined to complete this aggressive act. The condition of the people at this period began to improve, and if James had lived longer it would have substantially improved, as his relief from warfare gave him plenty of time to attend to the necessities of the kingdom. The insubordination of the feudal barons was one of his greatest difficulties. His authority was insufficient to compel them to submit to the restraints of the statutes which they had assisted to frame; and instead of being the guardians of the laws and the protectors of the rights of the people, they were in most cases their worst oppressors, setting at defiance the mandates of the Crown and the legislative acts of the Scottish Parliament. An illustration of the power of the barons has been given by the late Lord Lindsay of Crawford. The Earl of Crawford possessed rights of regality. His courts were competent to try all questions, civil or criminal, high treason excepted. He appointed judges and executive officers, who had no responsibility to the Imperial authority. He had within his jurisdiction a series of municipal systems, corporations with their municipal officers, privileged markets, harbours and mills, with internally administered police authority; he could build prisons and coin money. When any of his vassals were put on trial before the King's courts he could "repledge" the accused to his own court, only finding recognisances to execute justice in the matter. He was thus a governor under the sovereign, not a mere sheriff.¹

¹ Taylor

During this reign considerable attention was given by Parliament to the dress to be worn by the people. Magistrates and councillors were permitted to wear furred gowns, while all other persons were enjoined to wear such apparel as befitted their station, and all men were directed to dress their wives in a manner that did not exceed their personal estate. It may be said that in the reign of James enlightened civilisation began to emerge gradually from the previous rude and savage state of the kingdom, and his remarkable legislation was undoubtedly the first chapter in a well-considered scheme for the nation's improvement. His immediate successors failed to support and develop such wise and useful legislation, and gave their attention more to a military and aggressive policy, which the three succeeding Jameses had cause to regret when it was too late, and brought the kingdom to the verge of ruin at the fatal battle of Flodden in 1513.

It may be said without hesitation that of all the Stuart kings none was more capable, or possessed more administrative ability, than James I., and the outline of his career which we have given seems to warrant that conclusion.

James, who died in the forty-fourth year of his age and thirteenth of his reign, was interred in the Carthusian Monastery of Perth, founded by him. It is said that his heart was removed from his body before interment and carried on a pilgrimage to the East. Entries in the Exchequer Rolls tell us of the arrival of the heart of James in Scotland, brought by the knights of St. John, from Rhodes, and exhibited and presented to the Carthusian monks: but there is no mention of its final resting-place, which doubtless was that monastery.

James, by his wife Joan, or Joanna, daughter of the Earl of Somerset, left issue as follows:—

James, born 1430, afterwards James II.

Margaret, wife of Louis XI. of France, who died without issue.

Isobel, married in 1450 to Francis, Duke of Bretagne, by

whom she had three daughters, viz., Jean, married to James, Earl of Angus, without issue; she married again George, Earl of Huntly, and had issue, Alexander third Earl; Adam, William, and Catherine Gordon; after Huntly's death she married for the third time, James, Lord Dalkeith, afterwards Earl of Morton, by whom she had a son and heir, John, Earl of Morton.

Eleanor, married to Sigismund, Duke of Austria: no issue.

Mary, married to John, Lord Campvere, in Zealand.

¹ Jean, Annabella, and Alexander; the latter died in infancy.

¹ Jean, Countess of Huntly.

Parliaments of James I.:—Perth—26th May, 1424; 11th March, 1425; 30th September, 1426; 1st March, 1427; 1st July, 1427; 12th July, 1428; 6th March, 1429; 16th October, 1431; 27th March, 1432; 10th January, 1434; and at Stirling, 1st March, 1435; and at Edinburgh, 22nd October, 1436.

Jean and Eleanor were sent to France after the Queen's death. Annabella, youngest daughter, married Louis, Count of Geneva. Joan was deaf and dumb. On the occasion of her marriage the Earldom of Morton was created and bestowed on her husband, James Douglas, third Lord Dalkeith.¹

Queen Joan, who married Sir James Stewart of Lorn, had issue by that marriage three sons:—John, Earl of Atholl; James, Earl of Buchan; Andrew, Bishop of Moray. She was interred in the Carthusian Monastery, Perth, 1446.

¹ Exchequer Rolls.





JAMES II.

(From an Engraving in Pinkerton's Iconographia.)

CHAPTER VII.

Birth and Coronation of James II.—Sir William Crichton obtains possession of the King—Queen-Mother runs away with him—Sir Alexander Livingstone obtains possession of him—Livingstone attacks Edinburgh Castle, and Crichton surrenders—Sir William Crichton appointed Chancellor of Scotland—Death of Archibald, fifth Earl of Douglas—Queen-Mother marries the Black Knight of Lorn—Seizure and imprisonment of Queen-Mother and her Husband—Crichton seizes and carries off the King—Assassination of the Douglasses in Edinburgh Castle—Crichton and Livingstone declared Rebels—Death of the Queen-Mother—Bride chosen for the King—Battle of Sark—Arrival of the Bride, Mary of Gueldres—Tournaments, Marriage, and Coronation of Mary—Destruction of the Livingstones—Assassination of Herries of Terregles and others by Douglas—Assassination of Sir Patrick MacLellan, Sheriff of Kirkcudbright—The King assassinates Douglas (William, eighth Earl)—The Douglas placard on the Parliament House—The King subdues Douglas at Pentland Moor—Douglas joins the Duke of York against the King—Execution of Douglas's brothers—King Henry's insolent letter to James II.—The Fair Maid of Galloway and her husbands—James invades Northumberland—Siege of Roxburgh Castle and Death of James—Queen Mary addresses the Army—The King's Character, and his Family.

REIGN OF JAMES II. OF SCOTLAND.

A.D. 1437—1460.

THE national calamity of 20th February, 1437, with which we concluded the last chapter, was an event which, in our day, we cannot realise, and not a single historian has been able to throw even a side-light on the situation; to inform us, among other things, what effect it had upon the people, what they said, and did. and proposed, and whether the elevation of Crichton and Livingstone to supreme power was the result of

war or rebellion, and specially what was the complexion of the debate which took place in the Scottish Parliament on 25th March thereafter. All this is unrecorded. That the ablest sovereign of the House of Stuart should be brutally murdered in the manner described must reflect perpetual infamy on all concerned. The conduct of Walter, Earl of Atholl, who, along with Graham, carried out the deed, is most mysterious. Atholl was the second son of Robert II., by Queen Euphemia Ross, and uncle of James I.; he received this Earldom from his father, and on the death of his brother David, Earl of Strathearn and Caithness, without issue, he also received from the King these two Earldoms. Before his death he expressed his regret for his treasonable conduct in causing the King's death; but it is scarcely conceivable that a man who had received such honours from the Crown should be the leader in a conspiracy against the King, and be responsible for assassinating his sovereign. His execution was eminently called for in the circumstances. By this astounding event, the realm was again to be subjected to all the vexatious troubles of a regency, the young King being only seven years of age. The events, as recorded, if accurately recorded, present to us a kingdom in a condition of barbarism, ruled during the minority of the King by men who were mere usurpers. Civilisation, commerce, the general prosperity were paralysed, and the dial went back twenty-five degrees. No improvement in this lawless state of matters took place until the King, several years after, assumed the government, and, with the blood of the Stuarts in his veins, he soon, by wholesome executions, paved the way for the introduction of peace and tranquillity, law and order.

James II., who was the only son of James I. and Queen Joanna, was born in 1430 and christened immediately thereafter amid great rejoicings. The Queen mother went to Edinburgh Castle for protection, with her son, immediately after the assassination, and they



MARY OF GUELDRES,
Wife of James II.

(By Van-der-Goes. *Holyrood Portrait*)

were warmly received, as is recorded, by Sir William Crichton, the governor.

It was the duty of the nobles to provide for the administration during the King's minority. A Parliament was held in Edinburgh on 25th March, 1437, to take steps for the government of the country, when it was resolved to crown the young King in the Abbey of Holyrood on 27th March. The coronation took place there as appointed. At the festival which followed we have a graphic description from a well-known writer; the first dish consisted of a figure of a boar's head, painted and stuck full of flax, served up on an enormous platter, surrounded with thirty-two little flags or banners, bearing the arms of the King and chief nobles. The flax was then set on fire amid the acclamation of the assembly. A ship of silver, of exquisite workmanship, was next introduced, probably containing salt and spices, in different compartments. The first service was then ushered in, preceded by the Earl of Orkney and four knights, and every succeeding service was brought in by thirty or forty persons, all bearing dishes. At the second table the Countess of Orkney and other ladies sat with Lord Campvere.¹ At the third table was a papal legate, with three bishops, an abbot, and other Churchmen; the five dignitaries drinking out of a large wooden bowl, without spilling any of the wine; other liquors being as abundant as sea-water. The dinner lasted five hours, there being neither dancing nor supper.²

After the coronation the Queen-mother was entrusted by the Scottish Parliament with the custody of the King until he had attained his majority, while Archibald, fifth Earl of Douglas, was appointed Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. Douglas, whose mother was a daughter of Robert III., was thus a nephew of the late King, and the most powerful and

¹ Lord Campvere was married to the Princess Mary, the King's aunt.

² De Coucy's "Memoirs."

wealthiest man of his time. A nine years' truce was concluded with England, from May, 1438, to May, 1447. Sir William Crichton, who in 1445 was created first Lord Crichton, was Master of the Household to the late King, and Sheriff of Edinburgh, was an ambitious man, and having obtained the custody of the young King, arrogated to himself the government of the kingdom, disregarded the Queen-mother, Douglas, the Lieutenant-General, Sir Alexander Livingstone of Callander, and others in authority. The Queen-mother was by Crichton separated from her son, contrary to the orders of Parliament. She could not submit to this treatment, and resolved on a stratagem by which she and her son would leave the castle. Crichton allowed her occasionally to visit her son. At the close of one of these visits she informed him of her desire to take a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Mary at Whitekirk, East Lothian, to which he consented. Starting on this journey, she concealed the young King in a chest which formed part of her luggage, and instead of going to Whitekirk, which was a proposal to hoodwink Crichton, she went on board a ship at Leith Harbour. Instead of sailing eastwards the vessel turned to the west, and she made her way down the Forth to Stirling Castle. We have no details as to who was in the secret of this enterprise along with the Queen; it was scarcely possible for her to carry out so cunning a plot single-handed. We do not guarantee the accuracy of this incident. It looks like a fable of Boece. The Queen, on her arrival at Stirling Castle, was received by Sir Alexander Livingstone, the Governor, and she put herself and her son under his protection. A Parliament was held there after this incident, to consider the situation, and curiously enough the Earl of Douglas, chief officer of the realm, did not appear, nor did he take any interest in the matter. This attitude was very unlike the traditions of his family. He was a man of peace, a man of fortune, having large estates in France as well as Scotland, and was apparently not a man who would identify himself with rebellion or

lawlessness in any form. This Parliament discussed Crichton's conduct, and resolved that where any rebels had taken refuge within their castles, and held the same without lawful authority, it was the duty of the Lieutenant to besiege such places and arrest the offenders, of whatever rank they might be. Douglas refused to put this act into execution. Thereupon Livingstone laid siege to the Castle of Edinburgh, when Crichton capitulated, and Livingstone took possession. Crichton appealed to Douglas, but the haughty Douglas disdained to interfere. Eventually Livingstone and Crichton came to a common understanding. The young King, who went to Edinburgh with Livingstone, was presented by Crichton, as a matter of form, with the keys of the castle. The result of this was that Livingstone was appointed by Douglas custodier of the King and Governor of the kingdom, under Douglas, while Crichton was appointed Chancellor. In the midst of these troubles Douglas was struck down with fever and died at Restalrig on 26th June, 1439, to the regret of the nation. His great personality, and the dignity and haughty bearing which characterised the discharge of his official duties, secured the respect of the turbulent nobles and people. His son, a youth of seventeen years, succeeded him as sixth Earl. His death left Livingstone and Crichton in charge of the administration, custodiers of the King, with the Queen-mother under their control. No successor seems to have been immediately appointed to Douglas. The Queen-mother, finding she was little better than a prisoner in the hands of these men, resolved to get married, and to be quit of the bondage. The barbarism of the age rendered it unsafe for a woman of rank to remain without the protection of a husband. In 1439, without details, the fact is recorded that she married Sir James Stewart, third son of John Stewart, Lord of Lorn, better known as the "Black Knight of Lorn." This powerful baron was in alliance with Douglas. The event struck Livingstone and Crichton with terror, as they regarded

Douglas as their greatest foe. In despair lest they should lose their power they suddenly arrested Stewart and his brother, Sir William, and put them into a dungeon in Stirling Castle, while the Queen was shortly afterwards seized and shut up in her apartments and denied all communication with her husband.¹

It was a month afterwards when these unfortunate persons were released on their disowning all connection with the Douglas faction. This incident created considerable resentment among the Stewarts, particularly as the Queen-mother was by appointment custodian of the King, a youth at that date of nine years of age. For the moment, however, Livingstone was all-powerful, and had a strong faction at his back, as well as the command of the troops; without this he would not have presumed to do what he did. A convention of the nobles was held at Stirling, evidently under his guidance, when an extraordinary recital of the situation appears to have taken place. At this convention the Queen-mother, with advice and consent of this faction which usurped power, resigned into the keeping of Sir Alexander Livingstone the person of her son, until he had attained his majority. She also surrendered, in loan, to the same baron the Castle of Stirling, the residence of the young King; and for the due maintenance of his household and dignity, conveyed to him her annual allowance of 4,000 merks, granted her by Parliament on the death of her husband, James I. The deed also declared that the Queen had remitted to Livingstone and his faction all rancour of mind which she had conceived against them for the imprisonment of her person, being convinced that their conduct had been actuated by no other motives than those of truth, loyalty, and zealous anxiety for the safety of the King. It provided also that the lords and barons who were to compose the retinue of the Queen should be approved by Livingstone, and that the Queen might

¹ "Auchinleck Chronicle," privately printed by Thomson, Dep. Clk. Register.

have access to her son at all times. Such interviews to be in presence of unsuspected persons; and lastly Livingstone and his friends were not to be annoyed or menaced for any part which they might have acted in this important transaction.¹ The hollowness of this ordinance is too transparent to mislead us. The Queen was too shrewd a woman to give herself away in this manner, but being Livingstone's prisoner she had to sign the paper by compulsion; this does not appear in the proceedings of the convention. It illustrates the treasonable character of Livingstone and his unscrupulous methods in order to promote his own ends and the gradual undoing of the salutary reforms of the late King. It further illustrates the weakness of the Queen's faction and its inability to control Livingstone. She may have signed the paper to save the life of her husband who was in prison, and probably to secure her own freedom.

That she should have received into her intimate counsels the traitors who, not a month before, had violently seized and imprisoned her husband, invaded her Royal chamber, staining it with blood, and reducing her to a state of captivity, is too absurd to be accounted for even by female caprice. The whole transaction exhibits an extraordinary feature of the country, the despotic power which in a few weeks might be lodged in the hands of a successful and unprincipled faction, the pitiable weakness of the party of the Queen, and the corruption and venality of the great officers of the the Crown.²

It is believed she and her husband were set at liberty on the signing of this document. After this, Livingstone and Crichton gradually got jealous of each other, and Crichton, on one occasion, when Livingstone was absent at Perth, went over to Stirling, and early in the morning, when the young King was taking his exercise in the King's Park, he, with a small

¹ Acts of the Scottish Parliament, 4th September, 1439.

² Tytler.

escort, captured the King and carried him to Linlithgow, thence to Edinburgh Castle. Livingstone was non-suited and had to "climb down." It was "the biter bit." In wholesome fear of the machinations of Douglas, he resolved to go to Crichton and endeavour to remove all causes of alienation. This resulted in a conference in St. Giles Church, Edinburgh, when the Bishops of Aberdeen and Moray appeared, along with Livingstone and Crichton, listened to the speeches of these two ambitious men, and brought about a reconciliation. It was agreed that the young King should return to Stirling under Livingstone, while Crichton was to have more power, and his friends rewarded with offices of trust.

The minority of James was an eventful period, manifesting to the nation the spectacle of misgovernment, corruption, crime, and anarchy under these men. Their wholesome dread of the power of Douglas does not appear to have abated. They felt that so long as he was there, their authority was pretty much restricted. The following incident carried out by them was even worse than the capture of the King:—The young Earl of Douglas, in addition to his extensive estates, had a powerful following, and possessed great influence. He declined to have anything to do with the government of the country, "because the custody of the King and the management of the State were in the hands of two ambitious and unprincipled tyrants." At this declaration Livingstone and Crichton resolved to have Douglas assassinated, and so remove from the realm, the only man capable of undermining their authority. We have no proof that Douglas challenged the legitimacy of James to the throne, as some writers say, or that he ever had any such intention; but Livingstone and Crichton resolved that they would indict him for high treason, a crime that, in the condition of the country, could be preferred without almost any proof. By these two men the plot was formed after great deliberation. All being ready, Crichton, who lived at Crichton

Castle, ten miles south of Edinburgh, wrote Douglas in the joint names of the two, and expressed regret for any misunderstanding that was between them, and that they should thus be deprived of his services to the nation. The letter invited Douglas to the Court, where he might have personal intercourse with the King, and where he would be received with the consideration befitting his high rank, and might give advice regarding public affairs. Douglas injudiciously accepted the invitation, contrary to the expectation of his friends. Accompanied by his only brother David, Sir Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, and a small retinue, he proceeded to Edinburgh, and on the way was lavishly entertained by the Chancellor at Crichton Castle; the entertainment lasting two days. He then proceeded to Edinburgh Castle, where he was received by Livingstone. He immediately joined the King, now in his tenth year, when they entered into a long and friendly conversation. Whilst Douglas and his brother sat at dinner with Livingstone and Crichton, after a sumptuous entertainment, the courses were removed, and the two young men found themselves accused in words of violence as traitors to the State.¹

Aware, when too late, that they were betrayed, they started from the table and attempted to escape, but the door was beset by armed men, who, on a signal from Livingstone, rushed into the chamber and seized and bound their victims regardless of their indignation. A hurried form of trial was gone through, at which the young King was compelled to preside; and condemnation having been pronounced, Douglas and his brother were instantly carried to execution, and beheaded in the back court of the castle.² There are no details of the trial, nor do we know what were the charges, if any, brought against them. Fleming was beheaded on the following day. This extraordinary outrage, one of the blackest crimes that occurred in the reign of James II.,

¹ Leslie's "Hist. Scot."

² Tytler.

stamps Livingstone and Crichton as conspirators and murderers,¹ and incapable of managing the affairs of the realm. It would be useless even to conjecture what the state of the kingdom could be under two such corrupt rulers. To say it was in a state of anarchy would not represent the matter adequately, for crime and corruption to an unlimited extent were rampant, but as nothing is recorded, posterity must remain in ignorance. James Douglas, grand-uncle of the murdered Earl, succeeded him, but he died within three years of acquiring the Earldom, and was succeeded by his son, William, who became eighth Earl. The young men who were so basely executed left a sister, said to have been a beautiful and accomplished lady. She succeeded, on the death of the last Earl, to extensive unentailed estates in Galloway, and was known as "The Fair Maid of Galloway." Curiously enough, the young Earl fell in love with her and married her, so that this union once more united the estates under one Earldom. This young Earl seems to have had a wife living at the time he married his cousin, but he afterwards obtained a dispensation from the Pope for its dissolution. He was a man of great force of character, and became one of the most notable and turbulent of the Douglas family. By his mother he was descended from a sister of Robert III., while his father was descended from Christian, sister of King Robert Bruce. The great object of Douglas was to obtain the supreme government of the kingdom under James. His wife, the Maid of Galloway, was descended by the father's side from the eldest sister of James I., and by the mother's from David, Earl of Strathearn, eldest son of Robert II. Douglas was therefore the most powerful man in the State, and one to be reckoned with by Livingstone and Crichton, who regarded his influence and position with unqualified

¹ It has been suggested that Livingstone and Crichton acted with the sanction and connivance of the next heir, James Earl of Avondale, brother of Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas. (Exchequer Rolls.)

fear. In the midst of this unsettled condition of the kingdom, James, as a writer well puts it,¹ was banded about a passive puppet, from the failing grasp of one faction, into the more iron tutelage of a more successful party in the State. It is scarcely possible to conceive a more miserable picture of a nation with two such men at the helm.

In 1441 ambassadors came to Scotland from John, Duke of Brittany, with a proposal of marriage between the Duke's eldest son, and Elizabeth, second daughter of James I., which was accepted. A Scottish embassy despatched to France having concluded the necessary arrangements, the marriage took place on 30th October. The next event of importance was a visit of Douglas to the King at Stirling, where he was warmly received, and thereafter made a member of the Privy Council and Lieutenant-General of the realm.² The King at this date was thirteen years of age. Douglas joined the party of Livingstone, and on his appointment as Lieutenant-General, Crichton, it is recorded, fled to Edinburgh Castle, while Livingstone, having arrived at an advanced age, retired in favour of his son, Sir James, who now became custodier of the young King and governor of Stirling Castle. Douglas, immediately after his appointment, buckled on his armour and attacked Barnton Castle, the property of Sir George Crichton, the Chancellor's brother, which eventually capitulated. Douglas razed it to the ground, and ordered Crichton to attend a Parliament at Stirling, to be tried on a charge of high treason. At this Parliament, held 14th June, 1445, Crichton and Livingstone were declared rebels, and their estates forfeited. Livingstone was accused of having alienated the Crown lands, and was found guilty, sent a prisoner to Dumbarton Castle, but was shortly after released by the King's order. Crichton, who was no longer Chancellor, replied by ordering his vassals to attack Douglas's property with

¹ Tytler.

² Auchinleck Chronicle.

fire and sword, which they did, and he thereafter shut himself up in Edinburgh Castle; Douglas thereupon besieged Edinburgh Castle. After nine weeks' siege Crichton surrendered, when it would appear, though it is very extraordinary, that he was pardoned, and restored to a portion of his former power and influence.¹ In the midst of these troubles the brave but unfortunate Queen-mother died at Dunbar Castle, forsaken by her husband. This castle was at the time in the hands of Patrick Hepburn of Hailes, said to have been a noted freebooter. Some mystery hangs over the last days of this lady, and the reason why she was in Dunbar Castle does not appear. It is said that Sir James Stewart, her husband neglected her, and ultimately left her, probably because his union with her had gained him nothing in the way of position. He afterwards was arrested for misdemeanour, but he escaped to the Continent. Whether the Queen sought a sanctuary in Dunbar Castle, or had been violently seized by Hepburn, its possessor, is not known. Hepburn was an ally of Douglas, and is said not only to have escaped punishment, but received a pension from the King, who thus sanctioned the unmanly cruelty which had been inflicted on his mother; but the statement requires confirmation.

The King had now reached the age of seventeen years (1447), and from all accounts he and Douglas were not seeing eye to eye, which was much to be regretted, as after events showed. Strange as it may seem, Crichton, with all his faults, was made a Lord of Parliament, and reappointed Chancellor. The King, who now began to take an active part in the government of the realm, and was showing considerable force of character, joined Crichton's faction against Douglas. He at the same time (1448) sent commissioners to France to renew the league that formerly existed between the two countries, which was duly arranged. The same commissioners—Crichton and two others—were to choose a bride for the King at the French Court. The French King's family

¹ Auchinleck Chronicle.

at that period afforded nothing suitable, and the commissioners were invited by the French King to go to the Court of the Duke of Gueldres. They did so, and chose Mary, the only daughter of the Duke, who afterwards was betrothed to James. In the midst of the negotiations James was careful to show no cause of suspicion to Douglas and Livingstone, who were evidently in alliance. His policy was to disunite them in the first instance, and afterwards destroy them in detail. To help him in this matter, he called home from the Continent Sir James Stewart, the Black Knight of Lorn, his mother's second husband.

The nine years' truce between Scotland and England expired in 1447. The English, under Northumberland and Salisbury, entered Scotland the same year in two divisions, bent on spoil, and burned the towns of Dunbar and Dumfries. In revenge for this, Douglas of Balveny, brother of the Earl, invaded the North of England, and burned the town of Alnwick, and otherwise committed great damage. At this crisis a force of 6,000 men, under Percy and Sir John Pennington, crossed the Solway, and encamped on the banks of the river Sark, and immediately came into collision with the Scots army under the Earl of Ormond, brother of Douglas. Ormond attacked the English, and after a fierce struggle broke their ranks and put them to flight. It is said that 1,500 of the English were slain, and 500 drowned while recrossing the Sark in full tide, and their leaders, Percy and Pennington, taken prisoners; the loss of the Scots being only 60, including their leader, Sir William Wallace of Craigie, Sheriff of Ayr. It is probable that the loss of the Scots is greatly understated. With the battle of Sark, on 23rd October, 1449, hostilities were terminated for a time, and peace restored between the kingdoms.

On the 18th June, 1449, the fleet that conveyed Mary of Gueldres from France anchored in the Forth, and then at Leith. It consisted of thirteen vessels with a conspicuous complement of French and Burgundian

chivalry. In addition to a brilliant escort of French nobles and ladies, the bride had a bodyguard of 300 men-at-arms, clothed, man and horse, in complete steel, who attended her.¹ She is said to have been a lady of great beauty, and masculine talent and understanding. Her dowry was 60,000 crowns, payable within two years. James settled on her a dowry of 10,000 crowns, secured on the lands of Strathearn, Atholl, Methven, Linlithgow, if he predeceased her.

At Leith she was met by a great concourse of people, and accompanied by her bodyguard of 300 men-at-arms, she proceeded, amid the acclamations of the people, to Holyrood.

In De Coucy's "Memoirs" it is stated that the Queen on her arrival rode from Leith to Edinburgh, where she was lodged in the convent of the Greyfriars. On the day after her arrival, the King visited her, and remained three hours. The wedding day was fixed, and he presented her with two hackneys, or ladies' ponies. On the wedding day he arrived on horseback, dressed in a grey robe lined with white, and wearing boots and spurs. The Queen was clothed in a robe of violet colour, lined with ermine, and her long hair hanging down.

The week which intervened between her arrival and her marriage was spent in a series of magnificent entertainments, during which, from her beauty and amiable manners, she won the affections of the people. In accordance with the chivalrous spirit of the age various tournaments were held, at which valiant knights displayed their powers. During these rejoicings three nobles of Burgundy charged an equal number of the Scots to an encounter. The challenge was accepted by Sir John Ross and two of the Douglasses, and the tournament is believed to have taken place in the King's Park, Stirling. Galleries were erected for the King and nobles and a limited number of ladies. The combatants appeared in the lists in a rich velvet uniform, the Scottish knights being accompanied by Douglas with

¹ Auchinleck Chronicle.

5,000 men. The combatants were knighted by the King, and at the sound of the trumpet the encounter began. Their lances were instantly shivered and a fierce hand-to-hand struggle ensued; eventually Douglas of Loch Leven was felled to the ground with a battle-axe, on which the King threw down his baton, and the conflict terminated. The foreign knights were afterwards entertained by the King, who complimented them on their valour and courtesy. The marriage of the King and the coronation of the Queen took place at Holyrood on 3rd July, 1449, amidst great rejoicings, immediately after these proceedings.

The King, guided by the advice of Crichton and Bishop Kennedy, resumed his designs for the vindication of his authority and the destruction of those unprincipled barons who had risen during his minority upon its ruins. He singled out Livingstone as the first to be dealt with. He was evidently informed of a convention of the Livingstones' about to be held near Kirkintilloch, and with an armed force proceeded to that place, surrounded them, and arrested the leaders before they could escape. These included James, David, John, and Robert Livingstone, whilst Sir Alexander was captured shortly afterwards. They were put into Blackness prison, and within forty days their whole estates were put under arrest, and every castle or fortalice held by them confiscated. And so this powerful family, which for twelve years had governed the nation in spite of the King, was completely overthrown, and the King relieved of a powerful foe. The King was now showing an amount of courage and ability that astonished the lieges, and this incident spread terror through the ranks of those who were unfriendly to him. As the result of this prompt action the King, on 25th November, 1449, concluded a truce with England at the Cathedral Church of Durham, where his commissioners were met by those of the English King. A confirmation of the treaty with France succeeded, after which the King summoned his first

Parliament to meet at Edinburgh on 19th January, 1450, for the purpose of vindicating his Royal authority, and to take the reins of government into his own hands. The Livingstones, who were guilty of treason, and specially for imprisoning the King's mother in 1439, were at once punished. Sir Alexander, the head of the family, James Dundas of Dundas, his cousin, and Robert Bruce, brother of Bruce of Clackmannan, were forfeited and imprisoned in Dumbarton Castle. Alexander, son of Sir Alexander, and Robert, were beheaded on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh. Why the eldest son James, afterwards first Lord Livingstone and Chamberlain of Scotland, and James Dundas, who were all concerned in the cowardly attack on the Queen, were merely imprisoned, while two junior members of the family were executed, is mysterious. The estates were restored to the family, and Sir Alexander was in 1450 appointed by the King Justiciar of Scotland. Against the abuses that had grown up during the King's minority he was determined to enforce vigorous measures; Parliament therefore provided that a general peace should be proclaimed and maintained throughout the realm, and all persons were to be permitted to travel in security without the necessity of having assurance the one of the other. In the matter of rebellion against the King's person or authority, the crime to be punished according to the judgment of Parliament. It was ordained to be the duty of the sovereign to proceed in person against the offenders and inflict prompt punishment. For the punishment of treason it was provided that any person laying violent hands on the King, supplying traders with military stores, or assailing any castle where the King was resident, should be arrested and punished as a traitor.¹

A statute was passed for the putting away of masterful beggars who travelled through the country with horses, hounds, and other goods, exacting charity from

¹ Acts of the Scot. Par.

those who were afraid to resist their demands, especially from farmers and monks. All sheriffs and magistrates were directed to confiscate their property, seize their persons, as well as of any pretended fools, bards, or such-like vagabonds, who were to be kept in prison as long as they had wherewith to live; and when they had not, their ears to be nailed to the Tron of Edinburgh, or to a tree, and then cut off, and they themselves banished the country, to which, if they returned again, they were to be executed. A striking proof of the frequency of brawls and riots among the followers of the nobility is afforded by a subsequent statute which enjoined the people to attend justice ayres or sheriff courts, with no more than their ordinary train of attendants, and to take care in entering their hostelry to lay aside their harness and warlike weapons, and to use for the time nothing but their knives.

This year Glasgow University was founded by Bishop Turnbull, a proof that the country was not wholly given up to civil war and anarchy.

In 1450 began the great struggle between the House of Douglas and the House of Stuart for the first place in the country. At the accession of Robert II., William, first Earl of Douglas, made a claim to the crown, which was compromised by his son's marriage to the King's daughter, Isobel. In the defence of their country the successive Earls of Douglas had a more brilliant record than the Stuart kings. For the integrity of the kingdom James was found to possess the very qualities needed in the crisis that awaited him; without the graces and accomplishments which his father had acquired in England, he possessed similar vigour of mind and body. In military expeditions he was careless of his personal comfort, and mingled freely with his men, who would offer him their own food and drink in the easy fashion of the camp.¹

The King's attitude towards the Earl of Douglas was one of great difficulty, on account of his position as

¹ Hume Brown.



Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, the extent of his estates, and the number of his vassals. The King silently withdrew his countenance from Douglas, surrounding himself by the most energetic counsellors, whom he appointed to the chief offices in the State, weakening Douglas's power negatively rather than by any act of hostility. Douglas was not slow to notice that he had lost the King's favour, and that the King's power was paramount to his. He therefore left Scotland for a time and went to Rome on a visit to the Pope. It is said his escort for the journey consisted of eighty horse. His brother was left in charge of his estates.

On his return in 1451 he, in company with the Earls of Ross and Crawford, the Livingstone faction and the Hamiltons, would appear to have entered into a conspiracy against the King, which gradually began to gain ground. James, who was a cautious man, probably more so than his father, got secret notice of this conspiracy, and at the next Parliament Douglas was deprived of his high office of Lieutenant-General, but the King let him down as quietly as possible. He was appointed Warden of the West and Middle Marches, and the Earldoms of Douglas and Wigtown settled on him and his descendants.

At this Parliament an act was passed to revoke all alienations of lands or other property belonging to the Crown since the death of the late King, excepting those granted by consent of the Three Estates. It would appear that, at this date, the King and Queen were living at Methven Castle.

Douglas returned to his estates in Annandale, and in the exercise of his authority as Warden became as tyrannical as ever. It would appear that young Herries of Terregles, having attempted to defend himself from the violence of his partisans' hands, and to recover from them the property of which he had been plundered, was taken prisoner and dragged before the Earl, who, in contempt of an express mandate of the King, ordered

him to be instantly executed.¹ Following on this, Sir John Sandilands of Calder, a kinsman of the King, and Sir James and Sir Alan Stewart, who enjoyed the King's friendship, were also executed by Douglas. Shortly after this, while Crichton and an escort were proceeding from Edinburgh to embark in a vessel in the Forth, he was suddenly attacked by a band of ruffians instigated by Douglas. Crichton was wounded, but escaped to Crichton Castle, where he instantly collected his vassals, and making an unexpected attack on Douglas, expelled him and his retinue from the city.² The same year, 1451, a letter was received by James from Henry VI. refusing to deliver up certain French ambassadors, who, on their voyage to Scotland, had been captured by the English, and whose release James had requested. This step was intended to be followed by a rising in Scotland conducted by Douglas. In company with the Earls of Ross and Crawford, Douglas summoned his vassals to assemble at Douglas Castle and join the conspiracy. One of them, Sir Patrick MacLellan of Bombie, hereditary Sheriff of Kirkcudbright, a sister's son of Sir Patrick Gray, captain of the King's guard, refused to obey an order which he considered an act of open rebellion. He was, in consequence, seized by order of Douglas and put in prison in Threave Castle, which belonged to Douglas. The King, hearing of the arrest of his young friend MacLellan, immediately despatched by Sir Patrick Gray an order under the Royal seal demanding his prompt release. Gray was received by Douglas with affected courtesy and humility. He at once suspected Gray's errand, and gave private orders for the prompt execution of his prisoner. He then returned to Gray and asked him to dine: "You found me," said he, "just about to sit down to dinner; if it please you we shall first conclude our repast and then peruse the letter I am honoured with by my sovereign."

Having concluded the meal, Douglas broke the Royal

¹ Auchinleck Chronicle.

² Drummond of Hawthornden.

seal and read the letter, assuming a look of concern. "Sorry am I," said he, "that it is not in my power to give obedience to the command of my sovereign, much as I am beholden to him for so gracious a letter to one whom he has been pleased of late to regard with somewhat altered favour. But such redress as I can afford thou shalt have speedily." Douglas then took Gray by the hand and led him to the castle green where the bleeding trunk of MacLellan lay upon the block on which he had been beheaded. "Yonder," said Douglas, "lies your sister's son. Unfortunately, he wants the head, but you are welcome to do with his body what you please." Gray, who was in the tyrant's den, was careful to measure his words, and he replied to Douglas: "Since you have taken the head, the body is of little avail," and calling for his horse, mounted and rode across the drawbridge, to which Douglas accompanied him. Gray being now outside the walls and his life safe, reined up, and shaking his mailed glove defied Douglas as a coward and a disgrace to knighthood, whom, if he lived, he would requite according to his merits and lay as low as the poor captive he had destroyed. Douglas gave orders for an instant pursuit, and the chase was continued almost to Edinburgh, Gray only escaping by the fleetness of his horse.¹ James received the news of the treachery of Douglas with unqualified indignation, and he took time to consider what policy he would pursue. With the advice of his nobles he despatched Sir William Lauder to Douglas with a special message expressive of the desire of the King to enter into a personal conference, promising absolute security for his person, and declaring that upon an expression of regret for his misdemeanours the offended majesty of the law might be appeased and the pardon of the sovereign extended in his favour. The records inform us² that Douglas, believing himself secure under the Royal protection and the oaths of the

¹ Tytler.

² Auchinleck Chronicle.

nobility, accompanied Sir William Lauder to Stirling with a small retinue, and in due course passed to the castle, where he was received by the King apparently with much cordiality, and invited to dine with him next day. On the following day he not only dined but supped with the King. After supper at seven p.m. the King, anxious to have some private conversation with him, took him aside from the courtiers by whom they were surrounded into an inner chamber where there was none present but the Captain of the Guard, Sir Patrick Gray, Sir William Crichton, Lord Gray, and one or two others. James, then walking apart with Douglas with as much calmness and command of temper as he could assume, began to remonstrate upon the late violent and illegal proceedings. In doing so it was impossible he should not speak of the execution of Herries and the atrocious murder of MacLellan. The King, referring to the league with the Earls of Ross and Crawford, desired him to break the bond which bound him to such traitors and return, as became a dutiful subject, to his allegiance.¹ Douglas replied with haughty insolence, upbraided James for depriving him of the office of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, and after abusing the counsellors who had insinuated themselves into the Royal confidence, declared that he little regarded the name of treason with which his proceedings had been branded; it was not in his power to break the Ross and Crawford bond, and if it were, he would be sorry to break with his best friends to gratify the idle caprice of his sovereign. This defiance, uttered to his face by an open enemy, entirely overcame the King's self-command. In a fury he drew his dagger, exclaiming: "False traitor, if thou wilt not break the bond, this shall." He stabbed him first in the throat and instantly after in the lower part of the body. Sir Patrick Gray felled him with his battle-axe, while the rest of the nobles who stood near completed the butchery. Douglas was covered with twenty-six wounds. The window was then thrown open

¹ MS. Chronicle, University Library, Edinburgh.

and the body cast into an open court adjoining the Royal apartments. This event occurred on 22nd February, 1452. This was an act that cannot be justified, although allowance must be made for the youth and inexperience of the King, as dealing with the inexcusable conduct of Douglas. The King's temper was sorely tried by Douglas executing, on different occasions, two personal friends, in spite of the Royal command to set them at liberty, while the treasonable bond with Ross and Crawford, of which Douglas was a partner, was simply a defiance of the King's authority. A modern historian¹ comes to the following conclusion:—If James must be condemned, it is impossible to feel much commiseration for Douglas, whose career from first to last had been that of a selfish, ambitious, and cruel tyrant, who at the moment that he was cut off was all but a convicted traitor, and whose death, if we accept the mode by which it was brought about, was a public benefit.

After this extraordinary act on the part of the King, there was a second and final act of the tragedy recorded by the "Auchinleck Chronicle," which appears to have escaped the notice of some historians:—On 27th March following (1452), Earl James Douglas, brother of the murdered Earl, came to Stirling on St. Patrick's Day and blew out twenty-four horns upon the King and those who were with him at the slaughter, and showed their seals at the mercat cross in a letter bearing their signatures. This letter and the bond he attached to a board, then tied it to a horse's tail, and paraded it through the streets of Stirling, accompanied with slanderous exclamations about the King and those who were with him when Douglas was assassinated. He then looted the town and burned it, in revenge for his brother's death, and renounced his allegiance.

The Clan MacLellan were so incensed at their Chief being slain that they all joined, took up arms, and committed vast depredations on the Douglas estates, in defiance of law and justice, for which King James

¹ Tytler.

forfeited and outlawed them, and the Bombie estate was annexed to the Crown. Galloway was at that time much infested with freebooters, whereupon James issued a proclamation, offering a reward to anyone who would bring in their Captain dead or alive. This was accomplished by William, son of MacLellan (who was assassinated), who killed the Chieftain and brought his head to the King on the point of his sword. For this heroic act he was put in possession of the barony of Bombie, which had been annexed to the Crown.

Douglas was succeeded in the Earldom by his brother James, who became ninth Earl, and who followed the example of his predecessor as an enemy of the King: being an able and powerful man, he determined to avenge his brother's death. In this critical state of affairs, the King summoned a Parliament at Edinburgh on 12th June, 1452. The night before the meeting a placard, signed by Douglas, his three brothers, and Lord Hamilton, was fixed to the door of the Parliament House, renouncing their allegiance to James as a perjured Prince and merciless murderer, who had trampled on the laws, broken his word and oath, and violated the most sacred bonds of hospitality; declaring that henceforth they held no lands from him, and never would give obedience to any mandate that bore his name and style, which he had disgraced and dishonoured.¹ It was declared in a solemn deed, approved by Parliament, that Douglas at the time of his death avowed himself an enemy to the King, and was in a state of open rebellion, and that in such circumstances it was lawful for the King to put him to death.

At this Parliament the King denied that he had given a pass of safe conduct to Douglas, who was assassinated.

On 1st June, 1452, the Queen gave birth to a prince, afterwards James III., and the event caused great rejoicings. Shortly after the conclusion of Parliament

¹ Auchinleck Chronicle.

James assembled an army of 30,000 on Pentland Moor, near Edinburgh, and proceeded to attack and subdue the Earl of Douglas. It seems extraordinary that at Douglas Castle the crafty Earl surrendered and implored the King's pardon. He signed a submission, leaving it to the King to restore him to his forfeited lands. James pardoned him on certain conditions, which were agreed to, Douglas undertaking never again to conspire against the King's authority. In connection with this, a curious event occurred. James, desirous for peace and to have all past troubles forgotten, agreed to Douglas marrying the young widow of his late brother, on a dispensation being obtained from the Pope. The dispensation was procured, and the marriage took place, in spite of the young widow's earnest tears and entreaties. The King at this period undertook an expedition to the North for the purpose of subduing rebellion. The Earl of Crawford, a notable traitor, suddenly presented himself before the King, miserably clad, and with his feet and head bare, followed by a few miserable-looking servants, clad in the same manner. Crawford threw himself on his knees before the King, and implored forgiveness for his treason. The King extended his hand to Crawford and forgave him, assuring him that he was more anxious to gain the hearts than the lands of his nobles; although by repeated treasons their estates had been forfeited, he bade Crawford and his companions be of good cheer as he was ready freely to forgive them all that had passed, and to trust that their future loyalty would atone for their former rebellion.

Douglas having been reconciled to the King, we next hear of him at the negotiation of a treaty of peace with Henry, the English King. This treaty was to subsist from 1454 to 1st August, 1457. Douglas was one of the guarantors, and took instruments concerning the debatable lands on the borders, in behalf of his sovereign, King James. The Earl of Salisbury did the same on behalf of King Henry, 23rd May, 1453.

This treaty was ratified by James II. on 5th July following.

On his special petition, Malise Graham, Earl of Strathearn, who had been thirty years a hostage for James I., was permitted to return to Scotland. The presence of Graham in Scotland could not but be productive of mischief. Against the House of Stuart he had every reason to feel all the hatred of which he was capable¹ for this unreasonable term of captivity.

Douglas then went on a tour to Italy, and returned, *via* London, in June 1454, where he was met by his mother and his brother's widow. A Parliament met in Edinburgh on 16th July thereafter, to which his mother and brothers were summoned, to answer such crimes as should be laid to their charge. They refused to obey, on which they were declared rebels, and their lands confiscated. The King at once took possession of Galloway. Douglas, on his return to Scotland, commenced a rebellion, and began to raise troops to fight the King. He soon found himself at the head of an army superior to that of the King in respect of numbers. He appears to have got into secret correspondence with the Duke of York's faction in England, a party opposed to the authority of Henry VI., and he was induced by them to enter into another conspiracy against Scotland, the York faction tempting him with the prospect of supreme authority. The sharp eye of James discovered this movement, and he instantly came down on Douglas. At the head of a force which defied resistance, he attacked Douglas's castle of Inveravon, and razed it to the ground; then proceeded to Glasgow, where he received a large addition to his troops. He then proceeded to Lanark, and invaded Douglasdale, and after laying waste the country, and delivering up to fire and sword the Hamilton estates, he passed on to Edinburgh. He then went to Ettrick and Selkirk, and compelled the barons, and all who were suspicious, to renew their allegiance and join the Royal standard, under the

¹ Hume Brown.

penalty of having their castles destroyed and their estates depopulated.¹

James next besieged the Castle of Abercorn, which, from the great strength of its walls and the facilities for defence afforded by its situation, defied for a month the utmost attempts of the Royal troops. The place was eventually taken, and the principal persons who defended it were executed. The walls were dismantled and the garrison dismissed. The success of the King was attended with the happiest results, in bringing over to him those feudal barons who either from fear or the love of plunder had entered into bonds with Douglas. Castles which had been filled with military stores and fortified against the Government were gradually given up, and taken possession of by the Crown. This included Douglas, Threave, and other strongholds of Douglas. After the siege of Abercorn James proceeded with his troops to Stirling.

His troops shortly after numbered 40,000, and Douglas, who had an equal number, encamped on the south side of the Carron. A battle was believed inevitable, which was to decide whether James or Douglas were to rule Scotland. Bishop Kennedy (St. Andrews), anxious to prevent the effusion of blood, had attended the Royal army, and sent a secret message to Hamilton, his nephew, who was with Douglas, assuring him of a high reward if he would leave Douglas. Hamilton returned rather a favourable answer; yet hesitated between the laws of friendship and the advantages of loyalty, when the haughtiness of Douglas induced him to choose the latter. A herald arriving from the King charged the rebels to disperse. Douglas sent him back with derision, and immediately marched his host toward the Royal army. Seeing, however, its strength, he conducted his troops back to the camp in the hope of reanimating them before morning, for they seemed dispirited and disheartened. This imprudent procedure caused Hamilton to ask Douglas if he meant to give the King battle

¹ Auchinleck Chronicle.

Douglas replied : " If you are tired, you may depart when you please," and Hamilton at once went over to the King. The other chiefs, alarmed at his departure, also disbanded. In the morning Douglas was dreadfully alarmed when he beheld a silent and deserted camp, not a hundred men remaining outside of his household and servants. He fled to Annandale, and concealed himself for a time ; and in this surprising manner fell, never to rise again, the great power of the house of Douglas.

Douglas appeared in Annandale some time after at the head of a large body of outlaws. He was encountered at Arkinholm, near Langholm, on the river Esk, by the Earl of Angus, at the head of the King's troops, and defeated. Douglas's brother, the Earl of Moray, fell, and Ormond and Balveny were captured and executed, while the rebels were dispersed; but Douglas escaped. A soldier carried the head of Moray from the field of battle and laid it at the feet of the King at Abercorn. The King " commended the bravery of the man who brought him this ghastly present, although he knew not at the first look to whom the head belonged." ¹

Parliament, which met at Edinburgh on 9th July, 1455, declared the lives and estates of Douglas, his mother and brothers, forfeited to the Crown, because of their refusal to obey the King's summons to attend this Parliament. Douglas having fled from Abercorn joined the Earl of Ross, and got up a considerable force, said to have been 5,000, to invade and plunder the West Coast of Scotland. They were, however, immediately attacked by the Royal troops, and dispersed. Douglas eventually retired into England to the protection of the usurper, Richard, Duke of York, with whom he had been in correspondence, where he was cordially welcomed, and offered for his services against the Scottish King an annual pension of £500 to be continued till he should be restored to his estates " by the

¹ MS. Chron., Edinr. Univ. Lib.

person who called himself the King of Scots." Against this insult James wrote to the English King complaining of the protection given to the convicted traitor, and received the following insolent reply :—

The King, to our illustrious Prince James, calling himself King of Scotland, sends greeting. We presume that it is notorious to all men, and universally acknowledged as a fact, that the supreme and direct dominion over the kingdom of Scotland appertains by law to the King of England as monarch of Britain. We presume it to be equally acknowledged and notorious that fealty and homage are due by the King of Scots to the King of England upon the principle that it becomes a vassal to pay such homage to his superior and overlord. And that from times of so remote antiquity that they exceed the memory of man even to the present day, we and our progenitors, kings of England, have possessed such rights ; and you and your ancestors have acknowledged such dependence. Wherefore, such being the case, whence comes it that the subject has not scrupled insolently to erect his neck against his master ? And what think ye ought to be his punishment, when he spurns the condition and endeavours to compass the destruction of his person ? With what sentence is treason generally visited, or have you lived so ignorant of all things as not to be aware of the penalties which await the rebel and him who is so hardy as to deny his homage to his liege superior ? If so, we would exhort you speedily to inform yourself upon the matter, lest the lesson should be communicated by the experience of your own person rather than by the information of others. To the letters that have been presented to us by a person calling himself your Lyon Herald and King-at-Arms, and which are replete with all manner of folly, insolence, and boasting, we make this brief reply : It hath ever been the custom of those who fight rather by deceit than open arms, to commit an outrageous attack in the first instance, and then to declare war ; to affect innocence and shift their own guilt upon their neighbours ; to cover themselves with the shadow of peace and the protection of truces, whilst beneath this veil they are fraudulently plotting the ruin of those they call their friends. To such persons whose machinations we cordially despise it seems to us best to reply by actions. The repeated breaches of faith, therefore, which we have suffered at your hands ; the injury, rapine, robbery, and insolence which have been inflicted on us contrary to the rights of nations, and in defiance of the faith of treaties, shall be passed over in silence rather than committed to writing. For we esteem it unworthy of our dignity to attempt to reply to you in your own fashion by slanders and reproaches. We would desire, however, that in the meantime you should not be ignorant

that instead of its having the intended effect of inspiring us with terror, we do most cordially despise this vain confidence and insolent boasting, in which we have observed the weakest and most pusillanimous persons are generally the greatest adepts ; and that you should be aware that it is our firm purpose, with the assistance of the Almighty, to put down and severely chastise all such insolent rebellions and arrogant attempts which it has been your practice to direct against us. Wishing, nevertheless, with that charity which becomes a Christian prince, that it may please our Lord Jesus Christ to reclaim you from error into the paths of justice and truth, and to inspire you for the future with a spirit of more enlightened judgment and counsel, we bid you farewell.¹

In estimating the real value of this letter, we must remember that Henry VI., King of England, was so weak-minded as never to be capable of administering the crown. He succeeded to the throne in 1422 when he was an infant, and from that period to his death in 1471, there was nothing but trouble and civil war in England. This letter comes within that period, and doubtless was written by Richard, Duke of York, the competitor with Henry for the crown. In 1454 he was appointed to the high office of Protector, on account of the King's incapacity. Richard was a descendant of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III., whereas Henry VI. was descended from the Duke of Lancaster, the fourth son of that King. At that period occurred the "Wars of the Roses" between the York and Lancaster branches of the Royal family of England ; the emblem of York was a white rose, and of Lancaster a red rose. The first battle of the Roses was fought on the 22nd May, 1455, the last in 1485. Richard, Duke of York, was a formidable man in his day, and his life was one of constant warfare in order to obtain the crown, The Wars of the Roses (said to be twelve) resulted however, in the son of Richard being appointed successor to Henry VI., as Edward IV., in 1461, and on the death of Edward in 1483 he was succeeded by his brother, Richard III. The Duke of York was thus the father of two kings. In a Parliament of James II., of

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xi., p. 338.

4th August, 1455, it was enacted that there should be lordships and castles in every part of the realm, where at different periods of the year the King might reside ; which castles to belong in perpetuity to the Crown, and not to be bestowed on any person whatever. The Earldoms of Fife and Strathearn and lordship of Galloway were annexed to the Crown. James and his successors were ordained to take an oath to observe and keep this statute. The King was at this date visited by two noble ladies—the Countess of Douglas (Fair Maid of Galloway) and the Countess of Ross, daughter of Livingstone. The first had been miserable in her marriage with that Earl of Douglas, who had fallen by the King's hand at Stirling, and equally wretched in her subsequent unnatural marriage with his brother. The King welcomed her with the utmost kindness, and eventually in 1457 provided her with a third husband, his own uterine brother, Sir John Stewart, son of his mother and the Black Knight of Lorn, afterwards created Earl of Atholl. By him she had two daughters, but no issue by the Douglasses. To the Countess of Ross the King provided an income suitable to her rank. The lordship and estates of Douglas were in 1456 conferred on the Earl of Angus, a gallant supporter of the King, and one who had done much to put down rebellion. His mother was a daughter of Robert III.

Douglas retired to England. He never again obtained possession of his estates. This was the ninth and last Earl of Douglas. In 1483 he again invaded Scotland, when he was taken prisoner but afterwards pardoned. He then retired to Lindores Abbey, where he died in 1491.¹

In 1454 Lord Crichton, the famous Chancellor under James, died at Dunbar Castle. His coadjutor, Livingstone, predeceased him by five years. The historian² says :—“ If we except his early struggles with his rival, Livingstone, for the custody of the infant King, his life, compared with that of his fellow-nobles, was one of upright and consistent loyalty.”

¹ Exchequer Rolls.

² Tytler.

The Scottish Parliament of 1457 directed that the Court of Session should be composed of nine judges. These to sit three times a year, forty days at a time, in Edinburgh, Perth and Aberdeen. By a subsequent statute this duty was to be performed once in seven years by the same judges. Other lords were to be chosen to take their term of office. It would appear that the judges were sometimes afraid to enforce the law against powerful litigants for fear of consequences ; but the Scottish Parliament of 1469 declared that if the judges or magistrates refused to execute justice, the plaintiff shall repair to the King in council, who shall inflict summary punishment on the offending magistrate.

When Justice Ayres originated in Scotland it is impossible to say. They were probably in existence as early as the reign of David I. It was in the reign of James II. that their object and scope was first defined with precision.

It was also ordained respecting the destruction of wolves, with which the country was then infested, that in each county or district where they are the sheriff or bailie shall assemble the inhabitants three times a year between St. Mark's day and Lammas. And he who slays a wolf at any time shall have of each householder of the parish where the wolf is slain, a penny. Those who slay a wolf shall bring the head to the sheriff or bailie, and he shall be debtor to the slayer for the sum aforesaid. He who slays a wolf and brings the head to the sheriff shall receive six pennies.

In 1459 Henry VI., for a brief period regained his ascendancy and succeeded in expelling his enemy, the Duke of York, from the kingdom for a short time. James allowed himself to get entangled in the contests between the rival houses of Lancaster and York for the English throne. He was friendly with the former, who desired to maintain peace between the two countries, and ultimately he despatched commissioners to England for the purpose of conferring with the English authorities on matters affecting their mutual interest. At a con-

ference between the English and Scots commissioners it was agreed that the counties of Northumberland and Durham, which were at one time under the Scottish Crown, should be ceded to Scotland, on condition that James should assist the English monarch, practically the House of Lancaster. In fulfilment of the terms of this treaty, James, in August, 1459, assembled a powerful army estimated at 60,000, advanced into England, ravaged Northumberland with fire and sword, carrying all before them, and pushed on to Durham. Alarmed at this formidable proceeding, the English King (or probably Queen Margaret) despatched a messenger to inform James that the presence of the Scots army in England was calculated rather to injure his cause, and he hoped in a short time to put down his foes without assistance, and asking James to withdraw his troops from England. James explained that this procedure was forced upon him by the insolent behaviour of the Duke of York and his supporters, but as he (James) was a friendly ally he assented to the request of Henry and returned with the troops across the border. Both countries were at this period, 1459, in the midst of the most disastrous troubles. Immediately after James's return the Duke of York, with a force, it is said, of 40,000, approached the Scottish border in order to invade Scotland, but it came to nothing on account of the quarrels among its leaders. James called a meeting of Parliament, which sat for some days, and passed several statutes for improving the condition of the country. This as it turned out was the last Parliament of James, and was held at Perth on the 9th October, 1459. At it the following properties were added or confirmed as part of the patrimony of the Crown :—The lordship of Etrick Forest and Galloway ; the Castles of Edinburgh, Gosford, Stirling, Dumbarton, Cardross and Falkland ; Earldoms of Strathearn and Fife ; lordship of Brechin and Inverness ; hereditary offices discontinued. No Englishman to come into Scotland without a pass from the King, and if any Scotsman brings in an Englishman or makes a

tryst with him, his goods shall be forfeited. No Scotsman to supply Berwick and Roxburgh Castles with victual or anything else. This Parliament terminated with the following benediction:—Since God of His grace had sent the King such progress and prosperity that all his rebels and lawbreakers were removed out of the realm, and no potent or masterful party remained to cause any disturbance, provided his Highness was induced to promote the peace and prosperity of the realm, and to see equal justice distributed amongst his subjects; his Three Estates with all humility exhorted and required the King diligently to devote himself to the execution of these acts and statutes, that God may be pleased with him; and that all his subjects may address their prayers for him to God, and give thanks to God for His goodness in sending them such a Prince to be their governor and defender.¹

James again despatched commissioners to renew the truce between the two kingdoms. But in a short time the Duke of York obtained a complete victory over the House of Lancaster at Northampton, when Henry VI. was again taken prisoner, and the Queen and her son, the Prince, escaped to Scotland. James received the Royal fugitives with great cordiality and treated them with every consideration. He immediately took steps to assist the English King and issued a proclamation for assembling the army. Finding himself at the head of a powerful force, he began his formidable enterprise with the siege of Roxburgh Castle, which had been, more or less, in the possession of the English for one hundred years, and he was joined by the Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Ross, the forces being estimated at 60,000. James resolved to start the campaign by besieging it in person. He carried with the army some rude pieces of ordnance, and in company with the Earl of Angus proceeded to inspect a battery which had begun to play on the town. Of the cannon which composed it one was a great gun of Flemish manufacture, which

¹ Acts of the Scot. Par.

had been purchased by James I., but little used by him. This piece, from the ignorance of the engineer, had been overcharged, and as the King stood near, anxiously watching the direction of the guns, it suddenly exploded and struck the King with great force. The blow was followed by instant death, having fallen upon the mortal region of the groin and broken the thigh.¹ The appalling event (3rd August, 1460) created universal sorrow not only in the army but throughout the realm. The King was in his thirtieth year. The Queen was instantly sent for. Attended by a small escort, in which were some of the prelates who were the wisest counsellors of the King, she travelled with all speed to Roxburgh and presented herself in the midst of the army, holding in her hand her son, a boy of only eight years of age. Her appearance created feelings of loyalty and devotion, and with a magnanimity which did her honour she assembled the leaders of the army, "besought them to be of good courage and continue the siege, deprecating as she did the idea of disbanding the army before they had secured so important a fortress as Roxburgh Castle; she deprecated the courage of so many valiant men being extinguished by the fate of one person only. Heart-broken as she was with the loss of her beloved lord, she would rather celebrate his obsequies by the accomplishment of a victory which he had so much at heart than waste the time in vain regrets and empty lamentations." Such was the effect of this heroic appeal that the troops, catching the ardour with which she was animated, instantly recommenced the attack, and pressing the assault with the most determined energy carried the castle by storm on the very day of her arrival in camp.² It is recorded that while James was laying siege to the castle ambassadors came from the Duke of York informing him that Henry VI. was overcome, and the war ended in England, and desiring him to raise the siege and draw off from the castle and

¹ MS. Extracta ex-Chronicis Scotiæ.

² Tytler.

to forbear any further hostility against England, otherwise an army must presently march against the Scots. James replied: "I was determined to pull down that castle which is built on my land, and neither am I so much obliged by the courtesies of that faction¹ as to give over an enterprise which is begun and almost finished. As for their threatenings, go you and tell them that I will not be removed hence by words but by blows." It is noticeable that the Duke of York was this same year slain in battle at Wakefield by the troops of Henry VI., led by the Queen, Margaret of Anjou, a valiant and energetic woman.²

James, who was afterwards interred in the Abbey of Holyrood, was a robust, well-formed man, his countenance mild and intelligent, but disfigured by a large red mark on the cheek, which gained for him the name of "James with the fiery face." It may be said that his character was not fully matured when he was struck down at Roxburgh Castle. During his minority he was in no way responsible for the troubles that befell the country under Livingstone and Crichton. His rule, counting from his majority, would extend over nine years; but no one can say that that was not a period of extraordinary activity on his part. He set his face to bring order out of chaos, to restore the kingdom to something like civilisation, to remove the causes of evil and by means of Parliament, to enforce on the nation healthy and salutary laws for its general guidance and welfare, and for the benefit of its agricultural and mercantile industries. Like his father, he was a man of unflinching determination when his mind was once made up. In short, as has been said of him, he

¹ York faction.

²Roxburgh Castle has long since been a ruin. When it was built is not known, but from the eleventh century down to the close of the reign of Robert III. (1406) it was a Royal residence. It was the strongest and most impregnable fortress in Scotland, but so often captured and recaptured by the English, that the first two Jameses resolved to raze it to the ground, which was done by the troops of James II. immediately after his death in 1460.

was a vigorous, politic, and singularly successful King, and his legislation was of a popular character. He invariably acted up to his judgment, though he was not always right; but we must keep in mind the situation he was placed in in taking the government into his own hands, when the country was practically in a state of anarchy, lawlessness and crime rampant, the Crown lands and revenues being diverted with impunity and applied to alien purposes. This state of matters demanded a ruler with a stern will, and James, whatever his faults, showed vigour and capacity for steering the helm in trying circumstances. His capability for putting down rebellion was shown on many occasions, and particularly in his overthrow of the Houses of Douglas and Livingstone, events which were of vast importance to the kingdom, and managed with such consummate skill that it has earned for him the character of an able and skilful ruler. The assassination of the ninth Earl of Douglas, the boldest event of his life, has given rise to much controversy as being an indefensible act, a verdict which we cannot but concur with. James was not a man who would do anything by proxy, nor would he do any official actions in private, nor would he lend himself in the most indirect manner to plots and cabals. He was bold and determined, and his actions usually performed in full daylight. Douglas brought on his assassination on his own head, and had he been brought to trial, he would have been executed as a traitor and murderer. Nothing could be more execrable than the conduct of which he was guilty. Further, the strength of his vassals made his capture almost impossible. At the same time, the King was not justified in breaking the law with one hand and making his subjects obey it with the other. He was responsible for the well-being of the realm. It was no uncommon occurrence in these days for one man to slay another. Even in the same King's reign the Chancellor, Crichton, beheaded two Douglases in one day in Edinburgh Castle and was never tried for it. In the assassination by the

King, Douglas defied the King's authority, and James was the last man to forgive such conduct. The combined wisdom and vigour which James showed in his administration of public affairs, his zealous efforts to promote agriculture and commerce, and to protect the middle and lower classes against the oppression of the nobles; the success with which he had crushed the formidable rebellions that threatened the very existence of his throne; the good sense which he displayed in choosing wise counsellors; the kindness of his disposition, and the affability of his manners, gained him both the respect and esteem of his people, and entitled him to an eminent place in the rôle of wise and good princes.¹ In estimating his character, we must remember that his reign was full of startling events, seldom free from rebellion—his great achievement the overthrow of the House of Douglas—and notwithstanding what we have said he was a man who enforced good order, devotion and loyalty; was destitute of cruelty, and possessed a generous and sympathetic disposition, if we may judge from the few illustrations on record, *e.g.*, the Countesses of Douglas and Ross, the wives of the two most rebellious subjects of the kingdom. Considerable obscurity hangs over the last years of James's reign.

James left issue three sons and two daughters, viz.: James III., his successor, born 10th July, 1451; Alexander, Duke of Albany; John, Earl of Mar; and the Princesses Mary and Margaret. The Duke of Albany was accidentally killed in France at a tournament in 1484 by the splinter of a spear, which penetrated his brain. He was married to Catherine Sinclair, daughter of the Earl of Orkney and had issue Alexander, afterwards Abbot of Inchaffray and Scone, afterwards Bishop of Moray. Before he was a Churchman he had married Margaret, daughter of Sir William Crichton, by whom he had a daughter Margaret, married to David, Lord Drummond. The Duke of Albany was divorced from Catherine Sinclair and married Agnes, daughter of the

¹ Taylor's "Hist. of Scot."

Earl of Boulogne, by whom he had John, Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland in the minority of James V. John, Earl of Mar, the King's third son, died in 1479 without issue. The Princess Mary married Thomas Boyd, son and heir of Robert, Lord Boyd, Chancellor of Scotland under James III. With her Boyd obtained the Island of Arran, and in 1467 was created Earl of Arran. In 1468 he was ambassador to Denmark, along with others, to accompany Margaret, daughter of the Danish king, home to Scotland (wife to James III.). In his absence a plot amongst his enemies was got up against him. Robert, Lord Boyd, his father, and Sir Alexander Boyd, his uncle, were in connection with this summoned before the Scottish Parliament and declared enemies to the State. Lord Boyd retired in 1469 to England, where he died. Sir Alexander Boyd was convicted of treasonably carrying His Majesty in person against his inclination, on his way from Callander House to Edinburgh, for which crime he was afterwards executed. Thomas Boyd, Earl of Arran, arriving with the Queen in the Forth in July, 1469, resolved to throw himself on the King's clemency. His wife, the Countess, coming to him disguised gave him particular information of the altered circumstances of his family. Boyd resolved with his wife to return to Denmark, thereafter to Antwerp. The King, James III., wrote his sister to return home. The Countess, believing her presence might influence the King to restore her husband to favour, came to Scotland, leaving him at Antwerp, where, in a short time, he died, leaving issue James, who was restored to the dignity of Lord Boyd and to the lands of Kilmarnock, etc., in 1482. James Boyd was killed in a feud with the Montgomeries in 1486 and died without issue. Margaret, his sister, married first, Alexander, Lord Forbes, and surviving him, married again David, first Earl of Cassillis, but had no issue. In 1474 the wife of Thomas, Earl of Arran, was, by the King, her brother, given in marriage to James, Lord

Hamilton, by whom she had issue James, Lord Hamilton, and a daughter Elizabeth, who married Matthew, Earl of Lennox. Which Lord Hamilton, nephew of James II., obtained from James IV. the Island of Arran for his services in negotiating the King's marriage with Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., and was in 1503 created Earl of Arran. James, his son, was Chancellor of Scotland on the death of James V., and, in the minority of Queen Mary, and by act of Parliament declared successor to the throne if the Queen died without issue. He was created Duke of Chatelherault in 1548 by Henry II., King of France, and died in 1576. The Island of Arran still belongs to the Hamiltons. The Princess Margaret married Sir William Crichton, son of the Chancellor, and left issue one daughter, Margaret, who married George, Earl of Rothes, who left issue (1) Norman Leslie, Master of Rothes, the man who slew Cardinal Beaton and was killed at Renton in Picardy, leaving no issue; (2) Robert Leslie; (3) Janet Leslie, married to Grant of Grant; (4) Helen, married to John Seton, secondly to Mark, Commendator of Newbattle, ancestor of the Marquis of Lothian, and had issue.

CHAPTER VIII.

Birth and Coronation of James III.—Queen-Mother and Bishop Kennedy, Custodier of the King—Secret Treaty of Edward IV. to subdue Scotland—His Treaty with Macdonald, Lord of the Isles—Seizure of the Earl and Countess of Atholl—Secret Bonds of the Feudal Barons—The Boyds seize the King at Linlithgow—Boyd Apologises and is Pardoned—marriage of the Princess Mary and Sir Thomas Boyd—Lord Boyd appointed Chamberlain of Scotland—The King's marriage with the Princess of Denmark—Conspiracy against the Boyds—Execution of Sir Alexander, and confiscation of the Boyd estates—Princess Mary marries Lord Hamilton—Birth of James IV. and Betrothal to the Princess Cecilia—Visit of James III. to Lord and Lady Somerville—Rebellion of the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Mar—Imprisonment of Albany; his Escape, and death of Mar—Agreement between Edward IV. and Albany—Albany Conspiracy supported by the Nobles—The Extraordinary Affair of Lauder Bridge—Capture and Imprisonment of the King—Scottish Parliament compels Albany to submit—Angus dismissed from his Offices—Death of Edward IV. and Accession of Richard III.—Defeat of Albany and Douglas at Lochmaben—Douglas retires to Lindores Abbey and dies—Treaty between Richard and James—Battle of Bosworth and Death of Richard—Accession of Henry VII.—Death of the Queen and Marriage of James to Queen of Edward IV.—James's Demand for the Surrender of Berwick resented by Henry—Prince of Wales champions the Rebellion—Henry VII. supports the Rebels—James assembles his Forces at Perth—Battle of Sauchie and Assassination of James—His Character and his Parliaments.

REIGN OF JAMES III. OF SCOTLAND.

A.D. 1460—1488.

JAMES III., son of James II. and Mary of Gueldres, was born in Stirling Castle, 10th July, 1451, and succeeded his father in 1460. Scotland was again in



JAMES III.
King of Scotland.

(From the Marquis of Lothian's Collection, Newbattle Abbey.)

the unfortunate position of being governed by a Regency during the King's minority. The nobles, at the close of the siege of Roxburgh Castle, carried the young King to the Abbey of Kelso, where he was crowned on 10th August, 1460, with the usual pomp and solemnity. The Court afterwards removed to Edinburgh, and the late King was interred in the Chapel Royal of Holyrood. On 22nd February, 1461, the first Parliament of James III. assembled in Edinburgh Castle. We have no records except what appears in the "Auchinleck Chronicle." It was necessary to choose a Regent, appoint a guardian for the young King, and settle the lines of the future policy with England. The chief power was committed to the Queen-mother, Mary of Gueldres. No Regent was nominated; the King was put in her charge, and the castles of Dunbar, Edinburgh, Stirling and Blackness given to friends of her own. James Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrews, one of the Cassillis family, was appointed joint-guardian along with the Queen-mother; and the Earl of Angus was appointed Lieutenant-General, with supreme military power. The Queen-mother, who administered her office with justice and impartiality, would appear to have appointed Lord Avondale as Chancellor; Robert, Lord Boyd, Justiciar; James Lindsay, Provost of Lincluden, Lord Privy Seal; Lord Livingstone, Chamberlain; and Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, Controller of the Household. Kennedy was a discreet and exemplary man, and capable of administering the duties of his high office, and during the five years of the King's minority he carried on the administration successfully: his appointment offended many of the nobles who wanted power and could not get it. The period was critical for Scotland, and in England it was pitiable on account of the Wars of the Roses. That weak monarch, Henry VI., was in captivity, having been defeated and taken prisoner in 1455 at the battle of St. Albans, the first of the Wars of the Roses, and

his Queen, Margaret of Anjou, and his son took up their temporary residence at Lincluden Abbey in January, 1461, where they remained a fortnight. The Queen-mother of Scotland, with the young King, proceeded there and entertained them, and a conference of some days, on the discussion of the situation, is said to have taken place. Margaret of Anjou thereafter retired to York, and at a meeting of her supporters there she resolved to attack London, with the view of releasing her husband, who was in the Tower. At the head of a large army, the valiant lady, instead of attacking London, fought Richard, Duke of York, head of the opposition to her husband, at Wakefield, in 1461, and defeated him. The Duke was slain, and his defeat replaced Henry VI. on the throne of England for a short period. Some months afterwards, on 21st March, 1461, Queen Margaret was defeated by the York faction at Towton, in Yorkshire, when she and her husband found an asylum in Scotland. The son of the Duke of York became Edward IV., and in 1461 seized the English throne and made up his mind to invade Scotland and to enlist the help of the Earl of Douglas, who was in exile in England.

The Houses of York and Lancaster were both descended from Edward III. : York from Lionel, the eldest son, and Lancaster from John of Gaunt, the younger. The House of York was the true line, and it was restored by Edward IV. He left several children, specially two sons, who were murdered in the Tower by their uncle, Richard III., the Usurper, Edward's brother. When Richard III. was slain at Bosworth (Leicester), in 1485, Henry VII. seized the crown as representing the House of Lancaster, and immediately married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward, and sister of the two Princes.

On 13th February, 1462, an astounding event, a secret treaty, was drawn up in London at the instigation of Edward IV. In the event of the subjugation of Scotland by the Earls of Ross and

Douglas, the kingdom south of the Forth was, by this treaty, to be divided between them, while the country north of the Forth was to be given to John, Lord of the Isles; both districts to be held in strict feudal dependence on Edward and his heirs, and Edward to be recognised Lord paramount of Scotland. By this arrangement Douglas's English pension would cease, while he would be restored to his possessions.¹

John, Lord of the Isles, agreed by this treaty to become liegeman and subject to King Edward IV., his heirs, etc., to do homage, etc., to remain for ever subject to the kings of England, and assist them against their enemies. King Edward, on the other part, agreed, and gave Macdonald during life a yearly pension of 100 merks sterling in time of peace, and £200 sterling in time of war, and in case of a treaty for a final peace between the two kingdoms, England would not agree with Scotland without Macdonald's being included in the treaty. After the execution of this secret treaty the Lord of the Isles assembled an army, proclaimed himself King of the Hebrides, took possession of the Castle of Inverness, and invaded the Atholl country. Thereupon he issued a proclamation that no one was to obey the officers of King James; while all taxes were to be paid to him. He then attacked Blair Castle, and it is said seized the Earl and Countess in the ancient Chapel of St. Bride adjoining, where they had taken refuge, and put them in prison, but they were shortly after set at liberty.

Atholl was son of the Black Knight of Lorn, his mother the Queen of James I. Douglas now became a guest at the English Court, at which time there are known to have been deposited in the English Treasury a collection of documents of great importance. They contained conclusive evidence of the vassalage of Scotland to England, and they formed a complete series of writs. The fundamental document was a writ of Malcolm Canmore acknowledging that he held the

¹ Rymer's Fœdera.

Realm of Scotland in homage and fealty to Edward the Confessor, as his ancestor had held them of the King of England. It carried the consent of Malcolm, son of the Earl of Carrick, and Rothesay, and other magnates of the realm, and had appended to it a seal with the lion of Scotland in the double tressure.¹ In 1463 the Earl of Warwick, ambassador of Edward IV., had an interview with the Queen-mother with the view of obtaining her consent to a marriage with Edward. Nothing came of this, but the proposal of such an alliance had the effect of neutralising the feeling against England, and rather diminishing the interest of Henry at the Scottish Court.² The lady, however, died suddenly on 16th November following, and this event threw the whole power into the hands of Kennedy and the Earl of Angus. Her death was a calamity on the nation; and doubtless was brought about by the daily excitement and responsible duties of her high office and the unsettled state of the realm. She erected Trinity College church and Hospital in Edinburgh. Evidently the event was followed by active negotiations for peace. In the interval the Duke of Albany, eldest brother of James, was captured by an English vessel while crossing the Channel to France, but was afterwards released. A convention was held by representatives of both countries when a truce for fourteen years was, by Kennedy's influence, concluded between Scotland and the York faction, of which Edward was the head; the King of Scotland to give no assistance to Henry VI., his wife or son. Scotland never wanted turbulent and ambitious nobles thirsting for power, and nothing so much paralysed the prosperity of the country in these times. An ancient family, practically unknown, now came to the front—the Boyds of Kilmarnock. They rapidly rose to the possession of supreme power, and as rapidly fell. Robert, Lord Boyd, a very determined and ambitious man, took advantage of the Queen's death

¹ Hill Burton.

² Tytler.

in order to obtain possession of the King's person and administer the affairs of the nation. His brother, Sir Alexander Boyd, because of his learning, had been selected by the late Queen as tutor to her son. The two Boyds were therefore constantly about the King and obtained considerable influence over him. They also, to serve their own ends, formed a strong party in the State.

The condition of Scotland in the reigns of James II. and James III. was more deplorable than in this twentieth century we can fully appreciate. It is graphically described by Pitscottie, the historian, in few words:—"For slaughter, theft and murder were then potent, and continued day by day, so that he was esteemed the greatest man of renown who was the greatest brigand, thief and murderer." There is in connection with this lawlessness another secret treaty, dated Stirling, 10th February, 1465, in the minority of James III. This was a bond or agreement by which certain feudal barons became bound to stand by each other in all quarrels in which they were connected. This bond was entered into by Robert, first Lord Fleming, Lord Gilbert Kennedy, and Sir Alexander Boyd. These lords bound and obliged themselves to stand in honesty, kindness, supply and defence, each to the other in all causes and quarrels for all the days of their lives, against all manner of persons, reserving their allegiance to their sovereign, and excepting Lords Livingstone and Hamilton. This bond was evidently one of many, but to what extent these prevailed among the feudal barons of the time we have no means of knowing. They were hurtful to the King's authority and to the welfare of the country, and could not but neutralise the administration of the laws and statutes ordained by the King and Parliament. Such treaties kept the country in a disturbed condition, and maintained the lawless state described by the historian. They were by Parliament declared illegal, but in spite of that they continued in circulation.

Lord Fleming, son of Malcolm Fleming, who suffered

death with Douglas in 1440, had entered into a similar agreement with Lords Hamilton and Livingstone; Fleming was to remain a member of the King's Council as long as Lord Gilbert Kennedy (brother of the Bishop) and Boyd continued in the same office, and he was not to aid in removing the King's person from Kennedy and Boyd, or from the hands of those to whom they might commit him. Fleming was to receive the first vacant State office in the King's gift as his reward. Bishop Kennedy, however, died on 10th May, 1466, though some writers say 1465. He was the first Churchman to hold high political influence in Scotland, and his appearance on the stage affords a slight glimpse of a more civilised and orderly future for the kingdom, not so much because he was a Churchman as because he was a man of peaceful and moderate counsels.¹ He was the founder of St. Salvator College, St. Andrews, which he richly endowed. His mother was Lady Mary, Countess of Angus, daughter of Robert III. The Boyd faction were now bent on seizing the person of the King. It would appear that while the young King sat in his Exchequer Court at Linlithgow, Lord Boyd and some followers entered and desired him to mount on horseback and accompany them to Edinburgh. Livingstone, the Chamberlain, without whose connivance this outrage could not have succeeded, was one of the parties to the bond between Fleming and the Boyds. In the interval between this event and the next Parliament we have no record of what happened. The audacity of the deed and its treasonable character could not be passed over. During the sitting of Parliament shortly after, at Edinburgh (9th October), Lord Boyd entered the hall, threw himself at the King's feet, and besought him to declare whether he had incurred his displeasure in taking him from Linlithgow to Edinburgh. The King, instructed beforehand, said that instead of being forcibly carried off, as had been asserted, he had attended Lord Boyd and the other nobles who accompanied him

¹ Hill Burton.

of his own free-will and pleasure. An instrument under the Great Seal was thereupon drawn up, in which Boyd and his accomplices were pardoned; and to complete the farce Parliament appointed Boyd governor of the King's person. At this period (1466) the Princess Mary, sister of the King, was given in marriage to Sir Thomas Boyd, son of Lord Boyd, and the Island of Arran, with the title of Earl of Arran, gifted to him and erected into an Earldom in his favour; he also got lands in the counties of Ayr, Perth and Forfar. Lord Boyd afterwards succeeded Livingstone as Lord Chamberlain. For the moment he was the ruler of the sovereign, administered justice, managed the revenues, and was practically Regent.

At a meeting of the Scottish Parliament at Stirling in January, 1467, it was ordained that none but freemen of burghs were to have the right of engaging in foreign trade, an exception being made in favour of the nobility and clergy who might sell abroad the produce of their own lands. Artisans were excluded from mercantile pursuits unless they had previously abandoned their crafts. The ports of France and Norway were declared open to Scots traders, those of the Netherlands interdicted because of a quarrel with Charles of Burgundy.

When the King had reached sixteen years of age it was considered expedient that he should get married. The lady chosen was the daughter of the King of Denmark. A large sum of money was due from Scotland to Denmark in respect of the purchase of the Isle of Man and the Western Isles in 1266. The annual payments for many years had been discontinued, and because of this the relations between the two countries were strained, and rather unfriendly. The proposed union was considered a good stroke of business, as it might mean the cancelling of this huge debt. A deputation was therefore appointed to go to Copenhagen and endeavour to negotiate matters. The commissioners were Lord Avondale, Sir Thomas Boyd, the Bishop of Glasgow, and William of Orkney. The financial

obligation came up, as a matter of course, for discussion, and it was referred to the judgment of Charles VII., King of France. That shrewd monarch suggested this marriage as the best solution of the difficulty. The Danish King ultimately agreed to bestow his daughter on the King of Scotland, with a dowry of 60,000 florins, and a full discharge of the debt; 10,000 florins to be paid down before his daughter's departure; Orkney and Shetland to remain the property of Scotland until the dowry be paid. It never was paid in full. The contract was signed on 8th September, 1468.

In July following (1469) the ambassadors returned to Copenhagen to bring home the bride, who was only twelve years of age, while James was seventeen. The marriage ceremony was performed in the Abbey of Holyrood on 10th July, 1469, with great pomp and solemnity, and was succeeded by entertainments and feasting which lasted some time. Whilst the Danish fleet was still in the Forth the King's sister, the wife of Boyd, Earl of Arran, had become acquainted with a secret agitation against him; the King also had feelings of animosity to him. This was on account of the ambition and arrogance and ascendancy of the Boyds and their treasonable conduct. Boyd, on being informed, resolved not to land but to remain on board, and taking his wife with him returned to Denmark for safety. After the King's marriage a Parliament assembled, when it was resolved to proceed against the Boyds and bring them to trial for high treason. Lord Boyd, his brother, Sir Alexander, and the Earl of Arran, his son, were summoned to appear and answer the charges to be made against them. Lord Boyd, instead of answering to the summons, assembled his vassals and advanced to Edinburgh, intending to defy Parliament, but at the display of the Royal troops his vassals lost courage and dispersed, and Boyd fled to Northumberland, where he eventually died. We are not informed how the King got alienated from his old friend and companion, Sir Alexander Boyd, who had been so many years tutor to

him, and to whom he was so much attached. Boyd was tried at Edinburgh before the Scottish Parliament for the abduction of the King from Linlithgow on 9th July, 1466, which was declared to be an act of treason. He was found guilty and condemned to death. It was in vain pleaded that Parliament had already pardoned him; that act, it was replied, was extorted by the Boyds when they had supreme power. Sir Alexander was executed on the castle hill on 26th November, 1469. The Earl of Arran never returned to Scotland, but died on the Continent. The extensive estates of the Boyds were confiscated for behoof of the eldest sons of the Kings of Scotland. These possessions, although we are not informed how they acquired them, included the Lordship of Bute and Castle of Rothesay, Earldom of Arran, lands and Castle of Dundonald, Barony of Renfrew, Lordship and Castle of Kilmarnock, Lordship of Stewarton and Dalry, Nithsdale, etc. The Act of Forfeiture rendered it incompetent for the Crown to alienate any of these without the authority of Parliament.

The fall of the Boyds brought an increase of strength to the Crown in the confiscation of the chief part of their extensive estates, which were attached to the inheritance of the King's eldest son.

Some of the King of Denmark's successors made strenuous efforts to get back the Orkney and Shetland Isles, but they were unable to raise the money that was standing owing.

The ancestor of the Boyds was Robert Boyd, son of Simon, the third son of Alan, the second High Steward of Scotland. Robert Boyd, Lord of Kilmarnock, the tenth in the succession, was by James II. created in 1459 a Lord of Parliament by the title of Lord Boyd. He was by James III. appointed Justiciar of Scotland, and one of the Regents along with Kennedy and others. In 1464 and 1465 Boyd was sent as Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of England, and conducted his negotiations with great dexterity, honesty and fidelity

After the death of Bishop Kennedy, the chief management of the public affairs of the State devolved on Lord Boyd, who was a man of fine address and of great authority and power. His brother, Sir Alexander, was employed to teach the King military exercises and recreation, and consequently was much about his person. The King was still resident at Linlithgow Palace, where Kennedy, one of the Regents, but no friend of the Boyds, kept an eye upon him. Boyd thought it necessary, for his own sake, to have the King removed from Kennedy's control, which, by the blind of a hunting march, he accomplished, much to Kennedy's disappointment. Boyd, like a wise statesman, requested the King to call a Parliament to confirm his procedure, and on 25th October, 1466, this Parliament acquitted Boyd of all blame. Under James III. up to 1469 the power of the Boyds was paramount. A conspiracy against them was got up which was successful in alienating the King's affection from them. Lord Boyd, his brother and son were summoned before Parliament for high treason for removing the King from Linlithgow to Edinburgh, notwithstanding that the act of Parliament of 1466 assoilzied Boyd. They were found guilty, and their estates forfeited to the Crown. James, only son of Sir Thomas, Earl of Arran, was restored to the estates by James III. in 1482, but he died in 1484 without issue. The estates were then conferred on Alexander, second son of Lord Boyd. His descendant, William, ninth Lord Boyd, was created Earl of Kilmarnock by Charles II. William, fourth Earl of Kilmarnock, was taken prisoner at the battle of Culloden in 1745, was beheaded on Tower Hill, and the estates again reverted to the Crown.

The Parliament that was convened on 20th November, 1469,¹ to confirm the proceedings against the Boyds,

¹James in 1469 ordained that if sheriffs, stewards, or magistrates refused to execute justice, the plaintiff shall go to the King and Council, who shall punish the offending magistrate by the penalties provided. Among the grievances of this reign, the abuses of the

and the following Parliament of 6th May, 1471, ordained that officers of justice were empowered to seize manslaughterers who had fled to the sanctuary, that they might be tried and punished; insolvent debtors were to have the right of redeeming their estates within seven years; the property of a tenant was not to be liable for a landlord's claim, except to the extent of the rent due; magistrates and councillors of burghs were to continue in office for a year, and have the power of appointing their successors; clergy were forbidden to collect for the papal treasury more than the usual statutory tax, or to seek from the papal court the gift of any benefice which had not been previously at its disposal. The monks of Dunfermline having exercised their privilege of choosing a successor to the late abbot, the King annulled the election, made another appointment, and obtained its ratification by the Pope, and afterwards claimed the privilege of nominating all the superior ecclesiastical dignitaries.¹

The House of Hamilton now rose into high distinction on the ruins of the Boyds. The Princess Mary was commanded by the King to leave her husband, the Earl of Arran, and return to the Scottish Court. A divorce was obtained, and by the King's order she gave her hand to James, second Lord Hamilton, to whom it is said she promised it previously, in reward for his services to the King's father at the Douglas rebellion. One son and one daughter were the issue of this marriage, the daughter becoming the wife of the Earl of Lennox. The family of Hamilton became in the subsequent reign of Mary the nearest heirs to the Scottish crown.

The young King, now having reached the age of eighteen, began to take a more substantial interest in the administration of the Government, but it is said his elegant form and refined taste prevented him having

Court of Session were the chief. The want of civil courts between that of the sheriff and King's Council led to much inconvenience.—
(Pinkerton.)

¹ Acts of the Scottish Parliament.

proper conceptions of his responsibilities, or of the national wants or dangers. It is said that he was facile and fickle, and that his love of pleasure was destructive of that energy and perseverance required for the successful prosecution of arduous work. At this date Patrick Graham, the successor of Kennedy in the bishopric of St. Andrews, anxious to vindicate the independence of the Scottish Church, which had no primate of its own, proceeded to Rome and procured from the Pope a bull erecting his see into an archbishopric, and constituting him metropolitan papal nuncio and legate in Scotland. His character and position marked him out as the fittest person to enjoy these prerogatives. On his return home a spirit of envy was got up against him by the dignitaries of the Church, but the inferior clergy rejoiced in his promotion. By an offer of 11,000 merks the bishops induced James to oppose and insult the Archbishop, who was a man of worth and learning, and eventually he was imprisoned in Lochleven Castle, where he died seven years afterwards in the vain enjoyment of his titles. This persecution was championed by William Schevez, a favourite of James, who afterwards became Archbishop.¹ We are not informed on what ground the King quarrelled with the Archbishop, but the act appears, on the face of it, to have been a disgraceful proceeding

In 1471 it was ordained that no merchant should import spears less than six ells in length (six yards), and that no bowyer in the kingdom should make them of shorter size; every yeoman who could not use the bow should have a good axe and a targe or protection of leather to resist the English arrows. The barons were mounted from head to foot in plate armour of complete steel, which superseded the chain mail formerly worn in the army. The horses were also clad in complete armour. The honour of knighthood was very freely conferred in those days. Those who received the honour undertook to defend the Christian religion, to

¹ Pinkerton.

be loyal to the King, and to all orders of chivalry, to support the administration of justice without favour or enmity, never to flee from the King or his lieutenants in time of war, to defend the realm from aliens and strangers, to defend the full action and quarrel of all ladies of honour, of all true and friendless widows, of orphans and of maidens of good fame, to do diligence to bring to justice all murderers, traitors, or masterful robbers who oppressed the lieges and the poor, and to acquire the knowledge and understanding of all the articles and points contained in the books of chivalry.¹

The Scottish Parliament, in the reign of James, composed though it was of turbulent elements, endeavoured to produce and put on the Statute-book some creditable legislation. The power of the Scottish nobles, which had greatly increased, required a firm hand to keep it down, but to the cares of government James was unfortunately very indifferent. About this time Louis XI. of France despatched an ambassador to James requesting him to make himself master of Brittany, which he promised to assign in perpetuity to the Scottish crown. James injudiciously levied a force of 6,000 men, and determined to conduct it in person in order to execute this scheme. The wiser of the nobility resented the proposal *in toto*; pointing out that it would be attended with great peril to the realm, if the King at his tender age, and without a successor, should leave the country, torn as it then was by civil factions, by threatened war, and by ecclesiastical intrigue. The scheme collapsed. On 14th March, 1473, the Queen gave birth to a Prince, afterwards James IV., and the welcome news was received with great enthusiasm by the nation. As soon as the news reached England, that restless Prince, Edward IV., proposed that a lasting peace should be concluded between the two nations on the basis of a future marriage between the infant Prince and one of his daughters. James, who was evidently pleased with the proposal, despatched an

¹ Pinkerton.

embassy to England for the purpose of negotiating the matter. Thereafter Edward sent an embassy to Edinburgh to conclude a final treaty, which was duly considered and accomplished. On 26th October, David Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, John, Lord Scrope, Lord Avondale, Earl of Argyll, and the Bishops of Glasgow and Orkney, assembled in the Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh. Lindsay declared that he appeared for the King of Scots, and requested that the notarial letters which gave him power should be read. Lord Scrope made the same demand as representing Cecilia, daughter of Edward. These preliminaries being concluded, Lindsay, taking Lord Scrope by the hand solemnly, and in presence of the assembly, pledged his faith that the King of Scotland, father of Prince James, would bestow his son in marriage on the Princess Cecilia of England, when both had arrived at the proper age. Lord Scrope taking Lindsay by the right hand pledged his faith for his master, King Edward, after which the conditions were adjusted.

It was provided that the truce concluded in 1465 should remain in full force. During its subsistence both monarchs were to assist each other against rebels if required; the Prince and Princess during the life of James were to enjoy the usual lands of the heir of Scotland, being the Dukedom of Rothesay, the Earldom of Carrick, etc.; Edward was to give with his daughter 20,000 merks sterling, of which 2,000 would be paid yearly in the Church of St. Giles; the first payment to be made on 2nd February, 1475. In case of the death of the Prince or Princess, the heir of Scotland was to marry a daughter of England on the same terms; otherwise all the sums advanced were to be repaid within four years less 2,500 merks. Had this treaty been observed it might have proved highly advantageous to both kingdoms, and in particular might have, according to some writers, saved Scotland the disastrous battle of Flodden.

After the birth of King James IV. on 17th March,

1472, his mother, and perhaps his father, set out with a large retinue on a pilgrimage to the venerated shrine of St. Ninian at Whithorn. It had already a great reputation.¹ In 1425 King James I. granted a protection to all strangers coming into Scotland as pilgrims to the shrine, and it was annually resorted to by multitudes of people, as we know from a later letter of James IV. to Pope Innocent X. The Royal party which set out in 1473 did not, however, go in the primitive and self-denying fashion of the earlier devotees. Elaborate arrangements were made for the journey, which must have been looked upon rather in the light of a pleasant outing than a penitential exercise. The Queen was furnished with a new riding-gown and other attire, and six ladies of her chamber got each a livery gown. Panniers and saddle-bags were also provided, and the Royal party probably travelled under circumstances of as great comfort as was in these days. How long she stayed at Whithorn, and how long it took her to get there we do not know, but there is a note in the treasurer's accounts of the money paid for her expenses while at Wigtown, amounting to 48s. 4d.²

At this period the estates of the Earl of Ross were confiscated because of his rebellion. The Earls of Atholl and Crawford were ordered to proceed against him; Ross took flight, came to Edinburgh, surrendered to the King, was spared his life, and afterwards was created Lord of the Isles. To further cement the alliance with England, the Princess Margaret, the King's sister, was to marry the Duke of Clarence, and the King's brother, the Duke of Albany, the Dowager-Duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV.

The Scottish Parliament was to be commended for its vigorous efforts to promote wise and effective

¹ On which occasion £10 10s. was paid for livery gowns to six of the Queen's ladies, which were made of grey cloth at 10s. per yard; the Queen's riding-gown for the journey was of black cloth, and cost £6 6s.

² Sir J. Balfour Paul.

legislation. The social and political customs of the time well demanded the attention of the Legislature.

About the year 1474 James offered to pay a visit to John, third Lord Somerville, at Carnwath. Somerville could handle the sword better than the pen. He distinguished himself in 1449 at the battle of Sark, where he commanded the Clydesdale Horse. He was a devoted friend of James III. When he went from home it was his custom, when guests were to return with him, to write the words, "speates and raxes," that is, "spits and ranges," to intimate to the household that a great quantity of food should be prepared and that the spits and ranges should be put into exercise. In view of the King's visit he repeated the words three times, and despatched a messenger to his castle with the order. The paper was delivered to Lady Somerville who, having been newly married and unacquainted with her husband's writing, read the words "Spears and Jacks"; she concluded that her husband was in distress and required assistance, and instead of making preparations for a feast, she despatched a body of 200 horsemen to his assistance. The King and Somerville were on their way to Carnwath from Edinburgh, taking their sport as they went along. The appearance of this armed squadron hurrying over the moor alarmed them; the King saw Somerville's banner at the head of the troops and charged him with treason. Somerville protested his innocence and he was allowed to ride off to his followers for explanation, and they handed him his own letter, which created great merriment. The King, looking at the letter, protested that he himself would have read it "Spears and Jacks." When the cavalcade reached Somerville's residence the lady was much disconcerted at her mistake, but the King warmly praised her for the despatch she had used in sending assistance to her husband, and he hoped she would always have as brave a band at his service when the King and kingdom required them.¹

¹ "Memoirs of the Somervilles."

The reign of James up to his majority reflects credit on his counsellors and advisers. There was the acquisition of the Orkney and Shetland Islands, the occupation of Berwick and Roxburgh, the establishment of the independence of the Scottish Church by the erection of St. Andrews into an archbishopric, and lastly the marriage treaty with England. But his good fortune after his majority unfortunately did not continue. The nobles, who were haughty and warlike, are said to have been rude, ignorant and illiterate. At their head were the King's two brothers, Alexander, the Duke of Albany, and John, Earl of Mar. These young men were great favourites, and indulged in martial and other exercises. The King, on the other hand, was fond of repose and seclusion, and gave much of his time to intellectual pursuits, which did not please his turbulent nobles. Not finding men of congenial taste amongst them, he was injudicious enough to make favourites and companions of the teachers of these studies. One of these was a man named Cochrane, an architect and builder; another was Rogers, a teacher of music. These men were promoted to State offices, and as a matter of course, the nobles were exasperated. Several renounced their allegiance and ranged themselves under the banner of Albany and Mar. The government of Berwick and the Wardenship of the Eastern Marches had been committed to Albany by his father, James II., as also the Earldom of March and the Castle of Dunbar. Between Albany and the border chiefs rivalry sprung up. Cochrane joined the latter, and by his advice a scheme was devised for Albany's ruin. In the midst of these troubles the conduct of the King was disappointing. He appears, from his inattention to State matters, to have alienated himself from his nobles and others of his subjects, because he allowed himself to be advised by his favourites. Albany, taking advantage of this, was anything but idle. He had, however, broken the truce with England by his filibustering conduct, but by the activity of Cochrane he was seized and put in.

Edinburgh Castle. This event was the beginning of trouble. Some of the nobles were at war with each other, and great unrest was manifest over the country. In the midst of this trouble Albany escaped from Edinburgh Castle and fled to Dunbar, after which he went to France to procure assistance from Louis XI., but Louis refused to aid any movement against the Scottish King. James began gradually to show a little more decision of character, and he despatched Avondale at the head of a strong force to lay siege to Dunbar Castle, the property of Albany, which, after a defence of some months, surrendered. In 1479 Mar, the King's brother, died, as already stated. There is nothing recorded in history against him, nor is his name identified with any of the numerous plots and quarrels which occurred during his life.

He was seized by the King's command and imprisoned in Craigmillar. It is recorded¹ that he was afterwards conveyed to the Canongate of Edinburgh, where one of his veins was cut and he was allowed to bleed to death. According to Drummond of Hawthornden Mar was attacked with fever, was removed from Craigmillar to Edinburgh, and placed under the care of a physician who prescribed bleeding and the hot bath. The unfortunate Earl, neglected by his attendants, tore off the bandages from the wounds, in his delirium, and expired from loss of blood before the matter was detected. From 1435 to 1457 the Earldom of Mar was the subject of litigation by the Royal family and the Erskines.

Edward IV., James III. and Louis XI. were undoubtedly unsympathetic spirits. Two of them might agree on a political subject, but all three, never. James, notwithstanding that he had received three instalments of the Princess Cecilia's dowry, violated the truce existing between the two nations by preparing for war.

Edward had ceased since 1477 to remit the annual instalments of the dowry which he had promised with

¹ Pinkerton.

his daughter Cecilia on her betrothal to James, Prince of Scotland; he had also returned an evasive answer to the proposal of marrying his sister, the Duchess of Burgundy, to the Duke of Albany; and his brother Clarence to the Princess Margaret. Edward appointed his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, Lieutenant-General of the North, with full power to levy an army, but before he had done so, Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, crossed the border with a small force, ravaged Northumberland and wasted the country. Edward immediately got up a fleet to invade Scotland and induced John, Lord of the Isles, and Albany, to join him. Albany had divorced his first wife and married a second, Lady Anne, daughter of the Count d'Auvergne. Parliament assembled, when Angus was appointed Warden of the East Marches. The lieges were warned to be ready on eight days notice to assemble under the Royal banner for military duty, the size of each soldier's spear not to be under three and a half ells. James, it is said, sent a messenger to Edward desiring him to stop hostilities but Edward received the message with scorn. It was apparently at the instance of Louis XI. that James was led into open hostility against England. With this object, he despatched in 1479 envoys to the Court of James, the chief of whom was Robert Ireland, a Scot naturalised in France, one of the learned men of the time. Ireland's mission was to reconcile James to his brother Albany, and to persuade him to send an army across the border into England, but he was unsuccessful. The following year, on a second mission, Ireland succeeded. In the spring of 1480 the Scots invaded the borders, burning villages and carrying off provisions. Edward, in 1481, sent a fleet under Lord Howard to do as much mischief as he could on the shores of the Firth of Forth. Howard burned Blackness. In a Parliament at Edinburgh 11th April, 1481, an order was given to muster an army, and a tax imposed for victualling and the defence of Berwick. At the head of this force, James was about to cross the border, when his march

was stopped by a message from a papal envoy threatening him with interdict, if he proceeded. On the understanding that the English would also abstain from hostilities, James led back his troops without striking a blow. Edward disapproved of this supineness, recalled Albany, who was in France at this date, and resolved to take steps to dethrone James and put Albany in his place. In this he was supported by Douglas, who was at the English Court the Lord of the Isles, and others.¹ This led to an agreement with Edward and Albany, which was executed at Fotheringay, 10th June, 1482. By it Albany would assume the title of Alexander IV., King of Scotland, by the gift of Edward, King of England, and he solemnly engaged to swear fealty to Edward, within six months after he had got possession of the crown, break the alliance between Scotland and France, deliver up Berwick, Lochmaben, etc., while in the last place, if he could make himself clear of other women, he would marry the Lady Cecilia, Edward's daughter, the same princess who was already espoused to Prince James. Edward undertook to assist Albany to obtain the Scottish crown. Both these papers bearing the signature of Alexander, Rex, are still preserved in the Tower of London.² This rebellion of Albany was of a most serious nature. Angus succeeded in organising it, and it included the most powerful of the Scottish nobles, having for its object the seizure of the King, and playing into the hands of Edward.

To meet the warlike conduct of Edward, James again ordered his subjects to be prepared, on eight days notice, to attend him in arms with provisions for twenty days; the Estates of the realm obliged themselves to support garrisons in thirteen forts on the borders; the clergy engaged to maintain 240 of these soldiers, the nobility as many, and the burghs half that number. The Scottish Parliament ordained that if Edward invaded Scotland in person the Scottish King would appear in

¹ Acts of the Scot. Par.

² Tytler.



JAMES III.
King of Scotland.

(Holyrood Portrait, by Van-der-Goes.)

the field at the head of the army. The army in due course was levied, and was estimated to amount to 50,000, but that is probably overstated, and set out for Lauder.

Cochrane, who had been created Earl of Mar, was particularly obnoxious to the nobles from his influence over the King. In the splendour of his equipment he eclipsed his enemies. His tent was of silk with richly gilt chains. He was accompanied by a bodyguard of 300 men in sumptuous liveries, armed with eight battle-axes, and a helmet of polished steel richly inlaid with gold was borne before him. When not armed, he wore a riding-suit of black velvet, with a massive gold chain about his neck, and a hunting-horn tipped with gold and adorned with precious stones slung across his shoulder.¹ It would appear that Edward resolved to lay siege to Berwick, and sent troops there under the command of Gloucester and the Earl of Angus.

Unknown to James, the principal leaders of his army held a secret meeting to decide on the most effectual method of betraying their master and aiding Edward. The first thing they resolved on was the destruction of Cochrane. How was it to be done? Lord Gray introduced the well-known apologue of the mice having agreed for the common safety that a bell should be suspended round the neck of their enemy the cat, but being in perplexity when it came to the point. "Delay not as to that," exclaimed Angus, "leave me to bell the cat," and he was afterwards called "Archibald Bell the Cat." At this moment, curiously enough Cochrane arrived at Lauder Church, where the meeting was being held, and knocking loudly, Douglas of Lochleven, who kept the door, inquired who he was. "It is I," said Cochrane. "The victim has been beforehand with us," said Angus, and stepping forward ordered Douglas to unbar the gate. Cochrane entered carelessly with a riding-whip in his hand. "It becomes not thee to wear this collar," said Angus, wrenching

¹ Tytler.

from his neck the golden chain which he wore ; “ a rope would suit thee better ; ” “ and the horn too,” added Douglas, pulling it from his side. “ My lords,” said Cochrane, “ is it jest or earnest ? ” when his instant seizure opened his eyes to the truth. His hands were tied, he was placed under guard, and a party was sent to the Royal tent. They broke in upon the King, seized Rogers, his master of music, and other favourites, before a sword could be drawn in their defence. Cochrane was charged with bringing about the death of Mar and the banishment of Albany ; also for having a patent or contract for coining money by which he caused commercial mischief and distress in debasing the coinage. He was dragged to the bridge of Lauder, where he was hanged by a halter over the parapet of the bridge. Rogers and four others, his companions, shared the same fate. At the close of this brutal transaction the nobles disbanded the army, and having seized the King took him to Edinburgh, and shut him up in Edinburgh Castle, where it is believed he remained for nine months. He exercised his functions as King, as all letters were given him and proclamations issued in his name. This was a pitiable state of matters, due in great measure to his own weakness. He was wrong to confer earldoms on any subject without the consent of Parliament or the Privy Council. This affair at Lauder ended in the English getting possession of Berwick, and in their advancing to Edinburgh. It is said¹ that this event caused the following governors of the kingdom to be elected :—Albany, Argyll, Atholl, Avondale, and Schevez, Bishop of St. Andrews, for the space of nine months. It would appear that Atholl, with the connivance of the Queen and the citizens of Edinburgh, set the King at liberty, in reward for which the Corporation of Edinburgh got a generous charter from the King containing privileges which they still enjoy.² The authority for this statement is insufficient, for there is the

¹ Crawford.

² Crawford.



JAMES III.
King of Scotland.

(From an Engraving in the possession of Frank C. Inglis, Calton Hill, Edinburgh.)

alternative statement that Atholl and Buchan, who commanded Edinburgh Castle, refused to concur in the terms of negotiation, and not only retained possession of the King's person, but according to the assertion of James, would actually have put him to death had not Darnley and other barons remained in his apartment night and day for his protection.¹

It was not known that Angus and his supporters meant to dethrone the King and put Albany in his place. The announcement caused a split in the ranks, and those opposed to it assembled an army near Haddington to check the progress of the movement. The Angus faction—Argyll, Avondale the Chancellor, and the bishops of Dunkeld and St. Andrews—undertook to procure a pardon for Albany, and a restoration to his estates, if he would return to his allegiance and assist the King in the government of the realm. To this Albany agreed, the arrangement being ratified by the King and the Three Estates; and on Albany's release the English forces withdrew, and returned to the border. Albany, on his restoration, appears to have raised an army and laid siege to Edinburgh Castle. Atholl and Buchan capitulated, and delivered the castle to Albany, who now became keeper of the sovereign, and assumed the direction of the Government. This state of matters led to the reconsideration of the dowry of the Princess Cecilia. The burgesses of Edinburgh agreed to repay the sum which Edward advanced, provided the proposed marriage were cancelled. To this Edward agreed, and the sum was paid him. A Parliament under Albany assembled at Edinburgh on 2nd December, 1482, when the King was treated with great harshness; was compelled to affix his signature to papers giving a false version of the situation, and to thank Albany for delivering him from imprisonment; Albany's supporters being rewarded for having hazarded their lives on behalf of the King. The King was further desired to appoint Albany Lieutenant-General of the

Rymer.

kingdom, an act which would supersede the King's authority. Following on this a secret treaty was negotiated between Edward, and Angus and his faction. Edward and this faction were to assist Albany in the conquest of the Scottish crown, Albany agreeing to cancel the league between Scotland and France, surrender all right to Berwick, restore the banished Douglas, and marry one of Edward's daughters. This treasonable agreement met with much opposition, and a faction was got up to support the King against it. In the next Parliament at Edinburgh, December, 1482, Albany was compelled to acknowledge his treason, and to lay down his office of Lieutenant-General of the realm; but permitted to retain his Wardenship of the Marches; and while Angus, Atholl, and Buchan were prohibited from coming near the King, Albany obtained a full pardon, and was allowed to retain his estates. He undertook to sever his connection with Angus, and give his allegiance to the King. Angus, for his treasonable conduct, was deprived of all his offices, and Buchan, Crichton and another were banished from the realm for three years. This conspiracy, which was of the most audacious character, and meant the seizure of the crown and the surrender of the independence of the country, was punished with great leniency because it would appear of the want of confidence between James and his nobles. The Earl of Crawford was appointed Lord Chamberlain.

James set himself to undermine Albany's influence, and Albany was driven to renew his secret negotiations with England. On 11th February, 1493, he entered into a treaty with Edward, similar to that of Fotheringay the preceding year. With the assistance of Edward he was to do his utmost to make himself King of Scots, acknowledge Edward as his superior, and discontinue his connection with France. It would further appear that on 19th March an indenture between James and Albany was signed by Albany at Dunbar Castle. From this document it appears that there was a rumour abroad

that in the King's presence an attempt had been made to poison Albany, and that Albany had arrested certain persons, whom James had charged to cut him off. Albany was not to come within six miles of the King's presence, was to demit the office of Lieutenant-General, and cease communication with those who had been confederates in the treason with England.¹ Albany, however, still continued in his old ways, and carried on dealings with England.

At this critical period (9th April, 1483) Edward IV. died unexpectedly, and in him Albany lost his best friend. Edward's brother, Richard III., ascended the throne; a meeting of the Scottish Parliament was held in June thereafter, when Albany was again summoned on a charge of treason, and failing to appear, was declared guilty and his estates forfeited. After these energetic measures a truce was concluded. Richard III. was in too much trouble with the Wars of the Roses to continue the war with Scotland. The ancient league between France and Scotland was confirmed and ratified, and the French King engaged to assist his ally, the Scottish King, in expelling the English from Scotland. Albany's latest conspiracy had thus been completely defeated; and James, shaking off his indolence, buckled on his armour, assembled an army, and laid siege to Dunbar, Albany's stronghold. As a *quid pro quo*, Albany and Douglas, who were in exile in England, played their last card, and invaded Scotland at the head of a small force of 500 outlaws. They advanced to Lochmaben in the hope of being joined by their tenants and vassals; instead of which they were at Lochmaben attacked and defeated by a body of the King's troops. Albany managed to escape by the fleetness of his horse, but Douglas was captured and carried a prisoner to the King. Douglas, who was the ninth and last Earl, had been thirty years in England in the pay of the King's enemies. His estates were bestowed on the Earl of Angus. In place of being condemned to death, as he

¹ Supplement to Acts of Parliament.



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and James, being well up in what was going on, resolved to adopt an uncompromising attitude. Some of the more powerful barons regarded the stringent measures passed at the late Parliament as pointing to their destruction, and they resolved to appeal to arms. The heir to the throne joined the rebels and foolishly placed himself at their head. At this conduct the King was much distressed, and resolved to retire from the Southern provinces of his kingdom, occupied by his enemies; but, before doing so, he sent an embassy to Henry VII. to ask assistance to overawe the rebels and defend him against danger. This request was refused. He also desired his son to return to him and leave the rebels, but the youth refused to do so. The rebels declared that James III., having forfeited the affections of his people, oppressed the nobility, and brought in the English to subdue the nation, had forfeited the crown and ceased to reign. They proclaimed his son his successor as James IV., and in his name proceeded to carry on the Government.

At this point of the narrative there is some difficulty in following the course of events, on account of the obscurity of the records. It would appear that the King and his son had disagreed, and the youth led the rebel army in person. The King, who was evidently a warm-hearted man, was not disposed to fight against his son, and he instructed Huntly and Errol to try and arrange a reconciliation. A negotiation was accordingly opened, and certain articles of agreement were drawn up and signed by the King, which, if we may believe the evidence of the conspirators, were violated by the King, who allowed himself to be over-ruled by Buchan.¹ The Earl Marischal, with Huntly, Errol and Glamis, thereupon deserted the King and retired to their estates, while Buchan attacked the rebels and succeeded; but the King appealed to Atholl to try and arrange an adjustment of grievances. An agreement, it is recorded, was come to, which provided for

¹ Tytler.

the independence of the King, the pardoning of the rebels, and the maintenance of the household of the heir-apparent in a manner befitting his dignity. James, on the execution of this agreement, dismissed his troops and returned to Edinburgh. The lords, suspecting the King was not satisfied and that he was inaccessible in Edinburgh Castle, kept the Prince with them at Linlithgow, and notwithstanding the agreement, consulted how to get possession of the King's person. With this object, they sent some troops to Edinburgh to lodge in the town and villages about. The King, warned of his danger, fortified anew the Castle of Edinburgh, and sent commissioners to the lords and his son to ascertain their intentions. They answered that their lives were not safe unless he freely resigned the crown in favour of his son. The King thereupon applied to the Pope and to the Kings of England and France to mediate. The two Kings sent ambassadors desiring the lords to desist, otherwise they would resent and revenge it. They gave the same answer as they gave to James, but fearing the Pope, they made haste to decide the quarrel.

It has been asserted by some historians that the Prince joined them by constraint, but others have not hesitated to accuse him of actively concurring in the designs of the conspirators—a charge which he himself strongly confirmed by the high tone which he assumed in the subsequent conference at Blackness, by his failing to detach himself from the rebels when the temporary pacification gave him an opportunity of doing so; by the injudicious proceedings which he instituted after his accession against some of the Royalist barons, and by the remorse which he manifested in later years for the part which he had taken in his father's death.

Henry VII. recognised the youth as the King of Scots and granted passports for his ambassadors. James at once proceeded to Aberdeen, where Atholl, Huntly, Crawford, and a strong force of Northern barons joined him; also the veteran, Lord Lindsay

of the Byres, who brought 4,000 followers. Most of these barons joined the King, and his troops numbered 30,000. Returning at the head of this army to Perth, he was there joined by the men of Fife, Angus, and Strathearn, under their chiefs; also Lord Ruthven with 1,000 men-at-arms, 1,000 archers, and 1,000 infantry; Lord Lindsay of the Byres with 4,000 men. Lindsay was riding a beautiful grey horse, from which he alighted and did obeisance to the King; he then presented this horse to his Majesty, telling him it would beat any horse in Scotland in pursuit or flight, and would do it well. The King thanked Lindsay very heartily and accepted the gift. It was this horse that the King rode at the fatal battle of Sauchie. The hostile armies had met first at Blackness, West Lothian, but there the King would not fight against an army led by his son. At length James saw no way of preserving the crown but by a vigorous resistance.

The King, in the meantime, either misinformed or betrayed by some of his own followers, left Edinburgh and went with his troops to Stirling. It was suggested that Stirling would be a more convenient rendezvous for the Northern chiefs. The King, it would appear, attacked the rebels who were encamped there, drove them across the Forth and demanded admission to Stirling Castle, which was refused by Shaw, the governor. James received intelligence that a body of rebels were on their way from Falkirk, and he at once advanced against them. Both armies met at Sauchie Burn, two miles from Stirling and in the immediate neighbourhood of Bannockburn. The Royalists were inferior in numbers to the rebels and were drawn up in three divisions. The first was led by the Earls of Atholl and Huntly; the second by the Earl of Menteith and Lords Erskine and Graham, while the King himself led the main division. He was splendidly armed, carrying the sword worn by Robert Bruce, and rode the horse presented to him by Lindsay. On his right, Lord

Lindsay, with the Earl of Crawford, commanded a fair body of cavalry from Fife and Angus, while Lord Ruthven, with the men of Strathearn and Stormont, formed the left wing with a body of 5,000 spearmen. The first division of the rebels was led by Lord Hailes and the Master of Hume ; the second by Lord Gray at the head of the Galwegians and men of Liddesdale and Annandale. It is recorded that both sides fought with the most determined obstinacy, while the tumult and slaughter gradually approached the place where the King had stationed himself. The barons who surrounded him advised him to retire from the field, which he did. The number of the slain on both sides was very great, as the battle was of several hours duration. Of the Royalists, Glencairn, Hailes, Ruthven, Erskine and Sempill were slain. As the King in his flight was on the point of crossing the Bannock at the hamlet of Milton, a mile east of the field of battle, his horse started at the sight of a pitcher which a woman in the act of drawing water threw from her on seeing a man riding toward her at full gallop. The King was thrown violently to the ground, and sustained such damage from the fall and the weight of his armour that he fainted and was removed by the miller and his wife into the miller's house adjoining and treated by them with every possible care. When he had somewhat recovered he told who he was, "This day at noon I was your King," and supposing himself dying, called for a priest. The miller's wife went out, and meeting a party of rebels who had observed the King's flight, entreated that if there were a priest among them he would step in and confess his Majesty. Said one, an ecclesiastic, said to have been in the service of Lord Gray, "I am a priest, lead me in." This traitor was shown in and approached the King, who was lying in a corner of the building covered with a coarse cloth. The traitor, kneeling down on the pretence of reverence, the King said he wanted a priest to receive his confession and give him the sacrament.

“That shall I do,” replied the ruffian, and stabbed the unfortunate King to death.

The perpetrator of this cowardly act instantly disappeared and was never afterwards discovered. The remains of the King were interred in Cambuskenneth Abbey in that neighbourhood. The Queen was interred there on 29th February, 1486. This was the battle of Sauchie, fought 18th June, 1488, but by some writers, 11th June.

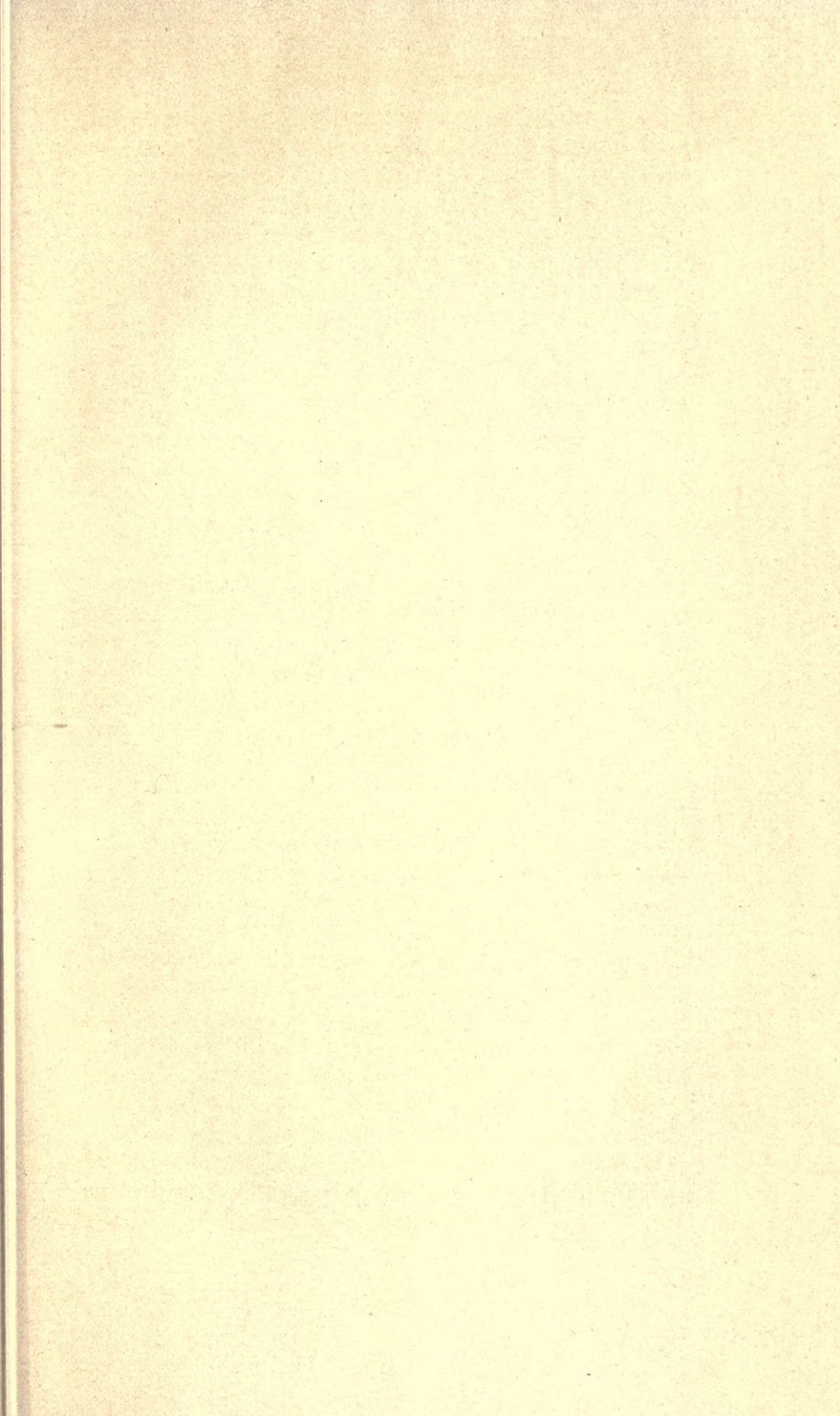
The character of James III. has, we think, been misunderstood by posterity. Up to the age of twenty-five years he manifested all the nobility which induced his subjects to conclude that he would be a wise and capable ruler. His education, his intellect, his manners, were to be envied, while at the age of eighteen his wisdom was equal to that of any of his barons. He inherited none of the qualities of his father or grandfather, and he had the misfortune to administer the crown of Scotland at a time when the country was boiling over with feuds, treasons, conspiracies, amongst the nobles and Highland chiefs. During his entire reign the country was practically in a state of anarchy. This was to be deplored, in respect that the King was a man of peace, nothing being more distasteful to him than war, and nothing more destructive to the prosperity of the nation. Not only was Scotland in this turbulent state, England was even worse. The Wars of the Roses were prosecuted with indefatigable vigour, and they materially affected Scotland. Scotland finally became an asylum for the family of the English King, and England became an asylum for the insubordinate barons of James III., and for thirty years encouraged and protected the Earl of Douglas in his machinations against the Scottish King. At the age of eleven years the young King lost his mother, which was a great calamity to him. The event brought the Boyd family to the front. The head of the house, Lord Boyd, was a bold and ambitious man, and he determined to get possession of the King's person in order to get power

He accomplished his purpose, but made the King declare in Parliament that Boyd's having possession of him was quite voluntary. The Boyd supremacy was, however, of short duration. Their carrying off the King was high treason, for which they were all tried and condemned. Nothing can be said against the righteousness of this punishment. It was essential for the stability of the throne. The Albany rebellion was probably the most troublesome and exciting event in the reign of James. Albany's cause was warmly espoused by Edward IV., and the rebellion may be said to have begun with the signing of the agreement at Fotheringay on 10th June, 1482. During the ten months over which it lasted Albany and the rebellious nobles did everything in their power to overturn the authority of James. The Lauder affair was part of this rebellion, when the King's authority was not only overturned, but he was himself taken prisoner. James brought that on himself by his injudicious conduct in appointing Cochrane, a tradesman, to the Earldom of Mar, and making other equally injudicious appointments. We are not informed what Cochrane did to deserve this great honour, and it is evident the nobles were equally ignorant. Looking to the rebellious character of these men, the King should have taken them into his confidence before making such appointments, and his not having done so cannot be defended. It led to the most unfortunate results, for although Cochrane and his companions were murdered by the rebels, the event quite unsettled the minds of the nobles, alienated them from the King, and caused them to become chronic rebels. It was followed by a determined and most treasonable movement to put Albany on the throne. James for a time failed to rise to the occasion, but Albany's conduct roused him, and he sent a force to Dunbar to seize that fortress, which surrendered. There was a difference between the nobles as to the dethroning of the King, many of them being strongly opposed to it. A split occurred amongst them, which greatly paralysed the movement.

was a man of elastic principles, as is shown by his returning to his rebellious habits after he had been pardoned for treason. His dictatorial conduct to the King at the Parliament of 2nd December, 1482, indicates his unprincipled character. At the next Parliament he encountered unexpected opposition and had to climb down. He was compelled to acknowledge his treason, was again pardoned, and allowed to keep his estates.

The death of his friend and patron, Edward IV. on 9th April, 1483, blasted his hopes: the rebellion of the so-called Alexander IV. collapsed, and he afterwards went over to France, where he died in exile. But the most serious event in the reign of James was the rebellion of his own son, afterwards James IV. This, again, was brought about by the rebellious nobles and by a quarrel between James and Henry VII. James was responsible for the alienation of the English King, the latter having ultimately supported James's son, who headed the rebels, a proceeding which was unjustifiable, and it culminated in the unfortunate battle of Sauchie, when James lost his life. James was a considerate man, and strictly honourable in his administration, though he committed several errors of judgment. He may be said to have been the victim of his rebels, living amongst them a life of unqualified trouble. To use an inelegant expression, he was in his kingly office "a square man in a round hole"; as a king, totally out of his element; and had he been a subject in place of a king, we would have said that he led an exemplary life. From his brother Albany, and his son, the heir-apparent, he received the most unnatural and cruel treatment, and amidst it all, he showed a nobility of character by doing everything in his power to bring about a common understanding, and save the horrors of war, though he failed to accomplish his object.

James was a man of prepossessing appearance, tall and athletic, and his accomplishments were many; he was a student of mathematics, astrology and music;





MARGARET OF DENMARK.
Queen of Scotland, Wife of James III.

(Holyrood Portrait by Van-der-Goes, the Property of H.M. the King.)

To face p. 275.

his architectural taste was displayed in various public buildings erected by him. At his death he was in his thirty-fifth year. James, who was married to Margaret, daughter of the King of Denmark, left the following issue:—James, who succeeded him as James IV.; Alexander or James, Duke of Ross, Archbishop of St. Andrews; John, Earl of Mar, created to that dignity by his father in 1480. The last two sons died without issue.

The Chapel Royal, Stirling, was founded by James III. as a college for divine service.¹

¹ Drummond, Hawthornden.

CHAPTER IX.

Birth, Accession and Coronation of James IV.—Rebels of James III. in Council absolve themselves of his murder—Grants of James III. revoked—Parliament and the battle of Sauchie—Lord Hailes created Prime Minister and Earl of Bothwell—James IV. and Lady Margaret Drummond—Poisoning of Lady Margaret and her two Sisters—Trial of Lord Lindsay of the Byres and his brother—Barons of James III. revolt and are defeated—Conspiracy against James IV. by Henry VII.—Henry VII. and the Earl of Angus—Sir Andrew Wood of Largo—James IV. restores his Father's Councillors—The Jewellery and treasures of James III., and their disappearance—Glasgow gets an Archbishop—Lord of the Isles hangs the Governor of Dunaverty in King's presence—Lord of the Isles and his sons executed—The Perkin Warbeck imposition—Warbeck hanged at Tyburn—Betrothal of James IV. to Margaret of England—Text of the Treaty, and Marriage Contract—The Romantic Journey of Lady Margaret to Scotland—Her Marriage with the King at Holyrood—The Pilgrimages of James IV. to the Holy Shrines—Death of Henry VII.—Queen Margaret's Legacy withheld by Henry VIII.—Henry sends Troops to invade France—Birth of James V.—Peace between England and Scotland rejected—Queen Margaret and her Legacy—Henry's last letter to James IV.—The Fiasco with Arran and James's Fleet—The Linlithgow ghost—Battle of Flodden—Death and mysterious fall of James—List of nobles who fell at Flodden—Character of James and his Family.

REIGN OF JAMES IV.

A.D. 1488—1513.

SUCH an appalling event as the assassination of the King in cold blood, under the brutal circumstances narrated in the preceding chapter, could not but arouse the indignation of the people and set the laws of the nation at defiance, but the obscurity and scantiness of the records preclude us from knowing what was the actual



KING JAMES IV.

(From a Portrait in the Collection of Captain Stirling of Keir.)



JAMES IV.
King of Scotland.

condition of the country at this turbulent and lawless period. The assassinated King was not free from blame, and the faction who supported his son took the law into their own hands, subverted the King's authority, and for a time controlled the entire administration of the kingdom. Angus and his followers, who were responsible for the battle of Sauchie and the death of James III., were in an awkward position. They had not contemplated the death of the King, and as a matter of fact it was some days before they knew he was dead, as they believed he had escaped and found shelter in one of Sir Andrew Wood's vessels sailing on the Forth: Wood being known to be a loyal supporter of James. Wood was communicated with, and his answer not being satisfactory to the rebels, he was summoned before a special court at Leith and severely catechised as to his movements on the day of the battle. They demanded of him whether the King was on board any of his ships: to which he replied with indignation: "He is not on board my vessel; would to God he had been there, as I should have taken care to have kept him safe from the traitors who have murdered him; and whom I trust to see hanged and drawn for the crime." This reply was considered contemptuous and treasonable by this self-elected court, which was composed of the rebels, and they resolved to punish Wood. Shortly afterwards they intimated that they would send a fleet down the river to attack him, but they were unable to find officers to undertake the enterprise, public feeling being so much against them; while Wood was a strong man with a large following, and in a position to defy them. They were, therefore, obliged to suspend their proceedings.

James IV., who was the eldest son of James III. and Margaret of Denmark, was born at Holyrood on 17th March, 1472. On the assassination of his father in June, 1488, he ascended the throne when he was sixteen years of age. He was on 14th July crowned at Scone with every demonstration of loyalty. His Privy Council

were—John, Earl of Argyle, who was in 1494 appointed Chancellor ; Patrick, Earl of Bothwell ; James, Earl of Buchan ; Robert, Lord Lyle ; Laurence, Lord Oliphant ; William, Lord Ruthven ; Mathew, son and heir of John, Earl of Lennox ; the bishop of St. Andrews, Lord Privy Seal. The King, who attended his father's funeral to Cambuskenneth Abbey, took up his residence at Stirling Castle, and his supporters, as a first step in the administration, arranged to see the English King and sue for peace. That James's mind was poisoned, and his movements in the late conspiracy guided by false representations, there is no manner of doubt. It is more likely that he was seduced and blinded by the flattery and false views of the discontented barons, and dazzled by the near prospect of a throne. The rebels felt that until they could absolve themselves from all connection with the King's murder their position in the realm was nil. One of the first things they appear to have done was to issue an ordinance under the Great Seal in the following terms :—“ Our sovereign Lord that now is, and the true Lords and Barons who were with him, were innocent, quit and free, of the said slaughter, and had no blame in fomenting or exciting it.” A part of the Three Estates was to affix their seals to this proclamation, which was finally to be sealed with the Great Seal and exhibited to the Pope and the Kings of France, Denmark and Spain. All houses, castles and lands which had been plundered were ordained by Parliament to be restored ; and the heirs of those barons and others who died in arms against the King at Sauchie were allowed to retain their estates and honours notwithstanding their predecessors having been slain when in a state of rebellion. Dunbar Castle was ordered to be dismantled and destroyed on account of the damage it had done to the kingdom. The command of Edinburgh Castle was given to the Duke of Ross, the King's brother, and Alexander Hume of Hume was appointed Chamberlain. The Parliament of 6th October, 1488, ordained that all grants signed by the late King since

2nd February, 1487, the day on which the Prince, now King, took the field against his father, be revoked, because made for the assistance of that faction which had occasioned the death of the King's father.¹

This Parliament ordained that all ships, foreign and national, should land at Dumbarton, Renfrew, Irvine, Wigtown and Kirkcudbright; that no foreigner be allowed to buy fish, except salted and barrelled. Trade at the Lewis prohibited to prevent contraband traffic on the West Coast.²

The supporters of the late King had now to take a back seat, and the faction, headed by James IV., proceeded to reward their friends with the vacant offices which the change in the administration of the Government placed at their disposal. After the dissolution of Parliament troubles arose, as might be expected, among the disaffected nobles. Lennox and Lyle revolted, and took possession of Dunbar Castle. Their vassals garrisoned their strongholds, put themselves in communication with the north, and raised an insurrection. The lieges were asked to rescue the Prince out of the hands of the murderers of his father. The murder was not to be allowed to die down. The Privy Council called a Parliament, and having the law in their own hands, Parliament enacted that those who were slain at Sauchie had fallen by their own deserts, and were justly punished for their rashness; and that the victors, the supporters of James IV., were innocent of the blood then shed. Those who came against the present King in aid of his father to take remissions and pardons, and those who had hereditary offices such as sheriffs and others, to be suspended for three years.

On the accession of James IV. Patrick, third Lord Hailes, one of the rebels against James III., became Prime Minister, and had the sole disposal of all places depending on the State. In the first year of James IV. he obtained a charter, under the Great Seal, of the lordships of Bothwell and Crichton, forfeited by John

¹ Acts of the Scot. Par.

² Pinkerton.

Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, and William, Lord Crichton, which Lordships were erected into an Earldom on 5th October, 1488, and Hailes was created Earl of Bothwell. After this creation he was appointed Lord High Admiral of the kingdom with the Wardenship of the Western and Middle Marches, and the command of Edinburgh Castle. Before James ascended the throne he had at the age of sixteen fallen in love with Margaret, daughter of Lord Drummond, and it is said that her father and some of the Court nobles encouraged it. A private marriage subsequently took place, probably in 1493 or 1494. The nobles outside the Court were opposed to the alliance, as the lady, in their opinion, was not of sufficient rank. It is recorded that the Lord Justiciars accompanied by the King, held their usual Justice Ayres at Lanark, Dundee and Ayr, and on these circuits James was attended by his huntsmen and falconers, and by Lady Margaret Drummond. In the first Parliament of James (1488) Lady Margaret had an allowance for dress. It does not appear that she ever was officially recognised as Queen, but there are various entries in the Treasurer's books of money having been officially paid to her. We have very little recorded about her, and her life is involved in much obscurity. From a MS. of the Drummond family written in 1689 it would appear that Lord Drummond had four daughters, of whom Margaret was so much beloved by James IV. that he wished to marry her, but as they were connected by blood and a dispensation from the Pope was required, the impatient monarch concluded a private marriage, from which union there was a daughter. The dispensation having arrived, the King determined to celebrate his nuptials publicly; but the jealousy of some of the nobles against the house of Drummond suggested to them the cruel expedient of removing the Lady Margaret by poison, in order that her family might not enjoy the glory of giving two Queens to Scotland.¹ Margaret Drummond, with Euphemia, Lady Fleming, and the

¹ Moreri.



MARGARET TUDOR.
Queen of Scotland, Wife of James IV.

(From a Painting by Kneller.)

Lady Sybilla, her sisters (probably about the year 1501), died suddenly at the same time with symptoms exciting a strong suspicion of poison, which it was thought had been administered to the ladies at breakfast. According to Mr. M'Gregor Stirling, a very reliable authority, the statement that Lady Margaret fell a victim to the jealousy of the Scottish nobles rests on no authentic evidence; nor does this explain why her two sisters shared the same fate. The story tells more like some dreadful domestic tragedy than a conspiracy of the aristocracy to prevent the King's marriage to a commoner. James, previous to the catastrophe, but a considerable time after the private marriage, had entered into an agreement to marry the Princess Margaret of England, a circumstance certainly not wholly disproving the story of her having fallen a victim to aristocratic jealousy, but rendering it more improbable. (This agreement must have been that of the betrothal of 1502 dated at Richmond.) If the dispensation for James's marriage with Margaret Drummond had been procured, it is probable it would have been discovered by Andrew Stuart during his investigations into the Papal Records at Rome on the subject of the Douglas cause, when he accidentally fell upon the documents which settled the question of the marriage of Robert II. to Elizabeth Mure.¹ We do not agree with this writer. What he says is the merest conjecture. There is evidence that the dispensation for the marriage of Margaret Drummond was procured, while it was no part of Andrew Stuart's business to search for it at Rome, employed as he was on a subject that had no connection necessarily with the matter.

It is recorded by the Drummond family that the dispensation duly arrived, and the unflinching integrity of that family all through its long history, certainly entitles us to believe what they have reduced to writing, rather than accept a statement from a writer who has sometimes been found incorrect. Further, Mr. M'Gregor

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. xii.

Stirling endorses the assertion of the due arrival of the dispensation. The melancholy event of the assassination of these three ladies created profound sensation, but amidst it all no one seems to have recorded any suggestions as to what led up to it, or who committed the deed. It was a turbulent period, when conspiracies and assassinations were common, and championed as these invariably were by some of the nobles, it is a fair deduction to assume that the lady was poisoned for the reason, and in the manner, already stated; and that the two sisters fell victims because the conspirators could not get at the Lady Margaret alone. Whether the Kennedys of Cassillis (one of whom, Lady Jane Kennedy, had borne a son to the King) had anything to do with this conspiracy, as one writer suggests, can only be conjectured. The three ladies were interred together in the choir of Dunblane Cathedral; this would be early in 1502. Sir Walter Drummond, Lord Clerk Register, their uncle, was at the time of their death Dean of Dunblane. The family had just removed from Stobhall to Drummond Castle, where they had probably no place of interment. An entry in the Lord Treasurer's books of 18th June, 1503, shows that the King's daughter, by Margaret Drummond, had been removed from Drummond Castle to Stirling Castle. The child was brought up in Edinburgh Castle under the name of the Lady Margaret. She married John, Lord Gordon, son and heir to the Earl of Huntly, 26th April, 1510, when fifteen years of age. During the reign of James the Crown paid the priests of Dunblane a quarterly allowance for saying mass for the soul of Queen Margaret Drummond.

In Lord Strathallan's history of the Drummonds in 1681 we are informed that although James was crowned in 1488 at the age of sixteen he did not marry the Princess Margaret till 1502 when he was nearly thirty years of age, or a year after the death of Lady Margaret Drummond. He rejected all propositions of marriage so long as she lived.

In a letter of Queen Margaret to the Earl of Surrey of November, 1523, from Stirling Castle, she says, referring to the custody of the young King, James V., by Cassillis, Fleming, Borthwick and Moray :—Lord Fleming, for the ill-will he had to his wife (Lady Euphemia Drummond), poisoned the three sisters, one of them being his wife, and this is known throughout Scotland. If it be good to put my son under Fleming, God knoweth. He wishes my son were dead ; and this is truth I write you.

This was John, second Lord Fleming, who, by his wife, Lady Euphemia Drummond, had two sons and three daughters. He was Lord Chamberlain of Scotland in the minority of James V., and as a punishment for poisoning his wife he was on 1st November, 1524, assassinated by John Tweedie of Drumalzier.

The trial of David, third Lord Lindsay of the Byres, for supporting the late King, took place at this time. He will be remembered as having presented the fleet horse to the King at Stirling, which the King rode at the battle of Sauchie. Lord Lindsay was a great personality of the time, a man of a noble and straightforward character, very different from his descendant who disgraced himself in the reign of Queen Mary. He was tried before the King and Council in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and defended himself in a characteristic manner, as he was not learned in the polite language of the age. He denounced the Council as false traitors and worthless persons, who had caused the King to fight against his father. Addressing the King, he said : “Beware of them, and give them no credence, for they who were false to your father can never be true to you. Sir, if your father were yet alive I would take his part, and stand in no awe of these false traitors ; and if ye had a son who would be advised to come in battle against you by the evil counsel of false traitors like these I would take your part, and fight against them—three against six of these traitors, who caused your Grace to believe evil of me.” The Chancellor regarded

this speech as both gross and rude, and requested Lindsay to submit and do homage to the King. Lindsay's brother Patrick, who was also under trial, and who was a more cultivated man, was allowed to address the court, and he said: "I beseech you, my lords, for His sake who will give judgment on us all at the last day, that you will remember that now is *your* time and *we* have had the same in times bygone, as we may also have hereafter; God's justice and judgment stand firm and stable; therefore do as you would be done to, in the administration of justice to your neighbours and brethren, who are accused of their lives and heritages this day, whose judgment stands in your hand; therefore beware in time and open not a door that ye cannot shut." On being asked to say something for his brother, he protested against the King sitting in judgment, as a violation of his coronation oath, wherein he was taken, bound not to sit in judgment on his lords and barons; his Grace was both a party and was at the committing of this crime himself, and ought not by the laws of God and man to sit in judgment at this time. The lords thought this reasonable, and they asked the King to retire, which he did. That being done, Lindsay continued, and pointing out that the summons required that the persons indicted should appear within forty days without continuation of days, and as forty-one had elapsed they could not legally be compelled to answer till summoned anew. This smart reply had its effect. The prisoners were released, and no further proceedings were ever taken against them. Patrick was, however, by the King's order imprisoned for twelve months in Rothesay Castle before he was released, a proceeding which the lords disapproved as being unreasonable, not to say quite illegal.

In the matter of the rising in the north instigated by Lennox and Lyle and other lords, the King took prompt steps to put it down. Proclamation was made, offering a reward of £40 worth of land or 1,000 merks silver for the arrest of these barons. He then advanced to Dumbarton,

where the rebels were joined by Lord Forbes, the Earl Marischal, Lord Crichton, the Master of Huntly (these so-called rebels were the followers of James III.). These nobles proclaimed that the young King was entirely in the hands of his father's murderers, who violated the laws with impunity and carried on the Government for the advancement of their own ends, regardless of the public welfare. Lord Forbes marched over the northern district of the country, displaying the bloody shirt of the unfortunate King suspended on a spear, and calling for vengeance on the murderers. Great multitudes, roused by this appeal, flocked to his standand, and the insurrection gathered strength, threatening, it is said, the stability of the throne. Argyll was despatched by the King to attack Dumbarton Castle, where Lord Lyle and young Lennox had gone for security, while the King himself laid siege to Crookston. Both places ultimately surrendered. The Earl of Lennox had collected 2,000 men in the north and was marching towards Dumbarton for the release of his son and the Earl Marischal, Forbes, Crichton and others. But at Stirling the King's troops had possession of the bridge over the Forth. He therefore went with his troops to Tala moss, sixteen miles west of Stirling. In the middle of a dark October night Lord Drummond and the young King with some troops, chiefly drawn from the Royal household, broke in upon the entrenchments of Lennox and slew, dispersed or made prisoners of his whole force, pursuing the fugitives across the river. This was followed by the surrender of Dumbarton and the suppression of the conspiracy. Lennox, Huntly, the Earl Marischal, Lyle, and Forbes were pardoned and returned to their estates.

Between the Drummonds and the Murrays there was a feud of old standing, and in 1490 an occasion arose which brought them into direct conflict. George Murray, Abbot of Inchaffray, sought to levy from Monzievaired, the property of the Drummonds, a larger amount of teind than they held to be just. In the act of levying

it the Murrays were attacked by a body of the Drummonds and shut up to the number of 20 in Monzievairst Church. The Drummonds were just marching off when a shot from the church killed one of their number. The Drummonds in revenge immediately set fire to the church and burned it to the ground, only one of the unfortunate Murrays escaping destruction. The crime was speedily punished, for in October the chief offenders were brought to trial and executed at Stirling.¹

The lawless condition of the Highlands engaged at this time the attention of the King, and he resolved to open up intercourse with the leading chiefs, and to introduce, if possible, a system of administration of civil and criminal justice, a reform very much needed but not so easily put into operation. He believed his own presence in the Highlands would be attended with salutary effects, and in 1490 on two different occasions he rode from Perth accompanied by his chief counsellors and lords of his household from Perth across the "Mounth," the chain of mountains which extends from the border of the Mearns to the head of Loch Rannoch; afterwards he found time to penetrate twice into the Highlands as far as Dunstaffnage and Ardnamurchan; and in the succeeding year he visited the Isles. The first of these tours, it is said, was conducted with great state, and afforded the King an opportunity of combining business and amusement; indulging in sailing and hunting, investigating the state of the fisheries, or fitting out barges for defence as well as pleasure, and of inducing the nobles to build and furnish vessels in which they might accompany their sovereign. It had the effect of impressing the Highlanders with a salutary idea of the military power and wealth of the King. The rapidity with which he travelled from place to place; the promptitude of the punishment of those who opposed him, his generosity to his friends and attendants, all combined to increase his popularity. In James's third Parliament in 1489 it was ordained that

¹ Exchequer Rolls.

in no place in the realm shall there be played football, golf or other unprofitable sports. Bows and shooting and bowmarks, made and ordained in each parish under a penalty of forty shillings, to be raised by the sheriffs and bailies. In 1490 an extraordinary conspiracy against the King was discovered, and it appears to have been concocted at the English Court. At the Lauder Bridge affair Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, a companion of Cochrane who was hanged, appears to have escaped. He was one of the favourites of James III., consequently no friend of James IV. Ramsay, Buchan and Sir Thomas Tod, all resident in London, entered into an agreement with Henry VII. to seize and deliver up the King of Scots and his brother, the Duke of Ross, into the hands of Henry. Henry advanced them a loan of £260, stipulating for its due repayment, Todd delivering his son as a hostage for the fulfilment of the obligation. Several persons were involved in this conspiracy, which eventually fell through.¹ In 1491 there exists evidence of a treaty between Henry and Archibald, Earl of Angus. The document is imperfect in its most critical passages, but the tenor of it appears to be that Angus "shall do his utmost to prevent the King of Scots from attacking England." If, in the case of war, Angus was unable to hold his own in Scotland, he was to make over Hermitage Castle, to Henry and have an equivalent in England.²

Parliament assembled on 28th April, 1491. Huntly was appointed King's Lieutenant north of the Esk till the King should arrive at the age of twenty-five, and the Earl of Bothwell, and the bishop of Glasgow were sent to France to renew the alliance with that kingdom and to confirm the commercial treaty between the two countries. An embassy was sent to Denmark with the same object. It was ordained at this Parliament that the common good, meaning the profits and revenues of all Royal burghs, in the realm, should be

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*.

² Hill Burton.

so regulated as to promote the prosperity of the town by being spent according to the advice of the council of the burghs on things necessary for its security and increase, while the rents of lands, fishings, mills and farms were not to be disposed of except on a three years' lease.¹ It would appear that, as the King grew older, he became convinced that he had been made the tool of a faction whose object was private plunder, the increase of their power, and the diminution of the Royal authority. In proof of his disapproval, he gradually restored to places of trust the counsellors of his late father, whom he attached to his interests, by the remorse which he expressed for his crime and the generosity of his disposition. One of these was Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, a great personality in the reign of James IV. He was an enterprising merchant, a skilful navigator, and an able financier, whom we shall have to refer to again. The leading nobles, who had championed the revolt against James III., were now treated by the King with coldness. The Earl of Angus, the chief culprit, by going into England, he and Henry, as already stated, made an agreement, but he does not appear to have remained long there, as we find from the Lord Treasurer's accounts of 29th July, 1491, that on his return to Scotland, the King ordained him to be imprisoned in Tantallon. Soon after he was deprived of his lands and lordship of Liddesdale, along with Hermitage Castle, which latter, as the price of his pardon, he was compelled to resign to Bothwell. A reward was offered at the same time to any person who should discover the murderers of the late King; the sum only to be given in the event of the informant making it certain who were the persons who slew the King with their own hands. It does not appear, however, that the reward—a hundred merks' worth of land in fee or heritage—was ever claimed by anyone, and the assassin was never found out. James III. left an unusually

¹ Acts of the Scottish Parliament.

large amount of treasure in money, rare jewellery, plate, and gold and silver gems, curios, and precious articles of every description.¹ The wealth of James III. far exceeded that of any of his predecessors. We are informed that, after his death, a complaint was made regarding the disappearance of his jewels and treasures. The Queen had predeceased her husband, and when he left Edinburgh for Sauchie he doubtless had every intention of returning, consequently the jewels may not have been so carefully locked up as they should have been. A few days after the King's death the treasure was taken possession of by the bishop of Glasgow and the Earls of Angus and Argyll, with the intention of being placed in the hands of faithful persons, who were to be responsible for its safe custody. The bulk of the jewels disappeared and never were traced. A very small part of the treasure ever reached James IV. Parliament ordered a strict inquiry into the matter so as to detect those who had stolen or concealed it; and the three persons named were ordered to be examined before the King's Council in order to see why they had parted with the treasure, into whose hands it had been delivered, and what was the amount. The result of this inquiry is not recorded. It is said that the crafty politics of Henry VII. in encouraging plots to seize the Scottish King was the occasion of the introduction of the system of paid spies, which in succeeding reigns proved so formidable.

On 14th May, 1491, there is a charter of James, considering the damage done to his subjects at sea by the English and Dutch. He grants his island of Inchgarvie to John Dundas of Dundas to build a fort thereon, with the constabulary thereof and the duties on ships passing. Dundas neglected the matter, and it was not till 1510 that the King himself erected the fort.²

¹ See Tytler's Inventory, vol. ii. This Inventory is a remarkable document, occupying fully four pages of closely-printed matter in double column.

² Pinkerton.

James desired to break with England, but the time was not ripe for doing so, and in the meantime peace was preserved. On 4th January, 1492, the Pope erected the church of Glasgow into an Archiepiscopal dignity, assigning to it the suffragan dioceses of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Whithorn and Lismore. This led to rivalry with the Archbishop of St. Andrews, which became so bitter as to disturb the peace of the realm, and the matter was by the King referred to Rome. He intimated to the prelates, however, that if the quarrelling did not cease he would order the lieges not to pay money or farm-rents—nothing, in short—and this had a salutary effect.¹

In May, 1493, Henry proposed a marriage between James IV. and Catherine, granddaughter of Edmund, Duke of Somerset. Nothing came of this proposal, but the truce was continued till 30th April, 1501, and James received an indemnity of 1,000 merks damages for breach of the existing treaty.²

In the course of the year 1494 James visited the Western Isles three times, so great was his anxiety to establish the authority of the law in these remote places. At Tarbert, in Kintyre, he repaired the fort built there by King Robert Bruce and equipped it with artillery and skilful gunners. He seized the Castle of Dunaverty in South Kintyre, and placed a garrison there for the purpose of overawing the turbulent chiefs of that district. This gave great offence to John, Lord of the Isles. He shortly afterwards collected his followers, stormed the castle, and hanged the governor over the wall in sight of the King and his fleet. This revolt took James by surprise. The Lord of the Isles and his four sons were summoned to Edinburgh, where they were tried, found guilty of treason, and executed on the Burghmuir. Their lands and possessions were forfeited to the Crown.³

¹ Hill Burton.

² Kalendar of Spanish Papers.

³ Gregory's "Highlands and Isles of Scotland."

The majority of the barons at this period were deplorably ignorant, and the King recognising this, prepared a statute on the subject, which was passed at the Scottish Parliament held on 13th June, 1496, viz. :— Throughout the kingdom all barons and freeholders whose fortune permitted it should send their sons to the schools as soon as they were eight or nine years old; to remain there until they had a competent knowledge of Latin; after which they were to place them for three years as pupils in the schools of art and law, so that they might be instructed in the knowledge of the laws, and fitted as sheriffs and ordinary judges, to administer justice throughout the realm. The object of this statute was to secure the appointment of suitable persons to fill the office of sheriff, that the poorer classes might not be compelled from the ignorance of such judges to appeal to a higher tribunal. These efforts were seconded by Elphinstone, the learned bishop of Aberdeen, who now completed the building of King's College in that city, for the foundation of which he had procured the Papal Bull of 1494. Its first principal was Hector Boece.

The first Scottish university was St. Andrews, where public lectures began to be delivered in 1410; that of Glasgow was founded in 1451; Aberdeen in 1494; Edinburgh in 1582.

One of the remarkable episodes in the reign of James IV. was the Perkin Warbeck incident, reminding us in some respect of the Tichborne claimant, the personation in both cases being very cleverly carried out. Warbeck's policy was to personate the murdered Duke of York, dethrone Henry VII., Henry being of the House of Lancaster, and place himself on the throne. It would appear that the Duchess of Burgundy, full of resentment for the fallen fortunes of her family, propagated a report that her nephew, Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, had escaped from the Tower when his elder brother was murdered. She was on the look-out for a suitable young man to personate him (her two nephews were murdered

by Richard III.). There was one Warbeck, a renegade Jew of Tournay, resident in London, who prevailed on Edward IV. to stand godfather to his son, who was named Peter, in Flemish Perkin. Some years after the birth of the child Warbeck returned to Tournay, and the boy grew up and went from place to place, never remaining long anywhere, eventually going to Portugal by order of the Duchess, where he remained a year unknown to anyone. The peculiar lessons necessary to be taught him so as to personate the Duke of York were soon acquired by a youth of his quick apprehension, and the Duchess paid for his education. This was the beginning of Warbeck, who afterwards became such a personality in England and Scotland, and who acted the part of impostor to great perfection. The Duchess kept the ball rolling and paid all expenses. She was a woman of great ingenuity and force of character, possessing a good vein of humour. She was the widow of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and had no children of her own. The scheme was encouraged by Charles VIII. of France. In 1495 Warbeck arrived at the Court of James IV. with credentials from the King of France. James received him cordially because of these credentials and assured him of his protection. James, who at this stage suspected no imposture, disapproved of the policy of Henry VII. for entering into a league against Warbeck. With the Duchess James had established a secret correspondence a short time after his accession to the throne.

In November, 1495, Warbeck, under the title of Prince Richard of England, was received with honours at Stirling Castle. His art, his noble appearance, the grace and unaffected dignity of his manners, and the air of mystery and romance connected with him, put James off his guard and secured his unqualified support and sympathy. James addressed him as "cousin," and publicly recognised his title to the crown. He also gave him in marriage the hand of Catherine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntly, a lady, it is said, of great

beauty, and they were married within a short time thereafter. The lady was a granddaughter of James I. by her mother. Henry VII. was adopting means to overturn this threatened invasion of his realm, and did not seem to be aware of this. Further, the Scottish people had no interest whatever in either the House of Lancaster or York, and therefore were quite against the proposed war. Henry had at his Court the Duke of Ross, James's brother, the Earl of Buchan, Bothwell, and the bishop of Moray. These men concocted a plot for the seizure of Warbeck at night in his tent. The plot failed by the vigilance of James's guard round the pavilion. James eventually declared war and invaded England.

Warbeck thereupon issued a proclamation in the name of himself, Richard, Duke of York, true inheritor of the crown of England, branding Henry as a usurper, accusing him of certain murders, of having pillaged the people by heavy aids and unjust taxes, and pledged his word to remove them, and to maintain the privileges of the nobles, the charters of corporations, with the commerce and manufactures of the country; and concluded by setting a reward of £1,000 on Henry's head. The proclamation fell flat, to the mortification of James. He sent an army into Northumberland, but it was a failure. After this he and Warbeck became lukewarm, and James retreated from England without hazarding a battle, resolving to suspend any further support to the pretensions of Warbeck. Henry again proposed his daughter to James, but James still held off, and in regard to Warbeck refused to listen to Henry's request to deliver him up. James's exchequer was debited with £112 a month for Warbeck's visit. It was eventually arranged that Warbeck should leave Scotland quietly, and a ship was ordered to get ready at Ayr. The vessel was luxuriously equipped by the Scottish King, and on 6th July, 1497, the Duke and Duchess of York sailed from Scotland, never to return. Warbeck next turned up at Bodmin in Cornwall, where 3,000 men

came to his standard, he calling himself Richard IV., King of England. Henry resolved to march against him and put down the insurrection, when Warbeck with, it is said, 7,000 men took up his quarters at Taunton. Henry arrived upon the scene and defeated him, after some severe fighting. His wife fell into Henry's hands, and was treated with great consideration, while Warbeck escaped to the New Forest. He was afterwards captured by the English King and conducted with mock triumph through the streets of London. In 1499 this dramatic incident came to an end, when Warbeck was tried and condemned, and afterwards hanged at Tyburn.

This event was followed by peace between England and Scotland, which lasted seven years, signed at Stirling 12th July, 1499. The cessation of hostilities it was agreed to continue during the lives of the two Kings, and for a year after the death of the survivor. To the great body of the nobility James became uniformly indulgent; the fate of his father having convinced him of the folly of attempting to rule without them. He appears to have paid considerable attention to his navy and commerce. It is said that he conversed with his marines, rewarded the most skilful with presents, visited at the houses of the principal merchants and naval officers, practised with his artillerymen, enjoyed short voyages of experiment, and gradually acquired a practical knowledge of navigation. All this made him very popular with his subjects, while Scotland, during his reign, rose considerably in the scale of knowledge and importance. His activity in the administration of justice, in the suppression of crime, and in the regulation of the police were equally remarkable. Under the feudal government, as it then existed, the obedience paid to the laws and the increase of industry and security of life and property were dependent, in a great measure, on the personal character of the sovereign.¹ James occasionally visited his dominions, travelling

¹ Tytler.

frequently alone at night, in all weathers, and great distances, surprising the judge when he least expected, by his sudden appearance in the tribunal, and striking terror into the hearts of the accused by the certainty of punishment. Possessed of an athletic frame, familiar with all the warlike exercises of the age, the King thought nothing of riding on horseback 100 miles at a stretch ; and it is recorded that on one occasion he rode from Stirling to Elgin, where he rested for a few hours, and then went on to Tain. His impartiality in the administration of justice, and his energy and indefatigable activity in the repression and punishment of crime made the laws respected and obeyed in every part of his dominions, and struck terror into the hearts of those titled robbers who were accustomed to oppress and plunder the poor at their pleasure. His administration was popular, while his affable manners and generous and open-hearted disposition gained the affections of his people ; his love of magnificence and the splendour of his entertainments secured the confidence and attachment of the nobility, who delighted to attend on the person of a sovereign of whom they were proud, and who treated them with courtesy and kindness. The constant round of amusement at Court in which they were occupied extended and strengthened the Royal authority.¹

On the death of Schevez in 1499 the Duke of Ross, James's brother, then only twenty-one years of age, was, on no ground of fitness, appointed Archbishop of St. Andrews. When Ross died in 1503 Alexander Stuart, James's illegitimate son by Marion Boyd, was appointed. He fell at Flodden. Another illegitimate son was made Abbot of Dunfermline ; his Treasurer, Beton, was made Archbishop of Glasgow. In 1507 James was presented by Pope Julius II. with a purple hat and sword with gold scabbard, and named him "Protector of the Christian religion."

In 1502 the King of England was evidently anxious

¹ Taylor's "Scotland."

to get his daughter married, and for the third time, it is said, he offered her to the Scottish King. The reason why James declined this alliance on the two previous occasions was pretty much because he already had a wife to whom he was privately married, the Lady Margaret Drummond, who died in 1502. We have not the date of that marriage, but in James's first Parliament of 1488 an allowance was granted for this lady. This union is said to have been one of affection on both sides. The extreme youth of the English princess (thirteen years), and the tragedy of Lady Margaret's death put an end to the subject for a time. It would appear, however, that James at last consented rather than foster a rebellion against his nobles, who all favoured it. The Spanish monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, as we gather from their letters to their ambassadors, were heartily sorry that they had not another daughter by whom they might secure the King of Scotland. They went so far as to let their ambassador open to James the prospect of a marriage with a daughter of Spain. James, curiously enough, sent an ambassador to Spain about it, but the interesting negotiations have not been preserved.

James, in January, 1502-3, despatched an embassy to King Henry's Court in order to adjust his betrothal with the Princess Margaret, who was thirteen years of age and James thirty. In the Harleian collection of MSS. we have the full report of this interesting ceremony:—In the year 1502-3, on St. Paul's Day, 25th January, in the Royal Manor of Richmond, was the *fiancée* (betrothal) of the Prince and Princess, James, King of Scots, and Margaret, eldest daughter of our Sovereign Lord, Henry VII., King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, consummated in manner as follows:—

First, after long and deliberate communications between both Kings and council, ambassadors and commissioners, the King sent for the principal lords, both spiritual and temporal, who were near to London, to be present. First the King and Queen, with their

noble children, except the Prince, heard High Mass, after which the Lord bishop of Rochester, Richard FitzJames, made a notable sermon. The King and Queen were accompanied by the Duke of York, the King's second son; the Lady Mary, the King's second daughter; the Pope's orator, Don Pedro de Yaule, Ambassador of Spain; the Archbishop of Glasgow, Earl Bothwell, and Earl of Moray, ambassadors from Scotland, etc.; the Archbishops of Canterbury and York; Bishops of Winchester, Chester, Rochester, Norwich; Duke of Buckingham; Earls of Dorset, Arundel, Northumberland, Derby, Surrey, Essex, Ormond; Lords Maltravers, Strange, William of Devonshire, Howard, Dawbenny, Brooke, Abergavenny, Mountjoy, Dacres, etc.; Duchess of Norfolk; Lady Catherine (Queen's sister); the Ladies Dorset, Essex, Lysle, Herbert, Grey of Wilton, Anne Percy, Catherine Gordon, Abergavenny, etc.

And thus accompanied from the chapel to the Queen's great chamber, the Earl of Surrey with very good manner declared the cause of that assembly to the lords present. That being done, Dr Ruthwell, the King's Secretary, read the commission of the ambassadors; a canon of Glasgow, David Cunningham, read the Pope's bulls of dispensation for consanguinity or of any affinity or non-age. The Archbishop of Glasgow asked the King whether his Grace knew any impediment other than there was dispensed withal, and of the Queen in like manner, and of the Princess; all three answered that there was none. The King then demanded of the Scots ambassador in like manner for their Sovereign Lord, then the Earl of Moray, whether it was his will and mind that the Earl of Bothwell should assure the Princess, to which he gave assurance. The Archbishop of Glasgow demanded of the Princess whether she were content, without compulsion, and of her own free will; she answered, if it please my lord my father the King, and the lady my mother the Queen. The King showed her that it was his will and pleasure, and then she had the King and Queen's blessing.



Then the Archbishop of Glasgow read the words of betrothal first to the Earl of Bothwell, afterwards to the Princess.

The marriage did not take place till June, 1503, and the marriage contract drawn by King Henry was in the following terms:—That James shall, at Candlemas next, personally or by proxy, marry the Princess Margaret, who attained the age of twelve years on 30th November last. The Princess shall be conducted into Scotland at the expense of her father, and shall be delivered to her husband at Lamberton Kirk, beginning of September, 1503, not sooner. After July, 1503, she shall receive sasine of all the lands and possessions usually held by the Queen Dowager of Scotland, and if these be insufficient to yield £2,000 sterling per annum, her husband shall assign other lands to make up the deficiency. The Princess shall keep twenty-four English servants, besides her Scotch domestics, and her household shall be maintained in due splendour at the expense of her husband, who shall allow her 500 merks sterling, to be paid in equal sums at the feasts of Easter and Michaelmas, for her private purse. In the event of the death of her husband she may reside in Scotland or not at her pleasure; her jointure shall in either case be punctually paid. The King her father shall pay as her dower 30,000 pieces of gold angel nobles, or the equivalent in English currency, *e.g.*, 10,000, payable at Edinburgh eight days after the marriage; 10,000 at Coldingham on anniversary day, 1504; and 10,000 before the end of 1505 (angel noble was 6s. 8d.). If the Princess die without issue before the complete payment, the balance shall not be demanded, but if there be issue, the whole shall be paid.

In conformity with this agreement King Henry, in June, 1503, accompanied the Princess Margaret from Richmond Palace as far as the borders of Northamptonshire, on her journey to Scotland, and there delivered her to the Earl of Surrey, who with a magnificent escort continued the journey. In their progress they were

met by the Archbishop of York, the bishop of Durham, the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Dacre, and other peers, who accompanied them to Lamberton Kirk. Mounted on a beautiful white palfrey, and attended by a magnificent retinue, the Princess travelled north by easy stages. All the bells were rung in the towns and villages through which she passed, and the country people came in great numbers to see her; the clergy, gentry, and civil authorities hastened to welcome her at the various stages of the journey. The first night in Scotland was spent at Fast Castle, which was then the property of Lord Home; the second night she slept in the Nunnery of Haddington, and the third day she arrived at Dalkeith, where she had her first interview with the King. James was dressed simply in a velvet jacket, with his hawking lure flung over his shoulder; his hair and beard curled naturally, and were rather long. The Princess met him at the door of the great chamber; he uncovered his head and made a deep obeisance to her, while she made a lowly reverence to him. He then took her hand and kissed her, and saluted all her ladies by kissing them. He remained bareheaded during the time they conversed. Supper was then set, and the King and the Princess washed their hands, then sat down together at table. After supper there was music and dancing, after which the King returned to Edinburgh.¹ From Dalkeith the Princess went to Newbattle. When James met her there he wore a jacket of black velvet bordered with crimson velvet and white fur. When he escorted her to Edinburgh he appeared in a jacket of cloth of gold, bordered with purple velvet and black fur, doublet of violet satin, scarlet hose, the collar of his shirt studded with precious stones and pearls, his spurs gilt and long. On arriving at the suburbs the Princess descended from her litter and, mounted on a pillion beside the King, on a richly caparisoned bay horse, rode through the streets of Edinburgh to Holyrood, amid the acclamations of

¹ "Somerset Herald."

the people. The marriage was performed by the Archbishop of St. Andrews in the Abbey of Holyrood, when there was a brilliant company of nobles, after which tournaments, feasting, masques, morrice dances and dramatic entertainments lasted several days. The King at the marriage was dressed in a gown of white damask, figured with gold and lined with sarsnet, a jacket of crimson satin bordered with black velvet, under which was a doublet of cloth of gold, and his shirt embroidered with gold thread. James, skilled in all the martial exercises of the time, appeared in the lists as the savage knight, attended by a troop of followers dressed in the skins of goats and other animals, performed such feats of valour that his superiority was universally admitted. The festivities which accompanied the Royal marriage, manifested a refinement and splendour hitherto unknown in Scotland, chiefly due, it is said, to the courtesy and accomplishments of James himself. From this marriage proceeded the union of the crowns of England and Scotland, in the person of James VI., great-grandson of James IV. The alliance was followed by a perpetual peace between England and Scotland, which lasted a long time thereafter, and was ratified by the Pope.

The dignity of Lord of the Isles had been abolished. Archibald, Earl of Argyll was appointed King's Lieutenant, and was commissioned to let on lease for three years the lordship of the Isles. Argyll proceeded summarily to expel the proprietors and vassals from the lands which were ultimately appropriated by himself by consent of the King. The chiefs rose in arms, formed a powerful confederacy, and invested the adjoining provinces. Badenoch was plundered and wasted with fire and sword, as also was Inverness. Argyll and other nobles were ordered to march against the rebels. Parliament met at Edinburgh on 11th March, 1503. A new and more comprehensive division of sheriffdoms was adopted (embracing the north) and judges attached to each district; sessions were to be held at Inverness,

Dingwall and Tarbert. A Justice Ayre was appointed at Perth for the districts of Duart, Glenduart and Lorn; and sessions at Ayr for Bute, Arran and Kintyre.

In the year 1505 James IV. went on a pilgrimage to Tain, and on his way he lodged at the Abbot of Lindores country house at Fintray. An organ was carried to Tain and back for celebrating divine worship. Alms were bestowed upon the poor, and payments were made to the maidens of Forres who danced before the King.¹ James was evidently very fond of music. On 5th May, 1497, "the broken bakket fitular of Sanctandris" was paid 9s. The rude but patriotic rhymes of Blind Harry, the minstrel, were frequently rewarded by the King; and in 1489 the King commanded the large sum of x., li. "to be paid to Wilyeam, Sangster of Lithgow, for a sang-buke."²

On 10th February, 1506, the Princess gave birth to a Prince at Holyrood, which event created great rejoicings. The child, baptized in the chapel of Holyrood on 23rd February, died in infancy. On the death of the infant Prince, the Queen was in a critical state of health, and for her special benefit the King took a pilgrimage on foot to the shrine of St. Ninians at Whithorn. He was attended by four Italian minstrels, who were so exhausted by the journey on foot that they had to be provided with horses for their return. The Queen travelled on a litter, and seventeen pack horses were loaded with her baggage. Her chapel plate and furniture were carried in two coffers, while three horses were required to carry the King's wardrobe. The visit lasted twenty days.³

James IV. made offerings at the Lady's Kirk of Kyle, and gave £5 for five trentals (a service of thirty masses one each day), for his own soul. In Glasgow he made offerings, and also paid for masses in the Lady's Chapel, Dumfries, in the Cross Church of

¹ Records of the Priory of May.

² Dr. Laing.

³ "History of Galloway," vol. i.

Peebles, in St. James's Chapel, Stirling, and in the Chapel of St. Mary at Perth. According to some writers James IV. was born in Tain on 17th March, 1472, and St. Duthac's Church, Tain, was his favourite place of pilgrimage. He made many visits there, and always made offerings of from 10s. to 18s., and a gratuity to the man who bore St. Duthac's Bell.¹

Of all the Stuart sovereigns, probably none were so systematic in their pilgrimages to the holy shrines as James IV. These journeys were chiefly made to the shrine of St. Ninian at Whithorn, and to that of St. Duthac at Tain. We are indebted to Sir James Balfour Paul for a remarkably interesting narrative, which in 1905 appeared in one of our learned publications.² In this narrative we are informed that probably the earliest notice we have of a Royal pilgrimage to Whithorn is in 1491, when James IV., then about twenty years of age, went there. He started in November.

Two messengers were sent before him to have things in readiness, and to provide lodgings by the way. He bought a crane for 5s. on his journey, and travelled by way of Ayr, being ferried across the water at St. John's Kirk. He was in Whithorn by Saturday, 12th November, which, as he had not started till after the 5th, was a fairly expeditious journey. While there he bestowed 18s. in drink-silver to the masons, which indicates that there was some building going on at the great church. Returning by way of Glenluce and Ayr, he bestowed a similar gratuity on the masons who were building the bridge at the latter place, and another gift was bestowed on the workmen at Paisley, where Abbot Schaw was carrying forward the erection of the Abbey Church. The next year again found James at Whithorn, but this time he went by way of Durrisdeer, where he was on the 29th of August, reaching Whithorn 2nd September. We have a scanty record of a visit paid to the same shrine in July, 1496, and another the

¹ Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer.

² Transactions, Ecclesiological Society.

following year, when the King travelled by way of the Cold Chapel in Upper Clydesdale, and crossing the hills into Galloway descended upon Durrisdeer, probably through the Delvine Pass. Here he spent the night, 14s. being given to the "wife" of the inn where he lodged, and 5s. to a fiddler who played to him. He reached Whithorn by way of Dalry and Wigtown, and returned by Ayr, Kilmarnock and Glasgow to Stirling. The expenses of this journey throw an interesting light on the times. The masses and offerings at the shrine itself cost £10 14s., while £9 was expended on masses in other churches by the way. £1 5s. 9d. was spent in alms to the sick and poor; guides on the way cost 11s. 2d.

The last incident that occurred between James and Henry VII. was the seizure of the Earl of Arran and his brother, Sir Patrick Hamilton, who had passed through England to the French Court without Henry's knowledge, and were now on their return. On their landing at Kent they were met by an officer of Henry; on their refusal to take an oath which bound them to the observation of peace with England, they were put in custody. Henry sent an envoy to James to explain the matter, but James declared that his subjects had only fulfilled their duty in refusing the oath. James declined a personal interview until these men were liberated. Sir Patrick was liberated, but Arran was detained till the close of the year. Henry VII. died on 22nd April, 1509, and was succeeded by his son, Henry VIII., brother-in-law of James IV.

The death of the English King was evidently not regretted by his son-in-law. The event enabled James to devote his time to the welfare of his kingdom. He repaired and embellished his various residential castles throughout Scotland, and enforced a more general respect for the laws; gave every encouragement for the extension of trade and commerce; visited his leading merchants and naval officers, and encouraged them to extend their voyages and to arm their merchant ships; and he

assisted them to undertake more important enterprises than they could have ventured to do on their own capital. He gave great attention to the navy which, under him, became powerful. The general effect of his vigorous government was a visible improvement in the state of the whole kingdom. He superintended the construction of several large vessels, the command of one being given to Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, who was a great naval authority of that period. Under him, the commerce of the country was protected against the attacks of pirates who infested the seas. Some of Wood's vessels, under his deputy, Andrew Barton, were cruising in the Downs and were attacked by the English under Lord Thomas Howard notwithstanding a treaty of peace. Barton was killed and his marines defeated and the vessels captured by the English. James was indignant at this insult offered to his flag, and he sent a message to his brother-in-law, Henry VIII., demanding satisfaction, but to this Henry paid no attention.

In a letter of James to Pope Julius II., dated 5th December, 1511, he said if Henry went on as he had been doing slaying and imprisoning Scottish subjects, war could be the only issue.¹ James sincerely desired peace, and with the object of effecting a reconciliation between Julius II. and the French King, he despatched Forman, Bishop of Moray, to use his influence on the part of both.

We now approach the initiation of the quarrels between Henry and James which led up to the battle of Flodden. It is here that the legacy to Queen Margaret of Scotland comes in—a valuable legacy of “silver-work, gold-work, rings, chains, precious stones, and other valuables,” bequeathed, it is said, either by her father, or her brother, Prince Arthur, but never delivered. This produced strained relations between Henry and James. Troubles of a serious character now began to occupy the attention of James. He had hitherto been

¹ Ruddiman.

on friendly terms with France, and the relations between the two countries were of the most cordial nature. It would appear, however, that Henry VIII, was resolved to have this connection broken up, and in 1512 he sent an embassy to James to renew the peace with England; to prevent the sailing of the fleet to the assistance of the French, and to offer on behalf of Henry his oath for the observance of amity between England and Scotland. De la Motte, the French ambassador, was in Scotland at the time, and by his efforts the English mission was thwarted.¹ James, instead of listening to Henry, renewed the league with France, making it stronger than ever. The Pope, it would appear, became at this date alarmed by the progress of the French arms in Italy, and with the King of Spain succeeded in forming a coalition against France, to which the Emperor Maximilian, the Venetians, and the Swiss Republics acceded. The Pope and Ferdinand of Spain tried to persuade Henry to join the league and undertake the invasion of French territories. Henry appears to have fallen in with the idea, and sent 10,000 men under the Marquis of Dorset to co-operate with the Spanish forces in invading France, and he offered to go himself at the head of the expedition. Before doing so, however, he desired to communicate with James so as to secure peace in his absence. About the same time envoys arrived from Scotland, from the Pope, and the King of Spain to persuade James to join in the league against France. On the other hand, the French King, aware of the dangers which surrounded him entered into negotiations with James and tried to induce him to declare war against England. It must be said for James that at this serious crisis he did his utmost to secure peace, but he was unsuccessful. To the Spanish ambassador he said he wished to establish the

¹La Motte brought four ships with provisions, 14,000 gold crowns of the sun, one from Anne of Brittany, sending a ring and appealing to James to aid the French kingdom in the hour of need.

peace of Christendom. He sent a commission to the Duke of Albany, his uncle, requesting him to act as mediator between the Pope and the French King, while the bishop of Moray proceeded to France for the same purpose, but the mission failed. James then made preparations for war, and in the midst of these troubles the Queen was delivered of a prince on 10th April, 1512, at Linlithgow Palace, afterwards James V. Lord Dacre and Dr. West arrived at Edinburgh as ambassadors from Henry to endeavour to conclude peace between the two kingdoms. James received them with deference and courtesy, but their efforts were counteracted by the intrigues of the French ambassador, De la Motte, and the ancient league with France was renewed, the Scottish Court becoming bound to make no treaty with England without the consent of France. Such a clause greatly complicated the situation, and the relations between James and Henry became warlike. Raids on the borders began and were freely taken part in by both parties. Thirteen English vessels were captured at sea by Robert Barton, a Scotsman, and De la Motte attacked others, sunk three, and carried seven in triumph to Leith.

Early in 1513 Lord Drummond was sent as ambassador to England to try and conclude terms of peace with Henry. He offered a complete remission of all injuries inflicted by English subjects on the Scots if Henry would abandon the conspiracy against France. The proposal was promptly rejected. Henry again sent another embassy (Dr. West) to Scotland, but it found James engrossed in warlike preparations. He told West that peace with France was the only condition on which an amicable correspondence could be obtained between the kingdoms. The Queen complained of the conduct of her brother in withholding her legacy, which West informed her he was authorised to pay, if her husband would agree to keep the peace; but James refused to entertain the proposal. Queen Margaret wrote her brother:—

Your ambassador, Dr. West, delivered your letter, in which you express much regret for our sickness. We are greatly rejoiced at this, and return you our hearty thanks. Your letter was a great comfort; we cannot believe that of your own mind, or by your command, we are so friendly dealt with in our father's legacy, of which we would not have spoken had not the Doctor referred to it. Our husband knows it is withheld for his sake, and he will recompense us so far as the Doctor shows him. We are ashamed therewith, and would to God never a word had been heard of it. It is not worth the importance you give it; we lack nothing; our husband is ever the longer the better to us as knows God, who, our dearest brother, have you in His keeping. MARGARET R.

Given under our signet at Linlithgow Palace, 11th April, 1513.

It is stated on the authority of Pitscottie that after the return of Dr. West to England a formal demand was made for the jewels bequeathed to Queen Margaret. Henry, it is said by the same authority, assured his sister that he would give her the double thereof on condition that James would keep his oath and bond that he made lately with consent of Parliament: "I desire that he will sit at home in his own chair, and let me and the King of France betwixt us seek the right of my own pension which is withheld wrongously; and if he does me no good, that he do me no ill; and show to him that it will neither be gold, silver, lands, nor riches that shall stand between us. If he will faithfully keep his promise to me I shall, with consent of my nobles, make him Duke of York and Governor of England to my home-coming; for heirs of England must come either of him or me, and I have none as yet, lawfully, but I hear that Margaret, my sister, hath a pretty boy likely to grow a man of estimation. I pray God to help him, and keep him from his enemies, and give me grace to see him in honour

when he comes of age, that I may entertain him according to my honour and duty." Peace negotiations having failed all along the line, Henry thereafter invaded France with a powerful army. He crossed over to Calais on 30th June, 1513, to open in person the war against France. James on hearing this ordered a muster of his forces by sea and land.

It was about this time that Pope Leo X. issued an excommunication against James, after which, it is said, the English declared war against France and Scotland.

We now enter on the last chapter of James's career. His relations with Henry VIII. indicated a mutual want of confidence. He sent a herald to France with a despatch to Henry pointing out the injuries and insults he had received from him, the refusal of a safe conduct for his ambassador, the withholding from his sister, the Queen of Scotland, the jewels and legacy left her by her father ; that Heron, a murderer of a Scottish baron, was protected in England ; that Scottish subjects in time of peace had been carried in fetters across the borders ; that Andrew Barton had been slaughtered, and his ships unjustly captured, whilst the King of England not only refused all redress, but showed the contempt with which he treated the demand by declaring war against James's relative, the Duke of Gueldres, and now invaded the dominions of his friend and ally, the King of France. He required Henry to desist from farther hostilities against the French King, failing which, he would assist France against Henry by force of arms, and compel him to abandon this unjust war. On receipt of this despatch, which was a declaration of war, Henry, it is recorded, fell into a rage. A reply was thereafter written to this communication by Henry, but as the herald was detained on his return to Flanders, and did not reach Scotland until after Flodden, it was never delivered to the King. The letter, however, has been preserved.

It reproached him with the violation of his oath in breaking the peace which he had solemnly sworn to

observe, and with dishonourable behaviour in taking advantage of the absence of the English King from his own dominions, which it was evident he had waited for, as in none of his letters preceding that event had he ever mentioned his intention of taking part with France. Remembering, he says, the brittleness of his promise, and suspecting his unsteadfastness, he had taken precautions for the defence of his kingdom, which he trusted would be sufficient for its protection. He holds out a threat that the conduct of the Scottish King should be punished by the exclusion of himself and his descendants from the succession to the English crown, on which he alleges James had fixed his eye. Finally, he rejects with scorn the summons of James requiring him to desist from the invasion of France, and declares he does not consider him a competent authority to make such demand. This letter is interesting, as manifesting the relations that existed between Henry and James immediately before the unfortunate battle of Flodden; otherwise it possesses no special interest.

On the day that James despatched his messenger to France, the fleet which he had built and equipped sailed to the assistance of the French King. It consisted of 23 sail, of which 13 were men-of-war, and it had on board 3,000 soldiers commanded by the Earl of Arran, a nobleman who was utterly unable for the management of the task. The fleet never reached France. Arran's conduct is beyond all hope of explanation. He is reported as having taken his ships to Carrickfergus, burned that town, then sailed to Ayr, and afterwards his fleet and whole expedition broke up in despair. He was superseded by Angus, who took command of the troops, while Sir Andrew Wood was appointed to the command of the fleet; but the future of this incident is involved in obscurity.¹

Immediately before Flodden James was in Linlithgow Church making his devotions, when there appeared before him a man in a blue gown, nothing on his head

¹ Pitscottie, vol. i.

but his side hair, his forehead bald and bare. He carried a pikestaff. He said to the King: "My mother has sent me to thee, desiring thee not to go to where thou are purposing; if thee do this thee shall not fare well, nor any that are with thee. She bids thee converse with no woman, nor use their counsel; if thou do that, thee wilt be confounded and brought to shame." With these words the man vanished before the King could make answer. This mysterious-looking personage, says Tytler, who appeared in the Royal chapel and vanished like a whiff of the whirlwind, was a more substantial spectre than was at that time generally believed. The tradition bears that he eluded the grasp of those who attempted to seize him by gliding behind a curtain which concealed a private stair leading towards the upper part of the church, and that on leaving this building he crossed the court and entered the palace by a small door under the chapel window. James, who was uninfluenced by this occurrence, proceeded to Edinburgh to meet his troops on the Burghmuir, when it is said there were no less than 50,000 prepared to accompany him.

It would appear that an invasion of England was now contemplated by James, and without waiting for his messenger's return from France, he despatched Lord Home at the head of 3,000 men to cross the borders and ravage the country. The Earl of Surrey, Henry's Lieutenant, encountered Home, who was returning to Edinburgh laden with booty, and defeated him near Wooler, when 500 men were slain, and Sir George Home, the commander's brother, and 400 men taken prisoners. James was roused to indignation at this defeat, and determined to lead an army into England commanded by himself, so as to wipe out this insult to the national honour. This was a foolish resolution, as it turned out, and was totally against the advice of his counsellors, but with his usual impetuosity, he was determined to have his way. In opposition to the advice of his council, he ordered the lieges to assemble on the

Burghmuir of Edinburgh within twenty days, with provisions for double that time. The Queen remonstrated with him on the foolishness of him and her brother fighting against each other, and besought him not to conduct the army in person, but to think of his infant son and his people; but all in vain. James crossed the border on 22nd August, 1513, with this huge army, said to have been 50,000, probably the best-equipped that had ever been brought into the field by any of his predecessors. Seizing the Castle of Norham after six days siege, he proceeded up the Tweed to Werk Castle, of which he made himself master, as also that of Ford, a few miles distant, which was stormed and razed, Lady Heron, the chatelaine, a beautiful and artful woman, wife of Sir William Heron, who was a prisoner in Scotland, became James's captive, and he is said to have resigned himself to her influence, which she employed to retard his military operations, and give time to the English to assemble. The Earl of Surrey, who commanded the English troops, raised a force of 26,000, and on reaching Alnwick was met by his son, Lord Thomas Howard, with a force of 5,000. Surrey sent James a message offering him battle on the following Friday, and Howard added a message that "he would lead the vanguard where his enemies, from whom he expected as little mercy as he meant to grant them, would be sure to find him." James replied that "he desired nothing more earnestly than the encounter, and would abide the battle on the day appointed." He denied that he had committed any breach of honour. King Henry, he said, was the first to break it. "We have desired redress, and have been denied it. We have warned him of our intended hostility, a courtesy which he has refused us, and this is our just quarrel, which, with the grace of God, we shall defend." These messages passed on 4th September. It would appear that many of James's soldiers, from want of provisions and the excessive rains, and the obstinacy of the King in wasting hours on pleasure that might have been spent

in actual warfare, created much dissatisfaction among the troops, many of whom deserted. This love of pleasure was his fatal weakness. One writer, Tytler, says, while he loved his Queen, yet he was unable to renounce that indiscriminate admiration of beauty and devotion to pleasure which, in defiance of public decency and moral restraint, sought its gratification equally amongst the highest and lowest ranks of society. His thoughtless prodigality to every species of jester, dancer, and the lowest retainers about the Court, with his devotion to gambling, drained his exchequer and drove him to expedients which his better reason regretted. All this was accompanied by so much kindness, and warm and generous feelings, that the people forgave him.

James changed his encampment for a stronger position on the hill of Flodden in the Cheviots, a ground skilfully chosen, inaccessible on both flanks, and defended in front by the River Till, a stream flowing between the two armies. Surrey recognising the strong position of the Scots, proceeded along some rugged ground on the east side of the river to Barmoor Wood, two miles distant from the Scots, where he encamped for the night, unseen by his opponents. This stratagem has been characterised as shameful negligence on the part of the Scottish commanders. In the morning, Surrey crossed the river not far from the confluence of the Till and Tweed. James's senior officers remonstrated with him for not attacking the enemy as they were crossing the river, and so destroy them in detail, while the Earl of Angus implored him either to attack at once or change the position ere it was too late. To which the King replied: "Angus, if you are afraid, you may go home." A reply which Angus resented, and told James his age and experience might have protected him from such an insult from his sovereign. Borthwick, master of the artillery, on his knees begged James to permit him to bring his guns to bear upon the English as they were crossing the bridge, which could be done

with destructive effect. James refused, declaring that he would meet the enemy on equal terms in the open field, and scorned to avail himself of any advantage. Lord Lindsay of the Byres then remonstrated with him for not fighting when he had such a favourable opportunity of defeating the enemy, at which James lost his temper and threatened on his return to hang Lindsay up at his own gate. And so the golden opportunity was lost. The English having safely crossed the water, lost no time in attacking the Scots in the rear when James was compelled to move, and he ordered his huts and booths to be set fire to. The Scots were ranged in five divisions. The Earls of Home and Huntly led the vanguard; the King the centre; Lennox and Argyll the rear; Crawford and Montrose fronted the English Admiral, with Bothwell at the head of the Lothian contingent, the reserve. The van of the English was led by Lord Howard; the right by his brother, Sir Edmund Howard; the left by Sir Maramaduke Constable, while Surrey was in the centre. Sir Edward Stanley commanded the rear, while a body of horse under Lord Dacre formed the reserve. The battle of Flodden commenced at four o'clock p.m. by a charge of Huntly and Home on the division under Sir Edmund Howard, which was totally defeated. Dacre came to the rescue, and he and Lord Howard attacked the division under the Earls of Crawford and Montrose, who withstood the charge. A desperate fight was at this stage carried on between James and the Earl of Surrey in the centre. So furious a charge was made by the Scots on the English centre that its ranks were broken. By this time, Dacre and the Admiral who had been successful in defeating Crawford and Montrose, turned their full strength on the Scots centre, which wavered until Bothwell came up with his reserve and restored order. The Highlanders, and Lennox and Argyll, were unable to reach the enemy with their broadswords and axes, which were their only weapons. They went furiously forward,

but the squares of the enemy's pikemen withstood them, and the Highlanders got out of order. The result was a total route of the right wing of the Scots, accompanied by great slaughter, Lennox and Argyll being both slain. Notwithstanding this, the centre division under the King still maintained an obstinate fight with Surrey. The determined personal valour of James, imprudent as it was, had the effect of rousing to a pitch of desperate courage the rank and file, and the ground becoming soft and slippery with blood, they pulled off their boots and secured a firmer footing by fighting in their hose. No quarter was given on either side, and the combatants disputed every inch of the ground, until Stanley came up and impetuously charged the rear of the Scottish centre. This movement was decisive. James continued by his voice and gesture to animate his troops, and the contest was still uncertain, when he fell pierced with an arrow, and mortally wounded in the head with a bill. The Scottish nobles threw themselves into a circle round the body, and defended it till darkness put an end to the struggle. When the morning dawned the Scottish artillery were standing deserted on the side of the hill, the defenders having disappeared. James had with him a fine park of artillery with some guns of unprecedented calibre, but they were too heavy to be worked by the engineering skill of the day leaving the English bow as the deadliest weapon. The officer in charge of the artillery was killed at the beginning of the battle. The Scots were led by a champion bent on feats of personal prowess rather than by a general. The King was in front fighting with his own hands. This was probably the most overwhelming disaster that ever befel the Scottish nation, as is clearly indicated when we look at the number of the slain, which included 5,000 to 10,000 of the rank and file. The English General ordered solemn thanks to be given for the victory and then created forty knights on the field. Around the dead body of the King were found thirteen Earls and fifteen

Lords. These included the Earls of Crawford, Montrose, Huntly, Argyll, Lennox, Errol, Atholl, Cassillis, Morton, Bothwell, Caithness, Rothes, Glencairn ; Lords Seton, Elphinstone, Erskine, Forbes, Ross, Lovat, Sinclair, Maxwell, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of the Isles, the Abbots of Inchaffray and Kilwinning, Lord Sempill, Borthwick, Yester, St. John, Herries, Innermeath, the Master of Angus, William, Lord Ruthven, Maule of Panmure, Somerville of Cam'nethan, Murray of Tullibardine, Maitland of Lethington, Haldane of Gleneagles, Mackenzie of Kintail, Douglas of Loch Leven, Home of Wedderburn, Livingstone of Easter Wemyss, and the Provost of Edinburgh. There were few families of note who were not thrown into mourning. Many generations passed away before it could be said that the nation had recovered from the disastrous effects of Flodden.

“Tradition, legend, tune and song
 Shall many an age that wail prolong ;
 Still from the sire the son shall hear
 Of the stern strife and carnage drear,
 Of Flodden's fatal field,
 Where shiver'd was fair Scotland's spear,
 And broken was her shield !”

—*Marmion.*

The body of the King was found next morning amongst the thickest of the slain, much disfigured by wounds. It was carried to Berwick and embalmed, but what became of it afterwards is difficult to understand. Tytler says it was interred at Richmond. A more recent historian¹ says it was taken to the monastery of Shein near Richmond, Surrey, where it remained for some time unburied, because James had been excommunicated by the Pope for opposition to the Holy League ; that the Pope relented so far as to allow the body to be buried ; although Stowe, an English historian, saw, as he says, writing during the reign of

¹ Percy Thornton.

Edward VI., "the same body so lapped in lead, close to the head and body, thrown into a waste-room amongst the old timber, lead and other rubble." Doubtless the confusion which accompanied the dissolution of Shein is accountable for this neglect, and for the decapitation of the body by one Young, glazier to Queen Elizabeth, after which he removed the head to London, and buried it in the Church of St. Michael, Wood Street. The report of another well-informed historian¹ differs from this. He says: "In searching the battlefield next morning the English came across a dead body which resembled James (believed to be James), and was arrayed in a similar habit; they put it in a leaden coffin and sent it to London; for some time it was kept unburied, because James died under sentence of excommunication on account of his confederacy with France and his opposition to the Holy See, but on Henry's application, absolution was given and the body was interred. The Scots, however, asserted that it was not James's body, but that of Elphinstone, who had been arrayed in arms resembling the King, in order to divide the attention of the English, and share the danger with his master. It was even said that James had been seen crossing the Tweed after the battle, and that he had been slain by Lord Hume's vassals. The Scots, according to some writers, disbelieved for a time the report that the King was dead, and were of opinion that he would still appear amongst them, because, as they said, several of his nobles had worn an outfit similar to his. No more, however, was heard of the unfortunate King. Another writer² says the day following the battle of Flodden, the body of the King was found extremely mangled; many of his wounds were mortal, his neck was opened to the middle, and his left hand in two places was nearly separated from his arm; the body was easily known by some private marks. It was conveyed by the English to Berwick, embalmed, then enclosed in lead, and secretly

¹ Hume.

² Noble's "Genealogy."

taken to Newcastle. King Henry was then in France. He immediately applied to Rome for leave to inter the Royal body, for as James died under a sentence of excommunication the funeral rites could not otherwise be performed. Pope Leo X. returned an answer that as he was credibly informed that James had shown "some signs of repentance for the crime that had caused his being excommunicated, he empowered Richard, bishop of London, to make the proper inquiries, and if true, to comply with Henry's desire, provided that that monarch undertook "to perform some penance on behalf of the deceased King of Scotland." From Newcastle the body was brought to London and presented to Queen Catherine at Richmond, where she then resided. The necessary formalities having been complied with, it was interred in the adjoining monastery of Sheen. When that house was afterwards dissolved, the King's body was disinterred, and in the reign of Edward VI., Henry's son, thrown into a spare room with old timber, lead and stone, where some of the workmen wantonly cut off the head, which was taken by a glazier to Queen Elizabeth. This man, it is said, had kept it for some time at his house in Wood Street, London, but at last gave it to the sexton of St. Anne's Church, who forthwith buried it among the promiscuous bones in the charnel-house. The disastrous battle of Flodden, fought 9th September, 1513, which was a great calamity on the Scottish nation, may be said to have been almost entirely due to the rash and imprudent conduct of James IV. It was altogether unnecessary, seeing the difference between him and Henry VIII. could have been adjusted without war, but no proper attempt was ever made to effect an amicable settlement. And again, when James arrived at Flodden, he ought to have taken the advice of his officers, and promptly attacked the enemy when a choice opportunity offered itself as they were crossing the river. That was an opportunity which never occurred again, and there can be no doubt that

his obstinacy, when the matter was plainly put before him, was the primary cause of his defeat. It has been said that James was more solicitous for the display of his individual bravery, than anxious for the defeat of the enemy, a gallant but fatal weakness which cannot sufficiently be condemned. His attitude at this battle justifies the remark. Had he survived the battle, he would in all probability have been impeached for murder, in respect of the excessive loss of life caused by his individual mismanagement. He appears to have directed, without advice, the entire engagement, and having a strong will of his own, must be the reason why his nobles, against their better judgment, submitted to his directions, even though these were inconsistent with military tactics. In this they were seriously wrong, and they unfortunately paid the penalty with their lives. Is it surprising that there should have been difficulty in identifying the King's body on the battle-field amongst the bodies of the nobles piled one above another, wearing, it is said, precisely the same uniform? And is it surprising that the Scottish people, knowing this, declined to believe that the King was dead? They believed he had escaped, and would be heard of again. And what is to be said of the interment of the body? The opinions of historians differ on the point, and the versions we have given must be received with caution. A singular thing is the entire absence of the Queen at this stage. No effort whatever is recorded as having been made by her to recover the body of her husband, nor has any explanation been put forward in her defence. She was at this date only twenty-four years of age. We have no alternative but to conclude that the place of interment of James IV. has not at this date been determined.

The character of James may be gathered from the outline of his career which we have given. His reign had an unfortunate beginning. The rebellion of the nobles, who were dissatisfied with his father's administration, and which was ultimately championed by him, led

to the battle of Sauchie, and to his father's dethronement and murder. For that he cannot be excused, and though he was penitent afterwards it was too late. The twenty-five years of his reign show that he was both an arrogant and violent man, very impulsive, and with elastic principles where pleasure and the fair sex were concerned. He was headstrong, impetuous, and impatient of contradiction. Notwithstanding this, he was in some respects a very proper ruler for the turbulent times in which he lived. His strong will compelled obedience, and there was not a nobleman in the realm but bowed to his rule. There remained no portion of his dominions where a wrong-doer could feel sure that his sovereign might not appear, and in person demand an account of the talents committed to him.¹ The consequence was that property had never before been so secure. Although his determined character, aided by the stock of ready money saved by his father (if he got it), enabled him to present a formidable front to his foes. It has never been contended that he had any claim to be called a capable general. His zeal for the due administration of justice, for the prosperity of commerce, for the construction of naval power, and increasing the means of national defence, are all prominent features of his reign, while he was passionately fond of music. While his conduct at Flodden was rash and inexcusable, and has left a dark cloud on his character, it must be admitted that the normal administration of his kingdom during the twenty-five years of his reign does him much credit. The sword, dagger, and turquoise ring of James passed, after Flodden, to the Duke of Norfolk, and afterwards were presented to the College of Heralds, London.

It is said that James, in his personal appearance, was very prepossessing, of middle stature, and strongly yet elegantly formed; his face was handsome, and he seldom cut his hair or his beard.² His remorse for his share in his father's death showed itself in various ways.

¹ Percy Thornton.

² Requires confirmation.

By way of penance, he constantly wore about his waist a chain of iron, to which he added a few links every year; and in the midst of his pleasure the cloud would suddenly descend upon him, and he would bury himself in some religious house, or take a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Duthac at Tain, or St. Ninian at Whithorn. In reviewing the reign of James it is to be noticed that the Parliament which met at Edinburgh in March, 1503, enacted that henceforth there should be a "daily council" chosen by the King, which should sit permanently in Edinburgh. Till it was superseded by the Court of Session in 1532, this Council was the Supreme Court of Justice in Scotland. Without a doubt, there was a vast improvement in the administration of justice in the reign of James IV. Not the least important event in this reign was the introduction of printing into Scotland in 1507. James realised its importance, and on 4th April, 1508, gave a monopoly to Walter Chapman and Andrew Millar to prosecute the enterprise and develop the art.

James, who was privately married to Margaret, daughter of Lord Drummond, had issue by her one child, Margaret, married to the Master of Huntly, by whom she had two sons, George, Earl of Huntly, Alexander of Inchaffray, afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow, Bishop of the Isles, and Bishop of Galloway; married secondly Sir John Drummond of Innerpefferay; by whom she had four daughters, married respectively to the Earl of Eglinton, Campbell of Loudoun, Lord Elphinstone, and James Chisholm of Cromlix. James was married secondly to the Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., by whom he had issue James, Arthur, and Alexander, Duke of Rothesay, also two daughters, both of whom died in infancy; James, afterwards James V., was born 1512.

James IV. had natural children as follows:—By Mary, daughter of Archibald Boyd of Bonshaw, afterwards married to John Mure of Rowallan—Alexander, afterwards Commendator of Dunfermline, and Chancellor of

Scotland, killed at Flodden ; Catherine, married to James, Earl of Morton, by whom she had three daughters, married respectively to the Duke of Hamilton, James Douglas, Earl of Morton, and Lord Maxwell. By Jean Kennedy, daughter of the Earl of Cassillis, afterwards Countess of Angus—one daughter, married to the Master of Buchan ; James, created Earl of Moray by John, Duke of Albany, in 1515. By Isobel Stewart, daughter of James, Earl of Buchan—Jean, married to Malcolm, Lord Fleming, Lord Chamberlain, by whom she had three children, James, Lord Fleming, who died without issue ; John, Lord Fleming, the devoted friend of Queen Mary, and father of one of the Queen's Maries ; and five daughters married respectively, the first to the Master of Livingstone, the second (three times married, to the Earls of Montrose, Erskine and Atholl ; the third to Maitland of Lethington ; fourth, to Lord Crichton of Sanquhar ; fifth (twice married), to Sandilands of Cawdor, and Crawford of Kerse.

Note.—Marriage of James IV.—Another writer gives a more elaborate description. It was, he says, the greatest event of the period (1503). The Princess rested three days at Durham and was the guest of Bishop Fox. At Newcastle-on-Tyne she rested two days with the Duke of Northumberland. At Lamberton Kirk she was handed over to the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Earl of Morton. Her Scottish escort amounted to 2,000 horse. She was conveyed in her litter to one of the pavilions which had been erected for the occasion and had refreshments. There the Duke took his leave of her and returned home. Next night she stayed at Fast Castle, while her retinue rested at the Abbey of Coldingham. The following night she stayed with the nuns at Haddington, after which she reached Dalkeith Palace. There the King visited her daily till 8th August, when they were married in Holyrood. The day after the marriage the Countess of Surrey and Lady Grey, her daughter, “clipped the King's beard” which, it was said, had never before been cut and was greatly overgrown.

CHAPTER X.

Birth and Coronation of James V.—Queen Margaret marries the Earl of Angus—Arrival of Albany from France—Imprisonment and Restoration of Lord Drummond—The Edinburgh Scene ; the Queen defies the Nobles—The Queen surrenders Stirling and the King—King Henry's request to dismiss Albany refused—Letter of Queen Margaret to Lord Dacre—Violent skirmish of the Arran and Angus factions in Edinburgh—Queen Margaret's second letter to Lord Dacre—The English Troops burn Jedburgh—The King assumes the Administration—Text of the Agreement between King and Lords—Angus before the Lords—Quarrel with his Wife—Sentence of divorce pronounced.

REIGN OF JAMES V.

A.D. 1513—1542.

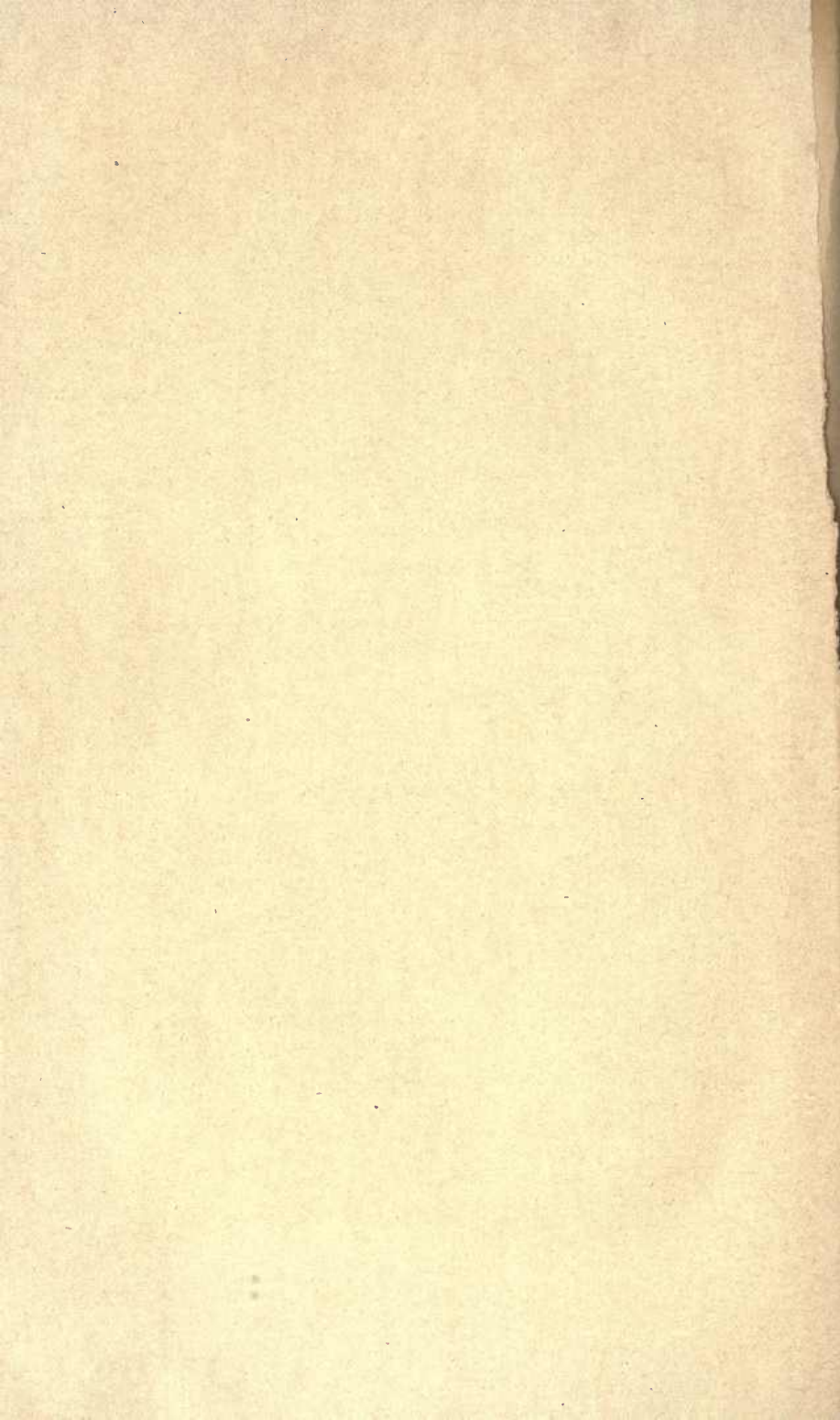
THE battle of Flodden was as great a blow to Scotland as Bannockburn was to England, or Waterloo to France. It was the greatest disaster which befel Scotland during the reign of the Stuarts. It subjected the kingdom again to a regency, which meant anarchy, while it must be said that but for the rashness and vanity of James IV. Flodden might have had different results. It is recorded by some writers that James made a will before going to Flodden, in which he named Queen Margaret as regent in the event of his death. The Queen being only twenty-four years of age, the Scottish Parliament considered her too young to be sole regent, while there was the additional objection of her brother's adverse influence. It does not, however, appear that she was more than guardian of the young King, her son, and partner in a temporary regency along with Beaton, Angus, Arran and Huntly. It was a crucial time for all concerned



JAMES V.
King of Scotland.

*(From the Duke of Devonshire's Collection at Chatsworth.
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To face p. 322.



for however excellent these men might have been, not one of them was master of the situation as the late King was. James was a personality who could rule a lawless people and compel obedience, but these men had not that qualification. The people, however, were subdued and humiliated by Flodden, and a long period of peace and quietness in the realm was the result. The reign of James V. was practically a reign of peace, though his minority was a stirring period full of lively incidents in connection with the Queen-mother, Angus and the Duke of Albany.

Edinburgh bore its full share of the disaster in the loss of its provost and magistrates, who all fell on that unfortunate battlefield. As soon as the news of the defeat arrived in the capital, the citizens having charge in the absence of the magistrates issued this proclamation: Whereas there is a great rumour arisen touching our sovereign Lord and his army, of the which we understand there is as yet no certainty, we strictly charge and command all persons within the burgh to have ready their fencible gear and weapons of war, and to be ready to assemble at the tolling of the common bell for the defence of the town against those who would invade the same. We also charge and require that all women of the lower class, and specially vagabonds, do repair to their work, and be not seen upon the street clamouring and crying, under pain of banishment from the city; and that the women of the better sort

Note.—In 1515 Wolsey was created Bishop of London and Archbishop of York. The following year he was made a Cardinal and appointed Lord Chancellor of England. He had a princely income, and aspired to be Pope. When Henry divorced Queen Catherine in order to marry Anne Boleyn, Wolsey evidently disapproved of Henry's conduct, and was half-hearted in writing to the Pope to obtain his consent. Henry when he learned this became greatly incensed, stripped Wolsey of all his honours, and dismissed him from the Court. He was afterwards restored to the Archbishopric, was arrested on a charge of high treason, but on the journey was struck down with dysentery and died in a monastery at Leicester in 1530.—(Hill Burton.)

do repair to the kirk, and offer up their prayers at the stated hours for our sovereign Lord and his army, and for our neighbours who are with the King's host; and that they keep to their private occupations in their houses, and abstain from appearing in the street. When this proclamation was issued, the death of the King was not actually known; but when the tidings reached Edinburgh the excitement was so great that it was some weeks before any attempt was made to convene a Parliament.

A Convention Parliament, or General Council, was appointed to be held at Perth on 15th October, 1513, but on account of the slaughter of the nobility it was attended principally by the clergy. Unfortunately no details of it have been preserved. This would arise from the extreme excitement which must have been prevailing at the moment. It was this meeting that authorised the coronation of the infant King, a child of eighteen months old, which event took place at Scone immediately after, his residence being appointed at Stirling Castle. The Queen-mother was made custodier of the King, with four advisers, Beaton, Arran, Huntly and Angus. Sir David Lindsay had been appointed Gentleman Usher to the Royal infant on the day of his birth, and a most capable man he was for so responsible a position. Some years afterwards he reminded the King of his devotion to him when he was a child.¹

John, Duke Albany, nephew of James III., and

¹ How as ane chapman bears his pack,
I bore thy Grace upon my back,
And sometimes striding on my neck,
Dancing with money, bent and beck.
The first syllabis that thou didst mute,
Was *Pa Da Lyn* upon the lute; ²
Then played I twenty springs perqueir,³
Whilk was great pleasure for to hear.
Fra play thou let me never rest,
But Gynkertoun thou loved aye best. ⁴

² Play, *Davie Lindsay*.

³ Twenty times off hand, by heart.

⁴ An old Scottish tune.

nearest heir to the throne, was, by the Parliament of 26th November, 1513, nominated to the regency and invited to come over from France and enter on duty at once. Albany had spent most of his life in luxury in France, had married a French lady, and his sympathies were all French. Henry VIII. did everything in his power to influence his sister, Queen Margaret, and the French King against Albany, and on account of these negotiations Albany did not arrive in Scotland until 1515. On 30th April, 1514, the Queen, we are informed, gave birth to a posthumous child, who was named Alexander, Duke of Ross. Four months thereafter she married the young Earl of Angus, who was in his twentieth year, whose father fell at Flodden. This marriage, which turned out unhappily, is said to have been celebrated in the ancient kirk of Kinnoull by John Drummond, Dean of Dunblane, on 6th August, 1514. Bishop Elphinstone, Aberdeen, who had been accepted as the successor to the vacant See of St. Andrews, died in October of this year. The Queen appointed her youthful husband Treasurer of the kingdom, which office the late King had entrusted to her charge before he went to Flodden. This unhappy alliance split up the kingdom into two factions, the one headed by Angus and the Queen, the other by the nobility. The Duke of Albany, with his cousin, the Earl of Arran, and a brilliant escort of French nobles and a squadron of eight ships, cast anchor at Dumbarton on the 18th May, 1515, not at Ayr, as has been stated by some historians. Peace had been arranged between England and France. He had long been anxiously expected, and he was received with acclamations of joy. A meeting of Parliament was held on 12th July following, when he was installed into office, invested with the sword and sceptre of State, and proclaimed Regent until the young King should attain the age of eighteen years. Albany appears to have been a highly capable man, and one of his first steps was to restrict the influence in Scotland of Henry VIII., an influence

supported by the Earl of Angus, and in every way objectionable. It is recorded that Lord Drummond, grandfather of Angus, and Constable of Stirling Castle, was, by order of this Parliament, imprisoned at Blackness, and his estates forfeited, for putting violent hands on the Lyon King-at-Arms in the Queen's presence, and Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, uncle to Angus, was shut up in the Sea Tower of St. Andrews for having illegally procured his nomination to that See by the influence of Henry with the Pope.

It was the intention of the Queen to have presented Elphinstone to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews, but on account of his death she nominated her husband's uncle, Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld. The Humes, a very powerful family at that period, had also a nominee (Hepburn), and took up arms in his defence. The Douglas faction, supported by the Queen, seized the Archbishop's palace, but were attacked by the Humes, who seized the fortress. Eventually the matter was compromised. Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray was appointed to the See, and Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrews, to the Priory of Coldingham. The Queen remonstrated with Albany about this, but he would not listen to her. The Parliament of 15th November, 1516, reinstated Lord Drummond. The custody of the young King and his brother was Albany's next consideration. He gave instructions to remove the children, and appealed to Parliament to confirm his order, which in due course was done, and four of the nobles appointed to deliver the judgment to the Queen. The attempt to remove the children created a scene. The nobles, with a great crowd of citizens, appeared before Stirling Castle to carry out the Regent's instructions. When the gates were thrown open, the Queen was standing at the entrance with the young King at her side, and a maid behind holding the other child in her arms. In a loud voice she requested the nobles to come forward and declare their errand. They replied that they came in the name of Parliament to

receive from her their sovereign and his brother. They had no sooner said so than she ordered the warder to shut the portcullis. The iron barrier having instantly descended between her and the astonished nobles, she said, in a stentorian voice: "This castle is part of my enfeoffment, and of it I was made governor by my late husband, the King; nor to any mortal shall I yield the important trust. But I respect Parliament and the nation, and request six days to consider the mandate, for most important is my charge, and my counsellors, alas! are few." The nobles thereupon retired to acquaint the Regent. Angus was present at this meeting, standing beside the Queen. After this scene the Queen proposed to the Regent that if they were taken from her, Angus, Home, and the Earl Marischal should take the custody of them.¹ The Regent resented this proposal, and went to Stirling accompanied by a regiment of soldiers and demanded the surrender of the castle. The Queen, seeing that resistance was hopeless, delivered up the children and the keys of the castle, hoping she and her husband would be favourably treated. Angus was evidently with her, and no doubt championed this movement. The Regent assured her that he had nothing but feelings of loyalty to herself and children, but he regarded her husband as a rebel, and would promise nothing for him. The children were then given to the Earl Marischal, and Lords Fleming, Borthwick, and Errol. Seven hundred soldiers were left as a guard in Stirling Castle, and the Queen returned to Edinburgh.

The Queen, becoming dissatisfied with her residence in Edinburgh Castle, advised Lord Dacre, the English commander, that being constrained by Albany to write letters contrary to her sentiments, and being kept in a kind of captivity; while her friends were in prison, and her revenues retained so that she suffered extreme poverty, she was determined to escape from such persecution. She desired to go to Blackadder Castle

¹ Caligula MSS.

on the borders, five miles from Berwick. Soon after she with her husband went there, where she remained a month before she went into England. Albany becoming sensible of Angus's imprudent conduct to the Queen, offered certain terms to her to return, but she refused.¹

From Blackadder she crossed the border and took up her residence at Harbottle Castle, Northumberland, the property of Angus. The Regent again wrote her to return to Scotland, offering her a suitable income and the custody of the children if she would solemnly promise not to remove them out of the kingdom. This she refused. Shortly after this she gave birth to a daughter, Margaret Douglas, afterwards Lady Margaret Lennox, mother of Darnley, and an important personality in Scottish history. The troubles of the Regent grew apace. Alexander, Lord Home, we are informed, was by the Regent charged to answer for some treasonable actions, and not appearing, was denounced a rebel, and his movables seized and brought to the Exchequer. In return for this, Home plundered Dunbar and committed various depredations on the borders. Resenting this conduct, the Regent, with 1,000 soldiers, went to the spot, when Home surrendered, was brought to Edinburgh Castle, and given to Arran, his brother-in-law. (James Hamilton, first Earl of Arran, was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander, second Lord Home.) Home persuaded Arran to conspire against the Regent and put himself in his place; he (Arran) being nearest heir to the crown, it was reasonable that he should be secured in the kingdom rather than John, Duke of Albany, who, though descended of a brother, the brother was a banished man. Arran refused to have anything to do with this advice. It is said that Home took his keeper off to the borders, but nothing further was heard of the matter. Home was the only one of the nobles of consequence who escaped from Flodden, and he became popular and

¹ Pinkerton.

powerful in the realm for several years and had held the office of Lord Chamberlain. A peace was in 1516 concluded between England and Scotland, by which the Earl of Angus and Lord Home, and the rest of the Queen's faction, were indemnified.

Notwithstanding this conciliatory act the Regent was informed of new designs against his life, and strange as it may seem, Home and his brother William were summoned to Edinburgh as conspirators against the Regent, where they were tried, found guilty, and executed on 11th October, 1516, and their heads fixed on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. Angus and his party took down their heads, and interred the remains in the Dominican burying-ground and ordered masses to be said for their souls. About the close of this year the infant brother of the King died, supposed to have been poisoned at Stirling Castle, and it is further recorded that the Earl of Angus and the young Lord Home were restored to their estates in Scotland by the forbearance of the Regent. Information was received by the Regent that the Queen had gone from Harbottle Castle to London, where she joined the English Court, and on the first opportunity denounced Albany and Angus with reproaches, and implored Henry to interfere and preserve her rights. Henry thereupon wrote the Estates of Scotland to dismiss Albany from the regency and the care of the King's person. The Scottish Parliament, in reply to this arrogant message, reminded him that Albany was Governor by their deliberate choice; had fulfilled his duties with much talent and integrity, and they would not permit him to be disturbed or to leave the country; they would resist with their lives any such attempt. This vigorous representation did not, and could not, please Henry, but the matter for the moment dropped. The Regent, who was anxious to visit his estates in France, and probably to get away for a little from a highly disagreeable situation, got the consent of Parliament for a four months' holiday, and on 7th June, 1517, sailed from Dumbarton for France, a regency

being appointed *pro tempore*, consisting of Huntly, Argyll, Angus and Arran; and Beaton and Forman prelates; the young King to be put under the Earl Marischal, and Borthwick and Ruthven, in Edinburgh Castle. The Queen, when she knew that Albany had gone to France, resolved, with the consent of Parliament, to visit Scotland, and at once set out on her journey. At Lamberton Kirk, near the border, where fourteen years before she was handed over to the Scottish Commissioners to be the wife of James IV., she was met by Angus, Morton, and the French ambassador. Though her affections were estranged from Angus, she concealed her resentment, and endeavoured to procure him the regency, but without success. Albany had offered it to herself, but she refused. On her arrival at Edinburgh she was not permitted to see the King on account of the plague. He was, however, removed to Craigmillar, where she was allowed to see him occasionally. In Albany's absence the realm was in a highly unsettled state. Albany, who was much fonder of France than Scotland, did not return to his duties at the time specified, and his prolonged absence compelled the Estates to send Lord Fleming to bring him home. He was to say to Albany: "If my Lord Governor is not in Scotland by Midsummer, the Estates will declare him unable to succeed to the crown of Scotland, and will debar him therefrom. They will take his office of Governor from him, and will break with France, make peace with England, and join Henry against France. Lord Fleming to let the Court of France know this, and to show that the evil to come from the loss of Scotland would surpass any advantage arising from the detention of Albany."¹ In 1517 a new treaty with France and Scotland stipulated that neither country was to make a separate peace with England; to every treaty they must be partners. When either country was at war with England, the other was to attack England. For Scotland the method of attack was a

¹ Hill Burton.

simple invasion. France, in case of war, was first to attack the Continental possessions of England, and when this was exhausted an invading army was to be sent over.

On England attacking Scotland, France was to send 100,000 sous du soleil, 500 mounted spearmen, as many footmen, and 200 commoners, to be in the Scottish service and pay. When France was invaded Scotland to send her 6,000 men-at-arms.¹

Albany negotiated this treaty at Rouen, and one of its conditions was that the King of Scots should marry a daughter of Francis I.

A long and interesting letter of a political nature was at this date sent by Queen Margaret to Lord Dacre under date 20th September, 1517:—

I have received your letter from Michael Nicol and Cuthbert Armstrong, and understand it fully. Ye marvel, my Lord, of my writing George Home and the Prior of Coldingham. I was desired to write to you, and I did but ask your counsel what was best to do, for they could have done me no good, and I believed you would have helped them. As touching the peace which was concluded at my coming into Scotland, between the King, my brother, and the King, my son, until St. Andrew's day next coming, I know it well, but I trusted that it stood, as I was well treated in Scotland. I think the Duke and the realm should not have peace with the King, my brother, if I be not well treated; it will not be to his honour, considering I am his sister; he made the breach between the Duke and the Lords and me. I have written you at length, how I have been used since my coming; and when you write of further communications about the peace by the desire of the French King, the King, my brother, and the Lord Cardinal both promised me that there should not be any peace between England and Scotland until I knew it first: that I might get the thanks of the Lords and

¹ Hill Burton.

the realm rather than the Duke ; that was my special reason. And now Carter is coming to Edinburgh, and says that the peace is continued for two years between the King, my brother, and my son. Of this I pray you that I may know the truth, for all the comfort I have is in the King, my brother, and in his assistance. As touching my Lord of Angus (her husband), that ye would not that he took a light way with the Laird of Wedderburn unless there was some great Lord to take his part, so that he and they would take in hand to govern the realm, and to have the keeping of the King, my son : It is but a short time since this was done. My lord and I have not spoken but with few friends as yet, wherefore I can say nothing until I know further of their mind. As for my lord, he shall take no part but to make good rule in the country, both he and his friends, so that they give him authority. It must be a great man that must do it. I think there should be no one above Angus, considering I have married him. I know well the King, my brother, would make no way with the Duke, by me, and their own friends being sure of it, we would be the greater authority. But they have so great dread that they should take our plain part ; then the Duke should be suffered to come again into Scotland. Thus they wist not where to take refuge. If the King, my brother, disapproves of his coming, the French King durst not send him. All the help is in the beginning, wherefore I pray you to help me with the King ; and I shall do my part here to get friends, praying you to give me your mind further, that I may act thereafter on your advice. As for my writing to the King, my brother, I have no leisure as yet to do so, but I shall write you when I have an account from you, begging you to send a messenger of your own that I may send my letter with. MARGARET R.

AT NEWARK,
ST. MATTHEW'S E'EN, 1517.

In June, 1518, Queen Margaret sold or pawned her

jewels and plate for the benefit of her husband, whose personal extravagance had become notorious. In spite of this, and his wife not having got him the regency, he was unfaithful to her, and a child was born to him by Lord Traquair's daughter, with whom he had disappeared clandestinely to his estates in Douglasdale. This child, Jane Douglas, became afterwards the wife of Patrick, Lord Ruthven, the enemy of Queen Mary, one of the murderers of Darnley, and she was mother of the first Earl of Gowrie.

In 1519 the struggle for superiority between Arran and Douglas continued. Arran was Provost of Edinburgh, as well as a Vice-Regent of the kingdom. This year his term of office expired and he was refused re-election. Through the influence of Angus and the Douglasses the gates of the city were shut against him. Angus's headquarters were in Glasgow, those of Arran in Edinburgh. In December ambassadors came from England and France to arrange to include Scotland in a treaty of peace between these countries. The ambassadors were received in Edinburgh by Angus, but Arran refused to appear. The convention was then appointed to meet at Stirling. Arran and his supporters appeared there, but Angus did not appear. The truce, however, was accepted on the authority of a section of the National Council.

It was at this period—1520—that the partisans of Angus, trusting to his protection, openly defied the laws and committed outrages on the lives and property of all who ventured to oppose them. Home of Wedderburn, who had married the sister of Angus, assassinated Blackadder, the prior of Coldingham, with six of his family, and William Douglas, the brother of Angus, instantly seized the property. A fierce contest arose between Arran and Angus, in which every kind of lawless violence was committed, and the streets of Edinburgh were stained with blood; scenes of violence and bloodshed were of almost daily occurrence. On 30th April, 1520, the Arran and Angus factions fought



out their quarrel on the High Street of Edinburgh, when Sir Patrick Hamilton, brother of Arran, and seventy persons were slain by the Douglasses. Archbishop Beaton took refuge in the church of the Blackfriars monastery, where the mob pursued him, but the bishop of Dunkeld, Gavin Douglas, interposed and saved his life. These lawless acts it seemed impossible to suppress so long as the Regent was absent.

On 15th July, 1521, the Queen, desirous for Albany's return from France, as she was not getting on with the Scottish nobles, and was being deprived of her income, wrote the French King inviting Albany's return. Lord Dacre became aware of this, and wrote her for an explanation. Albany, it was said, had some intention of marrying the Queen, and was hastening the divorce between her and Angus. The proof for this is, however, insufficient. She told Lord Dacre that she wrote the French King at the request of the peers, but she accused Henry, and Wolsey, his chancellor, as the authors of her necessity to adopt this plan, as her revenues since her return had been diminished, and she had in vain applied to her brother Henry for a remedy. This policy was quite in order, and could not be taken exception to. It was the duty of the Regent to guide the affairs of the realm, and when such lawless practices were going on his place of domicile was Holyrood. The Queen's communication had evidently achieved its object, for Albany, shortly after the receipt of it, returned in November, 1521, after five years' absence; his return was a great event. The nobility crowded to Holyrood to welcome his arrival, and he immediately after entered the capital officially, accompanied by Queen Margaret and the Chancellor. He then proceeded to the castle, where he had an interview with the young King, when the keys were put into his hands. The Queen heartily welcomed Albany, and the two were for a time inseparable. The Regent had appointed one of his French companions, De la Bastie, to the Wardenship of the Marches an appointment that was very unpopular

among the borderers, who disliked De la Bastie as being a foreigner. They resolved to entrap him, and Lord Home and some others pretended to besiege the town of Langton. La Bastie, hearing of this, hastened to the spot, and before he was aware, found himself surrounded by enemies. He attempted to save himself by the fleetness of his horse, but he rode into a morass, where he was overtaken and killed. Sir George Douglas and Ker of Fernihirst were committed to prison on suspicion of being concerned in this matter, but it was allowed to drop. The conduct of Henry, the English King, was always adverse to Scotland, and throughout the year 1521 the relations between England and France became strained.

The return of Albany effected an immediate revolution. Supported by Queen Margaret, Archbishop Beaton (successor to Forman, who died this year) and Huntly, his movements occupied the attention of the English King. The Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh, whom Douglas had set up, were expelled from office, and Angus fled to the borders. Gavin Douglas was despatched by his clan to the English Court to persuade Henry to come to their assistance, but Henry's hands were too full of his own affairs. Douglas presented a memorial against Albany, in which he charged him with being the murderer of the young Duke of Rothesay, son of James IV.

In 1522 Henry published an order of confiscations and banishments against French and Scotch subjects in England, wishing that the Scots would be driven from his dominions on foot, with a white cross affixed to their upper garments.¹ Angus appears to have been sent to France in February, 1522.

Under date 11th March, 1522, the Queen again wrote Lord Dacre a letter on the political situation, with special reference to Angus and herself, that manifests no mean ability in Her Majesty as a letter-writer:—

¹ Tytler.

I have received your letter, and seen the articles and understand them at length. They are right sharp, and specially at the conclusion. I have expressed my mind at length to your representative because it was too long to write. As to my sending to the King, my brother, concerning my matter before the conclusion of peace between him and this realm: that my matter may be seen to, and that I may be answered and obeyed, I shall send a servant of mine to declare the truth how I have been used since my last coming into Scotland. The last peace concluded was without me, and did me little good. This realm will set little by me if they get the peace without me or my request. It is more for the King's honour to do it for my sake, and at my request, seeing I am the King's mother. At the desire of the King, my brother, Friar Henry Jedward came to me and said many kind words to me by my brother's order, also that there should be no peace concluded without my consent. As to Angus, if he had desired my company or my love, he would have shown himself more kindly than he has done. For now of late when I come to Edinburgh to him he takes my houses without my consent, and withholds my money from me: that is not the way to secure my good-will. I have taken great displeasure at Scotland and its troubles. I received no help from the King, my brother, and no love from Angus, and he to take my money at his pleasure, and disperse it, is what, my lord, you would not think reasonable. You will remember that at my coming to Edinburgh I wrote you how the lords treated Angus, and unless I had got help from the King, my brother, I might not have been out of port, for on the one side was the western lords and Angus; the other lords were right sharp upon him.

I desired to know what help I might depend on, and ye wrote me briefly that the King, my brother, might assist me; but it must be the deed that will help me. As to the other point, that I bear a good feeling to the Duke of Albany, and that he gives me but fair words

to put the blame off him, but I am not answered regarding my money.

As for other points concerning the Duke, let him answer for himself; regarding the Earldom of March he has not troubled me. My Lord Dacre, you should not give so light credence to evil tales about me as ye do, till ye know the truth, supposing ye bear great favour to Angus, as I see ye do; howbeit I have seen it far otherwise. I must resolve to please this realm, seeing I have my living here, and few friends, but through my own good example. Wherefore they shall have no cause to withhold my living from me, and I think the King should help me the better. When you say that I come out of Edinburgh in the night, that is not so, for all the lords knew of my coming away, and I saw nothing to be gained by staying longer. When you say I am ruled by the council, that will do me neither good nor honour, my lord, I never did dishonour to myself nor those I am come off. Methinks you should not believe that of me, both for the King, my brother's sake, and the King, my father, whose soul God pardon. And I have made you better cause than Angus has done, or any of his. But I know well the bishop of Dunkeld's counsel, who was with you lately, and which has caused you to write so sharply. As to Sir James Hamilton, I might not let him escort me, but he conveyed me out. It was other lords who brought me to Linlithgow, as is known. My lord, you write sharply to me in saying that I do dishonour to myself in keeping away from Angus, and that I follow them that would cause my destruction; and that I may not look for any favour from my brother, for it is thought that I am abused under colour of fair promises, which should bring me to the displeasure of God and my own dishonour. My lord, these are sore words, and unkind. If this be the King, my brother's mind, that evil and false persons shall make such reports of me, and so easily give credence to the same, it is right heavy upon me. It is strange that Angus should make the King, my brother,

displeased at me without reason. Wherefore it is no wonder if others are unkind, considering that I married Angus against all Scotland's will, and did him the honour that I did, whereby I lost the keeping of my son, my residence at Stirling, my regency of the realm, which I had by right, that might not have been taken from me ; and all this for his sake. And now he shows himself as unkindly to me as possible, which all the realm knows ; holding my income from me as far as he can, and above all, speaking openly in dishonour of me, which is no token of truth, as I have done nothing to displease or dishonour him, as is well known. My lord, there is not a good way that would cause me to return to Angus ; since I took him at my own pleasure, I will not be forced to take him now. I must do the best I can to get my friends, since my brother, whom I trusted most, may be put by me without fault, which I shall never make to him, as I shall write him at length by a servant of mine. My lord, I would have expected that you would ever have helped me with my brother rather than hindered me. You must hold me excused that I write so plainly, for you have written sharply to me. No more at this time, but God keep you.—Your friend,

MARGARET R.

AT STIRLING,
11TH MARCH, 1522.

The reasons which compelled the Queen to separate from Angus have been variously stated by historians. This letter, however, puts the matter in an unambiguous and intelligible light.

The English King, in pursuance of his unfriendly attitude to the Scots, resolved to invade Scotland. With that view the Earl of Shrewsbury, at the head of the English troops, penetrated as far as Kelso, laying waste the country, but was repulsed by the borderers ; while an English fleet appeared in the Forth, but met with no opposition. The Regent assembled a Parliament in July, 1522, when it was resolved that war should

be declared against England in respect of this hostile policy. The Regent raised an army estimated at 50,000 strong and advanced towards the borders. It is said that neither of the belligerents was sincere in this matter. Henry would appear to have considerably toned down and did not seem anxious for war, merely stipulating that the young King should be placed in the hands of faithful guardians. The Scottish forces in September proceeded to Carlisle, and finding that the English troops were in France with the King, the leaders refused to proceed further. Dacre, the English commander, knew from the Queen the aversion of the Scottish leaders to the war and the pacific desires of the Regent, and opened a correspondence with him, when it was agreed to suspend hostilities for a month for the purpose of sending ambassadors to England. The Regent disbanded the army and the troops returned home, and the young King was removed to Stirling. After this incident Henry refused to include France in the treaty for peace, while the Queen is said to have sowed dissension and betrayed the secrets of Albany in as far as she knew them. Albany felt the difficulties gathering round him and on 28th October he resolved to go to France and have a conference with the French King. Henry meanwhile appointed the Earl of Surrey, Lieutenant-General against the Scots.

In April, 1523, Surrey laid waste Teviotdale and the Merse. In June Dacre invested Kelso and laid waste the neighbourhood. There was another expedition under Surrey, and in Albany's absence he advanced to Jedburgh with 5,000 men and almost burned it to the ground, destroying its ancient and beautiful abbey. Kelso and other villages were sacked and depopulated in the same manner. Surrey was harassed at every step by the Scots, and his retirement from Jedburgh was a stampede with a loss of 800. Albany at once returned to Scotland when he knew what was going on, and brought, it is said, 4,000 troops with him with the

view of strengthening his position and giving battle to the English King.

He mustered an army on the Burghmuir of Edinburgh and advanced to the borders with the Scots and French forces. On arriving at the bridge of Melrose, discontent was prevailing among the Scots. They refused to proceed further, or to go beyond the boundary. Albany was greatly incensed at this conduct, and with his French troops proceeded on his march and laid seige to Werk Castle in Northumberland, but the scheme failed because, it is said, his French soldiers were also out of sympathy with him. He disbanded his troops and returned to Edinburgh and called a Parliament (15th February, 1524) in order to consider the situation. Whatever may have been the reason, it is recorded that considerable feeling was manifested against him, presumably because of the presence of French troops. The nobles accused him of squandering the public money, although the greater part of it he had brought from France, and it found its way in the shape of pensions into their own coffers.¹ They insisted on the dismissal of the French troops because of the cost of keeping them, and notwithstanding the inclement season of the year compelled them to depart—an injudicious proceeding, which led to the wreck of the transports and the loss of a great part of the crews. Albany felt that every effort must fail to induce such men to adopt the only line of conduct which was likely to make the Government respected and free the country from the dictatorship of England. He resolved, therefore, once more to retire to France, and requested three months leave of absence. His request, after some opposition, was granted, and on 9th May, 1524, he sailed for France, whence he never returned. The custody of the King in his absence was entrusted to Lords Cassillis, Fleming, Borthwick and Erskine, his tutor being Sir David Lindsay. At this Parliament (May 1524) it was ordained that there be chosen by the

¹ Tytler.

Three Estates lords and gentlemen to watch daily and nightly with the King to prevent his capture, the Queen to be principal keeper; she to resort and remain with him at his pleasure and not to remove therefrom. The King was to be removed from place to place within the realm only by the advice of the Queen and the said lords.

This important step was confirmed by an agreement between the Queen and the lords, under date 30th July, 1524, a document that in all the circumstances was essential in the interest of both the King and the nation. In addition to that of the Queen there were forty-three signatures, thirteen being bishops and abbots. We give the text of this agreement :—

We, lords underwritten, understanding the departing and coming of our sovereign from Stirling to Edinburgh is for his good and welfare and the common weal of the realm, which we grant, ratify and affirm. And therefore by these presents, faith and truth in our bodies, oblige us that we shall in all time coming be leal, true and obedient servants to our sovereign Lord, and shall take his defence and substantial part against all others with our friends and substance at our utmost power, in all his actions and causes; and specially in using his authority by himself and others in his name; and that notwithstanding any promises of bonds made by us or any of us to John, Duke of Albany, or any others. Which all and sundry, bonds and promises, and in special made to the said Duke by these presents for certain reasonable considerations we revoke, cease and annul for ever; and presently we revoke, cease and annul all power, authority, and governance of the said Duke of Albany; so that notwithstanding the same our sovereign Lord may use his own authority, and have free administration in all time coming. And we, in our sovereign Lord's next Parliament, shall with solemnities required, revoke, cease and annul the power, governance and

authority of the said Duke of Albany, and in the best form approve, make and ratify all the premises; and shall now conform to the premises to be extended in the best and largest form append our proper seals at the subscriptions of our hands. And to the observing and fulfilling of the premises in every point thereof, we oblige ourselves and each one of us; and under the pain, with spiritual men of tinsale of our benefices; and temporal men of our heritages, and under the pain of perjury and perpetual defamation. (Here follow signatures.)

Having decoyed the Chancellor Beton to Edinburgh, he shut him up in the Castle till the state of his health made his release a necessity. Within two months after the departure of Albany, Arran entered into an arrangement with the Queen, which effected a revolution in the country. The present situation was hopeful for Arran; Albany was gone, and Angus was in France. Arran came next to Albany in nearness to the throne, and he resolved to throw in his lot with England.

The Queen requested Henry not to permit Angus to return to Scotland. Henry was so gratified with his nephew's accession to power that he resolved to send two representatives to Scotland to aid the young King with their advice. The Queen-mother evidently disapproved of this. The matter is fully explained in the following letter of Wolsey, the English Chancellor, to the Duke of Norfolk:—

Inasmuch as the King, by your letter and reports, understandeth that there be divers things wherein admonition is to be given to the Queen of Scots as well for her own honour and safety as for the welfare of the King, and the good of his affairs in avoiding danger. The King as well for that cause as to entertain the young King of Scots, is determined to send to him with all convenient speed, to reside in his Court Thomas

Magnus and Roger Ratcliffe, who being suitable persons for this purpose, the one to give good and wholesome advice in plain and secret manner to the Queen ; the other pleasantly to handle himself with the King, and both to help in the furtherance of all such things as will insure the establishment of perfect intelligence between both Princes, and in advising the King from time to time of the truth and certainty of the proceedings and doings there ; and by their policy will stay many things which might be averse to the King's good intentions.

These envoys reached Edinburgh on 30th October, 1524, but the Scots ambassadors had not yet gone to England, nor would they go until they received the authority of Parliament. Henry's envoys presented the young King with a robe of cloth of gold and a sword, the gift of Henry. The young King said : " You may see how well my good uncle doth remember me with many things, and yet I was never able to do him any service."

In 1524 great efforts were made by King Henry, and Wolsey, his Chancellor, to get Angus, who was exiled at the English Court, to return to Scotland and to be reconciled to his wife, the Queen-mother. Angus was willing and anxious to return, but Queen Margaret was strongly opposed to it. There was a curious document signed on 4th October, 1524, by Angus and Sir George Douglas, entitled " Articles devised, concluded and agreed to, between Wolsey, the Chancellor, and the Earl of Angus" ; and we give an extract:—

Where there is a quarrel between the Queen and Angus, Angus shall by all ways and means, by letter and by solicitations of friends, study to retain and recover the love and favour of the Queen by a gentle and lowly manner towards her, with a request that she might remit anything wherein he had offended her, so that he might be reconciled to her favour ; and they to

remain and live in perfect love and charity, to the pleasure of God, their own honour, and the will of the realm ; otherwise it will be dishonourable and dangerous to both.

Angus promises by these presents not to come into the King's Court, or into the presence of the Queen till she gave him licence to do so. He to remain in his own country, and on his own lands, without attempting anything by force that would be to the disturbance of the Queen, or any authority, rule or government, which she hath or shall have with the King, her son ; nor shall intromit or meddle with any lands, goods or substance of hers ; nor shall make any bond against the Queen or against her authority. And he shall at all times obey the order and directions of the Kings of England and France.

The Queen, writing on 6th October to the Duke of Norfolk, says : " As to my part, and the King's desires to be more regarded than mine, I will not labour more for the pleasure of the King, my brother, but look out the best course I can for myself. If it be the King's pleasure to send the Earl of Angus, he cannot make me favour him nor allow him to be in my company ; and therefore, in so far, his so doing is greatly to my dishonour and displeasure, which I have not deserved."

No agreement even drawn out by so great a man as Wolsey would persuade the Queen to be again united to Angus. The conduct of Angus was inexcusable. The Queen had diagnosed his character correctly, and the following extracts of letters¹ show that her judgment was final to have no more to do with him :—

Magnus to Wolsey, 19th November, 1524 :—The Queen cannot be moved by any means to admit to her favour the Earl of Angus, but continues in her displeasure towards him, notwithstanding his manifold efforts to obtain her good graces.

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv.

Angus, writing to Wolsey, 28th November:—I have made my requests to the Queen as your grace commanded me, in a lawful manner: she will not hear of a reconciliation, but seeks all the ways she can for my destruction.

Again, in the Parliament of 14th November, 1524, the Queen's custody of the King was still further confirmed. This Parliament ordained that the Queen shall have the keeping and guidance of the King with wise and virtuous men, who may instruct him in "virtue, bounty and good manners." These men and officers of the household to be chosen by the Queen and Lords of Council. After the departure of Albany the Queen felt that as the King was now thirteen years of age the time was come for placing him on the throne and taking his share in the administration of the kingdom. She left Stirling Castle with her son and a small escort, and proceeded to Edinburgh, where she was received with acclamation. A council was held at Holyrood, when the King was declared to be of age, and proclamations were at once issued in his name. He then formally assumed the government, the nobles taking the oath of allegiance, many of them revoking engagements made with Albany, and declaring his regency at an end. The bishops of St. Andrews and Aberdeen opposed this as ridiculous, the King being only a boy of thirteen years. For this they were put in prison. The Queen and her brother Henry were evidently leading this movement. A guard of honour of 200 men-at-arms was sent by Henry for the security of the King's person, while he sent the Queen 200 merks and Arran £100.¹

The Queen, having discarded Angus, had by this time fallen in love with Henry Stewart, second son of Lord Avondale. This alliance was highly disapproved, and several of the nobles separated from the Queen and left the capital in disgust. The question then arose, Who was to be custodier of the King, who had now arrived at

¹ Tytler.



his eleventh year? On 23rd November Angus, Lennox, and Scott of Buccleuch scaled the city wall, attacked Holyrood, and opened the gates to their followers. They then proceeded to the Cross and proclaimed themselves loyal subjects of the King, declaring that the King was in the hands of evil-disposed persons who were compassing their ruin. They required, therefore, to take the custody of the King and administer the government. The castle, which was in the hands of the Queen's party, opened fire on Angus and his followers.

The Queen, who fired on them from the castle, was collecting some troops to expel them from the capital, when the bishop of Aberdeen, the abbot of Cambuskenneth, and Dr. Magnus, the English ambassador, hurriedly arrived and entreated the Queen to stop the cannonade from the castle, which was doing more injury to the citizens than to the intruders. She imperiously ordered Magnus to go home to his lodging, suspecting he was the cause of the outrage: and for a little there appeared no hope of preventing a sanguinary conflict between the two factions. A proclamation was then issued in the King's name commanding the immediate departure of Angus and his followers. They reluctantly withdrew, and in the evening the Queen and the young King passed by torchlight to Edinburgh Castle for better security. Angus wrote the Queen in submissive and conciliatory terms, entreating her to grant him a personal interview, professing his readiness to make amends for any offence he had committed, and declaring that he had no other desire than to be of service to her and his sovereign. No notice was taken of this letter.

*Angus, writing to Wolsey on 8th March, 1525:—*The King caused me to make an agreement that I would not interfere or intromit with the Queen's lands or goods until his ambassadors would speak with the Queen, and see if she would be willing to treat me as

her husband. I have at all times offered my services to her, but she will not be content with me, but perseveres ever more in her evil mind, contrary to the opinion of all who take my part.¹

At a meeting of the Estates in Edinburgh in February, 1525, a council of eight was chosen to take charge of the King, and to manage the affairs of the country. In the divided interests of these counsellors Angus found his opportunity, and he gradually made himself *de facto* master of the kingdom.

The Queen-mother being parted from Angus, she felt that her life was in danger. The matter came before the Scottish Parliament at the sittings of 6th July, 1525, and it is important to notice what is recorded. In presence of the King and Three Estates of Parliament, Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, offered to find caution to the Queen for indemnity of her person and household, under such penalty as the King and lords would think expedient, so that her Grace might safely and surely come and go to Edinburgh with her household during the time of this present Parliament, and specially after the form and tenor of this writing:—Angus said: “My Lords of Council, this is the answer that I, Archibald, Earl of Angus, make to the Queen. In the first place, she desires surety of me from bodily harm. My lords, I trust it is not unknown to you that I never as yet did her Grace any harm, and never intend to do so. And it has not been the practice that men have given caution to their wives, not the less for the pleasure of her Grace, or in order to adhere to me as her husband, for the weal of both our consciences. I am content to do all things that do not hurt my soul, and accordingly I shall bind myself under a substantial sum that the Queen shall be harmless of me, and shall treat her Grace, so long as we are undivorced, as law, conscience, and the honesty of her Grace requires. Should your lordships request or counsel me to find

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII.

other means of assurance, whereby her Grace may take occasion not to adhere to me, her husband, as she is bound and obliged by the law of God and Holy Kirk; you will please consider whether you will give me that advice, and if I may use the same safely, for I am advised that such things may not be lawfully granted without displeasing God and incurring sin, which no man should do, considering all her desires have the intention of abstracting herself from me, her husband, which, as I understand, I may in no wise do lawfully. Her Grace would be well counselled: she should not refuse this my reasonable request."

This audacious speech to the Scottish Parliament surprised the nobles, as well it might. Angus was well aware that his wife would not live with him because of his licentious conduct. She had supported him to the last extremity, even to the extent of pawning her plate and jewels to pay his debts, but all this had no effect, and she resolved, and no one could blame her, to have nothing more to do with him.

Sentence of divorce was in 1525 pronounced between the Queen and Angus in the Chancellor's Court of St. Andrews, on the ground that he had been betrothed to a noble lady before his marriage with the Queen. This was ratified by the Pope, immediately after which the Queen publicly acknowledged Henry Stewart as her husband. The Lords of the Privy Council were incensed at this presumption of Stewart in forming such an alliance without the consent of the King, and sent Lord Erskine with a small body of troops to Stirling, where the Queen was, when she was compelled to surrender her husband, who for his presumption was for a short time imprisoned. The Queen was deprived of all share in the regency. At this date Wolsey, the Chancellor, presented Henry VIII. with the magnificent gift of Hampton Court Palace.

CHAPTER XI.

The King assumes the Government—Angus captures the King—Battle of Melrose ; Angus and Buccleuch—Assassination of Lennox—Angus, Regent and Chancellor—Angus's Parliament—Queen Margaret goes to Edinburgh Castle—Imprisonment of her husband—The King escapes from Angus—His Proclamation against Angus—The Douglasses attainted—Angus escapes to England—The Armstrong massacre—Institution of College of Justice—King's romantic visit to Atholl—King proceeds to France—Marriage of the King—Edinburgh reception of the Queen—Queen Margaret, Lord Methven, Henry VIII.—Burning of Lady Glamis—Queen Margaret and Divorce proceedings—Death of Queen Magdalen—The King's second marriage—His expedition to the Western Isles—The Hamilton Conspiracy—Death of Queen Margaret—King's Aberdeen Visit—Collapse of York conference—Henry and James quarrel—Battle of Solway Moss—Death of James V.—His Character and family.

REIGN OF JAMES V.

A.D. 1513—1542.

IN 1526 the King had completed his fourteenth year when, by the law of the country, his majority commenced. On 12th June a Parliament met at Edinburgh, when an ordinance was passed declaring the minority of the King at an end ; that the Royal prerogative now rested solely in his hands ; that he assumed the government of the realm, and any authority delegated to others was annulled. The Earl of Glencairn was appointed Lord High Treasurer. The power of the Douglasses now became rampant, as the Queen by marrying Stewart had lost her position in the State. Angus, the most powerful of the nobles, would appear to have got possession of the King. This Parliament was a movement of his ; and it was not long before the King got

tired of him, and communicated the fact to Lennox and Buccleuch. The King feigned illness to be quit of Angus. These men, however, determined that they would liberate the King. As the Royal cavalcade was returning from the borders to Edinburgh, Buccleuch, with 1,000 followers, at Melrose put himself between Angus and the road to the capital. Angus, when he saw Buccleuch's troops, said to the King: "Sir, yonder is Buccleuch, and the thieves of Annandale with him, to intercept your passage. I vow to God they shall either fight or flee. Ye shall tarry on this knoll, and my brother George with you, and any company you please; and I shall put yon thieves off the ground and clear the way to your Grace, or I die for it." Angus hastened to the charge, while Sir George, with Lennox and Maxwell, formed a guard round the King. The battle was fiercely contested and Buccleuch eventually defeated; 80 of his men were slain and he himself compelled to retire.

Lennox, Beton, and the Queen made another attempt to rescue the King, and with 10,000 men gave battle to Angus at Linlithgow Bridge, but Angus totally defeated them. Lennox, according to the record, was murdered in cold blood by Sir James Hamilton, the natural son of Arran, and said to be a "bloodthirsty ruffian." Arran was found kneeling beside the bleeding body of Lennox saying the words, "The hardiest, stoutest, and wisest man that Scotland bore, lies here slain." The young King was overwhelmed with grief at the loss of his faithful friend.

Sir James Hamilton, who slew Lennox, the King's favourite, was closely watched afterwards. Lennox's groom found him in the palace-yard of Holyrood, where 2,000 of the Douglas and Hamilton faction were mustering. The groom watched him closely till he saw him enter a dark archway, when he sprung upon him and stabbed him with six severe wounds, but not fatally. The groom was afterwards captured and executed.

During the battle, the custodier of the King, Douglas, said to him: "Think not that in any event you shall escape, for even if your enemies were to gain the day,

rather than surrender your person, we should tear you in pieces," a speech that the King never forgot. This was a great triumph for Angus, and the next thing he did was to march to Stirling with his followers, and endeavour to seize the Queen and the Chancellor Beton, but they had fled. Angus, being now practically Regent, assembled a Parliament in November, and proceeded to divide some confiscated estates. The Earl of Arran got the lands of Cassillis and Avondale ; Sir George Douglas got the lands of Stirling of Keir, who had been slain ; while Angus took to himself the lands of all the barons who had supported Lennox. Angus behaved with consideration to the Queen, who at the intercession of her son was invited to the capital. She was on her arrival met by the King and a numerous escort and permitted to converse with him, treated with great respect, and given the same apartments in Holyrood which had been recently occupied by Albany. The young King resided with her and slept in a room over her bedchamber, and would scarcely ever leave her company for a moment except when he was hunting. A base attempt was made by Angus to obtain possession of the Queen's dowry lands, which so alarmed her that she removed to Edinburgh Castle. Angus, with the young King in his company, summoned the lieges and laid siege to the castle. The Queen, it is said, falling on her knees before the King, presented him with the keys of the fortress, and entreated pardon for herself and her husband, Henry Stewart. Angus, however, ordered Stewart to be imprisoned for no offence except that he was on the side of the Queen, and the Queen's husband. Angus and the Douglasses having the King in their possession, compelled him to sign any deeds that they put before him ; Angus appointed himself Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal ; and his uncle, Archibald Douglas, Treasurer ; and the revenues and laws of the country were completely under his control.

In 1528 the King had completed his sixteenth year. The power of the Douglasses had reached its zenith, and

the King's first step was to frame a plan for his own release. He prevailed with the Queen to exchange with him the Castle of Stirling, of which she was hereditary keeper, for the lands of Methven, near Perth. Having placed Stirling Castle in the hands of a faithful supporter, he induced Angus to allow him to go to Falkland. Angus shortly after went over to the Lothians on private business, while Archibald and Sir George Douglas had gone off for a day or two, leaving the King in possession of Douglas, Captain of the Guard. Captain Balfour, keeper of Falkland Forest, appointed a hunting party for next morning. The King took supper, went early to bed under pretence of being obliged to rise early, and dismissed Douglas for the night, who, without suspicion, left the Royal apartment. When all was quiet the King got up, and disguising himself as a yeoman of the Guard, mounted a fleet horse, and in company with two attendants reached Stirling Castle before sunrise, where several of the nobles were waiting his arrival. His first act was to summon a council at Stirling and issue a proclamation ordering Angus not to meddle further in public affairs, and no lord or follower of the House of Douglas to approach within six miles of the Court under pain of treason. Angus, being bereft of his office, was ordered to confine himself north of the Spey, which he refused to do. He and his brother and uncle were declared to be enemies of the King. Great was the surprise of the Douglasses when they discovered that the King had escaped. The three Douglasses, with an escort, set out for Stirling, but they were met by a herald having the proclamation, which he read to them. They hesitated what to do, and looking to the possible forfeiture of their estates and desertion of their vassals, if they proceeded, they turned their horses' heads and went back to Linlithgow. This incident happened on June, 1528. It is said there was a mental vigour about the King, and a strength of natural talent which developed itself under the most unfavourable circum-

stances. The plot for the King's escape having succeeded he set his face to the administration of his responsible duties. He possessed a strict love of justice, a generosity and warmth of temper, while he was easy of access and fond of mingling with his people. His policy was to draw away from England, seeing the English King supported the Douglasses, and to cultivate friendly relations with France. It was essential, however, to have his enemies put down, and he immediately proceeded from Stirling to Edinburgh, when another proclamation was issued prohibiting any Douglas, under pain of death, from remaining in the capital, and making it treason to hold intercourse with Angus or his faction.

Parliament, which met on 11th September, 1528, appointed Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, Chancellor; Cairncross, abbot of Holyrood, Treasurer; the bishop of Dunkeld, Privy Seal; and Lord Maxwell, Governor of Edinburgh Castle. As this was a critical period, Holyrood was strictly watched, the King, in a coat of mail, taking his turn. Angus shut himself in Tantallon, while Lord Maxwell drove Sir George and Archibald Douglas out of Edinburgh. At this Parliament the Douglasses were attainted and their estates confiscated and allocated to others, the King reserving to himself Tantallon Castle. The King was determined to have these orders carried into execution, and at the head of 8,000 men he set out for Douglasdale, and laid siege to Douglas Castle. The strength of the fortifications and the injury that might be done to the harvest caused him to stop operations and disband his army. In an attempt to seize Tantallon Castle the King, though supported by 12,000 men, was obliged to raise the siege. His artillery was attacked and captured by Angus after an obstinate struggle. The task of expelling Angus from Coldingham was entrusted to Argyle, who, with Lord Home, compelled him to escape to England, where he remained till after the death of James. The English King desired James to restore Angus, but James promptly refused. Angus,

who had been sentenced to death for treason, had his life spared on condition that he remained in England. This sentence was given at the meeting of the Scottish Parliament just alluded to, viz., on 11th September, 1528, and in the proceedings it is recorded in the following terms: "This Court of Parliament shows for law, and I give for doom; that forasmuch as it is found by the judgment of Parliament that Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, George Douglas, his brother, and Archibald, his nephew, have committed and done treason against the King, in their disobedience, and refusing to fulfil the King's command ordained by the lords of Council; and in provocation of the King's lieges within the burgh of Edinburgh eight days continually. And in defending the Castle of Tantallon with men and artillery against the King with artillery and victuals. And in the assistance and maintenance given to the laird of Johnstoun to harry and burn with companies of thieves both by day and night. And in holding of the King's person against his will continually for the space of two years, and against the decret of the lords of Parliament, and in the exposing of his person in battle, the King being of tender age. For which causes they have forfeited their lives, lands and goods. These to remain with the King and his successors in time to come. And this I give for doom."

It will be noticed that the major charge against the Douglasses was the King's captivity of two years. Angus was owing the Queen-mother (now divorced) a considerable sum of money, amount not stated, but this Parliament had also this matter before them, and ordained the Queen to seize as much of the heritable estates of Angus as would discharge the debt. Arran died in 1530. In 1531 the King, at the head of 8,000 men, advanced to the borders to quell disturbances and restore order. When he arrived there, Armstrong the freebooter, and twenty-eight followers, went out to meet him. These men were well mounted. Armstrong came before the King very deferentially, with his train

richly apparelled, trusting that as he had come voluntarily, he should obtain the Royal favour. When the King saw Armstrong and his men so extravagantly equipped under a tyrant's command he ordered them to take Armstrong out of his sight. When Armstrong perceived that the King was angry and had no hope of his life, he said haughtily: "I am but a fool to seek grace at a graceless face; but had I known, sir, that ye would have taken my life this day, I should have lived on the borders in spite of King Harry and yourself, for I know King Harry would downweigh my best horse with gold to know that I was condemned to die."¹ The unfortunate freebooter, with his twenty-eight followers, were all executed on the same day; the reason given that they had too boldly presented themselves to entreat the Royal pardon. This extraordinary incident was long remembered on the borders, and the King's conduct for such a cold-blooded act cannot be defended.

In 1532 an attempt was made by the Earl of Caithness to separate the Orkney Islands from Scotland, but he and 500 of the rebels were slain in battle defending themselves. Much disaffection was prevailing in the Western Isles when M'Lean of Duart married a daughter of Argyll. The union was an unhappy one. M'Lean exposed the lady upon a desolate rock near Lismore which at high water was covered by the sea. From this dreadful situation she was rescued by a passing fishing-boat. Not long after, Sir John Campbell of Cawdor, Argyll's brother, avenged the act by assassinating M'Lean, whom he stabbed in bed in his house in Edinburgh. In a Parliament held at Edinburgh, 13th May, 1532, the College of Justice was instituted, which consisted of fourteen judges, one-half spiritual, one-half temporal, over whom was a president who was always to be a clergyman; the Chancellor to preside when he pleased. The object of this court was to remove the means of oppression out of the hands of the nobles. The constitution of it appears to have been

¹ Pitscottie's

revised and altered at the Reformation. The King immediately afterwards resolved to set out on a summer tour through his dominions, in the course of which an entertainment was given by the Earl of Atholl, characteristic of the times. Atholl received his sovereign with a magnificence "which rivalled the creations of romance." A rural palace, curiously framed of green timber, was raised in a meadow, defended at each angle by a high tower, having in its various chambers rich tapestry of silk and gold, lighted by windows of stained glass, and surrounded by a moat in the manner of a feudal fortress. In this fairy mansion the King was lodged more sumptuously than in any of his own palaces. He slept on the softest down, listened to the sweetest music, saw the fountains around him flowing with muscadel and hippocras; angled for the most delicate fish which gleamed in the little streams and lakes in the meadow; or pursued the pastime of the chase amid woods and mountains which abounded with every species of game. The Queen accompanied her son, and an ambassador from the Papal court having arrived shortly after, was invited to join in the Royal progress. The splendour, profusion and delicacy of this feudal entertainment was enchanting, and the King's astonishment was not diminished when Atholl, at the King's departure, declared that the palace which had given so much delight to his sovereign should never be profaned by a subject, and he at once commanded the whole fabric to be given to the flames¹ This same year an incident occurred which was not to the King's credit. Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, uncle to the exiled Earl of Angus, wearied of his exile, and longing to get home, resolved to return and cast himself on the Royal clemency. As the King was returning from hunting in the King's Park, Stirling, Douglas threw himself in his way, but the King, mindful of his oath that while he lived no Douglas should find a refuge in Scotland, passed on without any sign of

¹ Tytler.

recognition; and though Douglas, in spite of the heavy armour which he wore under his clothes for fear of assassination, ran by the side of the King's horse to the castle gate, he failed to move the King. He sat down at the gate exhausted, and asked for a draught of water, but even that was refused by the Royal attendants. Douglas was obliged to return to France, where shortly afterwards he died of a broken heart. There is much to be said for the King's unrelenting spirit, as shown on this occasion, when we consider the atrocious conduct of the Douglasses in seizing his person and keeping him in captivity for two years; and also the lives of the nobles and subjects which were sacrificed by such treasonable conduct. On 12th May, 1534, a truce was concluded between England and Scotland, which was to last till the death of one of the two Kings.

In July, 1534, King Henry conferred on James the Order of the Garter, which he sent by his ambassador, Lord William Howard, brother of the Duke of Norfolk. Charles V. and Francis followed this up by sending him the Orders of the Golden Fleece and St. Michael. Henry, who is recorded as being extremely sensitive to public criticism, was gratified by a proclamation issued by James forbidding defamatory and scandalous rhymes to be made against him, and sent him a special letter of thanks, with the present of a lion. Under date 28th February, 1535, James acknowledged this honour to his uncle, the King of England:—

We have received your letter delivered by your ambassador, Sir William Howard, together with your princely present (the lion), whereby we clearly see the good-will and hearty favour you bear us. And where it has pleased you to desire us to be associated with you and your noble company in the noble Order of St. George called the Garter, we have accepted the same gladly, and thank you therefor with all our heart, being sure we shall also lovingly observe and keep the

fraternity of the noble company accepted by us as you shall more clearly perceive by testimony and writing given to your ambassador.

JAMES R.

In 1534 the King had reached his twenty-second year, and his marriage was much desired by his subjects. It is said that he inherited from his father his propensity for low intrigue, and often exposed his life to the attacks of the assassin in his nocturnal visits to his mistresses. The Spanish ambassador proposed a matrimonial alliance with the Princess Mary of Portugal, but James declined. Some time after an Ecclesiastical Court was held at Holyrood, when the King, clothed in scarlet, took his seat on the bench. This was a court for the prosecution of Reformers. David Stratton, and David Gourlay, a priest, appeared, and boldly defended their faith. The former, when commanded to pay his tithes, ordered his servants to throw every tenth fish they caught into the sea, bidding the collectors seek their tax where he found the stock. He was exhorted to escape by abjuring his belief, but he refused. Both men were tried and condemned and immediately afterwards burned on the castle hill, Edinburgh, on 27th August, 1534. The English King now made a proposal to James to marry his daughter, the Princess Mary, James, acting by the advice of his Privy Council, mostly clergy, but described by Barlow as "the very limbs of the devil," declined the proposal, and sent an embassy to France to conclude a matrimonial alliance, their choice being Marie de Bourbon, daughter of Charles, Duke of Vendome. The English King showed his appreciation by promoting the intrigues of the Douglasses for their restoration. At this point Queen Margaret, on 20th October, 1536, wrote the English King:—

You will have heard the news of the King, my son, and how there will be a contract of marriage between the French King's daughter and him; and, as I am

informed, they will desire your consent, because you are nearest relative after me, his mother. I hope you will consider me as your sister in such manner as you please, for the more honour I have, the more is yours, and you will never have one so kindly affectioned to you in this realm, nor one who will be so ready at your command, until it please God to take me. Therefore, I hope you will be both father and brother to me, as my trust is in you. As to the French King, he will see after the honour and welfare of his daughter: and if I do not my part as I should, it will be to my dishonour, which shall not be creditable to you or to me. And the King and your Grace being advised of all things, I trust you will treat me honourably, for I would not displease you in anything that lies in my power, beseeching you to hasten your answer, for I shall weary till I get it. Thanking your Grace for the great honour you have shown to my daughter; she shall never have my blessing if she do not all you command her.

MARGARET R.

James, in the face of political opposition to his marriage, determined to visit France in disguise and have an interview with his proposed father-in-law. A regency was appointed, and he sailed from Scotland on 1st September, 1536, with a fleet of seven vessels, and a large escort of his nobility and others, numbering, it is said, 500. They arrived in safety. James's first desire, however, was to see his bride, and repairing in disguise to the Palace of Vendome, he was recognised as he mingled with the gay crowds that peopled its halls by his likeness to a miniature portrait which he had sent her from Scotland. Marie de Bourbon admired James's mien and gallant accomplishments, but the feeling was not mutual. James, as afterwards appeared, preferred the Princess Magdalen, only daughter of Francis I., a beautiful girl of sixteen, but very delicate and in poor health. Her father in vain pointed this out. The Princess, however, had fallen in love with James at

first sight, and although her father did all he could to dissuade both from marrying, the marriage was solemnised on 1st January, 1537, at Notre Dame, and was a very brilliant function.

The President and members of the French Parliament, clad in scarlet robes, went in state to offer a congratulatory address to the Scottish King, and then headed the procession which preceded him in his state entrance into the capital as the affianced husband of the Princess Magdalen. At the ceremony of the marriage the Kings and Queens of France and Navarre, the Dauphin of France, the Duke of Orleans, and other French nobles, with a deputation of the Scottish nobility, and many illustrious foreigners, surrounded the altar. Seven cardinals assisted at the ceremonial, and there was a numerous and fashionable assembly of the people; feasts and tournaments of singular grandeur succeeded. The young couple remained at the French Court some months amidst perpetual festivities, and not until the 19th May did they arrive in Scotland, when great rejoicings took place at Edinburgh and over the country. The bride's dowry was 100,000 crowns and a pension of 3,000 livres. The marriage secured James's preference for France, and a diminution of his friendship for England. At the reception of Queen Magdalen in Edinburgh the scaffolds for the pageants were painted with gold and azure; the fountains poured alternately water and wine; the craftsmen appeared as archers clad in green, the burgesses in gowns of scarlet, the lords of session, barons and peers, in their robes. The Queen's dress dazzled the eye by the profusion of jewels, and over her the principal citizens supported a canopy of cloth of gold, while their wives and daughters chanted songs of congratulation and shouts of "Vive la Reine."¹

King Henry, to suit his own purposes, was still anxious to have Angus sent back to Scotland, notwithstanding the sentence of attainder by the Scottish

¹ Pinkerton.

Parliament and James's refusal. Under date 24th February, 1537, James repeated his refusal as follows:—

Where you desire us to remit and pardon Archibald, sometime Earl of Angus, and to take him into our favour, we would have long since agreed to your request but for the great causes that we have often written you of before, and it cannot be agreed by us or our Council. It is safer for the weal of us, our realm and our subjects; were no inopportune solicitations made at your hand, you would soon in nowise desire us to do what is contrary to the weal of ourselves and the peace of the realm.

JAMES R.

In a letter of Queen Margaret to the English King; of 10th February, 1537, she informed him that Lord Methven is involving her deeply in debt, and that already it amounted to 8,000 merks. She found it impossible to put up with his intemperate conduct, and was compelled to institute divorce proceedings against him. In March, 1537, she again wrote the English King:—

I have proceeded far in the matter of the law between me and Lord Methven touching the divorce between us, and it is so far passed that there are twenty things clearly proved in my favour, and we await the sentence to be given. I have not as yet got an answer from the King, my son, at which I greatly marvel, for I trusted verily to have had an answer after the departure of your ambassador. Had I got it, I would have sent it to you. I wrote the King, my son, stating how ill I was treated by Lord Methven, and how I am troubled by him begging how to cause me to have a remedy for the same. Since his answer is not come, the further proceedings of justice lie with me so far because I have produced the witnesses, all honourable persons, and have proved my case sufficiently. Lord Methven hath

appealed wrongously so that I may be debarred from justice, and the bishop of St. Andrews holds back the matter thereby to cause Lord Methven to spend my life at his pleasure. He hath informed the lords that the King, my son, will take his part, and thus it lies with the King what sentence I shall have. I beg your Grace, for my help, to send a special messenger to see and understand his mind towards me, his mother, so that I and the lords may know the same. Now that the Queen, his wife, is to come into the realm some time after Easter, it will be a great dishonour to him that I, his mother, having a just cause to part (from Methven), cannot get a decision. I trust you will consider that I may do your Grace and my son more honour to be without Methven than to have him, considering he is not a sober man, and if the Queen who is coming sees me not treated as I should be, she will think it a bad example. I beseech you to help me that I may do you and myself honour, seeing I am your sister; that I be not overlooked, but that the King, my son, by your influence, may act towards me as he should do to his natural mother, the which your Grace may cause to be done if it be your pleasure, all as I showed at length to your ambassador Sadler. Beseeching you that you will not see me wronged in this matter, otherwise I may not live.

MARGARET R.

In 1537 there took place one of the most appalling events that are recorded in the reign of James V., the burning at the stake of Janet, Lady Glamis. This lady was a sister of the Earl of Angus, and a member of the Douglas family. In that barbarous age she took her part as a raiser of treason and conspiracy, and was evidently connected with several plots to assassinate the King. Her first conviction was in 1531, when she was found guilty of treason, and her estates forfeited, and given to Gavin Hamilton as a gift from the Crown. Her next appearance in Court was on 31st January 1532, when she was tried at the Justice Ayre of Forfar for

the inexcusable crime of poisoning her husband, Lord Glamis, in 1528. Several of the nobles, including Lords Ruthven, Oliphant, and the lairds of Ardoch, Moncreiffe and Tullibardine, were fined for not appearing on that jury. The decision of this trial is not recorded, and in all probability she was acquitted for want of proof. She is also said to have practised witchcraft. On 17th July, 1537, she was for the fourth time brought to trial, and found guilty of actually conspiring against the King by poison, and for treasonably assisting her brothers, who were traitors and rebels. For this crime she was condemned to be burned at the stake, the common mode of death in that age for all females of rank convicted of treason or murder. That the lady was guilty of the crime for which she suffered there seems no manner of doubt, and the fact that the House of Douglas was the most powerful enemy of the King probably accentuated her policy, and drove her to the commission of the crime. It seems to complicate the matter to know that Lord Glamis was rather an enemy than otherwise to the Douglas faction. After his death she married Archibald Campbell, of Skipness. The Master of Forbes was evidently connected with Lady Glamis and the conspiracy. He was tried and convicted three days before her. Forbes was married to a sister of the young Earl of Angus. He was charged with a design to shoot the King as he passed through Aberdeen to hold a Justice Ayre; on the 13th July he was executed. Lady Glamis was burned,¹ as the historian of the House of Douglas says, with great commiseration of the people, in respect of her noble blood, of her husband, being in the prime of her years, of singular beauty, and suffering

¹ Lady Glamis was burned on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh in sight of her husband, who, either out of revenge or fear after this tragedy, seeking to save himself by escaping from prison, whilst he came over the wall by the skirt rocks of the Castle, was dashed against the rocks and killed. Though the tender years of Lord Glamis, her son, proved his innocence, he remained prisoner in the Castle till the King's death in 1542.—(Drummond, Hawthornden.)

all, though a woman, with manlike courage, the people believing that it was not this fact, but the hatred of the King to her brothers, that had brought her to this end. She suffered her dreadful fate with the hereditary courage of her house. Her son, Lord Glamis, a youth of sixteen years, was convicted on his own confession that he knew of, and had concealed, the conspiracy. John Lyon, an accomplice, was executed, while Mackay, by whom the poison was prepared, escaped with the loss of his ears and banishment.¹

When the King returned from France from his first marriage, he found his mother eagerly prosecuting a suit of divorce against Lord Methven, her third husband, whom she accused of wasting her estates and mortgaging them with debt. The King refused to allow it to proceed, and we find Queen Margaret, on 13th October, 1537, wrote her brother again in the following terms:—

I trust your Grace will help me, your only sister, and not let me be wronged daily, as if I were a gentlewoman with no friends, and daily "putting at me" by the King's authority, taking my lands from me and my houses, and putting my servants to the horn. I am daily in such trouble that I had rather be dead if I get no help. I will rather go to a religious house, for this trouble will cause me to die sooner than I should. Seeing it is all in your hands to help me, and not to put you to costs or trouble, I beseech your help. I have my sentence of divorce ready to be pronounced, but as yet cannot get it pronounced. The King, my son, will not let the same pass through, but daily boasts that he will take my lands and cause Lord Methven to take the same at his pleasure, saying he is my husband. It hath been very near that point various times. No cause have they, but because I went to my lands in Etrick Forest the King took such offence at me that I was of a mind to go into England. As to the Earl of Angus, your Grace knows my mind best of any

¹ Tytler.

creature, that I was never of a mind to marry Angus. Notwithstanding this, there was a firm belief here that I would, and no one would believe the contrary for all I could do. And now I can get nothing more of my son but to depart, bed and board. He will not let me part *simpliciter*, the which is a great wrong, for it is not a matter that troubles his honour or conscience, nor that he should deal with; but that he will do me a plain wrong because he feareth that if I pass into England your Grace will cause me to be provided with a living, and then the device to cause Methven to be in bond to me, and if we are not divorced they shall cause him to take my lands. Now I am of the age of forty years and nine, and would live at ease and rest, and not travel like a poor gentlewoman following my son from place to place; and because you cause not such things to be reprov'd they believe you care not how I am treated, and do the worst for me for I assure you Grace the realm stands in great fear of you. I can say no more. Do as you please with me, for I have written the plain truth, and have shown your ambassador certain parts of my letter to show you, and I will weary till I get some remedy!

MARGARET R.

On 16th October Queen Margaret wrote her brother from Dundee: "The sentence of divorce between me and Lord Methven should have been given and pronounced within fifteen days after the departure of Sadler. Notwithstanding, the King, my son, has stayed the same and will not let it be pronounced, and for no solicitation of mine will he do it. He says I should go into England and marry Angus!"

The King had scarcely settled down to the administration of his kingdom when his young wife gradually succumbed to her disease, and died on 7th July, to the great grief of the nation.

The King's grief for the loss of Queen Magdalen did

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. iv.

not continue long, for before a year elapsed he married his second wife, Mary of Guise. The marriage took place at St. Andrews in June, 1538. It is a curious coincidence that Henry VIII. also fell in love with this accomplished lady, and demanded her hand from the King of France, but the contract with James had been executed before the arrival of the request. The King received Mary of Guise at the Abbey gate of St. Andrews, on the east side of which was formed a triumphal arch constructed by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, the King's old preceptor. Over them was represented a cloud as coming out of heaven, which opened when the Queen came, and at the entrance there appeared a fine lady most like an angel, presenting the King of Scotland to Her Majesty, expressive that all the hearts of the kingdom were open to receive her. At her residence there she was received by the whole body of the clergy, who conducted her to the cathedral, where she was married. She was, in 1539, crowned by Cardinal Beaton at Holyrood, and she afterwards became a great personality in Scottish history.

In March, 1539, King Henry wrote James, giving him again the present of a lion. In a letter of Lyle to Henry VIII., 14th December, 1542, he refers to James being poisoned, and in a letter of 30th December, he says the King, in his sickness, vomited severely; after death his body swelled greatly.¹

It is recorded that in 1539 the King supported his clergy in their persecution of Protestant doctrines, but at the same time he was not indisposed to see a moderate reformation of the Catholic Church. His desire was to humble the power of the nobles, to destroy the secret influence of England, and to rule an independent kingdom. This, he thought, would be best accomplished by the help of the clergy, whose talents, wealth and influence, rather neutralised the power of the nobles. In the autumn of this year, James Beton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, died, and was succeeded

¹ Hamilton Papers.

by that notable man, afterwards Cardinal Beaton. This appointment was marked by a renewed persecution of the reformers, carried on by Beton. In 1540 the King resolved to visit the Western Islands for the purpose of putting down disturbances and restoring allegiance. Twelve vessels composed the expedition, and the company included Cardinal Beaton and the Earls of Huntly and Arran. Beaton had 500 men from Fife and Kincardine, while the two Earls had 1,000. The King wanted a nautical survey of the Isles, and he took a capable man with him to do it, Alexander Lindsay, whose charts and observations are still preserved.¹ The expedition went on as far as Caithness and the Orkneys, and returned by the Hebrides, Kintyre, Arran and Bute. On the 22nd May, 1540, an interesting event occurred, the Queen was safely delivered of a Prince at her Royal residence in St. Andrews, to the great joy of the King and people. Another conspiracy against the King took place this year, Sir James Hamilton, the natural son of Arran, being the traitor. He was soon after brought to trial on a charge of treason. One day, when the King left Edinburgh to pass into Fife, he was accosted by a stranger, who demanded a secret audience on business touching the King's life. The King listened to his story, and taking a ring from his finger sent it by the informer to Learmonth, Master of his household, and Kirkaldy of Grange, the Treasurer, requesting them to investigate the matter and act according to their judgment. He then proceeded on his journey, and soon after received notice that Hamilton was arrested. The crime for which he was indicted was of old standing, though now charged for the first time. It was asserted that Hamilton, along with Archibald and James Douglas and Robert Leslie had, in 1528, conspired to assassinate the King, having communicated the plot to Angus and his brother, Sir George Douglas, who encouraged it. Hamilton was tried and executed. No one, it is said, lamented his death, as his hands were stained with so

¹ Harleian MSS.

much blood, especially the murder of Lennox, a faithful friend of the King. It is said, and apparently on authority, that Hamilton's execution for a while preyed on the King's mind, and threw him into melancholy; his sleep became disturbed by frightful visions, and his chamberlain would be awakened by groans in the Royal apartment; on entering he would find the King sitting up in bed, declaring that he had been visited by Hamilton, holding a naked sword, threatening to lop off both his arms; in a short time he would return and be more fully avenged. After his execution of Armstrong and twenty-eight followers in one day, this story about Hamilton preying on his mind may or may not be true. It is recorded that the King, having strengthened his hands by a large accession of influence from the nobility, he attempted to pacify their uneasy feelings by a general act of amnesty for all crimes and treasons committed up to date, but its healing effects were so far defeated by the clause excepting Angus and the Douglas faction. This would appear to point out to posterity the bitter feelings the King entertained towards that house, and he cannot be blamed, for of all the turbulent nobility who flourished in the reign of the Stuarts none were so disloyal or so dangerous to the throne as the members of the House of Douglas, who held the three Earldoms of Douglas, Angus and Morton. In the Parliament of December, 1540, all grants before 1537 were revoked, and the King annexed to the Crown all the isles north and south, Kintyre, and the lands of Douglas, Crawford and Angus. This Parliament ratified the institution of the College of Justice and prohibited the reception in Scotland of a Papal legate. In 1541 another interesting event occurred: the Queen gave birth to a prince, her second child, which caused much rejoicing. The same year the King's mother died at Methven Castle, in the fifty-second year of her age. With all her faults she was a remarkable woman, and led an active and exciting life, though latterly she had retired from all affairs of State. After

the attempt to be divorced from Lord Methven, her intemperate husband, a step which, in the circumstances, was justifiable, but which the King, her son, for no adequate reason opposed, she appears to have lived in undisturbed retirement at Methven Castle. Her talents were of a high character as is proved not only by what is publicly known, but by the large and curious collection of her letters preserved in the State Paper Office. She was interred in the Carthusian Monastery of Perth, founded by James I. There was a large and imposing funeral procession, the King and many of the nobles being present. On account of the vandalism at the Reformation, the monastery was destroyed, and on its site now stands King James VI. Hospital.

From a letter of Ray, pursuivant, to the Privy Council, under date November, 1541, the Queen died of palsy, which she took on Friday, and died the following Tuesday, 18th October, 1541, at Methven Castle. Not expecting death, she made no will. She sent for the King, her son, who was at Falkland, but she expired before his arrival. When she knew she was dying, she desired the friars who were her confessors that they should on their knees before the King beseech him that he would be good and gracious to the Earl of Angus. She asked God's mercy for having offended the said Earl as she had done. They were also to beseech the King to be kind to lady Margaret Douglas, her daughter. (This is an unconfirmed letter.) The King, her son, did not long survive her, as he died at the close of December, 1542.

The correspondence between the Queen-mother and Henry VIII., her brother, is interesting, as in all her troubles she appealed to him as the only person whose advice she sought and respected. She is not the woman historians have represented her to be. She had the great misfortune of having a violent, unscrupulous, and unfaithful husband in the Earl of Angus, and an intemperate, albeit drunken husband, in Lord Methven.

In such circumstances, nothing can be said against her resolution to divorce in each case.

It is said she was much beloved by the people ; her countenance, her vivacious eyes, and her person, rather rustic than delicate, were accompanied with a corresponding vigour of health ; her talents threw her faults into the shade. Her long letters, sometimes ten or twelve folio pages, written with her own hand, show an intimate knowledge of affairs, as well as ability and patient industry.¹

Following on this another melancholy event occurred—the death of the King's two infant children at Stirling Castle—which crushed the spirits of the King, and completely prostrated him for a time. For a little variety he and the Queen and Court paid a visit of fourteen days to Aberdeen University. Their Majesties are said to have enjoyed the classic exercises of the students, and the dramatic entertainments which were provided for the Royal visit.

The students vied in their efforts to entertain the Royal guests. Comedies were performed, animated discussions took place on various literary subjects, orations in Greek and Latin induced the King and Queen to prolong their stay, the King, on leaving, delivering a short complimentary address. After their return to the capital an interview was arranged between the Kings, to be held at York, at the request of Henry.

The English borderers, under the guidance of the wardens, renewed their incursions on Scottish territory, and this so disgusted James that he demanded redress from Henry, and declined to have any interview till it should be obtained. Henry, notwithstanding this, proceeded to York, and for six days held his Court there, daily expecting the Scottish King, who never appeared. He returned to London in indignation. This meant war with Scotland ; and under orders from Henry, Sir James Bowes, warden of the East Marches, crossed the border with 3,000 horse and penetrated

¹ Pinkerton.

into Teviotdale. He was accompanied by the banished Angus, Sir George Douglas, and others. The Earl of Huntly and Lord Home, on behalf of James, gave him battle, and defeated him, capturing 600 prisoners, including Bowes himself. Angus was nearly taken, but slew his assailant with his dagger, and saved himself by flight. Henry, who was astounded at this disaster, immediately sent the Duke of Norfolk with a force of 40,000 men to York, thence to Scotland, to avenge this defeat. At this stage James desired an interview with Henry, but it was promptly refused. Many of the Scottish nobles were absolutely opposed to a war with England. Henry issued a manifesto giving his reasons for engaging in war. James, he said, supported some of his chief rebels within his dominions; his subjects had invaded England when a treaty of peace was in negotiation; and James had disappointed him at York. Then there was the claim of mock superiority over Scotland. James again desired an interview, but it was again refused. He then proceeded to assemble his courtiers, and an army of 30,000 men mustered at the Burghmuir of Edinburgh. The Earls of Huntly, Home and Seton, who commanded, were ordered to watch the Duke of Norfolk, who commanded the English army. James's troops, unfortunately, included those nobles who had regarded the late conduct of the King with sentiments of disapproval.

Why a reconciliation or a proper understanding between the King and these men did not take place before this last act of the King's life is one of those problems that never can be solved. Not a word on the subject has been preserved. Some of them, it is said, dreaded the new laws for treason, and trembled for their estates; others, it appears, were allied to the Douglasses, while others saw nothing to be gained by this war, and were indifferent. It was a feudal custom among the barons that they were not bound to act offensively within the territories of a foreign State although their feudal tenure compelled them, under

penalty of forfeiture, to obey the Royal command in repelling an enemy who had crossed the borders and encamped within the kingdom. The Scottish army got as far as Fala Muir, but its leaders unfortunately refused to go further. This exasperated the King, who upbraided them as cowards; men who neither wished to advance his honour nor the welfare of Scotland. Since he was betrayed by them, he and such as would follow him would do that which they had so cowardly refused to undertake. They were cowards to permit Norfolk to burn their villages without doing anything to retaliate. The wisdom of this speech may be questioned. All was in vain; they were immovable. The King, overwhelmed with disappointment, disbanded his army and returned to Edinburgh.

He called a Parliament there on 3rd November, when, according to Knox, a scroll was presented by Cardinal Beaton containing the names of upwards of 100 nobles, who were either tainted with heresy or in the pay of England, and leagued with the Douglasses. Beaton's object, and the clergy who were associated with him, was to have the estates of these nobles confiscated that they might have a share of them. James dismissed them summarily: "Pack, you gaol-birds, get you to your charges and reform your own lives, and be not instruments of discord between me and my nobility, or else I vow to God I shall reform you by sharp whingaris (swords) if ever I hear of such motion of you again." It is said that at this period James had contemplated a reform in the Church, which was overgrown with abuses, but in the meantime he was completely alienated from the nobility, and after the affront he had received at Fala, the Cardinal and the clergy had ventured to present this document to him, which he had privately rejected. He said he saw the nobles were hostile to him, for they rejoiced in his dishonour, and would not to please him ride a mile to follow his enemies. Some of the King's friends at last came to the rescue, and Lord Maxwell offered his services with 10,000 men

to fight the English. James accepted the proposal, assembled additional troops, and proceeded to Caerlaverock, on the Dumfries border. It is said that 2,000 English troops and 17,000 Scots were engaged. A very injudicious incident occurred, for which James was wholly responsible. Oliver Sinclair, or St. Clair, one of the Roslyn family, was an officer in the Royal household, and James, thinking he would prevent a repetition of what happened on the previous occasion, gave Sinclair command of the army so soon as it reached the River Esk. This, as might be expected, gave much dissatisfaction. It is said that the whole troops became disaffected on receipt of this intelligence, and while Lord Maxwell was trying to overcome their antipathy, the English troops, under Dacre, dashed unawares in amongst them with levelled lances. Such was the surprise that the rout was instantaneous and the Scots fled. It is said, but perhaps overstated, that 1,000 prisoners fell to the lot of the English, amongst whom were the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn, lords Maxwell, Somerville, Grey, Fleming and others. Nobody was killed on either side. The scene of the engagement was twelve miles from Caerlaverock. The news of this second calamity fell like a thunderbolt on the King. He became convinced that his nobles had entered into a conspiracy to betray him to England, to sacrifice their own honour and the independence of the kingdom to gratify their revenge against the Crown, and their personal hatred to himself. At Fala they had, in his opinion, disgraced him by open contempt of his command. At Solway they had followed up the blow by an act which exposed themselves, their sovereign, and the Scottish name to ridicule and contempt.

James was too proud to endure dishonour. On 25th November he returned from Lochmaben to Edinburgh, where he remained till 30th November. He then went to Hallyards, Fife (Kirkaldy's), and after a short stay, shut himself up on 6th December in Falkland Palace, where on 15th December, 1542, he expired

He was in the thirty-first year of his age and the twenty-ninth of his reign. James, who was a man of middle stature, with dark grey penetrating eyes and yellow hair, was reckoned the handsomest man of his time. He had a vigorous constitution, the result of constant exercise, and moderation in eating and drinking. He was fond of learning and learned men, and while many of the nobility were incapable of serving him for want of education, he made use of the clergy and others of inferior rank, whose circumstances obliged them to acquire education. His acquaintance with the laws of the kingdom was creditable to him, considering his years, and his decisions were generally characterised by a strict regard to justice, and the desire to promote the welfare of the kingdom. Although he died in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, we must remember that for the half of that period the kingdom was under a regency. Of the fourteen years of his actual reign we have nothing like a complete record.

One writer informs us that the character of James had two sides.¹ One shows him as the promoter of justice, the protector of the poor, the reformer of ecclesiastical abuses, the vigorous administrator who first visited the whole of his dominions and brought them under the Royal sceptre; the other exhibits him as the vindictive monarch, the oppressor of the nobles, the tool of the priests, the licentious and passionate man whose life broke down in the hour of trial. There is some reason for supposing that at Falkland his death was caused by poisoning.

It is said² that the beauty of the gold coins struck during his reign, together with the attention he gave to the naval armament of the kingdom, manifest his appreciation of elegant and useful art. His character was sullied by two vices: a propensity to indulge in low amours, illustrated so far by his family of natural children, and a parsimony in expenditure which bordered

¹ Dic. Univ. Biog.

² Taylor.

on avarice. It must be remembered, however, that the ease with which he could be approached by the humblest of his people, the patience with which he listened to their complaints, and the promptitude with which he redressed their grievances, secured for him the title of King of the Commons. James probably rivalled his father in physical endurance, penetrating on foot into many parts of his dominions, sometimes in disguise, associating with gipsies, Highland servants and peasants, as "the gudeman of Ballingeich." Some of these nocturnal visits were full of humour. In estimating his character we must make allowance for his surroundings, from his birth, till he assumed the administration on his escape from the Douglases. These surroundings were conspicuous for their total disregard of the principles of rectitude and morality, resulting in the growth of a vicious and sensual taste. The record of his life, however, which is preserved, is fragmentary rather than consecutive, and he should be judged rather by his administration, and the improved condition of the kingdom under his rule, than by the follies and indiscretions of his youth. His life was shadowed by the rebellious conduct of the Douglases, and if he had executed his great enemy, the exiled Earl of Angus, nobody would have blamed him. In two of the outstanding events of his life, the execution of Armstrong and the battle of Solway Moss, it cannot be said that his conduct was in any respect heroic or noble. The Armstrong execution was, in the circumstances, an inexcusable proceeding, while his attitude on the occasion was that of a school-boy. In taking his bed at the close of the disaster of Solway Moss he manifested an extraordinary lack of courage, bordering on imbecility, and a thorough want of that buoyant and military spirit which had characterised his ancestors, the Stuart Kings. There was nothing noble about the character of James V., although we cannot but admire the courage he showed in keeping Henry VIII. in his proper position, and in absolutely excluding from his



Court and from his kingdom the turbulent members of the Douglas family. He left his kingdom in a disaffected condition, practically in a state of rebellion, the result of a weak administrative policy, and this was a legacy to his wife and daughter, two ladies who made their mark on the history of the time; which must be regarded as the responsible cause for many of the unfortunate calamities and cabals which succeeded the close of his career.

James V. left no issue by his first wife, Magdalen, only daughter of Francis I., King of France, but he left the following issue by his second wife, Mary of Guise:—

James, Duke of Rothesay, and Arthur, both of whom died in infancy; Mary, afterwards Mary Queen of Scots.

Natural Children—By Lady Margaret Erskine, daughter of Lord Erskine, and afterwards wife of Robert Douglas of Lochleven: James Stuart, afterwards the Regent Moray.

By Lady Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of John, Earl of Lennox: Adam, Prior of the Charterhouse of Perth.

By Euphame, daughter of Lord Elphinstone: Robert, Prior of Holyrood.

By Elizabeth Shaw, of Sauchie: James, Abbot of Kelso and Melrose, and according to Dunbar, a third James.

By Elizabeth, daughter of John Carmichael: John, Prior of Coldingham; Jean, wife of Archibald, Earl of Argyll. This lady was much beloved by Queen Mary, who admitted her to her privacy and retirement, and she was one of the few who were with Her Majesty when Rizzio was murdered. She was unhappy in her marriage. A divorce took place on 22nd June, 1573. So much respect was shown to his first wife that her body was deposited in the Royal vault in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, beside that of the King, her father.

Note.—Among the persons in the Queen's household (Mary of Guise) there was an almoner, or female fool, who was clad in red and yellow, with a kirtle of green satin, and a little French dwarf called Jane. The keeping of dwarfs was quite the rage at that period among ladies of rank. They not only kept them but bred them. Two dwarfs at the Court of Mantua were married, and one of their children was offered by Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua, to a friend as a gift, exactly in the same way as she would have offered a puppy of a prize strain of dogs.—(John Cartwright's "Isabella d'Este.")

CHAPTER XII.

Birth and early Life of Mary—Arran proclaimed Regent—Cardinal Beaton imprisoned—Beaton released and captures Mary—Coronation of Mary—Beaton at Perth, and executions there—Battle, Perth Provostship—Battle of Ancrum Moor—Trial of Wishart and murder of Beaton—Knox seized and made Prisoner—Battle of Pinkie—Removal of Mary to Inchmahome and France—Regency of Arran and Mary of Guise—Cardinal of Lorraine and Mary—Mary's establishment in France—Mary of Guise appointed Regent—Mary delivers an oration in Latin—Marriage, Mary and the Dauphin—The Rejoicings and festivities—Death of four Scots Commissioners—Coronation of the Dauphin—Mary and Francis II., King and Queen of France—Death of Francis II.—Arrival of Knox in Perth—Arrival in Perth of the Queen-Regent—Regent's garrison expelled from Perth—Siege of Leith and death of the Regent—Queen Mary's personal appearance—Her popularity in France—She leaves France for Scotland—Her first Sunday at Holyrood—Her great State procession—Her interview with Knox—The Huntly Rebellion—Disgraceful conduct of the Lord James—Mary and Knox at Lochleven—Mary opens Parliament in person—Trial of Knox for treason—Mary presides at the trial—Mary and her Four Maries at St. Andrews—Moray's attempt to seize Mary at Perth.

REIGN OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

A.D. 1542—1567.

SCOTLAND was again to endure all the miseries of a regency on account of the premature death of James V. and the minority of the Royal babe, his successor, who was just a week old. And who could at that period forecast the chequered career which was to be the lot of this unfortunate child, born in the midst of trouble? The mother of the babe, however, was a host in herself. Mary of Guise became, for a time, a great power in the realm, and possessed intellectual gifts of a very high

order—gifts which were eminently called into operation and were judiciously exercised, up to the close of her active life.

Mary, who was daughter of James V. and Mary of Guise, was born at Linlithgow on 7th December, 1542.

The demise of James V. was followed by a curious and extraordinary era in Scottish history, the efforts of three contending factions to get possession of that "precious baby," the infant Queen of Scots. These were Henry VIII., Cardinal Beaton, and the Regent Arran. Henry seems to have given this question no rest, but to have made it the ruling object of his life for four years, or up to his death on 28th January, 1547, his intention being to have the child betrothed to his son, Edward VI. The Queen-mother and Cardinal Beaton would have nothing to do with Henry's proposal, and the Regent, though eventually in sympathy with it, was interested in keeping the child protected in Scotland and independent. This is the matter in a nutshell. We now proceed to give some condensed details.

The moment James V. had closed his eyes for ever the kingdom was thrown into a state of excitement as to who was to be Regent or Governor during the child's minority. Cardinal Beaton, who attended the King in his last moments, presented what is believed to have been a forged document—a will of the King appointing him Regent and guardian of the infant Queen. On this authority he proclaimed himself Regent; and his regency lasted four days. One of Beaton's objects was to prevent an alliance between the young Queen and Edward VI. James Hamilton, second Earl of Arran, the nearest subject to the throne after Mary, took action at once, and according to the historian,¹ was by order of Parliament proclaimed Regent on 22nd December, 1542. Beaton having been defeated, resolved to appeal to France, asking them to oppose any alliance between Edward VI. and Mary, and requesting them to send over assistance, in men and money, to Scotland to

¹ Tytler

enable them to maintain that position. The Douglasses supported Edward. Beaton, for carrying on this treasonable correspondence with France, was on 20th January, 1543, arrested and put in prison in Blackness Castle. This raised the indignation of the Catholic party. The churches were closed and all services suspended, and the Scottish Parliament, at their meeting on 12th March following, were obliged, in the interests of peace, to order his release. Beaton, however, was too clever for the Scottish Parliament. Lord Seton, keeper of Blackness, was a Catholic, and Beaton was allowed to escape from prison, and he found his way to St. Andrews.

The Scottish Parliament, which met at Perth on 12th March, 1543, evidently disposed of a lot of business. They ratified the appointment of the Earl of Arran as governor of the realm and guardian of the infant Queen. The Archbishop of Glasgow, the Chancellor, brought forward the proposals of Henry regarding the treaty of peace and marriage of his son with the infant sovereign. Parliament refused to give up the Queen until she had reached the age of ten years, and declined to surrender any of the fortresses of the kingdom. Ambassadors were chosen to represent this decision of Parliament at the Court of England. Thereafter the attainder of Angus and the Douglasses was reversed, and those nobles restored to their estates; and seven nobles were appointed as keepers of the Queen's person, the Queen-mother to be the more immediate keeper and constant attendant. Henry was roused to indignation at the refusal to deliver up the child, and ordered the nobles who were taken prisoner at the Solway, and whom he had liberated for a time, to return to their imprisonment, and announced that he would by force compel the Scots to deliver up the young Queen. The ambassadors who had gone to the English Court were unable to come to any terms with Henry. Beaton then resumed negotiations with the French King, when it was agreed that 2,000 troops should be sent to Scotland. Beaton's supporters to garrison their castles and keep

themselves in readiness for the impending struggle. In a convention held at Edinburgh, June, 1543, Sir George Douglas was the mediator between Henry and the Regent Arran, when the Regent, being a man of no decision, agreed to Henry's proposals, as put forward by Douglas. Douglas at once returned to London to intimate this interesting fact to Henry, and he thereafter met the Scots ambassadors at Greenwich on 1st July, when a treaty was concluded, and shortly afterwards ratified by Arran at Holyrood.

These commissioners agreed that there should be a marriage between Edward VI. and the Queen of Scots as soon as the latter had reached her majority, and that a treaty of peace should subsist between the two kingdoms during the lives of these Royal persons, to continue for a year after the death of the first; Mary to remain in Scotland until she had completed her tenth year, after which she was to reside in England. During these negotiations Beaton was not idle. Lennox, Huntly and Argyll joined him, with a force of 10,000 men. They marched from Stirling towards Edinburgh, and resolved to capture the infant Queen at Linlithgow Palace and bring her to Stirling. Arran was astounded at this movement, and being an easy-minded man, he surrendered the Royal babe to Beaton, after a conference, and Beaton, accompanied by the Queen-mother, returned with his prize to Stirling. This incident occurred in July. On 3rd September Arran and Beaton met at Callendar House, the seat of Lord Livingstone, when a reconciliation took place between them, and Arran shortly after became a convert to the Catholic faith.

Arran's character was graphically expressed by the Queen-mother: "Whatever he determines to-day, he changes to-morrow." Arran, however, was a judicious, honest and honourable statesman, but wanting in decision.

On the 9th September, 1543, the young Queen was crowned in the Chapel Royal, Stirling. Cardinal Beaton placed the crown on her infant brow, and presented the sceptre and sword of state. The coronation displeased

Henry VIII., and he ordered the child to be captured in its mother's absence and sent to England. In this he was unsuccessful. So careful was Lord Erskine in his precautions (at Stirling Castle) lest the child should be stolen, that only one noble at a time was permitted to see her, and that in the presence of her Lord Keeper. The Queen-mother only was allowed to be constantly with her.

Henry showed great activity in his efforts to capture the Royal infant. He had several of the Scottish nobles in his power as captives. These he bribed in order to help him when they returned to Stirling, so careful was Henry to be ruler of both kingdoms. In this business Sir George Douglas was the principal traitor. In the Hamilton Papers, under date December, 1543, there is a letter from the Duke of Suffolk to Henry's pensioners in Scotland, with an account of the sums of money which had been paid to these men, viz. : Angus, £200 sterling; Glencairn, 200 merks; Cassillis, 200 marks; Master of Maxwell, £100; Sheriff of Ayr, £100; Drumlanrig, £100; Earl Marischal, 300 merks; Sir George Douglas, £200. The historian says:—In the midst of so much venality and desertion on the part of the Scottish barons, it is pleasing to find an exception in favour of Argyll, who had no connection with this matter.

Parliament assembled in the beginning of December following, when the treaty of peace and the marriage treaty concluded with Henry were declared to be at an end, in consequence of Henry's unjust conduct in seizing Scottish ships and refusing to give them up, or ratify the treaty of peace. At this Parliament Beaton was made Chancellor of Scotland. Beaton then paid a visit to Perth, or, to use the words of the historian, "made an ecclesiastical progress" to Perth, and here he began his proceedings against those who held reformed opinions "with a ferocity of persecution that ultimately defeated its object."¹ It was on this occasion (January, 1544)

¹ Tytler.

that four men and a woman (the wife of one of them) were cruelly executed at Perth by order of Beaton, the woman being drowned.

On 3rd June, 1544, at a convention in Stirling, Arran, the governor, was deprived of his authority, and the Queen-Dowager proclaimed Regent, a new Privy Council appointed, and Angus made Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

There is an agreement in the State Paper Office of the principal Scotch nobility, to support the authority of the Queen-mother as Regent of Scotland against the Earl of Arran, declared by this instrument to be deprived of his office (June, 1544). This arose from the general dissatisfaction at the weakness of Arran's regency, and the hope that under the Queen-mother there would be a more determined policy against England. Arran, however, refused to resign the office of Regent, and though there is considerable obscurity about the matter, Arran would seem to have been well supported in the position he took up. At a meeting of the Estates in November he was confirmed in his office, notwithstanding the Stirling Convention, and he held the regency until 1554, when the young Queen arrived at the age of twelve years.

In the Highlands a furious contest took place at Inverlochy between the Frasers, led by Lord Lovat and a body of the Macdonalds, the combatants stripping to their shirts on account of the extreme heat, and fought rather for extermination—two survivors being left on one side and four on the other.¹

It was at this crisis—15th July—1544, that the sanguinary fight for the provostship took place at Perth. Beaton, in July, removed Ruthven from office, and substituted Charteris of Kinfauns. Ruthven resented this procedure, assembled his supporters, and fought and defeated Charteris at the bridge of Perth, but sixty of his men were slain. In the beginning of November the Queen-Regent held a

¹ Diurnal of Occurrents.

Parliament, when Angus and his brother, Sir George Douglas, were charged with treason. On the 15th of the month the Three Estates assembled at Stirling, when a proclamation was issued by the Queen-Regent discharging all classes of the people from their allegiance to Arran. At a Parliament at Edinburgh in the beginning of December, Angus and his brother were absolved from the charge of treason.

Early this year took place the battle of Ancrum Moor, fought between Sir Ralph Eure at the head of 3,000 English soldiers, and the Regent Arran and Angus at the head of the Scots. Eure had burned the town of Melrose and was on his return march to Jedburgh. The Scots waylaid him at Ancrum Moor, three miles from Jedburgh. Eure was defeated and he and Sir Bryan Layton and many persons of distinction were slain. Norman Leslie, Master of Rothes, with 1,200 men, and Scott of Buccleuch, fought under the Regent, and 600 borderers in the English army went over to them.

On 17th April, 1545, after many quarrels and skirmishes between opposing parties, a convention was held at Edinburgh, when Henry acquainted the nobles that if they consented to the treaty of peace and to the marriage, he would forget the past and abstain from avenging the injuries he had received. The proposal was rejected and Beaton for the moment carried all before him. Henry was so incensed at the refusal that he encouraged secretly a scheme for Beaton's assassination.

In March, 1546, took place the trial of George Wishart before Beaton, when he was condemned to be burned at the stake. The brutal event took place in front of Beaton's residence at St. Andrews on 28th March, and for this execution Beaton secured to himself many enemies. Beaton, because of it, was on 28th May following assassinated in St. Andrews Castle by Norman Leslie, John Leslie, Kirkaldy of Grange and several others.

In 1547, it is recorded that in the siege of St. Andrews, which then took place, Knox was taken prisoner and conveyed to France, and for two years worked as a galley slave, suffering many privations. At the end of that period he went to England and became for a time a chaplain to Edward VI. Edward, who in 1547 succeeded his father, sent a message demanding the conditions as to the betrothal of the young Queen to be fulfilled. The Catholic party in Scotland and France resented this, and the quarrel culminated in the battle of Pinkie, fought 10th September 1547, when the Scots, who made a poor appearance, were totally defeated. They were evidently, on that occasion, a mere rabble of undisciplined troops, with no officers capable of directing them. The battlefield adjoins Carberry Hill, where Queen Mary twenty years afterwards was betrayed.

On the news of this disaster, the Queen-mother at once removed with the Royal infant to Inchmahome, on the Lake of Menteith, accompanied with four young maids of honour, the four Maries, her tutor, her governess, Lady Fleming, mother of Mary Fleming, the lord keeper, Lord Erskine, and some others. Here she was allowed to pursue her studies during her brief stay; in Latin, French, History, etc., while in tapestry and embroidery she was taught by Lady Fleming. It is said that the preliminary articles for her marriage with the Dauphin of France were arranged here.

A council, composed of nobles who escaped from Pinkie, was held by the Regent, and Queen-mother at Stirling, when it was resolved that the education of the young Queen could not be safely conducted in a country exposed to constant war, and that she be moved to France. It was also stated by the Queen-mother that a betrothal with the Dauphin of France would be more appropriate than the English Prince whose hand had been rudely forced upon her. In conformity with this resolution the young Queen was the following year removed to Dumbarton Castle, where

she was domiciled for five months, and from thence she sailed for France on the 15th August, 1548. Her escort included Lords Erskine and Livingstone, the Lord James and the four Maries—Mary Fleming, Mary Beton, Mary Livingstone, and Mary Seton.

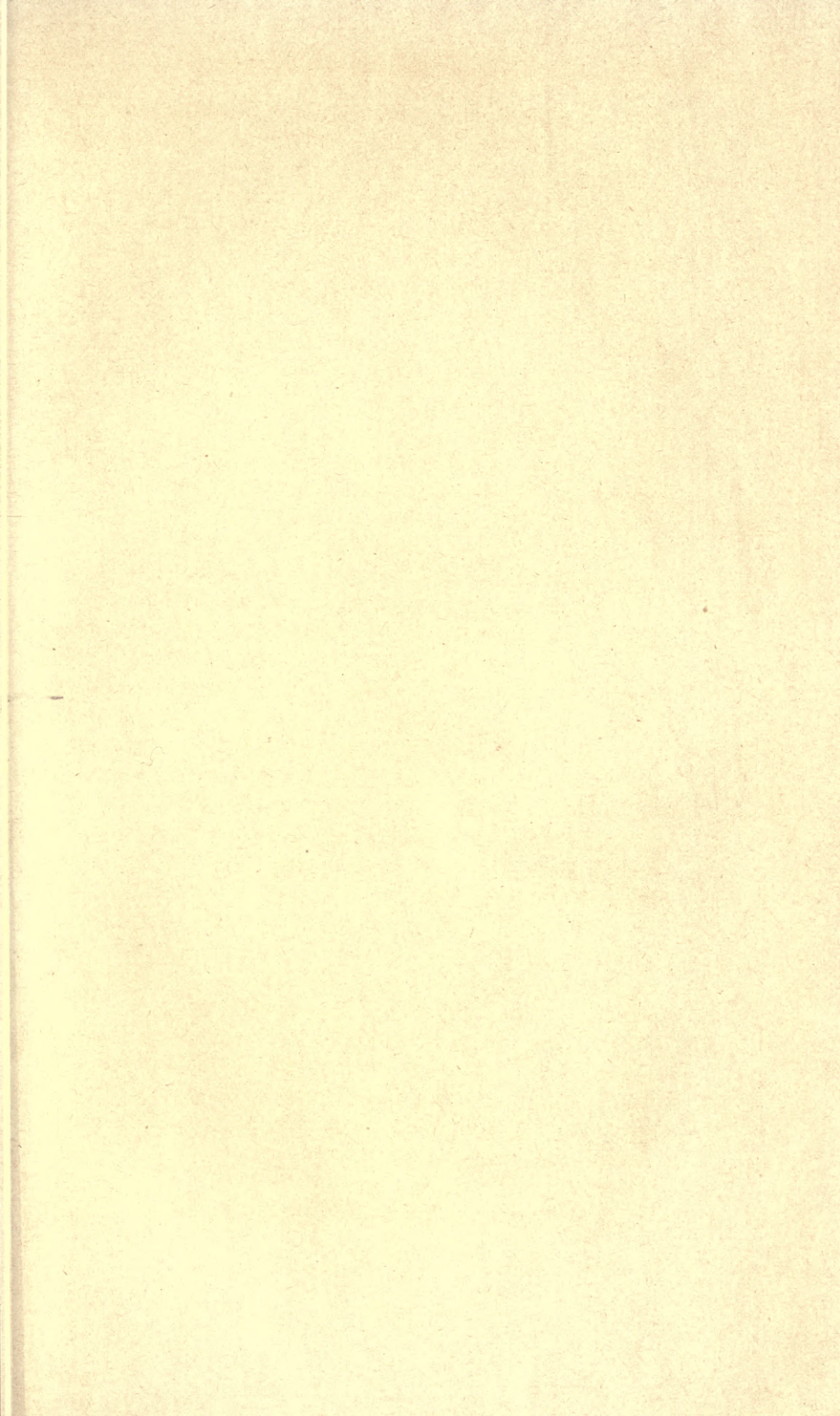
On 20th August, 1548, she arrived at the Palace of St. Germain and was welcomed by her future husband, the Dauphin, and the two princesses, his sisters. In a few weeks afterwards Mary danced with her young partner, the Dauphin, before the King and Queen, the foreign ambassadors, and a crowded Court, at the nuptial fête of Mary's uncle, the Duc d'Aumale, and attracted universal admiration. Mary was a great favourite with her uncle, the Duke of Guise, who occasionally carried her off to his country house to renovate her spirits. He would also mount her on horseback and make her accompany him to the chase. He was all tenderness to her and treated her with an excess of indulgence of which she ever maintained the most lively remembrance.

In 1550 peace was, by the treaty of Boulogne, concluded with England, and the eight years war for the capture of the young Queen terminated. On the conclusion of peace, the Queen-mother went to France in September to visit her daughter, but in reality to discuss the political situation at the French Court. Accompanied by Huntly, Cassillis, Sutherland, the Earl Marischal, and other nobles, she arrived at Rouen, where the Court sat, on 19th September, 1550. The King of France, Henry II., presided on the occasion, and there was a brilliant company of French nobles. After a long and exhaustive conference, it was resolved to offer the Regent Arran the estate and title of Chatelherault, and an establishment at the French Court for his eldest son, if he would at once resign the regency of Scotland. To this proposal Arran reluctantly assented, on the recommendation of the nobles who had returned from France, and to this day the Hamilton family hold this famous title. Mary

of Guise, after a short time spent in France, took leave of her daughter at Fontainebleau and returned to Scotland. She visited on her way the Court of England and Edward VI. as a politic move, and got a generous reception. The Bishop of Ross tells how King Edward "came to Whitehall for her entertainment, where there was great banqueting on her behalf. The antiquities, monuments, and principal jewels of the realm were shown to her, and then the King tried to persuade her to allow her daughter to marry him."

In the winter of 1552, having accompanied the King and Queen and Royal children of France to the Castle of Amboise, they spent a considerable time there together. Cardinal Lorraine, who was of the party, writing to the Queen-mother in Scotland, said: "Your daughter improves and increases every day in stature, goodness, beauty, wisdom and worth. She is so perfect and accomplished in all things honourable and virtuous, that the like of her is not to be seen in this realm. The King has taken such a liking to her that he spends much of his time in talking to her, sometimes by the hour together. And she knows as well how to entertain him with sensible conversation, as if she were a woman of five-and-twenty." Mary, in 1554, along with two of her Maries and three other ladies, performed parts in a classical ballet composed by Queen Catherine de Medicis, and they were to personate six sibyls and to address in turn a quatrain verse of compliment and welcome to Henry II., on his return from a journey to the South. Mary at this date being twelve years of age, chose her guardians, viz. :—Henry II., the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Duke of Guise, and appointed her mother Queen-Regent of Scotland. She was now of age to have an establishment of her own in France, and she had to give audience to deputations, and receive addresses and appeals from rival parties in Scotland, and frame her replies discreetly, so as not to give offence.

The Regent arranged to visit his dominions accom-





MARY OF LORRAINE.
Regent of Scotland, Wife of James V.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

To face p. 387.

panied by the Queen-mother, and to hold justice courts in the principal towns. At Inverness the Highland chiefs treated the Regent's Court with contempt. This occupied a considerable time, and the Queen-mother, from her prudence and wisdom and strong individuality, became a favourite with the people. At last in 1554 she took an opportunity to ask the Regent to fulfil his promise to resign, but he refused, and stated he would hold office till the young Queen was twelve years of age.

It was impossible for the Regent and the Queen-mother to get on harmoniously together. They had nothing in common. Her daughter, the young Queen, in 1554, as just stated, selected her guardians, and then devolved their authority on the Queen-mother. This move compelled Arran to resign. The Scottish Parliament met at Edinburgh on 12th April, when the young Queen's arrangements were ratified and Arran's resignation accepted. They conferred on him the Duchy of Chatelherault and allowed him to retain Dumbarton Castle till the Queen came of age. They also declared him to be the second person in the realm and nearest heir to the crown. The Queen-mother, Mary of Guise, then became Regent of Scotland.

Mary astonished the Court of France and the foreign ambassadors by the ease and grace with which she, on New Year's Day, 1555, recited to the King in the gallery of the Louvre, in the presence of a distinguished company, an oration in Latin of her own composition, in the style of Cicero, setting forth the capacity of females for the highest mental acquirements in literature and the fine arts. She was, on one occasion, addressed in French on the subject of Rhetoric and, says Brantome, "though unprepared, she replied with as much wit and eloquence as if she had been born in France. It was really beautiful to observe her manner of speaking; whether to the high or low, she always expressed herself gracefully and well, but she delighted in poetry above everything." On one occasion a woman whose enthusiasm was excited by the imposing character of

a pageant was so dazzled by the beautiful expression of Mary's countenance, and the splendour of her dress, that she threw herself at Mary's feet, exclaiming: "Are you not indeed an angel?"¹

In 1557 the Estates were reminded by the King of France that the time had arrived for completing the marriage of the young Queen with the Dauphin. Commissioners were thereupon sent over to France to represent Scotland. These were Archbishop Beaton, the Lord James, John Erskine of Dun, Lords Rothes and Cassillis, and Reid, Bishop of Orkney. The commissioners sailed for France on 8th February, 1558, in stormy weather, and two of their ships were lost by the way, one of these having the noblemens' coffers with their rich array of decorations and dresses for the honour of Scotland at the forthcoming grand marriage.

It was the duty of the Scots commissioners to inquire what the French King meant to give to the Dauphin and Dauphiness for the maintenance of their state; and they stipulated that Mary should receive for her sole and separate use a pension of 30,000 crowns, and 7,000 on her husband's accession to the throne of France, and that certain lands should be assigned for her jointure in case of widowhood; and in the event of her husband's decease that she should have the choice to reside in France or elsewhere; and if it pleased her to marry again, with the consent of the estates of her realm, she was to retain full power to draw the annual rents from her said jointure for her own free use wherever she might be: this was agreed to. The preparations for the celebration of her nuptials occupied, it is said, all the milliners, goldsmiths, jewellers, tailors and embroiderers, male and female, in Paris, for several weeks.

The marriage, which was one of the most imposing functions of the age, unrivalled as it was for magnificence and luxury, was celebrated on 24th April, 1558, in Notre Dame, in presence of the nobility and people of France,

¹ Strickland.

and amidst universal rejoicings and festivities in the French capital. It was stipulated by the marriage contract that if there was a son by the marriage he was to succeed to both thrones—Scotland and France ; if there were but daughters, the eldest was to reign in Scotland.

The marriage took place, as stated, at Notre Dame. The Duke of Guise was Master of Ceremonies, and Queen Mary's Scots musicians and minstrels, clad in red and yellow liveries of their Royal mistress, headed the procession. These were followed by two hundred gentlemen of the household of the King, followed by the princes of the blood, eighteen bishops and mitred abbots, the Archbishops and Cardinals of Bourbon, Lorraine and Guise, before whom were borne their crosses and mitres, and the Cardinal Legate of France, before whom was borne a cross of massive gold. Mary according to the official report, was dressed in a robe whiter than the lily, but so glorious in its fashion and decorations, glittering with diamonds, that it would be impossible for any pen to do justice to its details. Her regal mantle and train were of a bluish grey cut velvet, embroidered with white silk and pearls ; it was of a marvellous length, covered with precious stones, and supported by young ladies. She wore a Crown Royal, composed of the finest gold and most exquisite workmanship, set with diamonds, pearls, rubies and emeralds of inestimable worth, having in the centre a pendant carbuncle, the value of which was computed at 500,000 crowns. About her neck hung a matchless jewel, suspended by chains of precious stones said to have been that known in Scottish history as the Great Harry. This was her own personal property derived from her uncle, Henry VII. of England. The bridal party was received at Notre Dame by the King and Queen, the Archbishop of Paris, attended by his suite, and two officers bearing two silver chandeliers full of lighted wax tapers. The King and Queen of France, four cardinals, the princes of the blood and the flower of the French nobility surrounded the altar. Then the French

King drew from his finger a ring which he gave to the Cardinal Archbishop of Rouen for the nuptial ring of the Royal pair. Assisted by the Archbishop of Paris, the Cardinal of Rouen,¹ married them, with that ring, in the open pavilion before the gates of Notre Dame in presence of the assembled multitudes who made the opposite shores of the Seine resound with their acclamations.²

As soon as the benediction was pronounced, Mary saluted her husband as Frances I., King of Scotland, and the Scots commissioners advanced and paid him homage as such. Then the heralds threw among the people a great number of gold and silver coins in ducats, crowns of the sun, pistolets, half-crowns, etc. The Royal party entered the church, walking on the raised stage up the nave to the chancel, where a *ciel royal* had been raised, and a carpet of cloth of gold spread with cushions of the same for the use of the Royal family. On the right were the King and Queen; on the left the King Dauphin and the Queen Dauphiness—the newly-wedded pair—occupied the same carpet, while the Archbishop of Paris said Mass. During the offertory, pieces of gold and silver were again thrown among the people in token of liberality. King Henry, being informed that many of the people had been unable to obtain a full view of the grand spectacle, made the newly-wedded couple, with their procession, walk all round the outside of the stage, after which Mary and her husband went to the Archbishop's palace. A Royal banquet was then served up with great splendour. During the dinner the King commanded two knights of his chamber to support the Crown Royal worn by Mary. A ball succeeded, and was opened by King Henry and Queen Mary, who danced together. After the ball the bridal party proceeded to the Royal palace, which was magnificently fitted up, and it was generally declared that the Elysian fields could not be more enchanting. The Queen and Royal family, including

¹ Bourbon.

² Register of Hôtel de Ville, Paris.

the young couple, were seated at the marble table called the table of the bride, where they were regally served. Supper ended and the tables removed, Mary opened the ball, taking for her partner the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of the King. This dance was a difficult exercise of skill and feminine grace, for the train of the Royal bride was twelve yards in length, which was borne after her by a valet following the devious mazes of her course. The dance was a minuet performed by ladies alone. When it was finished they went to the golden chamber gilded with ducal gold. This was the chamber of peers. An assembly of peers had indeed met that night to join in the festive glee, and take part in the magnificent pageant. When the dancing was over there issued from the Chamber of Requests twelve artificial horses covered with cloth of gold, of which the mechanism was so ingenious as to produce an exact imitation of living motion. They were ridden by the children of the Dukes d'Aumale and Guise. After that came a company of pilgrims supposed to be destined for a tournament, each of whom recited an appropriate poem. This was followed by six beautiful ships, with silver masts and sails of silver gauze, which were industriously inflated by an artificial breeze. Seated on the deck of each vessel, in a chair of state, was a young prince dressed in cloth of gold and masked, and beside him a beautiful throne unoccupied. The ships made a mimic voyage round the grand hall with the same evolutions as if they had been on the sea, and the floorcloth being painted to imitate waves, was made to modulate to favour the deception. As the squadron passed the marble table where the ladies were seated each prince made a capture. The Dauphin caught his bride, Queen Mary, and placed her on the vacant throne beside him. The others followed suite. The fêtes were renewed next day at the Louvre with balls, masques and plays, while tournaments in honour of the occasion were held in the quadrangular court of the Tournelles for three successive days.

When the rejoicings were over the commissioners set out on their return home. Four died on the journey under suspicious circumstances, and what is mysterious, no investigation into the matter appears to have taken place. The four commissioners were Reid, bishop of Orkney, the Earls of Cassillis and Rothes, and James, fourth Lord Fleming, Chamberlain of Scotland. It is stated¹ that things had been said to these men in France which it was very undesirable should be repeated in Scotland, and so they were poisoned out of the way. This, of course, is a conjecture of the historian, but no absolute explanation of this mysterious occurrence has come down to us. The other commissioners brought home a proposal from the young Queen, that the Crown Matrimonial might be conferred on her husband. This involved an actual ceremony of coronation with a crown made for the purpose, and sent over in charge of a special embassy. It was after deliberation agreed to confer it during the marriage allenary.² This would allow the Dauphin to use the title of King of Scotland, and to bear the Royal Arms of Scotland along with those of France. On the Queen's second marriage it was believed that it meant a complete partnership in the crown, so that in default of children it would go to the survivor and the survivor's heirs.

The grand display, which was intended for a public assertion of Mary's right to the crown of England, took place on 6th July, 1559, in front of the palace of the Tournelles, now known as the Palais Royal. Mary was on that occasion borne to her place in the Royal balcony in a triumphal car emblazoned with the Royal escutcheons of England and Scotland. The car was preceded by two heralds, exclaiming: "*Place, place! pour la Reine d'Angleterre.*" In the midst of these rejoicings the King of France was mortally wounded in the eye, the result of an accident, and died four days thereafter. Mary's husband was immediately

¹ Hill Burton.

² Acts of the Scot. Par.

proclaimed Francis II., King of France. The Duke of Guise, the Grand Chamberlain, conducted the young King to the Louvre. Mary followed in the State carriage of the Queen of France. The Royal family separated on 12th July for a few days, Mary going to the Palace of St. Germain-en-Laye, and her husband to the palace of the Cardinal of Lorraine. The state of affairs in Scotland preyed on Queen Mary's mind in the midst of all the grandeur with which she was surrounded. Distressing letters as to the disturbed condition of Scotland were sent to her by the Queen-Regent, her mother, and culminated in Mary taking a nervous fever. Her letter to her mother proved that she sympathised in all her troubles and was urgent, along with her husband, to send her help. It is recorded that at this period Queen Elizabeth did everything in her power to foment disturbances in Scotland, yet thought it politic to pay ceremonious attention to Mary and Francis as King and Queen of France. Mary, along with her husband, enjoyed the recreation of the chase and their favourite diversion of fowling, and the health of both was much improved by these sports and exercises. The coronation of Francis took place at Rheims on 18th September, 1559. Out of respect for his father's memory, Francis issued orders that nobody save his wife should presume to appear in gold, jewels, or embroidery, or wear any other dress than black velvet or black silk. Mary was not included in the coronation rite because, as Queen-Regnant, it would have been beneath her dignity to submit to the forms prescribed for a Queen-consort of France. After the coronation Francis increased in height so rapidly that one writer declared he might almost be seen to grow. Mary induced her husband to confide their difficulties to the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, who thus ruled the administration of the realm. Mary preserved her popularity, and was regarded not only with respect but admiration by the French realm. On account of State duties the young

sovereigns were seldom many days together. On 21st August, 1560, they proceeded to Fontainebleau, where the meeting of the Estates of France was convened. Mary was present when her husband opened the assembly. He had grown tall and slender during the past two months, and his pallid countenance, it is said, bore traces of his sufferings. From Fontainebleau Mary and her husband returned to St. Germain, where they hoped to enjoy a season of pleasure. The youthful King, however, caught cold, sickened, and died very unexpectedly, of inflammation of the brain, on 5th December, 1560. He was only seventeen years of age. It was among the peculiar customs of French Royalty that the Queen-Dowager, immediately after the death of the King, retired into seclusion, daylight being shut out of her apartments, which were hung with black. She was served by lamp-light, only approached by females, and was dressed in white, and this she wore forty days. Mary wore the widow's black robes after her husband's funeral, and continued to do so for four years, such being the custom of the time. An elegant marble pillar was subsequently erected by her, as a tribute of her affection, to mark the spot where the heart of Francis II. was deposited in Orleans Cathedral. She also caused a medal to be engraved in commemoration of her love and grief, having the following, viz., a liquorice plant, the stem of which is bitter, bending mournfully towards the root, with this motto: "Earth hides my sweetness." The loss of her husband, so soon after her marriage, overwhelmed her with grief.

There were at this date two parties in the State: John Knox at the head of the one, and the Queen-Regent at the head of the other, the Catholics. On 11th May, 1559, Knox brought matters to an issue by his preaching at Perth and the destruction of the monasteries. War between these factions followed, as the inevitable result, which culminated in the great crisis of the Reformation. The movement which

brought about the Reformation quite inadvertently was the issue by the Queen-Regent of a proclamation requiring her subjects to observe Easter according to the Catholic form. This was too much for Knox, and he arrived in Perth immediately after to warn the people. The Church of St. John was full to overflowing. Amongst the audience on that memorable occasion were the Lord James, the Earl of Argyll, John Erskine of Dun, Ogilvy of Inverquharity and Scott of Abbotshall. Knox preached a powerful sermon on the present and past state of the Church, concluding with a passage in which an angel is represented as casting down a great millstone, exclaiming: "Thus with violence shall Babylon be thrown down." At the close of the sermon took place the destruction of the monasteries and the Abbey of Scone. The Queen-Regent, as might be expected, was highly irritated and excited at these proceedings, and at once raised an army to attack the Reformers at Perth. On 29th May, at the head of her troops and a French contingent under D'Oysel, she entered Perth, dismissed Ruthven from his office of Provost, and put Charteris of Kinfauns, a Catholic, in his place. She was accompanied by the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Atholl, the Earl Marischal and others. The keys of the city were surrendered to her by Ruthven and the magistrates, who were accompanied by the Lord James and Argyll. It is said she looked anxious and careworn, and though only forty years of age, she was a tall, captivating, as well as courageous woman, and rode majestically through the streets on horseback escorted by her ladies and lords, bishops, and the military. There was no fighting, but negotiations for peace, which went on between the two parties, turned out unsatisfactory, and the Regent returned to Edinburgh, leaving in Perth a garrison of 600 men. Eventually the Reformers assembled their troops at Perth, and on 24th June demanded Charteris to surrender. On his refusal, the batteries were opened on the town by

Ruthven in the west and a Dundee contingent in the east. The Regent sent no assistance to the garrison, and the town surrendered the following day.

In 1559 the Regent had an active life. The proceedings of the Reformers naturally caused her the greatest indignation, and she resolved to maintain her authority at the risk of her life. Some time after her visit to Perth, or on 16th October following, after months of skirmishing with the Reformers, the Insurgent leaders entered Edinburgh in spite of the Regent, with the intention of laying siege to Leith, where she had gone with her troops. She was well-supported by disciplined troops from France under D'Oysel, an able general. The Reformers, on the other hand, had a numerous body of men, but quite raw and undisciplined, and though they made a bold entry into Edinburgh they were obliged speedily to retire, as reinforcements arrived from France to the aid of the Regent. On Christmas Day, while the Reformers, who were led by Argyll and the Lord James, were in council at Stirling, two detachments of her troops under D'Oysel drove them from the town. The English Queen, who watched all these movements, sent a detachment of troops into Scotland to aid the Reformers, and on 4th April, 1560, joined with the Scots at Prestonpans, and immediately afterwards encamped before Leith, and the combined forces besieged it although it was defended by the Regent and 4,000 disciplined troops. The combined troops failed to effect anything, and on 14th April the French troops sallied out and killed 200 of them. On 7th May the final attack of the besiegers took place when they were discomfited, and in the engagement 800 of them were slain.

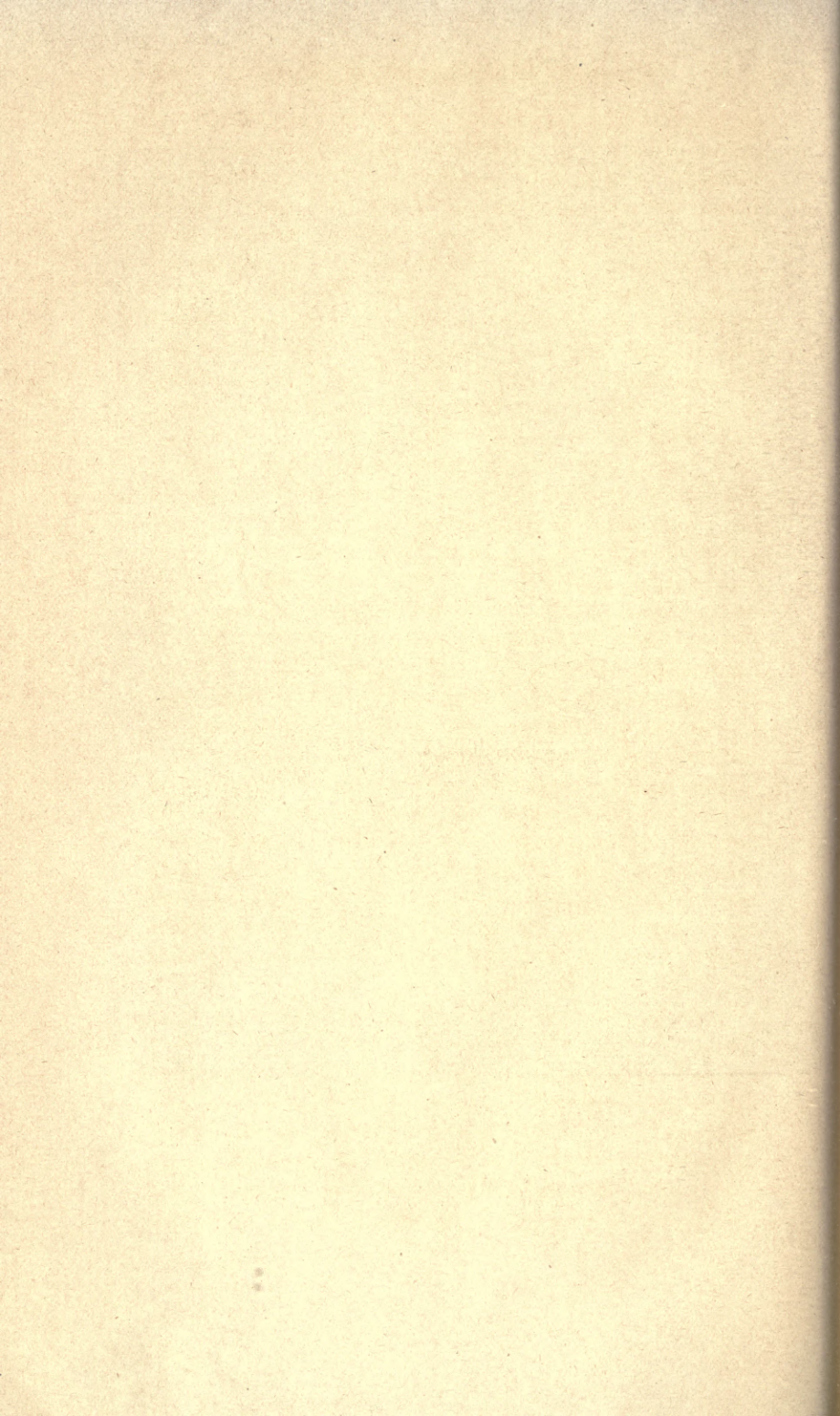
The Regent, finding her strength unequal to the task, removed to Edinburgh Castle, where she died unexpectedly on the 10th June of that year. On her death-bed she showed that air of magnanimity and generous feeling which her remarkable race could assume



MARY OF LORRAINE.

Queen of Scotland and Regent of Scotland, Wife of James V.

*(From the Duke of Devonshire's Collection at Chatsworth.)
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on all fitting occasions, so much so that she left a profound impression even on the hard hearts of the sturdiest of the Reformers. She sent for the Lord James, and spoke regretfully of the past, and suffered Willock, the preacher, without interruption, to deliver some of the exhortations which his own Order deemed good for such occasions.¹ There was very general regret over the kingdom at the death of this accomplished lady, who led an exemplary, unimpeachable life, in an age when the morality of the Court was at a low ebb. Her administrative qualities made her a great personality in the history of the time.

In June, 1560, commissioners arrived from England and France, and a mutual settlement of all difficulties was concluded. On 3rd August the Scottish Parliament met, when Knox and the clergy were instructed to draw up a statement of Protestant doctrine, which was done in four days thereafter in an instrument called the Book of Discipline, having twenty-five clauses. At this Parliament there were present the Duke of Hamilton, 13 earls, 19 lords, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and 5 bishops, 20 ministers, 22 commissioners of burghs, 110 barons, and several others.

As a minstrel Mary was captivating; her voice was melodious, and she never appeared to more advantage than when she touched the lute with a hand which presented a model to the sculptor; the susceptibility of her character imparted a touching expression to her countenance which would have excited interest, even without that symmetry of feature and form by which she is allowed to have been distinguished.²

It would appear from one of our best historians³ that Mary, tall like her mother, was finely modelled, and her beauty was of the delicate, elusive sort which perplexes the artist. She was hardy as a mountaineer, and she seems as a rule to have enjoyed perfect health. Much of the charm of her face depended on the expression. Lively and vivacious when excited, she was somewhat

¹ Hill Burton.

² Benger's "Memoirs of Mary."

³ Skelton.

sad when solitary. It is difficult to feel quite sure from her portrait what Mary was like.

Her hair was brown in the shade, golden in the sun. The clear, searching eyes are somewhat hazel, somewhat chestnut, but direct and unflinching as a hawk's. She had a lofty forehead, the space across the temple between eye and ear being very noticeable. Taken altogether it was a face of bewildering possibilities: a face to which many histories might attach.

Throgmorton, the English ambassador, writing to the Privy Council 31st December, 1560, says of Mary:—"Since her husband's death she hath showed that she is both of great wisdom for her years, modesty, and also of great judgment in the wise handling of herself and official matters. And already it appeareth that some who made no account of her do now, seeing her wisdom, both honour and pity her; on her husband's death she changed her lodgings, withdrew from all company, and became so solitary that she doth not to this day see daylight, and so will continue forty days. For fifteen days after the death of Francis she admitted no man into her chamber but the King, Charles IX., a boy ten years old, who was very fond of her;" and in a letter to Cecil same day, he says: "The Queen of Scotland, Elizabeth's cousin, doth carry herself so honourably and discreetly as I cannot but fear her progress. Methinks it were to be wished of all wise men and Her Majesty's subjects that the one of these two queens of Britain were transformed into the shape of a man to make so happy a marriage as thereby might be a unity of the whole isle and their appendancies." As soon as Mary emerged from her seclusion she was overwhelmed with proposals of marriage. Among the visitors was Henry, Lord Darnley, commissioned by his mother, Lady Margaret Lennox, a shrewd and farseeing woman, to deliver letters of condolence. At this crisis Mary was much importuned by Throgmorton to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh (which renounced her connection with the English crown). She replied to him:

“As I have men of the nobles of my realm of Scotland here to take advice of, by whom the Queen, my sister, doth advise me to be counselled, I dare not nor think it good, to ratify the treaty, and if I should do any act that might concern the realm without their advice and counsel, it were like I should have them such subjects unto me as hitherto. But for all such matters as are past I have forgotten them, and at the Queen’s desire have pardoned them, trusting I shall find them hereafter, by her means, better and more loving subjects than they have been.”

Mary, in May, 1561, went on a visit to Lorraine, and was met on the border by the Duke and his mother, the Duchess - Dowager, and the cardinal. Here her mornings were devoted to hunting, hawking, riding at the ring, and in the evening balls, masques, and other pastimes. She had neither health nor spirits to sustain her part in this round of amusement. Even in joy her heart was sorrowful, and it was observed that her white veil was not more tintless than the pale cheek it shaded. She had made her arrangements to grace the coronation of the young King with her presence in token of her friendly disposition as Queen of Scotland, and to maintain the ancient alliance between the realms. Mary recovered her health at Lorraine, and afterwards arranged to go to Paris. The compliment of a public entry was offered her as a proof of the respect in which she was held. The young brother of the King, accompanied by all the princes of the blood Royal and a splendid train of nobles, came to receive and welcome her at the gate of St. Denis, and conducted her to the Louvre, which was her residence during her visit there; the homage, the adoration with which she was treated, proved that she enjoyed a pre-eminence of which no accidental declension in point of rank could deprive her; the charm of her conversation, her graceful address, her captivating manners, had raised the woman above the queen.¹ Throgmorton again importuned her to

¹ Benger.

ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh, but she refused to do so till she had the advice of her ministers. He then raised the religious question, to which she replied: "I am none of those that will change my religion every year; and as I told you in the beginning, I mean to constrain none of my subjects, but could wish that they were all such as I am, and I trust they shall have no support to constrain me." Throgmorton, who was regarded as a judicious and honest ambassador, was compelled to "nag" Queen Mary on the subject of the treaty by command of his mistress, the Queen of England.

Mary resolved to return to Scotland, but Elizabeth, on a request being made, refused her a passport through her dominions. Thereupon Throgmorton and Mary had a lengthened interview, when Mary expressed her sentiments about the conduct of Elizabeth. Throgmorton said it was because she would not ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh. One of Elizabeth's great objections to the return of Mary was, it is said, her jealousy of the courtship of her own matrimonial suitor, Eric, King of Sweden, with the Royal widow, to whom he had transferred his addresses. "The Queen of England," says the Spanish ambassador, "the moment she lands in her own realm will be espoused to the King of Sweden, and strengthened by his power, will then attempt to contest the crown of England with her." Mary's return to Scotland was delayed from want of money. She had received no part of her income from Scotland for more than a year. She felt it would not do to return empty-handed, and was under the necessity of obtaining a loan of 100,000 crowns from the French King, for which she gave him a mortgage on her dowry in security. Mary departed from St. Germain-en-Laye on 25th July, 1561, attended by a brilliant and numerous retinue of nobles and princes. She remained at Calais till 15th August, when she left France finally for Scotland. When the sails were set and the ship began to get out to sea, Mary's tears flowed without intermission. Leaning both her arms

on the gallery of the vessel, she turned her eyes on the shore she was leaving with longing, lingering looks, crying at every stroke of the oars: "Adieu, France! beloved France, adieu!" When darkness approached she was entreated to descend into the state cabin that had been prepared for her and take supper, but her heart was too full. Instead of retiring for repose, she ordered a chamber to be prepared for her on the poop gallery, and her couch to be spread for the night within that curtained screen. Before she retired she requested the pilot that in the event of the coast of France being still visible, to direct her ladies to awaken her, no matter how early it might be, that she might take another look at that dear land. The vessel made little progress during the night, and she was awakened in the early morning and told that the French coast was still visible. She looked out, and with a burst of weeping exclaimed: "It is past! Farewell, farewell to France! Beloved land which I shall behold no more!" After two whole days and nights at sea she arrived at Leith on 20th August. Shortly after her arrival in Edinburgh, she appointed as her Privy Council the Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, Atholl, Morton, Glencairn, Montrose, Erroll, the Earl Marischal, the Lord James, Lord Erskine Lesley, bishop of Ross, Maitland and Sir David Balfour.

On Sunday, 24th August, the first Sunday after her arrival, she ordered Mass to be said in the Chapel Royal, Holyrood, for herself and household. Lord Lindsay of the Byres, a Protestant, put on his armour, and followed by a few exasperated men, attacked the Queen's almoner and would have slain him if he had not fled into the presence of his mistress. Mary exclaimed: "This is a fair commencement of what I have to expect; what will be the end I know not, but I foresee it will be bad." The Lord James, who disapproved of Lindsay's conduct, then kept the door, so that she was allowed to proceed with her devotions.

Queen Mary's first public act after her arrival in

Scotland was the great state procession from Holyrood to Edinburgh Castle, which took place on 2nd September, Her Majesty was on horseback, accompanied by her four Maries and a large following of the nobles. It was one of the merriest days of her life. Her next step was to intimate her views on the religious question, which she did in the form of a proclamation in which she assured her subjects of her determination to maintain the Protestant faith, and added that no one should be permitted under pain of death to attempt any innovation on the national religion. This proclamation is confirmed by documents in the State Paper Office. Some time after she had settled at Holyrood she expressed a desire to see John Knox. It is an interesting episode in her life, and the interview manifests considerable intellectual acumen on her part. She was at this date nineteen years of age. At the interview she blamed Knox for the violence of his book against female government, and pointed out its evil consequences in exciting to rebellion. She advised him to treat with greater charity those who differed from him. Knox: "If, Madam, to rebuke idolatry and to persuade the people to worship God according to His Word be to raise subjects against their princes, I stand accused, for so have I acted." He professed his willingness to live in contentment under Her Majesty's government as long as she kept her hands undefiled by the blood of the saints. "Daniel and his fellows," he said, "were subjects of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, yet they refused to be of their religion." "But," said the Queen, "these men did not resist." "And yet," said Knox, "they who obey not the commandment may virtually be said to resist." "Do you maintain," said she, "that subjects having the power may resist their princes?" "Most assuredly," said Knox, "if princes exceed their bounds." "Well, then," says the Queen, "I perceive that my subjects shall only obey you and not me." "I must learn to be subject to them not they to me." Said Knox: "God forbid that it should ever

be so ; far be it from me to command any, or to absolve subjects from their lawful obedience ; God has enjoined kings to be nursing fathers and queens nursing mothers to his Church." " Yes," said the Queen, " that is indeed true, but yours is not the Church I shall nourish ; I shall defend the Church of Rome, for I think it is the true Church of God." Knox, who burst into indignation, said : " Your will, Madam, is no reason, neither doth your thought make that Roman harlot to be the immaculate spouse of Christ ; this Church is altogether polluted with every kind of spiritual abomination as well in doctrine as in manners." Said the Queen : " My conscience is not so." " Conscience," said Knox, " requires knowledge, and I fear of right knowledge you have but little." This insolent remark closed the interview. In Queen Mary's Court, and during the six years she reigned at Holyrood, a refinement in the manners and customs of the nobles is stated to have become visible. A few days after her interview with Knox, she visited the towns of Perth and Stirling, where she made her official entry, accompanied by a numerous escort of her nobles, and the four Maries.

This year the Lord James married Agnes Keith, daughter of the Earl Marischal. Mary, who always behaved generously on these occasions, gave a banquet in honour of the Lord James, notwithstanding his unkindness to her. She presided at this banquet and dedicated a toast to the Queen of England : and afterwards gave the cup, which was of gold, as a present to Randolph, the English Ambassador. The banquet wound up with a night's dancing.

Early in 1562 a proposal was made and agreed to for a meeting of the two Queens. When the time came, Elizabeth began to be fickle, and postponed her meeting indefinitely. It never afterwards took place.

In the same year took place what is called in history the Huntly Rebellion and the execution of the Gordons, one of the most mysterious events in the reign of Queen Mary. As a matter of fact, there is no

rebellious conduct of Huntly to be found narrated on the official record nor anywhere else. It was evidently a plot by the Lord James to slaughter Huntly in order to seize the Earldom of Moray. It was a disgraceful affair, from first to last, the Queen, who supported him, being guilty of conduct which was wholly indefensible. The Queen, with some of her ministers, in August 1562, set out to visit her Northern dominions, and at Old Aberdeen on 27th August was met by the Earl and Countess of Huntly, to whom she gave a cold reception. Huntly had made great preparations for her at his house, and he was surprised and disappointed that she declined to visit him. On 10th September, on her way to Inverness, she rested at Darnaway, where, it is recorded, she conferred the Earldom of Moray on the Lord James because of Huntly's rebellion. She then proceeded to Inverness. Captain Alexander Gordon, keeper of the castle, not knowing the Queen was in the neighbourhood, refused to open the gates to Moray, and for this he was arrested and executed next day. The Queen, after visiting the bishop of Moray, returned to Aberdeen and made an official entry there about 22nd September. She would appear to have made a lengthened visit, for we find a Privy Council meeting was held there on 15th October, to which Huntly was cited "to answer to such things as might be laid to his charge," but being an innocent man he disdained to comply. He was then put to the horn. This meant war, and on 28th October his followers and Moray's fought it out at Corrichie Burn, twelve miles west of Aberdeen, when Moray was victorious; but Huntly, though not slain, died on the battlefield. Moray was not content with this. The dead body of the great chief was carried to Edinburgh, where it was cruelly treated, and not allowed to be interred for some months. The trial of Huntly took place after his death.¹ The coffin was set upright in court as if the Earl stood upon his feet. His accusation was read, his proctor answering

¹ Rutland MSS.

for him. He was found guilty, the cloth that covered the coffin torn away, and his armorial bearings torn to pieces before the court. Of all this Moray was the sole author, and a disgraceful act it was. The Queen now began to see that she had committed a blunder, and she regretted that she had refused the invitation and submission of Lord and Lady Huntly.¹ One of Huntly's sons, Sir John Gordon, who was arrested by Moray, was led through the streets of Aberdeen bound with ropes like a common criminal, and Moray placed the Queen at the window of her lodging to see him pass, but the Queen almost fainted at the sight. Gordon was thereafter executed, as also were six other Gordons, by Moray's orders. And so the great Huntly family was cruelly massacred, evidently for no other reason than that the Lord James should get the possession of the Moray estates with their large and lucrative revenues.

The Earldom of Moray having reverted to the Crown was on 13th February, 1549, conferred on George Gordon, fourth Earl of Huntly, who fell at Corrichie. The Regent Moray had two daughters, Elizabeth, married in 1580 to James Stewart, afterwards Earl of Moray in right of his wife, and first Lord Doune; this was the bonnie Earl. He was created Lord Doune in 1581. James Stewart's father was the Abbot of St. Colme. Margaret, the second daughter, married Francis, Earl of Errol. James Stewart had received from James VI. a gift of the ward and marriage of the two daughters of the Regent, and shortly afterwards married the eldest one.²

In April, 1563, the Queen went to Lochleven, where she had a good deal of recreation in hawking, and where, by request, she had a visit from Knox. She asked him to try and bring about a reconciliation between the Earl and Countess of Argyll, who had been suing for divorce. Evidently there was afterwards a reconciliation, for the Countess became a close companion of the Queen, and was one of those who was at supper in the Queen's private chamber at Holyrood on the

¹ Aboyne Papers.

² Dict. Univ. Bio.

night of Riccio's murder. After her Lochleven holiday the Queen went to Edinburgh to open in person her first Parliament on 26th May. She rode from Holyrood to Parliament House in robes of state, Hamilton, Argyll and Moray carried respectively the crown, sceptre and sword. She opened Parliament with a vigorous little speech of her own composition delivered in the Scottish language. Randolph, the English minister, describing this event to the Earl of Rutland, says: "Then followed the Queen in her Parliament robes and a rich crown on her head; noblemen's wives in order of rank twelve in number; the four Maries demoiselles of honour. A fairer sight was never seen. There followed as many more so wonderful in beauty that I know not what Court may be compared to them. The beauty this day was there of the whole realm. Having received her place in Parliament, and silence being restored, she delivered with singular good grace an oration, short, and very pretty, whereof I send your lordship a copy, as I am sure she made it herself and deserved great praise for the same."

Parliament rose on the 4th June, and Mary went to Inverary on a visit to the Countess of Argyll, where she stayed three weeks; then she went to their residence on the Clyde, Roseneath, where she stayed a night, after which she went to Eglinton Castle on a visit to the Earl of Eglinton. After this she spent a fortnight in Glasgow, and went from that to St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbright. She was attended on these visits by her ladies and officers of state, and performed the journeys on horseback. Shortly afterwards she paid a visit to Drummond Castle, and then went to Glenfinlas, near Callander, where she had some delightful sport in hunting.

In the same year two members of Knox's congregation were arrested for creating a riot at Holyrood and disturbing the Queen's household at their devotions. In view of their trial, Knox invited quite a number of the lieges to come into Edinburgh, so that the judges

might be intimidated. Knox was tried for treason for doing so, and the trial was a sparkling episode in the Queen's life. She took her seat at the head of the table and directed the proceedings, while Knox stood uncovered at the foot. Maitland read the indictment. The Queen: "Who gave him authority to make convention of my lieges; is not this treason?" "No, Madam," said Ruthven, "for he makes convocation of the people to hear prayers and sermons almost daily; and whatever your Grace and others will think thereof, we think it no treason." Queen: "Hold your peace, and let him answer for himself." Knox: "I began to reason with the secretary, whom I take to be a better dialectician than your Grace, that all convocations are not unlawful, and now my Lord Ruthven hath given the instance which your Grace will not deny." Queen: "I will say nothing against your religion, nor against your convening to your sermons, but what authority have you to convene my subjects without my order?" Knox alleged that he had the authority of the Kirk for what he had done, and therefore could not be in the wrong. Queen: "Is it not treason, my lords, to accuse a prince of cruelty? I think there be acts of Parliament against such whisperers." Knox: "Is it lawful for me, Madam, to answer for myself, or shall I be condemned before I be heard?" Queen: "Say what you can, for I think ye have enough to do." His defence was that he alluded not to her in his letters, nor yet to her cruelty, but the cruelty of the Papists. The Queen, we are informed, acquitted him. In 1564 we have the recital of that remarkable incident when Sir James Melville, as Queen Mary's ambassador, visited Queen Elizabeth to discuss the Darnley marriage. In accomplishments Mary was Elizabeth's superior, and after asking numerous personal questions about her rival, Elizabeth insisted on dancing before Melville, after which she asked him who danced best, Mary or her; to which the cautious ambassador replied that "the Queen of Scots danced not so high

and disposedly as she did!" Nothing more is recorded.

In June the Queen went to the Highlands on a pleasure excursion, and to indulge in outdoor exercises, of which she never wearied. She had great sport, as the Highland chiefs were devoted to her, and their ghillies swept forward game of all kinds. She was a swift rider, and kept up with the foremost of the chiefs. It is recorded that she held some courts of justice here, and also had receptions for the Highland ladies, who could not go to Edinburgh, but we have no details of these. She also convened a music meeting, and offered a harp as a prize to the best performer. The competition duly came off, and the prize was won by Beatrice Gardyne of Banchory, to whom the Queen said, in presenting it: "You alone are worthy to possess the instrument you touch so well." The harp was much prized by the fair winner as long as she lived, and by her posterity afterwards. It eventually found its way into the family of the Robertsons of Lude, thereafter into that of the Stewarts of Dalguise, and is now in the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh.

On 19th January the Queen, *incognita*, accompanied with her four Maries, paid a visit to St. Andrews. She was also accompanied by other ladies of the Court, and took apartments in a private house, which house is still in existence. Randolph, Elizabeth's minister, followed her, and also took apartments there, but the Queen refused to speak to him on official matters. She said to him: "If you are weary here, return home to Edinburgh, and keep your grave subjects until the Queen come hither; I assure you, you will not get her here, for I know not myself where she is." Randolph fell in love with one of the Queen's Maries—Mary Beaton—but nothing came of it. After spending four weeks at St. Andrews the Queen went on a visit to Wemyss Castle, where she met Lord Darnley. Her visit lasted three days, when she returned to Edinburgh. On 5th March one of the Queen's Maries, Mary



MARY BETON.
One of the Queen's Maries.

(From a Portrait formerly in the collection of Col. Bethune of Balfour.)



Livingstone, was married to the Master of Sempill, afterwards Lord Sempill, when the Queen gave a sumptuous banquet attended by her Court and the principal nobility. The four Maries had pledged themselves not to marry until the Queen married again. That would mean that the Queen's marriage with Darnley was practically settled at the Wemyss Castle visit. On the 31st March the Queen, accompanied by Darnley, Lennox, Randolph and others, proceeded to Stirling Castle, where she and Darnley amused themselves by playing billiards with Randolph and Mary Beaton. Darnley took a severe illness, and the Queen was devoted in her attention to him, sometimes sitting with him till midnight. This attention was misunderstood in some quarters.

On 15th May following, the Queen summoned a convention of the nobles to meet at Stirling, in order to obtain their consent to her marriage with Darnley. The convention was numerously attended. The Queen intimated the proposed alliance which was approved without a dissentient voice: Moray and Morton, who were present, being conspicuous by their silence. She summoned a meeting at Perth on 22nd June for the purpose of confirming. Moray declined to attend this meeting. As he would, by this marriage, be absolutely removed from the Queen's counsels, he opposed the alliance, while Throgmorton arrived with despatches from Elizabeth, denouncing it in strong terms. The Queen took up a dignified position, and sent a message to Elizabeth that the husband she had chosen was descended from the blood Royal of both kingdoms, was approved by the Scottish nobles, would be acceptable, she believed, to the subjects of both realms, and she declined to discuss the matter further. Moray and Argyll put themselves in communication with Elizabeth as to whether it would not be better to murder Darnley, or seize him and his father and deliver them to the English Queen. This plot, it is believed, was supported by Maitland, Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay and Bothwell.



These were the men who eventually murdered Darnley and blamed the Queen. Elizabeth's next move, seeing Darnley was beyond her jurisdiction, was to order his mother, Lady Margaret Lennox, to be sent to the Tower, so that that innocent lady might suffer vicarious imprisonment, in order to appease Elizabeth's wrath. Elizabeth then informed Moray, through Randolph, that she would support them in their rebellion, as she was resolved to oppose the marriage by force of arms. In this she was defeated, although her conduct calls for severe rebuke. The General Assembly then resolved to petition the Queen against the alliance as "the blasphemous Mass and all Popish idolatry should be abolished, not only throughout the kingdom, but also in her Royal person and household. This unreasonable petition was presented by the Earl of Glencairn and five commissioners at Perth, the Queen being for a time resident there. She informed them that "she was not persuaded that there was any impropriety in the Mass, and she hoped her subjects would not press her to act against her conscience. She would not forsake the religion wherein she had been brought up. . . . She did not intend to force the conscience of any person, but to permit everyone to serve God in such manner as they are persuaded is the best." This reply is simply a re-echo of what she told Moray in France when she agreed, not without reluctance, to accept the crown of Scotland. She therefore had no right to be interfered with in the private devotional exercises of her household. Her refusal to comply with the arbitrary request of the General Assembly led up, it is alleged, to the extraordinary proposal of Moray to seize her on 1st July 1565, as she went from Perth to Callander House. This audacious plot became known the night before, when Squire Lindsay of Dowhill at once posted into Perth to warn the Queen of her danger. Atholl and Ruthven, between that night and five o'clock the following morning, raised a force of about 300 men, who at that early hour escorted the Queen and her

party to Callander House, the residence of Lord Livingstone, where the Queen was to be god-mother at the baptism of his child. We are informed that two hours later Moray and Argyll were on the road with their followers to kidnap the Queen, but to their disgust found themselves nonsuited. It is conceivable that this incident had also to do with the resolution of Elizabeth and Moray to stop the Queen's marriage.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Privy Council and Moray's Rebellion—Proclamation against Moray—Marriage of Mary and Darnley—Mary at head of troops pursues Moray—Moray and his followers escape to England—Queen Elizabeth offers her services—Assassination of Riccio—Moray returns to Edinburgh—Interview with Mary—Riccio conspirators solicit pardon—The Riccio Bond—Mary and Darnley escape to Dunbar—Birth of James—Mary at Jedburgh and Hermitage—The famous Craigmillar meeting—Baptism of James at Stirling—Darnley at Glasgow and Kirk of Field—Assassination of Darnley—Trial of Bothwell—Ainslie Supper and Bond—Bothwell captures the Queen—The Bothwell marriage—The bogus marriage contracts—Carberry Hill engagement—Mary seized and imprisoned in Lochleven—Lindsay forces her Abdication—Moray visits Mary at Lochleven—Mary escapes from Lochleven—Battle of Langside—Death of Bothwell—Mary escapes into England—Communicates with Elizabeth—Mary removed to Bolton.

REIGN OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

A.D. 1542—1567.

WE come now to a curious incident: the open conspiracy or rebellion of the Earl of Moray, which will be best explained by the reproduction of the official papers which have not before been published. This occurred immediately after his failure to seize the Queen, and the reason for so foolish and treasonable a policy was evidently because he was opposed to the Queen's marriage, having himself an eye to the throne. That event would remove Moray from the counsels of the Queen and from the direction of the national administration. His power as the Queen's adviser would be gone, and he would be reduced to the rank of an ordinary nobleman. That would not suit an ambitious man like Moray. His rebellion was contemptible, and constituted high treason, and was



MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

(From a Portrait in the Drummond Castle Collection.)



not what we would have expected from a man of his character; although we cannot overlook his treatment of Lord Huntly. On the present occasion his scheme was to circulate a rumour that Darnley and others had conspired against his life, and that the Darnley conspirators had, in the back gallery of the Queen's lodging at St. Johnstoun, come to this resolution. This was a very ingenious attempt to stop the Queen's marriage, but it did not, for the marriage took place at the time appointed. Several meetings of the Privy Council were held in connection with Moray's rebellion, in all of which we can trace the finger of the Queen; as the scandalous report caused her the greatest indignation. It will be noticed how summarily and determinedly she deals with the matter and how her courage rose to the occasion:—

Edinburgh 17th July, 1565.—Which day the Privy Council met. The Queen being informed how the Earls of Moray and Argyll have persuaded the lieges to believe that the deed of Moray¹ was conspired and devised in the back gallery of the Queen's lodging at St. Johnstoun, by Henry, Lord Darnley, Earl of Ross, and others of Her Majesty's company: which report, besides the slander that attaches to those who are alleged to have been the authors, is prejudicial and hurtful to Her Majesty, and cannot be allowed to go unpunished. She, with the advice of the lords of her Privy Council, directs John Hay, Commendator of Balmerino, and Robert Crichton of Eliock, to the said Earls of Moray and Argyll or either of them, whom they shall apprehend. That they command and in the Queen's name and authority require the said Earls of Moray and Argyll, on their allegiance and as they will declare themselves noblemen and faithful subjects of the Queen, to declare plainly and truthfully the words and report made to them of the said alleged conspiracy, the form and manner of it, and the name of the reporter. That the said Earls write and subscribe the same and send

¹ Moray's Slaughter.

it to Her Majesty's advocate; certifying and assuring him if they delay, or in any way conceal the simple truth of the report, and report to the effect that the same may come to a clear trial, Her Majesty will consider they have forged and invented this report, in order to raise rebellion among the people, and by so doing bring Her Majesty and Lord Darnley into trouble with her subjects.

Edinburgh, 19th July, 1565.—Which day the Privy Council met. The Queen having understood by the report of John Hay, Commendator of Balmerino, and Robert Crichton of Eliock, who, by Her Majesty's command, were directed to the Earls of Moray and Argyll; among other matters discussed with them had declared that he (Moray) was agreeable to come to Her Majesty for declaration of the truth of the report made to him regarding the alleged conspiracy for his slaughter, in St. Johnstoun, so that he might be assured of his life, and Her Majesty willing that the simple *veritas* of the said untrue report may be investigated, and that the said Earl's suspicions and fear may be removed to the effect that he may be present, and that he be assured of his life and freedom from bodily harm, Her Majesty hereby assures and takes under her protection and defence the Earl of Moray and those who may be in his company. The lords of the Secret Council and nobility likewise give their assurance that they may safely come and appear before Her Majesty on the third day next after sight hereof that the Earl of Moray may freely discharge himself of the said report alleged by him as affecting his honour, and come, fully prepared, with all things necessary for verification thereof. Her Majesty has signed these presents with her own hand, as also the lords of the Secret Council and others of the nobility.

MARIE, R.

H. ROS (DARNLEY).

MATHEW, LENNOX.

MORTOUN.

Edinburgh, 20th July, 1565.—Which day the Privy Council met. The Queen directed her charge as before, with the advice of her Council, commanding James, Earl of Moray, to send his declaration in writing touching the report made to him of the conspiracy for his slaughter, said to have been devised in St. Johnstoun; which report being brought to Her Majesty by her servants sent for the purpose, it appears to the Queen and her Council that his confession is not so sufficient as the matter requires. Therefore Her Majesty, that Moray may have no excuse, requires him to repair to her Grace for further confession, and for the declaration of the truth anent the said conspiracy. Her Majesty, with the advice of her Council, ordains an officer of arms to pass, command, and charge the Earl of Moray that he, within three days next after the said charge, appear before her within the Palace of Holyroodhouse with certification that if he fail, Her Majesty will use such rigour against him in bringing the said conspiracy to light as may be warranted by the laws of the realm.

Edinburgh, 22nd July, 1565.—Which day the Privy Council met and resolved:—Forasmuch as divers wicked, ungodly, and seditious persons, tired of the tranquillity which since the arrival of the Queen, and during her government, has existed, have spread untrue reports among her subjects, as that Her Majesty had intended to impede, stay or molest any of them in the using of their religion and conscience freely, the success of which untrue report has taken effect to the great grief of Her Majesty. Seeing a great number of her lieges causelessly to have taken up arms, and thereby to spread jealousy and distrust, whereas Her Majesty never presumed to alter the condition of the common weill. And since this defection is altogether contrary to Her Majesty's expectation, she must provide for the safety and preservation of the realm where God has placed her. Therefore ordains her subjects to come to her standard with twenty-five days of provisions, under pain of forfeiture of their lands and goods.

Edinburgh, 28th July, 1565.—The Queen understanding by the reports of John, Lord Erskine, and Sir John Maxwell of Terregles, the ardent desire of the Earl of Moray to declare his obedience to her, and with what anxiety he desires to speak with her, and for discharging himself of the reports circulated regarding the alleged conspiracy for his assassination. That he may be present for full demonstration thereof, and full assurance of his life and all bodily harm, Her Majesty assures, and takes under her protection the Earl of Moray and fourscore persons in company with him, of whatever state or condition they be of. The lords of the Secret Council also assure them that they may safely come and appear before Her Majesty between this and the last day of July, and that they will not be molested. Her Majesty, and the lords of the Secret Council subscribe this assurance. (The Queen was married the following day.)

Edinburgh, 1st August, 1565.—Which day the Privy Council resolved:—As James, Earl of Moray, was not only divers times gently requested, but in the Queen's name commanded to appear before her on a certain day bygone, to answer to the things laid to his charge, and had disobediently absented himself, therefore the King and Queen, with the advice of the lords of the Secret Council, ordain letters to be directed to officers of arms charging them to command Moray to appear before their Majesties at Edinburgh on 1st August inst., to answer to the charges against him under pain of rebellion and putting him to the horn, and if he failed to appear, to denounce him as a rebel and put him to the horn.

The sederunt at this meeting, which indicates the great excitement that was prevalent concerning this incident, was—the Earls of Morton, Atholl, Errol, Glencairn and Mar, Ruthven, Maxwell of Terregles; the Earls of Crawford, Cassillis, Hume, Sempill, Somerville, Ross de Hacket; Lords Cathcart, Lindsay of the Byres, Grey, Master of Graham; Masters of Sinclair, Glamis,



THE REGENT MORAY.

Borthwick; Hay of Yester, Lord Livingstone and the Master of Oliphant.

Edinburgh, 7th August, 1565.—Which day the Privy Council met. Forasmuch as Moray, being commanded to appear before the King and Queen, has notwithstanding contemptuously disobeyed, and is therefore denounced as a rebel. In order that none of the lieges pretend ignorance, therefore ordains intimation and publication of the said denunciation to be made to the Duke of Chatelherault, and Archibald, Earl of Argyll, and by open proclamation at the Mercat Cross of the burghs within the realm; and to charge them that none of the lieges assist or entertain Moray, or give him access to their houses under pain of being held partakers with him in his disobedience and rebellion, with certification that those who violate this order shall be punished with all extremity as rebels, and as an example to others.

Edinburgh, 14th August, 1565.—The Privy Council resolved:—For as much as James, Earl of Moray, being commanded to appear before the King and Queen on a certain day by past, to answer to certain things laid to his charge; also the Earl of Rothes, Kirkaldy of Grange, and James Haliburton, being commanded to enter their persons in ward; Rothes and Kirkaldy within the Castle of Dumbarton, and Haliburton within the Castle of Dunbar, have all contemptuously disobeyed, and therefore are denounced as rebels and put to the horn. That the said persons may not be encouraged in their rebellion, and that their houses and goods may be taken away, their Majesties ordain letters to be directed to officers of the Queen, sheriffs in that part commanding them to charge Moray, Rothes, Kirkaldy and Halliburton, keepers and withholders of the houses and place of the Abbey of St. Andrews, Castle Tower, and fortalice of Bambrick, the Fortalice of Hallyards, and other places and castles belonging to the said persons, to deliver the same to whom their Majesties may direct. And to remove the said persons, their servants

and goods, within twelve hours next after they be charged, under pain of treason and process of forfault led against them according to Acts of Parliament, laws and practice of this realm. Their Majesties understand that Moray, with other rebels, have withdrawn themselves to Argyll and the Highlands, intending to make their residence there and to have such comfort and entertainment that this rebellion shall not be repressed. Their Majesties, thinking it convenient to cut off from them all means of entertainment, ordain officers of arms to command and charge the captain, constable and keeper of Dumbarton Castle, the Provost and bailies of Glasgow, Dumbarton and Irvine, and other places, by proclamation at the Mercat Cross of said burghs, that nobody supply the said rebels with any kind of victuals, nor suffer any kind of victuals or armour to be carried to the same, under pain of being held partakers in the said rebellion, with certification to those who disobey, that they shall be held as rebels and punished as such, with all extremity, as an example to others.

Edinburgh 15th August.—Which day the Privy Council resolved :—Forasmuch as James, Earl of Moray, being charged to appear before their Majesties to answer certain charges is put to the horn, and the Earl of Rothes, Kirkaldy of Grange, and James Halliburton, being commanded to enter themselves in certain wards, specially appointed, are likewise denounced as rebels and put to the horn ; and notwithstanding they travel in the realm where they please, and are supplied with food and entertained as if they were loyal subjects : By which they are strengthened in this rebellion to the great hurt of the common weill if a remedy is not provided therefor. The King and Queen ordain letters to be directed to officers of arms commanding them to charge the lieges by proclamation at the Mercat Cross of the chief burghs in the realm that none of them supply victual, or entertain, or have any communication with the said rebels or their companions, or suffer to be given them meat,

drink, munition or armour under pain of being held partakers with them in their rebellion, and be called and pursued therefor at particular diets, with all rigour, as an example to others.

The Privy Council met on 22nd August, and resolved to call the lieges to arms for reducing of the rebels to their duty; the King and Queen intend, God willing, to pass, search and seek the said rebels, and to bring them to obedience, or otherwise to pursue them with fire and sword as rebels and traitors, for which purpose it is necessary that their Majesties be well and substantially supported. (Then follows a proclamation calling the people to arms.)

Edinburgh, 23rd August.—Which day the Privy Council resolved:—Understanding that James, Earl of Moray, Andrew, Earl of Rothes, William Kirkaldy, and James Halliburton are denounced as rebels and put to the horn. Not only is intimation made to the Earl of Argyll, but inhibition intimated to him and others not to supply victual or have intercourse with the said rebels. Notwithstanding this intimation, the Earl of Argyll and others, his friends, servants and tenants, inhabitants of Argyll and Breadalbane, cease not manifestly, maliciously and wilfully, to supply food and have intercourse with the said rebels, to travel with them and otherwise to assist and take part with them in their rebellion, in contempt of our sovereign's authority; therefore by the laws of this realm they ought to be denounced as rebels and traitors. Their Majesties have appointed John, Earl of Atholl, their lieutenant in the North, with power to search and seek the said rebels, to seize their houses and strongholds, and to pursue them with fire and sword, until they be brought to obedience.

On Sunday, 29th July, 1565, the Queen and Lord Darnley were married without much rejoicings, on account of the disturbed and unsettled state of the kingdom. The ceremony took place at the Chapel Royal, Holyrood, at 5.30 a.m., and was performed according to the Catholic formula by Henry Sinclair,

bishop of Brechin. The Queen, who was conducted to the chapel by Lennox and Atholl, was dressed in the State mourning of France, she being a Queen-Dowager, but after the ceremony she redressed in gayer attire. The marriage was preceded by a papal dispensation, on account of the affinity of blood of the contracting parties. A banquet and rejoicings afterwards took place. The marriage and recognition of Darnley as King was like the throwing of a bombshell amongst Moray's faction.¹ Moray went to Ayr in the midst of these Privy Council orders, and raised a force of 1,200 men to defend himself and oppose the Queen. In response to her proclamation 5,000 men joined her standard. Morton's position is rather suspicious, as he was a companion of Moray, and opposed the Queen's marriage in its early stages. He had the chief command of the Queen's troops on this occasion. It has been suggested that Moray desired him to take the side of the Queen in order to be able to disclose to the rebels the Queen's plans. With this force the King and Queen left Edinburgh on 26th August, resting the first night at Linlithgow, the second at Stirling. The Queen was armed with loaded pistols, wore a riding-habit of

¹ The statement that Queen Mary was married to Lord Darnley in the Abbey Church, Edinburgh, rests, we think, on insufficient evidence; ² at the time of the marriage the church seems to have been used for worship by the parishioners of Canongate. John Brand, minister of Canongate, published the banns, and the record of the event in the Kirk-Session minute-book proceeds thus:—"The 21st of July, A.D. 1565—The quhilk John Brand, mynister, presented to ye kirk ane writing written be ye Justice Clerk's hand desyring ye kirk of ye Cannongait and mynister thereof, to proclame Harie, Duk of Albany, Erle of Ross, etc., on ye one part, and Marie be ye grace of God quene souvrane of this realme in ye othair part. The quhilk ye kirk ordains ye mynister so to do with invocation of ye name of God."

In the marriage register of the Canongate is the following: "Henry, Duke of Albany, Erle of Ross, Marie be the grace of God quene soverain of this realm; married in the Chappell."³

² Rogers.

³ Grampian Club, History of Chapel Royal.

scarlet, with a steel casque on her head. Under the riding-habit she wore a coat of mail. The rebels, led by Moray, entered the capital on 1st September, and issued a manifesto to the citizens begging support, but to their surprise the citizens would have nothing to do with them. Next day Erskine, the governor of the Castle, fired on them, and they immediately left the capital for Dumfries, by way of Hamilton and Biggar. On arrival at Dumfries the rebels despatched Sir Robert Melville to the English Court to solicit money and soldiers. It is said Elizabeth sent Moray £1,000 and promised 300 men, but the negotiation of all this was slow. Nor did Mary give Elizabeth time, as a historian¹ says, even had she so determined, to save her friends. Before a company of horse, pikes, or bowmen could have reached the borders, Mary had swept with her forces through Fife, inflicted chastisement on the laird of Grange and other barons who had joined the rebels; levied a heavy fine on Dundee and St. Andrews, seized Castle Campbell, and prepared, at the head of an army which rendered opposition fruitless, to attack the rebels at Dumfries. This is an illustration of Mary's prompt action. When the Royalists reached Edinburgh the rebels had gone, and the Queen set out in pursuit of them, but did not overtake them, and she returned to Edinburgh. On the 8th October the Queen again set out in pursuit of them, this time, it is said, with 10,000 troops. At the head of this army she made an imposing entry into Dumfries on 12th October, and got an enthusiastic reception. On the news of the approach of this large force Moray's courage failed him, and he and his 1,000 followers fled into England, while his chiefs took up their residence in Carlisle, the troops being dispersed. The rebel lords wrote the Queen that they would return to their allegiance if she would restore them to their estates, dismiss foreigners from her service, and discontinue the Mass. She would not listen, nor would she reply to any such remonstrances, as she

¹ Tytler.

considered the conduct of Moray and his faction inexcusable and rebellious. She disbanded her forces, and returned to her capital, the rebellion being completely crushed, a result which the English Queen much deplored. Elizabeth now offered her services to effect a reconciliation between Mary and the rebels. Mary replied that a properly accredited person to deal with the matter would be welcome, but if it were only for a pretence of interfering in the affairs of the realm, regarding the matters between her and her subjects, she wished to have it plainly understood that she would not endure such interference, either from the Queen of England or any other monarch, and that she was perfectly able herself to chastise her rebels and bring them to reason. This answer is precisely what Elizabeth deserved. The ambassadors of France and Spain complained to Elizabeth of her unwarrantable interference in the affairs of Queen Mary, and that she was responsible for the stirring up of the rebellion. Elizabeth, as a matter of course, declared her innocence, and called in Moray and Hamilton ! to verify her words. On their bended knees they protested her innocence, and having got that out of them she dismissed them as "worthless traitors." These men, having perjured themselves, were stupefied with amazement. It was difficult for Mary to maintain her independence against such overwhelming odds as Elizabeth and Moray, particularly as Elizabeth was always ready to supply him with money. Early in 1566 the Riccio conspiracy was in full progress, championed by Moray, Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay and Maitland. They undertook to get Darnley the crown matrimonial if he headed the conspiracy, and he agreed to do so. The apartments in Holyrood where the tragedy occurred are still in good preservation. On the fatal night Darnley ascended the private stair which led into the room where the Queen was at supper. He was immediately followed by Ruthven and a number of others.

! Abbot of Kilwinning.

Mary had a horror of Ruthven from his brutal habits. He wore a coat of mail, a steel cap, and had a sword in his hand. Mary became terrified, and said to him: "My lord, I was coming to visit you, having been told you were very ill, and now you enter our presence in your armour! What does this mean?" Ruthven: "I have indeed been very ill, but well enough to come here for your good." Queen: "And what good can you do me? You come not in the fashion of one that meaneth well." Ruthven: "There is no harm intended to your Grace, nor to anyone but to yonder poltroon, David; it is he with whom I have to speak." Queen: "What hath he done?" Ruthven: "Ask the King, your husband, Madam." She turned to Darnley: "What is the meaning of this?" Darnley: "I know nothing of the matter." The Queen was irritated and excited, and ordered Ruthven to leave her presence under penalty of treason. Her attendants thereupon attempted to eject him forcibly, but getting up and brandishing his sword, he exclaimed: "Lay no hands on me, for I will not be handled;" and at that moment others of the conspirators forced themselves into the little apartment.

The first man to strike Riccio, who was at supper with the Queen and the Countess of Argyll, was George Douglas (not the Lochleven Douglas). Seizing the dirk which Darnley wore, he stabbed Riccio over the Queen's shoulder.

The victim was then dragged out into the Queen's bedroom adjoining, where the conspirators put an end to his life. When all was over, the Queen and Darnley were alone. One of her ladies came in and announced Riccio's death, and that it was done by the King's orders. "Ah! traitor, and son of a traitor," she said to him. "Is this the recompense you give her who has covered you with benefits and raised you to so great power?" Then, overpowered by the bitterness of her feelings, she fainted. Immediately she recovered, Ruthven entered the apartment, and full of indignation she

said to him: "I trust that God, who beholdeth this from the high heavens, will avenge my wrongs and move that which shall be born of me to root out you and your treacherous posterity." The Provost of Edinburgh, when he heard of the murder, ordered the alarm bells to be rung. The citizens rushed to Holyrood and demanded to see the Queen, but found her a prisoner and not permitted to see anyone. Darnley, who should have been ashamed of himself, looked out from the window and said all was well (which was not so), and they departed. On Sunday following, 10th March, Moray, who had been in exile in England, entered the capital, escorted by 1,000 horsemen, and went straight to Holyrood. The Queen sent for him and told him what had happened and how cruelly she had been treated, promised him an unconditional pardon for his rebellion, and requested him to assist her in regaining her liberty. Moray, who had his own game to play, was sullen, and nothing came of this interview. No steps were taken to punish the authors of this brutal tragedy. On the following day the Queen and Darnley had an interview, when Darnley was very humble and penitent, expressed his great regret for what had happened, and begged the Queen's pardon. In the course of the day the conspirators had an interview with her also, to solicit her pardon, and in presence of their dethroned Queen they knelt in mocking humility before her. The blood of their victim was scarcely dry on the spot where they stood. Morton spoke first and defended the murder as a necessity; Moray spoke next. As his signature is on the bond, it is important to notice what he said. He swore by his God that he knew nothing of the crime until his arrival in the capital (that morning). It is incredible that Moray should have perjured himself in this manner. The Queen refused to pardon them unconditionally, because they sought to subvert her authority and were guilty of treason and rebellion. She reminded Morton that she was urged by Darnley

and Lennox to have him beheaded, because he had joined Moray's faction, and that he owed his life to her refusal; further, that he was indebted to her for the Earldom of Morton and the Chancellorship of the kingdom. She added: "I do not think I can promise you a full pardon, but if you endeavour to blot out past delinquencies by the fidelity of your future conduct I will try to forget the crime which you have committed." This conditional pardon was not accepted, and she retired to her room. In the Riccio bond, now domiciled at Melville House, Fife, the signatories are Moray, Rothes, Ochiltree, Kirkaldy, John Wishart of Pitarro, and James Haliburton of Pitcur. Moray's signature stamps him as the leader of the conspiracy, notwithstanding what historians say to the contrary. The bond is unchallengeable, and its recent discovery is an important element in the story of Mary's life.¹ This murder was the first step in a great tragedy, having for its ultimate object the murder of the King and Queen. There were two bonds in connection with this matter: one by the nobles to Darnley; the other by Darnley to the nobles. The Ruthven and Morton recital cannot affect the *veritas* of these official documents. In the midst of this trouble Mary and Darnley resolved that they would make their escape from Holyrood. At 2 a.m. next morning the Queen and her maid stealthily descended a secret stair to a postern leading through the cemetery of the Chapel Royal, where five horses were at their service, under Traquair, the captain of the guard. They immediately rode off to Dunbar Castle, which they reached before breakfast. The Queen at once issued a proclamation, summoning the lieges to rally round her, when it would appear 8,000 men came to her rescue. This was a courageous proceeding on the part of the Queen, and manifests that promptitude and decision which marked her active administration. This proclamation caused the collapse of the plans of the

¹ For text of the bond, see Author's "Queen Mary," vol. i.

conspirators and obliged them to escape for their lives. They despatched Lord Sempill to Dunbar to ask a pardon, but it was promptly refused. The Queen thereupon held a council at Haddington, when she removed Morton from the Chancellorship and put young Huntly in his place. Various other changes were made, Bothwell being appointed Lord High Admiral.

An interesting meeting of the Privy Council was held on 11th May. The sederunt included Moray, Argyll, Bothwell, Huntly, Atholl, Mar, etc. Its object is recorded to have been to deal with the rebels. The record is conspicuous by its brevity, and is as follows:— The which day our sovereign referred to the lords of the Secret Council to devise the way how the rebels culpable or suspect, of the late heinous attempt perpetrated in their Majesties palace shall be dealt with. The lords think it expedient that all who were at the devising, counselling, or at the committing of the murder should be pursued by order of justice, and the same sharply executed upon them, and as for the commons and others who accidentally came thereafter, they offered to abide the law for devising, counselling the actual deed of the murder, that their supplications be heard, and sentence given, either of warding, banishing, or fining by payment of sums of money. Moray and Argyll being rebels, and Moray the leader, we cannot accept this extract from the official records (Privy Council Records) as impartial or *bonâ fide*. This was a case of the rebels sitting in judgment on themselves. The Queen was not present, and the creation of such a report could have no other object than to mislead posterity. Shortly after this the death of Ruthven was announced. At a meeting of the Privy Council on 8th June, it was resolved to denounce as rebels Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay and thirty others, for Riccio's murder, and orders were issued to apprehend them and bring them to justice. On the 19th June the Queen was safely delivered of a son, and the event was

announced by a discharge of guns from Edinburgh Castle. The festivities lasted several days. A few weeks afterwards the Queen paid the Earl of Mar a visit at Mar House, Alloa, then went to Stirling Castle, where she remained till 11th September. She proceeded early in October to Jedburgh to hold a Court of Assize. The court sat six days. On the 17th October she went to Hermitage Castle, accompanied by Moray and others, to visit Bothwell, the Lord-Lieutenant, who was lying ill from the effects of an accident. She spent two hours with him in presence of Moray and others, and then returned to Jedburgh. Next day she had a violent attack of fever, lost the power of speech, and had some convulsions. Her physician asserted that certain symptoms were suspicious, conveying the impression that she was poisoned. If that was so, there could be no great difficulty in pointing to the source. The reference of Claude Nau to Moray shows how anxious Moray was to have the breath out of her body. It was not until the 9th November that she could resume her journey, visiting Berwick, and afterwards proceeding to Edinburgh, taking up her residence at Craigmillar, where she remained three weeks. At this date we have the first move in the Darnley conspiracy. Three notable ruffians had been banished for the Riccio murder—Morton, Ruthven and Lindsay. Their companions, Moray, Maitland, Argyll, Huntly and Bothwell, appear from all accounts to have been living also at Craigmillar—probably for a few days. It was here, on 20th November, where the famous meeting with these men and the Queen took place: its object being to create a plot for Darnley's murder. Maitland was spokesman, Moray, it will be observed, as the prime mover, keeping in the background. They were much concerned at the banishment of their three companions, and Maitland stated to the Queen that he would undertake to get a divorce, as between her and Darnley, provided she pardoned these men. The Queen's answer to this question is not recorded, but

it may be gathered from her closing remarks to the deputation: "I will that you do nothing by which any spot may be laid on my honour and conscience, and therefore I pray you let the matter be in the state it is till God, by His goodness, put a remedy to it." The same day, at Craigmillar, the bond for Darnley's murder was, unknown to the Queen, at the request of these men drawn up by Sir James Balfour, one of the most corrupt men of the time; and it is said was signed by them, although Moray afterwards denied that he had done so.

On the 11th December the Queen proceeded to Stirling to make arrangements for the baptism of her son. Ambassadors arrived from England and France. The Pope offered to send an envoy, but the Queen declined in case it might offend her Privy Council. Bedford, the English ambassador, arrived with an escort of eighty horse, and a magnificent gold font from Elizabeth, to be used at the baptism. The imposing ceremony took place in the Chapel Royal, Stirling, on 17th December. The French ambassador carried the babe to the Chapel Royal between two lines of barons and gentlemen, who held in their hands wax tapers. The Archbishop of St. Andrews officiated; the Countess of Argyll held the child, and baptism was administered by immersion in the gold font. Knox and the Protestants stood, by their own request, outside the door, rather than be spectators of a Catholic ceremony. A sumptuous banquet took place in the evening. At the table in the centre sat the Queen with the French ambassador on her right, and the English ambassador on her left. The table containing the viands was ushered into the hall by men dressed as satyrs, accompanied by musicians playing on various instruments. After the banquet the Queen and her guests and the brilliant company danced some hours. At the conclusion of the rejoicings, Morton, Ruthven and Lindsay were pardoned for Riccio's murder. Darnley was not present.

Darnley, who was living in Glasgow with his father,

was seized with smallpox early in January, 1567, and the Queen on hearing this sent her physician to attend to him. From the 13th to the 24th January the Queen was in Edinburgh. She was not in Glasgow till the 25th January, and while Moray was cunning enough to put in his journal that she was accompanied by Huntly and Bothwell to Glasgow, we have proof that that is a false entry, Bothwell having gone to Liddesdale, and not to Glasgow at all. The Queen went to Glasgow with nothing but the most loving devotion to her husband, and from that time till his death any other construction of her actions would be inconsistent with the best historical narratives of her life. She nursed him day and night during her visit, after which he proposed that she should take him with her to Edinburgh, to which she agreed. On 27th January the Queen and Darnley left Glasgow for Edinburgh, and arrived at Kirk of Field on the 30th, having rested at Callender House and Linlithgow. During the short time they were at Kirk of Field they were on the most affectionate terms, and slept ten nights in the house, the Queen devotedly nursing Darnley all the time. Few events have been surrounded with so much mystery and so much treachery as the murder of Darnley. From the day that he married the Queen, and replaced Moray in her counsels, his doom seems to have been fixed. Whether Moray at this date contemplated the assassination of the Queen is a point that is studiously kept in the background.

The plan of the conspirators being now matured, the work of the perpetration of the deed proceeded expeditiously. Bothwell was entrusted with the responsibility of seeing it carried out. The first step was to fix on a night when the Queen would be sleeping in Holyrood. They had not long to wait, as the Queen was to be present at a ball there on 9th February, on the occasion of the marriage of some members of her household. Bothwell on the fatal night supped at a banquet given to the Queen. She rose from the table

and accompanied by Argyll, Huntly and Cassillis, returned to Darnley at Kirk of Field. About eleven o'clock she went back to Holyrood and took part in the rejoicings. Soon after midnight an explosion was heard which shook the city: Kirk of Field was blown to atoms. The bodies of Darnley and his valet were next morning found in the adjoining garden. The Queen was immediately informed of the catastrophe, and it was a great shock to her; so much so that she lost the power of speech. She had not the slightest idea that the conspiracy was going on, and though some writers assert the contrary, none of her accusers can produce a vestige of proof that will stand investigation. She instantly issued a proclamation offering a reward of £1,000, and a pension for life, to whoever would reveal and bring to justice the persons who committed the crime; and she removed at once with her infant child to Edinburgh Castle for protection.

On 16th February, accompanied by her ladies, and Maitland, Argyll, Huntly and a small retinue, she went for change of scene to Seton House, the residence of Lord Seton. Some of her retinue were conspirators, but that could not have been known to her at the time. After some weeks' correspondence with Lennox on the subject of the murder, the Queen summoned the nobles to meet her in Edinburgh in the first week of April. It is noticeable that Moray, who had gone to Fife the day of the murder, was in no hurry to return, and Bothwell, Maitland, Huntly and Argyll were rulers for the time at Holyrood. The Queen, writing her devoted friend, Archbishop Beton of Glasgow, on 11th February, said: "Whoever has taken this wicked enterprise in hand, we assure ourselves it was meant for us as well as the King, for we lay the most part of last week in the same lodging, and was there accompanied by most of the lords who are in town. That same night at midnight, and of very chance, we tarried not all night by reason of some mask in the Abbey, but we believe it was not chance but God who put it in our head." Bothwell, who was

the principal actor in this tragedy, was brought to trial on 12th April, but it was a farce, the conspirators being judges, and he was acquitted. A modern writer¹ finds fault with the delay in bringing him to trial, and ascribes this to a wrong motive. When the circumstances are looked into, the delay will be found to be not the Queen's fault but rather it was due to a prolonged correspondence she had with Lennox. Further, it has been represented that the murder arose from the Queen's hatred of her husband and her love for Bothwell. There is not the slightest evidence to warrant this assertion. The alleged Glasgow, or Casket letters, were obviously got up to give this complexion to the case, for they are said to implicate only her and Bothwell. But this ridiculous view is inconsistent with the undoubted guilt of the leading nobility, who, from motives either of interest or revenge, nearly all desired Darnley's death.² Dr. Skelton's belief in her innocence is unqualified. There is no proof that the Queen ever desired to cancel her marriage with Darnley, but we have proof that she refused to do so, when Maitland and the other conspirators importuned her at Craigmillar. Bothwell never was a companion of the Queen, and there is nothing on record indicating that her relations with him were anything more than official. The Scottish Parliament assembled on 15th April, and when it rose on the 19th, the nobles that same evening held their famous, or we should say significant, supper in Ainslie's Tavern. Its object was bold and unscrupulous; it meant treason and rebellion. Bothwell appears to have invited the guests and to have presided, and doubtless was determined to make them fulfil the stipulation on which he undertook the murder of Darnley, viz., to authorise him to marry the Queen. If she married Bothwell it would, in the opinion of the conspirators, satisfy the people that they were innocent. This notable bond, signed at this supper, is already

¹ Hill Burton.

² Hosack.

published.¹ He was to marry her with or without her consent, and to do so he was to seize her and carry her off. On the 23rd April the Queen left Stirling for Edinburgh with a small escort of twelve attendants, resting at Linlithgow and proceeding next day to Edinburgh. When within two miles of Holyrood, Bothwell rode up to her, seized the bridle of her horse, and led her off as his prisoner to Dunbar, where she was forcibly detained some weeks. For this crime he and sixty-four accomplices were in the first year of James VI. attainted and their estates and goods confiscated. This act of Parliament says :—"She suspecting no evil from any of her subjects, and least of all from Bothwell, to whom she had shown much liberality ; he, by force and violence, seized her most noble person, put violent hands upon her, carried her to Dunbar Castle against her will, and there detained her for twelve days."² This outrage created profound sensation. The bells were rung, and the Queen's supporters took up arms. When she saw she was a prisoner she spoke to Bothwell in the most indignant and contemptuous terms. The Ainslie bond he displayed before her face. Maitland supported Bothwell, and went with him to Dunbar. Everything was done by the conspirators to make the public believe that the Queen was a voluntary guest there. After three weeks of unspeakable misery the Queen, on 15th May, went through the marriage ceremony by compulsion with Bothwell, dressed in deep mourning, as a protest against the infamy of the affair. Thereafter she instructed her ambassador to write to the Pope for a process to free her from this great indignity. This letter is published.³ The persistent manufacture of spurious documents in Mary's reign, and the depositing of these in public collections in order to mislead posterity, compels us to regard, with great suspicion, the official papers, records and

¹ "Mary Queen of Scots, and Who wrote the Casket Letters."

² Acts of the Scottish Parliament.

³ The author's "Mary Queen of Scots."

entries on the Registers of this period. The letter of the Cardinal Secretary of the Vatican, to the bishop of Mondovi disapproving of Mary's conduct has convinced some writers¹ that this marriage was voluntary on her part. We must remember that this letter was not written by the Pope, and that communications between his Holiness and the Queen were invariably holograph. This letter, therefore, is evidently not authoritative, and may be regarded as merely expressing the individual opinion of the writer. There were at that period two sets of forgers manufacturing promises of marriage, the one not knowing of the other. A month after this marriage those who signed the Ainslie bond were loud in their execration of the deed, a state of matters that manifested great duplicity. In 1570 the Pope pronounced the marriage to be null and void. The Queen was not responsible for her actions from the 24th April, when she was seized, till 15th June, 1567, when she separated finally from Bothwell. In the clutches of Bothwell she retired with him to Borthwick Castle. The associated lords took up arms and laid siege to Borthwick, but the Queen and Bothwell escaped and reached Dunbar.

Few events in the history of Scotland, or in the history of the House of Stuart, have created greater controversy than the Bothwell marriage with the Queen, but a conspicuous element in the whole discussion has been the want of authentic evidence to make it a voluntary act. There is no such proof, and the Queen's accusers have had to resort to circumstantial evidence, which, when analysed, gradually disappears and leaves us nothing but the "baseless shadow of a vision." Hill Burton, who has evidently accepted as truth the slanders of Buchanan and Drury, goes on to tell us what never happened, *e.g.*, "after the marriage she virtually did her best to raise him to a joint occupancy of the throne, by stipulating that the signatures of both should be necessary to all State documents passing under the sign

¹ Father Pollen.

manual." He gives no authority for this, and we can find none. Had any such evidence existed it would have been preserved in the State Paper Office, or been incorporated in the Queen's history by one or other of her biographers. Tytler tells us that Mary precipitated this marriage and that public rumour accused her of being a party to the murder. Lord Herries, he says, on his knees implored her not to marry Bothwell, and Du Croc urged the same request, and then he adds: "Was any mother who acted such a part worthy to be entrusted with the keeping and education of the heir to the throne?" On what authority does Tytler say so? He quotes Drury to Cecil, an authority that has been proved to be false. It is to be regretted that he has lent the weight of his reputation to these false charges, and that he did not discover that Drury wrote letters about Mary that were destitute of truth, merely to please Elizabeth. It is beyond doubt that neither Herries nor Du Croc ever proffered such a request to the Queen, and when Tytler quotes other authorities their views of Mary are the very opposite of Drury's.

There is preserved in the Cotton MSS. what professes to be a promise of marriage, Mary to Bothwell, but it has neither place nor date, and has the appearance of being a spurious document. The persistent manufacture of spurious documents in Mary's reign, of which this promise of marriage is evidently one, and the depositing of these in public collections for preservation, in order to mislead posterity, shows the extent of the duplicity and corruption of that age, and is a proof that the Queen had nothing to do either with the Darnley murder or with the Bothwell marriage. It was a skilful and ably-organised conspiracy, as is testified by the abundance of papers we possess. The document we have referred to is in French, but translated, is as follows:—

We, Mary, by the grace of God, Queen of Scotland, Dowager of France, etc., promise faithfully

and solemnly to make an agreement with James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, never to have any other spouse and husband save him, and to take him for such at whatever time he shall wish me, although relations, friends and others may be opposed to it; and since God has taken away my late husband, Henry Stuart, called Darnley, and that by this means I am free, not being bound in obedience to father or mother, from this time I protest unto him, being in the same liberty, I shall be ready to go through with the ceremony necessary to marriage which I promise him before God, whom I take to witness, and these presents signed by my own hand; written here.

MARY R.

Such audacious forgery was the work of the Darnley murderers' championed by Moray, and these men were attempting to administer the kindgom!

Following on this there is the bogus marriage contract in the Harleian MSS., dated at Seton 5th April, 1567, signed by Mary and Bothwell. As a matter of fact the Queen was not at Seton on the 5th April but at Holyrood. These two documents when analysed are nothing but fabrications; while they stand condemned by the Ainslie bond. It may be further stated that Bothwell was a man of such abandoned habits that the Queen actually despised him.

Let us look for a moment at the Parliamentary recital of Bothwell's conduct:—After detaining Queen Mary's most noble person by force and violence twelve days at Dunbar, Bothwell compelled her by fear, under circumstances such as might befall the most courageous woman in the world, to promise that as soon as possible she would contract marriage with him. And the act of Parliament for his forfeiture said: "And in his nefarious and treasonable crimes and purposes he kept and detained the Queen in firm custody, by force and masterful hand of his armed friends and dependants. On the 6th May he carried her to the Castle of Edinburgh, which was then in his power, and there

imprisoned her and compelled her to remain till the 11th May, on which day, still accompanied by a great number of armed men, that he might colour his treasonable and nefarious crimes and purposes, he carried her to Holyrood, and within four days compelled her to contract marriage with him." How anyone can speak of the Bothwell marriage as voluntary, after this, is a mystery.

At a meeting of the Scottish Parliament at Perth, in 1569, the question of the Queen's divorce from Bothwell gave rise to a violent debate. Lethington supported it by showing that such an act would prejudice neither the King nor the Church. The Clerk Register, Macgill, who differed from Lethington, rose and spoke violently. Lethington stated that the Reformers had protested against the Queen's marriage with Bothwell, and that "it was strange to think how they, who not many months ago seemed to desire nothing more than the Queen's separation from Bothwell, should now, when it was offered, decline the same." It was answered with warmth that if the Queen was so earnest in the divorce, she should write to the King of Denmark and desire him to do justice to Bothwell (slay him) for the murder of Darnley. That done, the divorce would not be needful, and she would be free to marry where and when she pleased. The meeting separated in disorder, leaving the fate of the Queen undecided. The fall of Moray dates from this meeting.¹ The nobles retired to Edinburgh and issued a proclamation that they had taken up arms in order to bring Bothwell to trial, who had laid violent hands on his sovereign's person,² and forced her when in his power to an unlawful marriage. The Queen at the same time raised an army of 2,000, but stated by some writers at 4,000, and with this force she and Bothwell advanced from Dunbar to Seton House, and the following day—15th June—advanced to Carberry Hill. Here the nobles met her, and after prolonged negotiations to avoid fighting or shedding

¹ Petit's "History of Marie Stuart."

² Crawford.

of blood, she agreed to surrender on honourable terms. She sent for Kirkaldy of Grange and told him she was willing to leave Bothwell and go over to the lords, if they would honourably do as they had said, viz., "Love and serve her if she would abandon him who was the murderer of her husband." It is noticeable that she calls Bothwell the murderer of her husband, another proof of the marriage being compulsory. Kirkaldy, on behalf of the nobles, pledged his honour, and thereupon conducted her to the camp of the associated lords, where she was received with ostensible cordiality by Morton. Immediately a mob in the confederate army began to hoot and insult her, and she at once saw she was basely betrayed. The conduct of the lords in breaking faith with her, and disregarding the terms which Kirkaldy solemnly accepted on their behalf, cannot be too severely condemned. She was led as a prisoner to Edinburgh in the midst of mockery and insult, put into the Provost's house for the night, separated from all her attendants, and taken to Lochleven Castle, where she was detained as a prisoner. A month after this, or on the 24th July, Melville, Lindsay and Ruthven went over to Lochleven and forced themselves into her presence. She was ill and in bed, but notwithstanding that, she was commanded by them to sign three papers, viz., her abdication, her appointment of Moray as Regent, and the appointment of a temporary Privy Council. She refused to do so. Lindsay thereupon forced the pen into her hand, grasped her arm in the struggle so rudely as to leave the mark of his fingers, and held it till she had affixed her signature.

Lindsay then went to the Privy Seal Office to get the papers sealed, when the keeper said to him: "As long as the Queen is in ward, I will seal no such papers." Lindsay, by violence, wrenched the seal from him and compelled him to affix it to the deeds. The conspirators thereupon issued a manifesto informing the people that the Queen had voluntarily resigned the crown in favour of her son, and that she entrusted the government

to a Regency. At a meeting of the Privy Council on the following day these deeds were read over, after which they resolved :—That the horrible murder of the King is so odious, not only before God, but also to the world, involving infamy and shame to the realm if not punished; therefore the nobles, barons and others under-subscribed, shall with all their force, strength and power, concur and take part together to prosecute the punishment of the said murder on all who shall be found guilty, seeing the wrath of God shall not depart from the country where innocent blood is shed before the same shall be cleansed by shedding of blood of the offenders. When we consider that Ruthven, Lindsay and other conspirators so far composed this meeting, and formulated this resolution, we can have no difficulty in realising the ruffianism that was going on at the expense of the Queen. That such men should have been allowed to administer the crown as they were doing was a disgrace to the nation.

On 25th July, 1567, the abdication of Mary and the appointment of a Regency were proclaimed at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, and arrangements made for the immediate coronation of the infant Prince; but the Hamiltons and Throgmorton, the English ambassador, all declined to have anything to do with it, as a protest against the unlawful proceedings against the Queen. At the coronation Knox preached the sermon. The greatest difficulty of the historian at this period is to discover the truth; the surroundings being absolutely false and treacherous. When the Scottish Queen was put in prison at Lochleven Elizabeth was evidently displeased, and ordered her ambassador to have no communication with the confederate lords who had done this thing. An interview took place, it is alleged, between Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, Comptroller of Queen Mary's household, and Throgmorton, when the former said: "The Archbishop of St. Andrews, on the part of the Hamiltons, has proposed to us to put the Queen to death; they have recommended

this course as the only certain method of reconciling parties." Throgmorton was shocked at this proposal, and expressed great doubts as to its authority. He afterwards met Maitland of Lethington, who, it is said, corroborated the statement of Tullibardine regarding the treachery of the Hamiltons. It must be remembered that on 13th March, 1543 James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, and Regent of Scotland, was declared Queen Mary's successor to the crown, if she died without issue. It was evident that Maitland was himself, at this date anxious for the Queen's death; but as to this conversation, nothing more was heard of it.

The Earl of Moray had gone to France evidently to be out of the way of suspicion, although he was one of the signatories to the Ainslie bond, compelling Bothwell to marry the Queen. After an absence of five months he returned to Scotland in August, 1567. On arriving at the borders, he was met by an escort of 400 noblemen and gentlemen. Moray went on to Whittinghame, where he was received by Morton and Maitland, in the very house where a year and a half before they had discussed Darnley's murder. Following day, 11th August, Moray entered Edinburgh and assumed office as Regent. Public feeling appeared to be against the Confederate Lords for their treatment of the Queen; and Moray resolved to visit her at Lochleven to hear her complaint. On 15th August he went there, accompanied by Morton, Atholl and Lindsay. The Queen received them with tears and many bitter complaints respecting the treatment to which she had been subjected. Both before and after supper she conversed freely with Moray, craving his protection, and relying on his wisdom and generosity. What Moray's response was we do not know, but some historians tell us that he upbraided her "for the Darnley murder, the Bothwell marriage, her criminal conduct, and the indignation of her subjects." The proof that Moray said so is insufficient, and cannot be confirmed. He left her, it is said, that night in the hope of nothing but God's mercy.

In the morning he had another interview when she was more subdued, and he gave her hope that her life would be spared. She was gratified, and they had a friendly parting, when she confided to him the custody of her jewels. Moray returned to Edinburgh, where he assembled the Lords of Parliament and delivered an address, after which he took the oath undertaking to maintain the national religion as then adopted, procure peace, and govern the kingdom according to its laws and statutes. After the inauguration he had an interview with Throgmorton, who informed him that Elizabeth was indignant at the recent events, and especially at the conduct of the Confederate Lords; on which Maitland, who was present, disclaimed all intention of proceeding to extremities with Mary, and made a long speech defending what had been done. Throgmorton appealed to Moray, but Moray supported Maitland, at which the ambassador was so displeased that on 29th August he took his final departure to England.

Some time afterwards Moray paid the Queen a second visit at Lochleven, when he maintained the same sullen attitude. At the close of a cold and heartless conversation the Queen was indignant, and told him that she declined to hold any further intercourse with him.

The Regent proceeded to get the people to recognise the King's authority. He afterwards seized the Castles of Edinburgh and Dunbar. On 15th December Parliament assembled in obedience to a summons from the Regent; Maitland was principal speaker; they were met, he said, for the establishment of a uniform system of religion, and to acknowledge the authority of the King, in consequence of the Queen's free demission of the crown; sanction to be given to the appointment of Regent; and lastly, the punishment of the murderers of Darnley.

Lord Herries stated that the coronation of the Prince was invalid, and so far from being with her approval, was in direct opposition to her will. He demanded that

she should be brought before them to defend herself. Atholl and Tullibardine supported this motion, but on a vote being taken it was lost. Moray's appointment as Regent was confirmed.

It is proper to add that the demission of the crown, as Maitland well knew, was forced from the Queen, and that he was himself one of the murderers. The Queen's guilt or innocence was discussed, and as the Darnley conspirators were part of the assembly the debate became hot. An impartial, *bonâ fide* record of this Parliament we don't possess, and the narrative of some historians we must receive *cum grano salis*, as it is evidently a one-sided report of Maitland. The Casket Letters came up at this meeting, and under the management of Moray and Maitland were discussed to the Queen's disadvantage; but no evidence was produced to indicate that the Queen had anything to do with them.

On the 3rd May following the Queen effected her escape from Lochleven by means of a clever plot carried out by George and Willie Douglas, and on the following day she went to Hamilton Palace to get protection from the Hamiltons. Here she solemnly declared that the abdication of the crown was extorted from her by force. The lords thereupon declared it null and void, and determined that she should take the Castle of Dumbarton and remain there till her subjects came to her aid. The Queen did not accept this proposal, and the Hamiltons immediately raised an army to fight the Regent. This movement culminated in the battle of Langside, fought a few days thereafter, 13th May, 1568. The Queen's troops were undisciplined and badly officered, and in point of fact never attempted to fight, as they quarrelled amongst themselves. Moray's troops, on the other hand, were efficiently commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange. Why this devoted friend of the Queen fought against her at Langside must remain a mystery.¹

¹ Bothwell, who had effected a forced marriage with the Queen, died in the King of Denmark's custody in 1576, and had, on his

Argyll commanded the Royal troops, an injudicious appointment, as he was not a true friend of the Queen, as his wife was. He showed great want of courage and military skill, and he was evidently indifferent as to the result of the battle. Lord Claud Hamilton, the most capable soldier of the Hamiltons, led the van. He made a vigorous attack on Moray's cavalry and put them to rout, but was not supported. Kirkaldy was practically the cause of the defeat of Mary's forces. He posted his men in the orchards and gardens, and on either side of a long, narrow lane with high hedges, so cunningly that they were able to shoot down a vast number of the Queen's troops as they passed, while they themselves did not lose a man. As showing the treachery that prevailed, Mary's plan of campaign for surrounding and capturing the rebel army was communicated to Moray by one of her troops who joined her at Hamilton, and who turned out to be a spy of Moray's. Moray rejected every effort for an amicable settlement, as he was determined to fight to the death to gain his object.

Accompanied by Lords Herries and Fleming, and sixteen devoted attendants, the Queen rode off the field when she saw the fortunes of the day against her. So far as we have information, they went direct to Terregles near Dumfries, the residence of Lord Herries, where they spent the night, and to Dundrennan Abbey, in the death-bed, made a declaration of the entire innocence of Queen Mary regarding this foul deed, which he said was committed by himself, Moray and Morton, without her knowledge. This important declaration Frederick II., King of Denmark, sent to Queen Elizabeth and to Scotland, attested by the Primate of Denmark and the municipal authorities there when Bothwell expired. Queen Elizabeth carefully suppressed it.¹

Bothwell was thrown into a loathsome dungeon, where no one had access to him but those who carried him such scurvy meat and drink as he was allowed, through a window. Here he was left ten years, till being overgrown with hair he went mad and died, a just punishment for his wickedness.²

¹Strictland's "Queens of England."

²Abbotsford Club, Reign of Marie Stuart.

neighbourhood, where they spent another night. Next day they crossed the Solway and arrived at Workington, where they were the welcome guests of Sir Henry Curwen. They then proceeded to Cockermouth, Lowther and Carlisle, and here the Queen's troubles began. Queen Elizabeth, hearing of her arrival in England, ordered her restraint during her pleasure.

At Carlisle Sir Richard Lowther and the Earl of Northumberland quarrelled as to who should attend and take care of the Queen. Elizabeth ordered the Earl to stand aside and not interfere. Mary rather enjoyed this visit to Carlisle on account of the great number of visitors who came to see her; but in the midst of it all Lowther seems to have incurred the wrath of the English Queen by allowing the Duke of Norfolk to visit Mary, for which he was fined and superseded. Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys were appointed in Lowther's place, with orders to report to Elizabeth all that Mary said or did. Moray meanwhile feeling himself paramount in Scotland, issued a proclamation with the hypocritical introduction, "That Almighty God by His power had confounded the force and policy of the adversaries." When Scrope and Knollys reached Carlisle from London, Mary put her case and cruel treatment before them, but they were obdurate; they were mere creatures of Elizabeth. Letters then were exchanged between Mary and Elizabeth. On 8th June Elizabeth wrote Mary that she had heard of her desire to justify herself in her presence in respect of the things alleged against her: "There is no creature living who can more willingly open her ears to such a declaration or shall acquit her honour, but she (Elizabeth) cannot neglect her own proper reputation. If she thinks it strange that an interview is not permitted, she must make a metamorphose of these two persons, and then she will see that her reception cannot be permitted before her justification; but when she is cleared of the crime, to see her will, among all mundane joys, hold the first rank." The

buffoonery of this letter is apparent, especially when we consider that Elizabeth was in full sympathy with the Darnley conspirators, lending money to Moray, and giving them secret advice.

Mary's friends at this period intercepted a packet of letters carried by John Wood, Moray's secretary, which disclosed the treacherous part taken against her by the English Government. Mary promptly wrote Elizabeth: "They assure him that I shall be sufficiently guarded never to return to Scotland. Madam, if this be honourable treatment of her who came to throw herself into your arms for succour, I leave other princes to judge. I neither care nor will believe that it is you who are acting treacherously by me, but that the villain, John Wood, lies, as all of his profession will." Elizabeth made Wood appear before Lord Herries in her presence to explain the intercepted letters which Herries now produced. Wood acknowledged that he had invented them to strengthen Moray's cause. As a proof of Elizabeth's treachery she did not even answer Wood, but passed the matter over, and put greater confidence in him than ever. Mary's supporters communicated with Elizabeth and threatened to put the matter before the councils of Europe unless Mary was restored to her kingdom. To this no answer was given, but Elizabeth advised with Moray and it was agreed to summon a Parliament in order to arrive at the sentiments of the people. Mary's supporters, knowing that Moray was an enemy, collected their forces and took the field with an army that would soon have annihilated Moray and all his faction, but Elizabeth wrote Mary one of her beguiling letters full of hypocrisy beseeching her to order the army to be disbanded. It seems incredible that Mary did not see this hypocrisy. She ordered the army to be disbanded and lost a golden opportunity for herself.

On 13th July Elizabeth ordered the Queen of Scots to be removed from Carlisle to Bolton Castle with an armed escort. There were twenty carriage horses and

twenty-three saddle horses for the ladies and gentlemen of her suite. The first night she slept at Lowther Castle. Here she spent a joyful day amid the unassuming and unstinted hospitality of the generous proprietor, his wife, mother and sisters. Queen Mary left them next morning, with much reluctance and showing visible signs of emotion.

Note.—In the reign of James IV. were two eminent Churchmen who were devoted supporters of the King. These were William Schevez, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Robert Blackadder, Archbishop of Glasgow. Schevez was a great scholar, educated in Louvain University, Archdeacon of St. Andrews in 1459, Master of St. Mary's Hospital in Brechin, and Bishop Co-adjutor to his predecessor in 1477. He went on political missions to England, France, and Rome. He was closely allied with St. Andrews University, and had an evil reputation for astrology. He was made Primate of Scotland and Legate on 27th March, 1487, crowned James IV. in the following year, and died 28th January, 1496-7. Blackadder, who belonged to Tulliallan, became first Archbishop of Glasgow, and was elected to that office in January, 1492. As special Commissioner he concluded the marriage articles between Henry VII. and James IV. at Richmond on Thames, 24th January, 1502, whereby the Scottish King accepted Princess Margaret of England as his consort. He went to Venice in 1508, and was well received by the Doge, from whence he sailed to the Holy Land. Pestilence broke out on the galley, of which twenty-seven died, among whom was the Archbishop, who departed this life on 28th July.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Casket Letters—The York Conference and decision—Elizabeth's bogus terms for Mary's release—Northumberland Rising to release Mary—Maitland's arrest and release—Arrest of Northumberland—Assassination of Moray—Execution of Archbishop Hamilton—Lennox, Bothwell and Kirkaldy quarrel—Assassination of the Regent Lennox—Elizabeth buys Northumberland for £2,000 and executes him—Death of the Regent Mar—Babington Conspiracy—The interpolated letters and Walsingham—Execution of Babington and his Companions—Trial of Mary at Fotheringay—Her Execution and Funeral—Character of Mary.

REIGN OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

A.D. 1542—1567.

THE Casket Letters, one of the great frauds perpetrated on the Queen of Scots, and palmed off on posterity with all the *sang-froid* of absolute reality; a fraud that in this twentieth century has become too transparent to the student of history to warrant debate, comes up for disposal at this point of Queen Mary's history. Moray and Morton were the two greatest sinners in connection with this infamous matter. The Privy Council met at Edinburgh on 10th September, when Moray confessed to having received from Morton a silver box, over gilt with gold, with missive letters, contracts of marriage, sonnets or love-ballads, and other letters said to have passed between the Queen and Bothwell. "Which box and contents were taken from George Dalgleish, servant to Bothwell, on the 20th June, 1567. The Regent exonerates and discharges Morton of the box and its contents without any alteration, augmentation or diminution thereof, and undertakes that these letters shall always be forth-

coming to Morton and those who entered on the quarrel of avenging the murder." This is the recital of this important minute in the Privy Council Register, and the contents of this box were alleged to be the famous Casket Letters. These letters were the subject of debate, and the circumstantial way Moray handled the question when the whole thing was a huge fraud manifests the cunning and skilful manner in which the entire plot was got up and foisted on the people. He got Elizabeth induced to order a conference to be held at York.

The whole history of these letters, their convenient origin five days after Carberry Hill, till their extinction with the death of Morton in 1581, is practically a dramatic story, ingeniously and cunningly wrought out. On 20th June, 1567, the day when this casket was alleged to be given by Sir James Balfour, Governor of Edinburgh Castle, to Dalgleish, Bothwell's servant, Bothwell was a fugitive at Dunbar, and his enemies in possession of Edinburgh Castle. On Morton's authority Dalgleish went from Dunbar to Edinburgh, got this casket from the Governor, and Morton met him and took it from him. Four days before this a proclamation was out for Bothwell's arrest. Balfour was not likely to give up a casket, if he had it, to Bothwell's servant in such circumstances. This story, as told by Morton, and repeated by Moray at the Westminster Conference, is a very shady one and incapable of confirmation; and why was Balfour not questioned about it if he gave up the casket to Dalgleish? These letters were neither dated nor signed, *and no originals were ever seen*. Goodall, the historian, practically disposes of the matter in the following words:—"The French letters which Moray and his accomplices produced, and swore to be written wholly by the Queen's own hand, are only a translation from George Buchanan's Latin, and his Latin is a translation from the Scottish original forgery, even that very original of which Moray sent a copy to

be considered by the English judges beforehand, calling it a translation." The vulgar and coarse expressions of these letters and their sensual nature would alone condemn them were there nothing else to do so. Mary never wrote a vulgar expression in the whole course of her life, as her letters prove. It is stated by some writers that, when these letters were first introduced into the Privy Council on 4th December, they professed to have been written and subscribed by the Queen's own hand and sent to Bothwell. When they were brought before Parliament on 15th December, they were said to have been written by her own hand but not subscribed; when they were produced at York, they were alleged to have been superscribed by Bothwell. They were exhibited at Westminster without any superscription; and finally, they appear to have been *neither subscribed nor superscribed*. Morton made two declarations: in the first, the Casket Letters were taken from Dalgleish; in the second, they were found under a bed in the Potterow of Edinburgh, and the only men who could speak to Morton's integrity in the matter were executed before Morton produced them. The testimony of the historian Chalmers is emphatic: "I have read the whole controversy as to the genuineness or forgery of these documents; I have ransacked the State Paper Office for information on the subject; and there does not appear to me to be a tittle of evidence, exclusive of these despicable forgeries, to prove that Mary Stuart had any knowledge whatever of the murder of her husband." If the letters were genuine, why was Dalgleish executed before his connection with them had been ascertained? And why was no action ever taken for a year after his execution, when they were brought up at Westminster by Moray? These points are unanswerable. The evidence, so far as yet discovered, warrants the conclusion that these letters were written by order of the Darnley conspirators to screen themselves and incriminate the Queen, viz., Maitland, Archibald

Douglas, Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, also Thomas Crawford and Buchanan; all inspired by Moray.

On the 14th October, 1568, what is called the York Conference was held at York for the trial of Queen Mary's cause, and the examination of the Casket Letters. At this tribunal Mary's commissioners made their complaint against Moray, Morton and Lindsay, the chief rebels, and what they said was practically a recital of what Mary had recently suffered. Moray's conscience smote him, and he refused to put his answer in writing. "Unless positively assured of Elizabeth's intention to aid and maintain them in their rebellion they would not proceed to any accusation." So Moray said, but he pointed out, that wearied with the cares of government, the Queen had voluntarily resigned the crown to her son, and had appointed Moray, Regent in his name, no compulsion, violence or force having been used to move her. This was attested by Lindsay, and was a gross falsehood. Mary was not allowed to appear personally to defend herself. At this conference five of the Casket Letters were produced, undated and unsigned. Mary instructed her commissioners: "If any such writings exist they are false and feigned, forged and invented by themselves, and you shall request the principals to be produced, and that I shall have inspection thereof, and make answer thereto."¹ Further, there was a fraudulent warrant produced by Maitland, signed, as he asserted, by the Queen, authorising the nobles to sign the Ainslie bond. This document was not produced at Westminster, and was not again heard of, a proof that its forgery was undeniable. Elizabeth requested her Council to induce Mary to believe that the object of the conference was to effect a reconciliation between her and her subjects. The Earl of Sussex indicated that the real object was to render any such reconciliation impossible. Elizabeth ordered the sittings to be transferred to Westminster, and the court began there

¹ Goodall.

on 23rd November, when the accusation against the Queen at York was repeated. Moray charged Mary not only with the murder of her husband but with intent to murder her son, and that in consequence of her crimes she had been deposed by the Scottish Parliament. These charges were false, as Moray well knew. He never attempted to prove them, nor was he asked to do so. Moray, on a previous occasion, stated that the Queen had abdicated voluntarily. On the 1st December, Lord Herries replied for the Queen. He denounced as utterly false everything preferred against her. He expressed his disgust at "their false invented slanders against the Queen; they were writers with their own hand of the devilish bond for the assassination of Darnley which was presented to Bothwell, as was made manifest before 10,000 people at the execution in Edinburgh of certain of the principal offenders." On the 8th December Moray produced to the conference the Casket Letters (copies only), his charge being that they were written by the Queen to Bothwell, that they were left in Edinburgh Castle, and before Bothwell fled he sent for them by Dalgleish, his servant, and they were intercepted by Morton. This was a repetition of Morton's suspicious account. Mary demanded to be heard before the nobility and ambassadors of other countries; also that her accusers be arrested by the Queen's authority "to answer such heinous offences as shall be laid to their charge." Elizabeth, Moray and Morton consulted, and they refused this request. On 7th January, 1569, Mary's commissioners had an interview with Elizabeth, when they again accused Moray and Morton of the murder of Darnley, and insisted on having an inspection of the Casket Letters, also copies of them and of other documents attributed to her by her enemies. Elizabeth took time to consider this request, and fearing that the papers produced by Moray would not bear investigation, ordered Cecil, on 11th January, to dissolve the conference with the following declaration:—"As there

had been nothing deduced against them that might impair their honour and allegiance, so, on the other hand, there had been nothing sufficient produced or shown by them against their sovereign whereby the Queen of England should conceive, or take any evil opinion of the Queen of Scots for anything she has yet seen." This decision, or verdict of acquittal, has been regarded as an undeniable proof of the forgery of the Casket Letters. From April to September, 1569, Queen Mary was at Wingfield, a seat of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and amongst her letters to the Duke of Norfolk the following interesting one, dated at Wingfield, has been preserved:—

I received a letter by Borthwick from you, whereby I perceive the satisfaction you have of my plain speaking, as I must do my duty, considering how much I am beholden to you in many ways. I am glad the grant of my good-will is so agreeable to you, albeit I know myself to be unworthy to be so well liked of one of such wisdom and good qualities; yet do I think my hope great in that, yea, much greater than my deserts. So far as God shall give me grace, you shall never have cause to diminish your good faith and favour to me, which I shall esteem and respect so long as I live, as you would wish your own to do. Now, my good lord, more words on this subject would be unseemly to my present condition, and unfortunate to you amongst so many spies. This day I received a letter from you, wherein I perceived the interest you take in my health, which, thanks to God, is better than it was; but I am not yet very strong, nor quit of the soreness of my side. It causes me to be more heavy and pensive than I would or need be, considering the care you have of me: whereof I will not thank you, for I have remitted all my causes to you to do as for yourself. I write to the bishop of Ross what I heard from the Duke. Let me know your pleasure at length what I shall answer. Now, my Norfolk, you bid me command you; that

would be beside my duties in many ways, but I will that you counsel me not to take patiently my great griefs, except you promise me to trouble yourself no more for the death of your ward. I wish you had another in his room to make you merry, or else I would that he were out of both England and Scotland. You forbid me to write, be sure I will think it no pain whenever my health will permit it, but pleasure; as also to receive your letters, which I pray you to spare not, when you have leisure, for they shall fall into no hands where they will be better received. The physicians write at length; they seem to love you marvellously, and not mislike me. We had but general talk on some of your matters, but not in anybody's hearing; therefore, I answered nothing, but listened soberly. When Borthwick goes up ye shall understand all; in the meanwhile I must warn you when I hear anything concerning you. Argyll sent me word expressly that when he met at Stirling with Moray, he assured him that I should never come home, and that he had intelligence to be quit of me, and said he of Norfolk was her great friend. Borthwick will write this to the bishop of Ross; Lord Fleming to write that he counselled him to render one Barton to Moray; Argyll begged me, if you were my friend, to advertise you immediately. Take of this what pleases you, but I am sure they will be traitors to you and me. You and I were never the worse, albeit I will not be importunate; but if this summer past I hope for little good all the year. God preserve you from all traitors, and make your friends as true and constant. From Wingfield, late at night, the 25th . . . (1569).—Your assured.

In 1569 Queen Mary was at Tutbury, and in that year a party was got up for promoting her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk. The scheme was approved very generally, especially by the principal nobility in England and Scotland. Throgmorton and Cecil, Elizabeth's ministers, also approved. At this stage of

Mary's captivity she wrote a sharp letter to Elizabeth, intimating that if she were not released she would accept whatever foreign aid was sent to her to compel her release. It is said that this alarmed Elizabeth, who was at enmity with France and Spain, and recognising the bishop of Ross as Mary's ambassador, she signified a willingness to treat for Mary's liberation on the basis of terms proposed by him, and submitted to her and her Privy Council. These were: (1) That Mary should not disturb Elizabeth's government or the legitimate heirs of her body by affecting any title to the crown during their lifetime. (2) A treaty of alliance between the two kingdoms to be concluded. (3) These to be confirmed by the oaths of both Queens, sealed with their seals, and ratified by both Parliaments. France and Spain to secure the fulfilment of Mary's promises. (4) Mary shall extend her clemency to all subjects who have offended her during the late troubles provided they return to their allegiance; to give up to their keeping the young Prince, her son; to restore her jewels and other property of which they deprived her, and deliver over the strongholds now in their possession. (5) All concerned in the murder of the late King to be brought to trial and punished. (6) The Queen of Scots to promise never again to receive Bothwell into her kingdom, and to obtain divorce from him. (7) These stipulations being agreed to, the Queen of England shall provide an honourable escort to convey the Queen of Scots back to her dominions, where she shall be reinstated in her authority.

These proposals were despatched from London to Scotland by Lord Boyd. Without Elizabeth's knowledge a clause was added authorising the Norfolk marriage. This matter came before the National Council which met at Perth 26th July, 1569, Moray presiding. The proposals were rejected; that of the divorce by a large majority. Elizabeth discovered the plot about the Norfolk marriage and was furious, and requested Moray to give an explanation. At this point

we have a good illustration of Moray's character. He was base enough to deliver into her hands the whole of the secret correspondence with Norfolk, together with an apology for the part he had taken in the matter. He declared that the fear of assassination had induced him to lend his countenance to a scheme which he never approved ; that the leniency with which she had treated Mary had left them in some doubt as to the line of conduct they should pursue. Elizabeth ordered the Duke of Norfolk to be arrested and put in the Tower. This tyrannical proceeding was resented by many of the English nobles, and on 14th November, 1569, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland broke out into open rebellion, seized the town of Durham, looted the cathedral, and restored the Catholic worship. They issued a proclamation setting forth that their object was the liberation of Mary and the recognition of her right of succession to the English throne, to liberate the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, and Lord Lumley. The effect of this proclamation was that a force of 1,000 cavalry and 500 infantry came at once to their aid. Elizabeth got alarmed, removed Mary to Coventry, proclaimed Northumberland and Westmoreland rebels, and put two armies in the field to suppress the rebellion. The Earl of Sussex had the chief command, and he, along with the Earl of Warwick, unfortunately defeated the rebels near Durham, but Northumberland and Westmoreland escaped with a few followers. This insurrection, under better guidance, would have released Mary from captivity, which was its main object. Moray's betrayal of Norfolk, and his duplicity and baseness in surrendering to Elizabeth Norfolk's private letters and correspondence did not raise him in her estimation, as after this rising she ordered Cecil and Lord Hunsdon to keep their eye on his proceedings. By this act Moray had made himself odious to the supporters of Mary in Scotland. Maitland now returned to his allegiance to the Queen, a proof that he was convinced of her innocence, became an

enemy of Moray and Morton, and he retired for a time into Atholl. Moray summoned him to a Privy Council meeting at Stirling, and Maitland reluctantly obeyed. At this meeting Captain Crawford, a retainer of Lennox, accused Maitland and Sir James Balfour of being the murderers of Darnley. A long and violent altercation ensued; Maitland was arrested, taken to Edinburgh, and put in the house of Forrester, one of Moray's dependants, and Balfour was put into Blackness Castle. From this house Maitland was released by his associate, Kirkaldy of Grange, and taken to Edinburgh Castle, of which Kirkaldy was governor. Maitland's trial was appointed for the 25th November, 1569, and Morton was to prosecute and lead evidence against him. It would have been an interesting chapter if Morton had done so, but he collapsed. Maitland was popular, and on the day of the trial the streets of the capital were filled with armed men. Morton was afraid of rough treatment, and as he himself was one of the murderers he probably feared arrest. Without Morton the trial could not go on, and it was therefore postponed; and evidently the matter dropped. Moray was getting alarmed at Maitland's popularity, and thereafter issued a proclamation charging the lieges to meet him in arms at Peebles on 20th December in defence of their country, and for the defence of the true religion. He proceeded by rapid marches to Hawick and attacked Harlaw Tower, where Northumberland had taken refuge under Hector Armstrong, the keeper. Moray induced Armstrong with a bribe to give up his guests, and Armstrong was base enough to do so, when the unfortunate Earl was arrested, and sent to Lochleven Prison. This act appears to have restored the relations between Elizabeth and Moray, and Moray immediately wrote her for financial help to enable him to carry on his administration; he at the same time communicated to her a proposal he said he had been considering for some time. That was that she should deliver up the Scottish Queen into his hands to be kept in safe custody

in Scotland, where she would live her natural life without any means being taken to shorten the same. The Regent considered Mary the source of all trouble, and he was unable to maintain the common cause unless she were put into his hands. This appeal was supported by Morton, Mar, Glencairn, Lindsay, Ruthven and Sempill, while Knox wrote Cecil strongly recommending it. As an inducement to Elizabeth to deliver up Mary, the Regent was base enough to offer to surrender Northumberland in exchange, although he admitted it was against every feeling of humanity to surrender a banished man to slaughter. Lesley, Bishop of Ross, petitioned Elizabeth against granting this proposal, and in the midst of the negotiations the Regent was killed. He was assassinated by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh on 23rd January, 1570, as he was passing with a retinue along the main street of Linlithgow towards Edinburgh. Hamilton had made his arrangements some days before ; he had a feather bed spread on the floor of the gallery to muffle his tread, and a black cloth to cover the window, and prevent his being seen. In this cloth he cut a hole to enable him to take aim. Moray was warned of his danger before he entered the town, but he disregarded all advice, and kept on his way. The street was so narrow that it was impossible for Hamilton to miss his aim. Moray was shot mortally the moment he passed the spot. Hamilton fled, but in the excitement was not pursued. It was a daring act, and it rid the country of a tyrant. To Elizabeth it was overwhelming, as there is reason to believe that Moray and she had all but concluded terms for privately murdering the Queen of Scots. She was to be put on board a ship at Bristol ; the ship, after it was out to sea, to be scuttled, the Queen to go down with it, while those in the ship arranged their escape. Moray's death, however, stopped this plot.

Moray was interred in the High Church, Edinburgh, the coffin being borne by Morton, Mar, Glencairn, Cassillis, Glamis, Lindsay, Ruthven and Ochiltree, pre-

ceded by Kirkaldy of Grange and Colville of Cleish. Knox preached the funeral sermon.¹

The death of Moray was followed by the liberation of Hamilton, Duke of Chatelherault, Lord Herries and Maitland, and a proclamation announcing the Queen's authority was issued. The Queen's party gained strength every day, and Edinburgh and Dumbarton Castles surrendered, while help arrived from France. The English Queen, after taxing her ingenuity as to what was best, and afraid lest Mary should be forcibly taken from her, would appear to have sent the Earl of Lennox into Scotland with a large following of troops, estimated at 1,600, and with orders to get himself appointed Regent. Lennox started on his expedition early in the summer of 1570, laid waste whole districts as he went along, razed Hamilton Palace to the ground, and also demolished the Castles of Kinneil and Linlithgow, belonging to the Hamiltons. At a convention of the lords held at Edinburgh, 12th July, 1570, Lennox was chosen Regent. Kirkaldy, who was Governor of Edinburgh Castle, declined to fire any salute, and was remonstrated with, but in vain. The lords of the Queen's party, distinct from the King's party headed by Elizabeth, announced their intention to hold a Parliament at Linlithgow on 4th August, and

¹ The Regent Moray—

False to his sister, whom he swore
To guard and shield from harm ;
The head of many a felon plot,
But never once the arm !

What tie so holy that his hand
Hath snapt it not in twain ?
What oath so sacred but he broke
For selfish end or gain ?

A verier knave ne'er stepped the earth
Since this wide world began ;
And yet he bandies text with Knox,
And walks a pious man.

—*Aytoun's Bothwell.*

declared their resolution not to acknowledge Lennox as Regent. Mary, after consulting with her commissioners and communicating with the King of France and other friends abroad, accepted the overtures which had been made to her. She agreed to relinquish all claim to the throne of England during the life of Elizabeth or her issue. She did not object to an alliance between the two kingdoms; she pledged herself to hold no intercourse with Elizabeth's subjects without her knowledge, and that within a given time she would send Elizabeth's rebels out of the country, but she would not give them up. She would deliver her son to Elizabeth to be educated in England until he was fifteen years old, and she would not marry without Elizabeth's consent. All this to be ratified by Parliament. Mary had some reason to hope for her liberty after the conclusion of this treaty. It had, however, to be submitted to a conference in London, which did not sit for four months, and by that time Elizabeth had changed her mind and refused to entertain any proposal for Mary's release. Her conduct was deceitful, dastardly, contemptible, and even her own ministers resented it. Mary wrote her sympathetic letters, but it was all in vain. Lennox in the meantime continued to harass all who were opposed to him, and party strife attained to such a height in Scotland as to threaten, it is said, the dissolution of society. The distinction of "King's men" and "Queen's men" was to be found in every town and village in the country, and men of opposite factions branded each other with opprobrious epithets and with revolting crime. On 1st April, 1571, Dumbarton Castle was attacked by the troops of Lennox and taken, Lord Fleming, the Governor, escaped, but several prisoners were captured, including John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who was conveyed to Stirling Castle, and by order of Lennox immediately executed, because concerned in the death of the Regent Moray. Kirkaldy, who still held Edinburgh Castle, issued a proclamation announcing Lennox to be a usurper, and ordering all

who acknowledged his authority to quit Edinburgh within six hours. Lennox appointed a Parliament to be held at Edinburgh on 14th May, 1571, and Kirkaldy was determined he would give Lennox trouble. Lennox and Morton assembled on 9th May, their troops at Leith so as to be prepared to attack Kirkaldy if necessary. Parliament met on the 14th, and Kirkaldy exerted himself to the utmost to interrupt the meeting, and kept up a constant cannonade upon them from the battlements of the Castle. Parliament went on with its business in spite of this, and fixed the next meeting at Stirling on 14th August. At this meeting a letter was read from the Queen declaring her demission of the crown, and the coronation of her son invalid and null and void, the former extorted by fear of death, and the latter without the consent or authority of the Estates of the realm. This Parliament ordained that the subjects of the realm are bound to acknowledge their allegiance to the Queen as their only undoubted sovereign; the religion of the kingdom was not to be disturbed and ministers were to pray for "Our Sovereign Lady and her dearest son, the Prince." This Parliament was adjourned till 26th August.¹ On that date it met again, but was attended only by two bishops and three nobles, who nevertheless proceeded to business and passed sentences of forfeiture against Lennox, Morton, Mar, Lindsay, Glamis, Ochiltree, Macgill, etc. The Regent held his Parliament at Stirling on 28th August, which was numerously attended, the young King, a child of five years of age, being set in the middle in his Royal robes. Sentence of forfeiture was passed against Hamilton, Huntly, Kirkaldy of Grange, Sir James Balfour, Sir Robert Melville, etc. This condition of matters and two rival Parliaments became intolerable, and Kirkaldy resolved he would perform a dextrous movement and surprise the town and Castle of Stirling, and seize the principal leaders of the King's party. Kirkaldy remained in Edinburgh, but his troops, setting

¹ Calderwood.

out for Stirling early in the morning, seized most of the nobles there who were in bed. The Earl of Mar came out of Stirling Castle with the King's troops, and a persistent fight ensued, Lennox, the Regent, being mortally wounded and died the same night. This was done at the instigation of one of the Hamiltons in revenge for his having executed John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews.

Mar succeeded Lennox as Regent. On 11th July, 1572, Elizabeth commanded Lord Hunsdon to take Northumberland from Lochleven to York and cause him to be put to death. Lord Hunsdon refused to obey this infamous order, but it was ultimately carried out by Sir John Foster. The Countess offered £2,000 for his surrender. Mar and Morton, who were creatures of Elizabeth, were base enough, instead of accepting this offer, to offer the Earl to Elizabeth at that price. Elizabeth accepted, paid down the amount in gold, and the unfortunate Northumberland was executed at York, without trial, on 22nd August, 1572. In November following the Regent Mar and John Knox died, the former supposed to have been poisoned by Morton. This year Burghley, Mar and Killigrew were engaged in a conspiracy to take away Queen Mary's life, but the sudden death of Mar on 28th October, in the middle of these diabolical negotiations, put an end to the plot. Morton was again the prime mover of this, and it pleased Elizabeth. She had influence enough to have him appointed Regent in Mar's place, which was done on 24th November following. It could not be supposed that Morton and Kirkaldy could be friends after the Stirling affair, when Morton was arrested by Kirkaldy's men, and his house set on fire.¹ Morton's earliest attention after becoming Regent was given to Kirkaldy; and by Elizabeth's orders Edinburgh Castle was besieged. This famous siege took place in 1573, and was conducted by Sir William Drury for Elizabeth, and by the

¹ It is said that Kirkaldy had been attainted for supporting Queen Mary, and that this caused the encounter at Stirling.

Regent Morton. The besieged defended themselves for a considerable time with great fortitude, but were unable to hold out against such heavy odds, and Kirkcaldy was executed. For details see reign of James VI. Queen Mary was something like fourteen years in captivity in Sheffield, and during that long period her sufferings increased rather than diminished, while the insulting and brutal treatment she received from Elizabeth was beyond words to describe. Towards the close of her Sheffield captivity she wrote Elizabeth what she considered would be her final letter:—"I will appeal to the living God, our only judge, who has established us both alike, immediately under Himself, for the government of His people. I will invoke Him to the close of this my heavy affliction to deal with you and me as He will do at His final judgment according to our deserts. And remember, Madam, that to Him nothing we have done can be disguised by the paint and policy of this world, although my enemies under you might for a time hide from me and perhaps from yourself their subtle and malicious inventions and practices. The vilest criminals now in our gaols and born under your authority are admitted to be tried for their justification; why should not the same privilege be accorded to me, a sovereign queen, your nearest relative and legitimate heir? My enemies have little reason and less need to torment me longer, for I now look for no other kingdom than that of my God whom I see preparing me for the best conclusion of all my sorrows and adversities. Your imprisoning me without any right or just pretence has already destroyed my body, of which you will shortly see the end. Nothing remains of me but the soul which it is not in your power to fetter." That this eloquent and pathetic letter was warranted by her cruel persecution we think there can be no doubt, and that it made no impression on the hard heart of Elizabeth need not occasion much surprise.

The last and final trouble Queen Mary had to face was the Babington plot of 1586. Its simple object

was her liberation and nothing more. The assassination of Elizabeth was treacherously introduced into both her and Babington's letters. By the ingenuity of Walsingham, Elizabeth's secretary, and his paid spies, the letters between the Queen and Babington were opened, copied, interpolated, and sealed again, these interpolations providing for Elizabeth's murder. The letter on which Queen Mary was condemned was that dated July, 1586, from her to Babington.¹ These interpolations were inspired, it is believed, by Elizabeth. The plot extended over eight months, viz., from January to September, 1586, and was watched from day to day by Walsingham, who instructed and directed the spies. Babington was a Catholic, and his sole object was Queen Mary's release. He is said to have been a simple youth, easily led. Gifford, one of Elizabeth's spies, told him the plans for Mary's release; but though he was a friend of Mary, he resented the proposal to assassinate Elizabeth, and refused to have anything to do with it. At this point Gifford was baffled. Others joined the plot, and emissaries of Elizabeth *incognito* were also engaged in it. In July Babington wrote a letter to Mary which is too long for our limits. It was intercepted, opened, and copied by these spies, and the following words, printed in italics in the reproduction, were cunningly introduced into the text of Babington's letter:—

Myself, with ten gentlemen of quality and 100 followers, will undertake the delivery of your person from the hands of your enemies. *For the despatch of the usurper (Elizabeth), from obedience of whom, by the excommunication of her, we are made free, there be six noble gentlemen, all my private friends, who, for the zeal they bear the Catholic cause and your Majesty's service, will undertake the tragical execution.* It resteth that, according to their infinite deserts and your Majesty's

¹ See Author's work, "Mary Queen of Scots."

bounty, these heroic attempts might be honourably rendered.

And in Queen Mary's reply to this letter:—

I may be suddenly transported out of this place, and meet, without tarrying for the arrival of the foreign aid, which thus must be hastened with all diligence now, *for that there can be no certain day appointed for the accomplishment of the said gentlemen's design, to the end others may be in readiness to take me from hence. I would that the said gentlemen had always about them, or at least at Court, divers and sundry scout men furnished with good and speedy horses; as soon as the design shall be executed to come with all diligence to advise me thereof, and those who shall be appointed for my transporting; to the end that immediately after they may be at the place of my abode before my keeper can have notice of the execution of the said design, or at the least before he can fortify himself within the house, or carry me out of the same. It were necessary to despatch two or three of the said advisers by divers ways, to the end if one be stayed the other may come through; at the same instant it were needful to try to cut off the posts, ordinary ways.* IT WERE SUFFICIENT CAUSE GIVEN TO THE QUEEN IN CATCHING ME AGAIN TO ENCLOSE ME IN SOME HOLD, OUT OF WHICH I SHOULD NEVER ESCAPE, if she did use me no worse, and to pursue with all extremity those who assisted, in which would grieve me more than all the unhappiness that would fall upon myself.

The words printed in italics and small capitals represent the fabricated matter introduced into Queen Mary's letter to Babington, and this letter, as already stated, was the ostensible cause of her execution. We say "ostensible," because Elizabeth was resolved on Mary's execution with or without a cause, and had there been no Babington Conspiracy the life of the

Queen of Scots would have been taken all the same; nothing being easier for Elizabeth's spies than to accomplish this object. Mary denied that she had ever seen any such letter from Babington, or that she wrote any such letter to him, or that she was privy to the conspiracy, or that she was privy to anything for the destruction of Elizabeth or the hurt of her person. She protested against being charged except by her word, or by her writing, and they had neither the one nor the other to produce against her. The commissioners led by Burghley could not produce it, and it never was produced. The Queen was condemned on the forged letter having the words we have just quoted. And in support of the forgery, we have Walsingham's¹ letter to Leicester, of 7th July, 1586, in which this sentence occurs: "*Surely, if the matter be well handled, it will break the neck of all dangerous practices during Her Majesty's reign.*" The words in italics are a clear admission by Walsingham that he and his spies were managing the conspiracy. Walsingham, having got by means of these interpolated letters all the evidence he required to condemn the Queen of Scots, proceeded to bring the scheme to a termination. Babington and his twelve companions were thereupon apprehended, tried, and executed with great cruelty, within a week thereafter. As a sequel to this diabolical programme, Mary was taken out for a little exercise on horseback by Sir Amias Paulet and an escort. She was accompanied by Nau and Curle,² her secretaries, and others of her

¹ In the British Museum, Caligula C. IX., fol. 458, there is a confession by Thomas Harrison, who styles himself secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham, in which he states that Walsingham, Phillips and himself contrived the conspiracy, and forged the letters for which Mary suffered death.

² Christopher Hatton, afterwards Lord Chancellor, was engaged in the very delicate task of interrogating Nau and Curle, whose precognitions were to be used as the chief evidence against their mistress. He was prepared for this by a letter from Burghley, saying: "They wold yeld soe what to conform their mystress if

household. They rode from Chartley to Tixall, three or four miles. At the latter place Mary was detained as a prisoner and her secretaries arrested and taken to London. After this outrage, Paulet and his companions returned to Chartley, seized Queen Mary's papers and all she possessed, and sent them to Elizabeth. Thereafter Paulet was ordered to bring her back to Chartley. All her money had been taken away, as well as her papers, as also the money which belonged to her secretaries, which amounted to a large sum. It is recorded that Nau, after being seized at Chartley, was boarded in Walsingham's house; that he was bribed by a gift of £7,000 to betray Mary, and that he did so and prepared the evidence that was led against her at Fotheringay. In September, 1586, she was removed to Fotheringay, arriving there on 25th September.¹

The trial of Queen Mary began at Fotheringay on 14th October, 1586, before thirty-six commissioners appointed by Elizabeth, and was conducted by Lord Burghley and the Chancellor Bromley. The Queen disclaimed their jurisdiction, but eventually gave in on condition that her objection to the competency of the tribunal was recorded. They refused to allow her counsel to plead for her, or to give her help of any kind;

they were persuaded that themselves might scape and the blow fall upon their Mrs. (Mary), betwixt hir head and shoulders." Hatton was one of the commissioners at Fotheringay. He slept every night at the house of Sir Walter Mildmay, five miles distant. Here he carried on a private correspondence with Elizabeth, and it is curious to observe that on such a solemn occasion he still addressed her as a lover.²

¹ In Buck's MS. there is mentioned a memorial of Sir Walter Raleigh to King James, wherein he reflects heavily upon Cecil in the matter of Essex. At the end of that memorial he lays open the conduct of Cecil and his father, Lord Burghley, in the matter of Mary Queen of Scots; and with a singular bitterness of style not only vindicates the memory of Queen Elizabeth, but lays the death of the unfortunate Queen chiefly at the door of Cecil and his father.³

² Campbell's Lives.

³ Cobbett's State Trials.

so cowardly were they that even her own private papers, which were taken from her, they refused to give up. She, however, made an eloquent and able defence, and showed that she was a match for both Burghley and the Chancellor. "There is not one among you," she said, "let him be the cleverest man you will, who would be capable of resisting or defending himself were he in my place. I am alone; taken by surprise, and forced to reply to so many people who are unfriendly to me, and who have long been preparing for this occasion, and who appear to be more influenced by prejudice and anger than by a desire of discovering the truth." After two days sittings the trial was transferred to the Star Chamber, Westminster. This tribunal found the Queen guilty without having examined a single witness.

The Star Chamber was dominated by the English Queen, who had given instructions some time before that the sentence was to be "guilty." What, then, are we to think of the English jurisprudence of that age, and of the commissioners who conducted this trial, who, overwhelmed by Mary's eloquent denunciation of the charge, were unable to go to proof, or even to produce the original document in which the indictment was founded? In the words of a modern writer: "Thus ended one of the most disgraceful of all the judicial iniquities which disgraced the pages of the history of England; to arraign the accused at Fotheringay in the absence of witnesses, and to produce witnesses at Westminster in the absence of the accused, was a mockery of justice; and this was not the only iniquity. Of the documents against Mary not one was original: they were not even *bonâ fide* copies; they were only alleged to be copies of ciphers on the credit of men who were paid spies, and who were not confronted with the accused at the trial. To attach the smallest credit to any such documents would be to disregard the plainest rules of evidence recognised by all civilised communities for the discovery of truth."¹ The con-

¹ Hosack.

spiracy was practically directed by the Queen of England, carried out by Cecil and Walsingham, and terminated in the execution of Babington and his twelve companions, and the Queen of Scots, for a crime of which they were absolutely innocent.

After the trial, various efforts were made to save the life of the unfortunate Queen. Her son wrote several letters to Elizabeth remonstrating, but they were too feeble to have any effect on Elizabeth's impenetrable nature; the Catholics made some strenuous efforts, but these were not followed up with the only thing that could move the English Queen, viz., military force, and came to nothing. The French King, Mary's brother-in-law, wrote also vigorously pleading for Mary's life, but without effect. He then sent his ambassador, Bellievre, a bold and courageous man, and he obtained more than one audience of Elizabeth, and peremptorily demanded of her to spare Mary's life or take the consequences. She lost her temper, asked indignantly if his master gave him authority to speak to her in that manner. Bellievre promptly replied in the affirmative, and she closed the interview, and disappeared from the room.

On 3rd December, 1586, Queen Elizabeth issued a long and elaborate proclamation declaring the sentence of death passed on Queen Mary, and the reasons that led to it. This proclamation has been already published.¹ The execution of the Queen took place at Fotheringay on 8th February, 1587.² For her brutal treatment of the Queen of Scots, Elizabeth's character was considered execrable by the Catholic party in Scotland and France. An eloquent and touching funeral oration was preached by the Archbishop of Bourges in Notre Dame. Queen Mary's funeral, by Elizabeth's order, did not take place for a considerable time after her death, and when it did it was an insult to her memory. It was a great empty show that would have done credit to Barnum. It was

¹ See Author's work, "Mary Queen of Scots."

² Queen Mary's execution has been so fully detailed by almost every historian that it is unnecessary to repeat its details.

destitute of every feeling of reverence or solemnity (as a careful reading of the official programme and the detailed list of the expenses show), for the appalling calamity which had been brought about by the tyrannical conduct and the evil genius of the Queen of England. In that huge procession—upwards of a mile in length—marshalled by Royal warrant, and by the Earl Marischal of England, with a commissariat in wines, liquors and food-stuffs, that might have kept the people of Peterborough for six months; the mourner was conspicuous by his absence, while the devoted attendants of the Queen, preferring not to recognise such an insult to the memory of their Royal mistress, regarded with scorn the invitation of Sir Amias Paulet desiring them to be present. Queen Mary was interred first in Peterborough Cathedral about six months after her death, and afterwards her remains were transferred by her son, James I., to the chapel of Henry VII., in Westminster Abbey.

Queen Mary, the greatest personality of the Royal House of Stuart, was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable women of her time, and probably one of the most remarkable ever born in Scotland. Her education and early training under the direction of that clever woman, Mary of Guise, her mother, her accomplishments, her attractive manners, her vigorous intellect, her decision and force of character, were all qualities that eminently equipped her for the high and distinguished position she was called upon to occupy. We do not think in the history of Scotland we shall find another occupant of the throne who has had such an extraordinary and so tragic a career. This is not to be wondered at when we consider that the Scottish nobles of the sixteenth century were, with few exceptions, strangers to refinement, education, or even to civilisation, while very few of them could write, of which we have abundant proof from the subscriptions to charters. Their rude and uncultivated nature must account in some measure for the brutality, dishonesty and treason which marked many of their actions.

Mary, who should have been surrounded by men who could have aided and advised her in carrying on the government, was shadowed by persecutors, unprincipled men—fanatics, in short, capable of committing any conceivable crime if it would secure them a lucrative office in the State. The greatest personality in Mary's time was her uterine brother, the Earl of Moray, who became Regent, but his duplicity and cruelty, and his thirst for power, were too conspicuous, and eventually culminated in his assassination. Treason and rebellion were the destructive features during Mary's reign, and in working out her tragic downfall these nobles murdered her secretary and her husband, married her compulsorily to her husband's murderer, and fabricated the Casket Letters, the object of which was to divert public attention respecting the murder from themselves to the Queen. The lieges, however, saw through this ingenious treason, and refused to acquit them of the crime. Not the least audacious part of their conduct was their convening meetings of the Privy Council, and to mislead the people, resolving that the murderers (themselves) should be sought for and punished; to complete the farce they presided at the trial of Bothwell, who was merely an accomplice of their own, and after a mock trial acquitted him. Moray, we must keep in view, was thirsting for the regency and the Queen's downfall. They afterwards became false to Bothwell, and although they had signed the Ainslie bond to stand by him, they actually denied that they authorised him to marry the Queen, one of the stipulations of the bond. They followed up this by raising an army and pursuing Bothwell and the Queen, and this culminated at Carberry Hill, where they betrayed the Queen, perjured themselves, broke their solemn word, on the faith of which she had surrendered, made her prisoner, sent her to Lochleven, compelled her to abdicate: and all this to aid Moray and convince the people that they were innocent and the Queen guilty. During the captivity of the Queen all these nobles who had persecuted and

insulted her died unnatural deaths except Lindsay, who died in peace. But before the hapless Queen could pass out of the world and bid adieu to her inhuman trials, she had a second set of ruffians to fight and conquer, at a time when her physical frame, from her long captivity, had been reduced almost to a shadow. This was the faction who managed the so-called Babington Conspiracy. Their policy to involve the Queen in a spurious assassination of Elizabeth was carried out with what we might call the refinement of treachery, and wound up by a sentence of "guilty" *before the trial took place*, deliberately ordained by Queen Elizabeth. Nothing could more disgrace the annals of English jurisprudence than this illegal and unconstitutional trial of the Scottish Queen. But it is proper to add that she was not altogether free from blame in her administration of the crown. Her conduct at the Huntly Rebellion; her depriving Lord Huntly of the Earldom of Moray illegally, and bestowing it on Lord James Stuart, cannot, we think, be justified. Her accusers, on the other hand, have not been generous, seeing they have produced no *bonâ fide* proof. They have not considered the duplicity and espionage which shadowed her during her brief but brilliant reign, which terminated with her betrayal at Carberry Hill; nor have they taken into account the false and fraudulent nature of certain entries in the Privy Council Register.

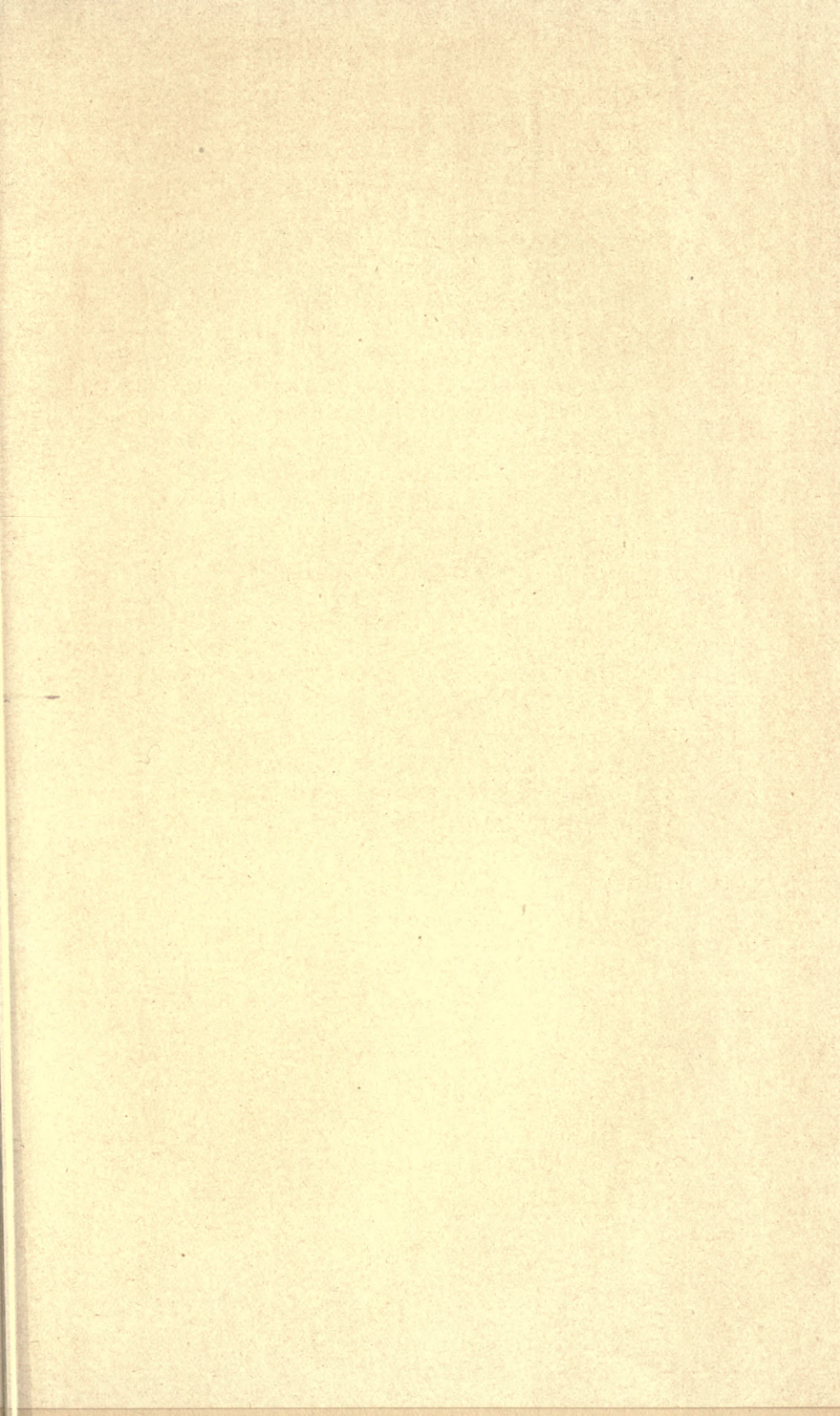
The four great events in the history of Mary may be said to be the Darnley murder, the Bothwell marriage, the Casket Letters, the Babington Conspiracy, in all of which her accusers criticise her adversely. Unfortunately for her accusers not one of them can produce the slightest authentic or *bonâ fide* evidence to support their statements. Hypothetical remarks and circumstantial evidence are insufficient where life and death are concerned. Some of her accusers, on the basis of presumptive and unjustifiable conclusions, have made the foulest aspersions on her character. In the case of the Darnley murder, we have not a tittle of evidence

to prove that Mary either knew of it or was a party to it. The Craigmillar meeting, on which her accusers found their argument, affords insufficient evidence. She on that occasion resented the interference of the conspirators with her husband when they suggested divorce, and peremptorily refused to discuss the subject with them. In regard to the Bothwell marriage, there is the Ainslie bond still preserved, and by its terms Bothwell, for blowing up the house at Kirk of Field, was to get the consent of the conspirators to marry the Queen. In obedience to the terms of this bond Bothwell seized the Queen, and married her without asking her consent. The minister of Edinburgh refused to proclaim the banns, and the Queen appeared at the ceremony in mourning as a protest against its iniquity. Following up this line of policy, the conspirators manufactured two, if not three, spurious marriage contracts bearing the forged signatures of Mary and Bothwell, in order to convince the people that the marriage was *bonâ fide*. Mary was the most polite and cultivated letter-writer of that age, and was incapable of writing the Casket Letters. Then we have the fact that they were neither dated nor signed nor addressed to anyone, and no originals ever were produced. Finally, when brought up by Moray and the conspirators at the York and Westminster conferences, they were dismissed by the English Queen as no evidence against Mary. In the matter of the Babington Conspiracy, the most elaborate histories of the Queen of Scots show that nothing more was ever intended by Babington than a plot for Mary's release. Elizabeth, however, was disappointed that Mary had lived so long, and she had suggested to Moray, Walsingham and Cecil, at different periods, her schemes for taking Mary's life. All these were open to some objection from these cunning men, until Walsingham suggested the seizing of the private letters of Mary by expert spies, opening them, copying and interpolating them, and returning them, which eventually accomplished Elizabeth's purpose; and

Mary was tried and condemned to death for these interpolations, of which she was not only innocent but she never saw them. Again, the official correspondence of the time divulges the fact that Elizabeth gave Cecil orders to find Mary guilty some days before the trial commenced.

To condemn the Queen on circumstantial evidence, which, in the light of the vigilant research of the past half-century, has been taken to pieces, is altogether premature; while the case for the accusers evidently now stands in this position: that the evidence against the Queen of Scots, if it exists at all, has yet to be discovered.

Note.—The Orkney portrait of Queen Mary.—Robert Stuart was half-brother of Queen Mary and the Regent Moray. In 1539 he was appointed Commendator of Holyrood. In 1565 he exchanged the temporalities of Holyrood for the estates of the See of Orkney with Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney. These lands were by James VI., in 1581, erected into an earldom, and Robert Stuart was then created Earl of Orkney. This portrait was presented to Robert Stuart in 1565, by the Queen, on his removal from Holyrood to Orkney. Because of treason Stuart was imprisoned by the Regent Morton in the Castle of Orkney, where he remained till Morton's resignation, when he was released. He then became a bitter enemy of Morton's, and was one of those who conveyed Morton prisoner to Dumbarton Castle after his trial. Stuart, who died in 1592, left issue by Lady Jean Kennedy, daughter of Gilbert, fourth Earl of Cassillis, four sons and four daughters.





THE REGENT MORTON.

(From the Portrait at Dalmahoy.)

CHAPTER XV.

Birth and Coronation of James—Regency of the Kingdom—Moray, Lennox, Mar and Morton—Resignation of the Regent Morton—The Chancellor Glamis assassinated—Siege of Edinburgh Castle—Death of Maitland—Execution of Kirkaldy of Grange—Mar seizes Stirling Castle—Morton, Atholl and Argyll at Craigmillar—Turbulent Parliament at Edinburgh—Suspicious death of Atholl—Impeachment of Morton—Morton arrested and executed—Lennox and Arran in supreme Power—Raid of Ruthven and Capture of the King—Escape of the King—Ruthven Lords banished—Conspirators seize Stirling Castle—Arrest of Gowrie—Arran advances to Stirling—Execution of Gowrie—Attainder of Angus, Mar and Glamis—James's secret letter to the Pope—Arran's Administration—Arran becomes Chancellor—Plot for the murder of Angus—Banished Lords march on Stirling—Arran and his brother removed from office—Spanish Armada—Romantic marriage of the King—Marriage tour in Norway and Denmark—Queen's Coronation at Edinburgh—Young Moray assassinated—Bothwell's plot to seize the King—Bothwell proclaimed a traitor—The King a prisoner—Battle of Doune—The King in church addresses the people—Birth and baptism of Prince Henry—King and Queen quarrel—Battle of Glenlivet.

REIGN OF JAMES VI.

A.D. 1567—1625.

THE turbulent condition of Scotland had now reached its extremity. The faction bent on supplanting the sovereign and compelling a *coup d'état* had succeeded. By playing false to Mary and perjuring themselves, and dishonourably breaking an undertaking which Kirkaldy had solemnly made with the Queen, they obtained possession of her person at Carberry Hill, and put her shortly afterwards into Lochleven Prison. This was the work of Moray, Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay,

Maitland and Archibald Douglas. They were all thirsting for power, and this event paved the way for the accomplishment of that object.

Moray, though absent, was the Director-in-Chief of these men who betrayed the Queen, and he was responsible for the unsettled state of the kingdom. After Langside his position was far from enviable. The Hamiltons were his sworn enemies, and although several of the more prominent of them fell at that engagement, the survivors resolved that they would, at their own time, pay out Moray for what had happened. After Mary, they were nearest heirs to the crown, but the infant King for the present disposed of that question. In addition to the Hamiltons, there was a large and influential faction in Scotland opposed to Moray—the Catholics; also Argyll, Huntly, Herries, and many other nobles. Moray therefore carried on his regency, so to speak, sword in hand, for his life was not worth three years' purchase.

On 29th July, 1567, these men, in spite of the Queen, crowned the infant King at Stirling when he was thirteen months old. The child was born on 19th June, 1566.¹

The coronation sermon was preached by Knox. Lindsay and Ruthven, in the name of the Queen, but without her authority, renounced in the young King's favour her right to the throne, gave up the abdication papers she was forced to subscribe at Lochleven, and surrendered the sword, sceptre and crown. Morton bent his head over the child, and laying his hand on the Scriptures took the coronation oath for the infant, while the bishop of Orkney anointed him, delivered to him the sword and sceptre, and put the crown on his

¹ In the matter of infant sovereigns, James II. succeeded when he was six and a half years old; James III. succeeded at the same age; James IV. at sixteen years; James V. at one and a half; Mary at seven days; and James VI. at thirteen months. Such a succession of infant sovereigns is unexampled in the history of any other kingdom.

head. After this they returned to the castle, Atholl carrying the crown, Morton the sceptre, and Glencairn the sword. There probably never was a greater farce in connection with the crown of Scotland.

Soon after the ceremony the Republican party caused a coin to be struck, on which was inscribed the motto of Trajan: *Pro me; si morear in me;* "For me; and if I deserve it, against me." According to Sir Theodore Mayerne, who subsequently became James's physician, the wet-nurse of the young Prince was a drunkard, and it was owing to her, that though early weaned, he was unable to walk alone before his sixth year. On one occasion when a boy, he was chastised by his tutor Buchanan, when the Countess of Mar (Annabella, daughter of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine), hearing his cries rushed into the apartment, and seizing the boy in her arms, inquired excitedly of Buchanan how he dared to touch the Lord's anointed. "Madam," replied he, "I have whipped his Majesty's —, and you may kiss it if you please," and left the Countess in possession of the apartment. The imprisonment of the Queen, and the coronation of the infant King, enabled Moray to obtain the summit of his ambition.

At a time of trouble which words are not adequate to describe, this child was ushered into the world, and shortly after his coronation the Earl of Moray, on 22nd August, was chosen Regent. This coronation was the climax that the murder of Darnley, the Bothwell marriage, the Casket Letters, and the seizure and imprisonment of the Queen led up to. The crisis was critical and acute, the kingdom congested in every quarter, the administration of justice upset; and the realm rebellious, split up into factions, and civil allegiance for the time practically a dead letter. Every man was a law unto himself—one faction supported the Queen, and another the King. Both were at war with each other, and until the infant King was twelve years of age the kingdom, if the Queen was to remain in confinement, must be ruled by a gency. In that brief period no

less than four Regents appear on the scene, and as a proof of the lawlessness of the time each of these men, strange to say, came to an untimely end. Moray was shot by one of the Hamiltons ; Lennox's term of office was only fourteen months when he was shot by Kirkaldy ; Mar had guided the helm fourteen months when it is said he was poisoned ; and Morton had five years and four months of the office when he resigned. Some time after he was impeached by Arran for being concerned in Darnley's murder, and was executed. The administration under these four selfish and tyrannical rulers discloses a unique picture of the state of Scotland, practically the subversion of its independence, and its dictatorship by the Queen of England. It may be said that Elizabeth in reality appointed the Regents, lent them money, made them creatures of her own bidding, her primary object being to direct their policy regarding the Scottish Queen. The Darnley murderers joined with Elizabeth in placing Moray in the regency. Moray opened his programme badly by sending three armed ships in mock pursuit of Bothwell. He then ordered the execution of several subsidiary persons known to have been connected with the murder. Some of these unfortunate men, such as John Hay of Tallo, only did what they were told by their superiors. At their mock trials they almost involved Maitland, Morton and others, and Moray took fright and suspended any further proceedings. After besieging Dunbar Castle, Moray, on 15th September, wrote Cecil that the whole realm was quiet ; no doubt Moray was taking the will for the deed, as the realm was anything but quiet. He held his first Parliament on 15th December, 1567 ; the sederunt consisted of fourteen abbots, twelve earls, sixteen lords, with their eldest sons or heirs, and twenty-seven commissioners of burghs. The proceedings were opened by a very politic and very insincere speech from Maitland, a copy of which is preserved in the State Paper Office. According to him they were establishing a uniform religion, they were

acknowledging the just authority of the King in consequence of the Queen's free (?) demission of the crown, and the sanction to be given to the appointment of Moray as Regent during the King's minority. There was also, he said, the reuniting of the nobility and the punishing of the cruel murder of Darnley, and many other disorders requiring the grave consideration of their lordships. This speech is another illustration of the "irony of fate," for the Darnley murderers, who were all present, were Maitland himself, Moray, Morton and others. It is difficult, the historian says, which to condemn: "The gross inaccuracy of this speech, or the hardihood evinced by its coming from Maitland's lips." This Parliament ratified the Queen's compulsory abdication, her son's coronation, and the Regent's appointment. The Pope's authority was abolished, and the Confession of Faith sanctioned; and heretics, or those who heard Mass, were liable in severe punishment. A debate then took place on the Queen's imprisonment, when it was resolved that it should be continued, and an act passed for the exoneration of those who had risen in arms for the prosecution of the murderers of Darnley. It declared the conduct of those lords from 10th February (the day of the murder) till the present time to be lawful, and that they should not be subjected to any prosecution for what they had done, because, the Parliament added, "if the Queen were confined, it was in consequence of her own fault, as by several of her private letters,¹ written with her own hand and sent to Bothwell, and by her ungodly and pretended marriage with him, it was certain that she was art and part of the murder of the King, her husband." This declaration was ordered to be printed with the other statutes. The York and Westminster conferences to deal with these letters, so far as they concerned the Queen of Scots, were duly convened, and after evidence was led, the Court, inspired by Elizabeth, found no case against Mary, and the matter was put out of Court.

¹ Casket Letters.

Moray's regency was one of great perplexity on account of the appalling circumstances which surrounded him. His own rebellious conduct was the source of all these. During the two and a half years of his official rule there was no prosperity for the country. War, secret plots and crime were predominant, and the Darnley murderers, being connected with these, Moray was careful to disregard them. Moray's betrayal of Norfolk, who fell in love with Mary, which resulted afterwards in Norfolk's execution, and his surrender of Northumberland to the English Queen for English gold, which also ended in Northumberland's execution, are two of the principal crimes in Moray's career, for which there is no defence whatever. We have no means of ascertaining what the feeling of the people of Scotland was at that period, but there is little doubt that his assassination shortly after this, viz., on 23rd January, 1570, caused no regret in any part of the kingdom. It is very probable that the only person concerned about the death of Moray was Elizabeth, simply because he was in league with her in various plots to murder the Scottish Queen, and his removal rendered her for the moment helpless. Disturbances arose as to who should succeed Moray, and, as the material was scarce the office of Regent was not filled up for six months. A strong effort was made, headed by the Hamiltons, to restore Mary, but it lacked strength and cohesion. The Earl of Westmoreland, a friend of Mary, testified his joy at the death of Moray by throwing his hat into the fire. In France and Spain the joy was universal. Elizabeth, after due consideration, sent to Scotland her crafty ambassador, Sir Thomas Randolph, a man who was pretty well known there. He kept her posted up in all the secret movements that were going on. It was not till 16th June, 1570, that the nobles agreed on a Regent to succeed Moray, and on that date a convention of the King's faction was held at Stirling, when the Earl of Lennox, the father of Darnley, was

nominated with the consent of Elizabeth. This was ratified by a convention held at Edinburgh on 12th July, when Lennox was formally elected. In respect of capability Lennox was inferior to Moray. Kirkaldy of Grange refused to recognise this appointment, and declined to allow the guns at Edinburgh Castle (of which he was Governor) to fire a salute when the news was announced. Queen Mary's faction resolved to hold a Parliament at Linlithgow on 4th August, and publicly avowed their resolution never to acknowledge Lennox as Regent.¹ Both parties prepared for war, Lennox and Morton uniting their forces against Huntly and the Queen's faction, while Elizabeth sent 4,000 troops into Annandale to support Lennox. At this point a truce for two months was agreed on to give time to discuss with Elizabeth proposals for Mary's release. These were duly discussed, but the insincerity of Elizabeth put an end to the proposal.

Lennox and Morton's forces arrived at Leith on 9th May, 1571. Here the cannon of the castle, under Kirkaldy, opened upon them. They assembled a Parliament, and forfeited Maitland, and some of their opponents. Grange, at the castle, held a rival Parliament in Queen Mary's name. It is impossible to conceive, says the historian,² a more miserable spectacle than that presented at this moment by the country and the capital: the country torn and desolated by the struggles of two exasperated factions, whose passions became every day more fierce; the capital in a state of siege, whilst the citizens, placed between the fires of the castle and the camp of the Regent, were compelled to serve under the Queen's banner or join Lennox and have their property confiscated. Two hundred joined the camp at Leith, upon which Kirkaldy deposed the Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh, and placed Ker of Fernihirst in the civic chair, with a council of his retainers to act as magistrates.

Kirkaldy resolved to hold a Parliament in Edinburgh

¹ Lennox to Elphinstone.

² Tytler.

whilst Lennox resolved to hold a meeting of the Estates at Stirling. Kirkaldy's Parliament passed sentence of forfeiture against Lennox, Morton, Mar, Lindsay, Glamis and Ochiltree, and about 200 others, but this assembly was only attended by five lords and was called the Parliament with a hole in it. The Estates met at Stirling, at which the infant King, now five years of age, was invested with his robes, and read a speech which had been prepared for him.¹ Kirkaldy and his supporters were declared traitors. Kirkaldy resolved by a night march to surprise the Regent and his faction at Stirling, and under Huntly, Lord Claud Hamilton and Buccleuch, he sent 400 men there, remaining himself in Edinburgh. They entered Stirling in the early morning when everyone was in bed, and took prisoners Morton, Glencairn, Argyll, Cassillis, Eglinton, Sempill, Ochiltree and others. In the midst of great confusion, Captain Calder determined that Lennox should not escape, and coming up behind him, shot him mortally through the back, and he died the same evening. For this Calder was afterwards executed by Lennox's supporters. The following day—4th September—Mar (John Erskine, sixth Earl) was chosen Regent. There is no proof that Elizabeth was directly consulted about this appointment. Mar was a capable man for the office, probably more so than either of his two predecessors, while his integrity and honour were unblemished. He was shadowed by Morton, who was displeased not to have got the regency. Troubles increased in the north, and Adam Gordon, Huntly's brother, ravaged the country, defeated the King's supporters, and brought the whole country under subjection to Mary.

It is recorded that he attacked the Castle of Towie, Aberdeenshire. In the absence of her husband, Lady Forbes was ordered by a party of soldiers to surrender. She promptly fired upon the leader and wounded him in the knee. In revenge the Castle (the seat of the Forbes family) was immediately set on fire, when Lady

¹ Letter to Drury, Stirling, 29th August, 1571.

Forbes, her family and domestics—thirty-seven persons—perished in the flames. An old ballad, describing the disaster, relates that Lord Forbes, at the head of a body of followers, rode into view in the distance when the whole pile was in flames, and gave orders to his men to hurry on with him at speed,

And some they rade, and some they ran,
Fu' fast out ower the plain ;
But lang, lang ere he could get up,
They a' were deid and slain.

And round and round the wa's he went,
Their ashes for to view,
At last into the flames he ran,
And bade the world adieu !

At this crisis Norfolk, who had been liberated from the Tower, fell again in love with Mary, and renewed his correspondence with her. This was discovered by Elizabeth, and the unfortunate nobleman was tried and executed.

This movement in the north, it is said, made Elizabeth more determined to keep Mary in confinement. Owing to the approach of winter, she resolved to delay hostilities and allow the rival factions to exhaust each other, in the hope that her interest would not materially suffer. She was cunning, and having great faith in Morton, she secured his services by giving him a pension : he was mean enough to accept it, and become a traitor to his country. Her object, it is said, was to oppose every attempt made by Mar to restore peace. By this manœuvre Morton was never to sheath his sword till his enemies had unconditionally surrendered and the cause of Mary rendered hopeless. Mary's cause was powerfully supported in the north by Huntly, by Kirkaldy and Maitland in Edinburgh, and by the aid of money, arms and ammunition from France and Spain : for the moment it was highly prosperous. But the crafty policy of Elizabeth, strange to say, overcame the enthusiasm of Mary's leaders, and at Elizabeth's request

a truce for two months was concluded between both parties; and what is more strange still, Mar would appear to have become subject to the stronger will of Morton. In September, 1572, an interview of an extraordinary nature took place between Elizabeth, Burghley and Leicester, when it was explained to Killigrew, Elizabeth's ambassador to Scotland, that it had become absolutely necessary to execute the Scottish Queen, as unless the realm was quit of her the life of Elizabeth was no longer safe; the Scottish Queen to be sent to Scotland to the Regent, "that he might proceed with her by way of justice, Elizabeth's name not to appear in the transaction."

This matter occupied Mar's whole attention up to his death. He and Morton had agreed to this diabolical proposition of Elizabeth. Nicholas Elphinstone, and Pitcairn, Abbot of Dunfermline, were the men employed by Morton and Killigrew to see the deed done. It is a striking fact, as the historian says, that in the midst of the dark negotiations which were involved in this plot, Mar was himself struck down with mortal sickness and died at Stirling, under suspicion, on 28th October. His death caused the total collapse of the plot, and Burghley, when he heard of the event, was much startled. Mary, it appears, was perfectly unconscious of the danger she had escaped, and it is well that she was so. The unexpected death of Mar was followed by the appointment of Morton who, on 25th November, 1572, was proclaimed Regent. He was the nominee of Elizabeth. From a letter in the State Paper Office, Sir William Drury to Burghley, of 21st December, 1572, Elizabeth had determined to give effective support to the new Regent, both in money and troops, and an instalment of money was paid to Morton at once. On account of his unpopularity, measures were taken at a Parliament held in Edinburgh to promote a reconciliation between him and the disaffected nobles, such as Mary's followers. The chief of these were the Hamiltons, Argyll, Huntly and the Gordons. Morton, as a politic move towards

this end, resolved that no inquiry into the murder of Darnley should take place, nor any prosecution against suspected persons, and he agreed to pardon all who were accessory to the death of Lennox.¹ Two men stood out with their supporters, and they despised Morton and his regency; these were Kirkaldy of Grange and Maitland of Lethington. They intimated that although deserted by all their friends they would hold Edinburgh Castle to the last extremity. On this announcement the English troops—500 hagbutters and 140 pipe men—entered the capital, and they were joined by 700 soldiers from Morton. Then began the memorable siege of Edinburgh Castle. Morton called a Parliament, and got authority to order Kirkaldy and Maitland to surrender. Kirkaldy replied that he would hold the castle till he was buried in the ruins. On 17th May, 1573, the batteries began. For six days the cannon played incessantly upon the castle, and on the 23rd the southern wall of David's Tower fell with a crash, and next day the portcullis and outer bastion of the Wallace Tower were beaten down. Kirkaldy then appeared on the wall with a white roll in his hand, and thereafter a conference took place between parties. Kirkaldy's requests were to have surety for their lives, himself to be unmolested, and Home and Maitland to retire into England. Morton, it is said, scornfully rejected these terms. Kirkaldy and his brave companions then resolved to fight for their lives and abide the worst. But this was no longer in their power, as the soldiers began to mutiny, and threatened to hang Maitland over the walls within six hours if he did not advise a surrender. Kirkaldy then admitted two companies of the besieging force, and surrendered to them conditionally that they submitted to Drury, the English general, but not to Morton. They were received courteously into Drury's camp. Kirkaldy and Maitland then sent a joint letter to Burghley begging that their lives might be spared, but this letter produced

¹ The Hamiltons.

no effect; Morton wrote desiring their immediate execution. Elizabeth ordered them to be delivered up to the Regent Morton. Before these negotiations were finished Maitland, who had been removed to Leith, died in prison unexpectedly, supposed to have poisoned himself. On the 3rd August the brave and gallant Kirkaldy and his brother, James, were cruelly executed at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh in presence of an immense concourse of spectators, and many manifestations of sorrow. Maitland's body was refused interment till it was presented in Court "for justice." It is recorded that Morton's petitions to Elizabeth for money and pensions to his friends were importunate and incessant. The English Queen and he had frequent quarrels, and on one occasion, in 1575, when the English and Scots Wardens of the borders quarrelled, Elizabeth invited Morton to a conference in England to discuss the matter: Morton peremptorily refused as it was beneath the dignity of his office, but he would send a representative. She wrote him that he would do well to remember that his predecessor, the Regent Moray, had not scrupled to come to York and afterwards to London to hold a consultation with her commissioners. Morton was fond of money, avaricious to a degree. It is said that his exactions had completely disgusted the Edinburgh merchants, and that he had imprisoned the most opulent amongst them. This caused a great outcry, and he was probably informed that if he did not change his tactics the burgher hands which put him up would speedily pull him down again.

The Regent in 1576 got into serious trouble. The Earls of Atholl and Argyll broke away from him and disregarded his authority. Atholl had not forgiven him for his cruel conduct in causing the death of Lethington. Argyll had married the widow of the Regent Moray, and through her got possession of Queen Mary's jewels, which Moray had surreptitiously obtained. Morton insisted on recovering them as the property of the Crown, but Argyll refused to give them

up, though he eventually surrendered them on being threatened with arrest. On 4th March, 1578, Argyll, with his usual escort, rode into Stirling, and being admitted by Erskine, governor of Stirling Castle, to an interview with the young King, complained bitterly of Morton's insolent and oppressive conduct, not only to himself, but to the nobility and people. He desired the King to call a convention to consider their grievances, and if he found them true, to take the government on himself. These remarks were supported by Erskine; Atholl then appeared and tendered to the King similar advice. Scarcely had he done so when a messenger arrived from Morton, reprobating the conduct of the northern Earls (Huntly, Argyll and Atholl), desiring that they should be severely punished (coming from Morton this meant execution), and declaring his desire to resign if the King disregarded his request. This tempting offer was too good to reject, and Atholl, Argyll and Erskine immediately called a convention, which passed a resolution that the King should take the government into his own hands. Before Morton had time to retract he was waited on by the Chancellor Glamis, and Lord Herries, who brought a message from the King requiring his resignation. He received the message with surprise, rode with the emissaries from Dalkeith to Edinburgh, and there, at the Mercat Cross, he heard the herald proclaim his deprivation and the assumption of the government by the King. On the news becoming known, Randolph wrote Killigrew, the ambassador: "All the devils in hell are stirring, and in great rage, in this country. The Regent is discharged, the country broken, the Chancellor (Glamis) slain by the Earl of Crawford, four killed of the town out of the castle." The King called a meeting of the Privy Council, and the first thing they desired was to require Morton to deliver up Edinburgh Castle, Holyrood, the Queen's jewels, all of which he did, and retired to Dalkeith Palace.

On 17th March, 1578, there was a bloody encounter

at Stirling. The followers of the Earl of Crawford, and the Lord Chancellor Glamis (mutual enemies) met in one of the narrow lanes of Stirling, probably what is known as Queen Mary's Wynd. In the skirmish that followed Glamis received a pistol-shot through the head and died immediately.

In that turbulent age startling events were of frequent occurrence. A quarrel arose between the Earl of Mar, son of the Regent, and his uncle, Alexander Erskine, respecting the governorship of Stirling Castle. On 26th April, 1578, about five o'clock a.m., Mar, who had slept the previous night in the castle, declared he was its hereditary and lawful governor, and custodier of the King. He assembled his vassals, and called for the keys of the castle. A tumult ensued, when his uncle was thrust outside the gates. Mar put down all resistance, seized the keys, and asserted his rights. He became governor, and his uncle was given Edinburgh Castle.

Morton, who, like Moray, was a scheming, ambitious nobleman, regretted he had resigned the regency and lost his power and influence, and determined to reinstate himself. By a cunning manœuvre he recovered his position for a temporary period, but not his title. On the 8th May a meeting between Morton, Atholl and Argyll took place at Craigmillar, to discuss the situation, when they decided to go to Stirling next morning and adjust all differences with the King in person. Notwithstanding this Morton, with a small escort, at an early hour next morning, unknown to Atholl and Argyll, rode to Stirling, where he was received within the castle, and promptly resumed his ascendancy over the King. Atholl and Argyll resented this breach of faith, and resolved that they would give Morton a *quid pro quo*. The King called a convention at Stirling to consider the state of affairs. The nobles opposed to Morton refused to attend this convention, which ended in a fiasco. Parliament was then summoned to meet at Edinburgh in July, but Morton was afraid of his life in the capital,

and the meeting was transferred to Stirling. Scarcely had members taken their seats when Lindsay and Montrose appeared, and declared that this was not a free Parliament, because it was held within an armed fortress, and being held there, the peers refused to attend. They sent Lindsay to protest against the proceedings. Morton interrupted him, and commanded him and his companion Montrose to take their places, to which Lindsay answered that he would stand there till the King ordered him to sit down, which the King did. After sermon the Estates proceeded to choose the Lords of the Articles. Lindsay interrupted the proceedings, taking all to witness that every act of such a Parliament was null and void, and the choosing of the Lords an empty farce. "Think ye, sir," said Morton, "that this is a court of churls or brawlers? Take your own place, and thank God that the King's youth keeps you safe from his resentment." "I have served the King in his minority," said Lindsay, "as faithful as the proudest among ye, and I hope to serve his Grace no less truly in his majority." The King said: "Lest any man should judge this not to be a free Parliament, I declare it free; and those who love me will think as I think." This silenced Lindsay and the proceedings went on.¹

This Parliament was violently opposed by Atholl and Argyll, who raised a force of 7,000 men, and assembled at Falkirk with the view of checkmating Morton and having him removed from the King's counsels. It would appear, however, that Elizabeth promptly intervened, and by the wise counsels of Bowes, her minister in Scotland, parties were ostensibly reconciled. This was followed some months afterwards by a rather startling event, viz., the sudden death of John Stewart, fourth Earl of Atholl, the Lord Chancellor, who died at Kincardine Castle, Perthshire, on 25th April, 1579, under circumstances of great suspicion. He had just returned from a banquet given by Morton at Stirling, on the occasion of the reconciliation of all parties, and it is

¹ Lives of the Lindsays.

supposed that at this banquet he was poisoned, whether by Morton's knowledge we have no means of knowing. A *post-mortem* examination took place, when poison was discovered. The relations between parties, after Morton hoodwinked Argyll and Atholl, and discovered his power, were anything but friendly.

Morton having regained his power, and now that the chief of the Hamiltons was dead, and that the young heir was imbecile, he resolved to attack Hamilton Palace and make an effort to subdue that powerful house. According to Morton, the Hamiltons were responsible for the deaths of Moray and Lennox, the Regents. He made his assault in company with Angus on 4th May, 1579. The garrison in the palace was commanded by Arthur Hamilton of Merton, and he offered to surrender if his life, and that of his companions, were spared. This offer Morton refused, and Hamilton and his companions were immediately put to death. John Lord Hamilton, Commendator of Arbroath, had gone to Flanders, and Lord Claud, his brother, escaped into England. These were sons of the late Duke. This tyrannical procedure of Morton led to his downfall.

A Parliament was held at Edinburgh on 20th October, 1579, when the King's favourite, Esme Stuart, nephew of the Regent Lennox, was created Earl of Lennox. In the following year it was discovered that during the King's minority the Crown revenues were sadly plundered, and to such an extent, that the historian says the King could not raise £3,000 to defray the expenses of his household. Various efforts were made during 1580 to remove the King from the custody of Morton, but these were unsuccessful. At a meeting of the Privy Council on 31st December, 1580, an extraordinary scene occurred. James Stewart, second son of Lord Ochiltree, and the Captain of the Guard, was ushered in; advancing to the table, Stewart fell on his knees and accused the Regent Morton of Darnley's murder. "It is my duty to reveal a wickedness that

has been too long obscured. It was that man (pointing to Morton) now sitting at this table, a place he is unworthy to occupy, who conspired for your Royal father's death. Let him be committed for trial, and I shall make good my words." Morton responded with excitement, and being one of the champions of that conspiracy, his reply is significant: "I know not by whom this informer has been set on, and it were easy for a man of my rank to refuse to reply to so mean a person, but I stand upon my innocence. I fear no trial; the rigour with which I have prosecuted all suspected of that murder is well known, and when I have cleared myself, it will be for your Majesty to determine what they deserve who have sent this perjured tool of theirs to accuse me." As a matter of fact, Morton had prosecuted nobody. Stewart eloquently replied: "It is false that anyone has instigated me to make this accusation. A horror for the crime, and zeal for the safety of my sovereign, have been my only counsellors; and as to his pretended zeal against the guilty, let me ask him, where has he placed Archibald Douglas, his cousin? That most infamous of men who was the actor in the tragedy is now a Senator, promoted to the highest seat of justice, and suffered to pollute that tribunal before which he ought to have been arraigned as the murderer of his sovereign." The Privy Council were appalled, and the result of this scene was that Morton was arrested and conveyed to Edinburgh Castle, thence to Dumbarton Castle, a prisoner, to await his trial. Archibald Douglas, brother of Whittinghame, was also ordered to be arrested, but he escaped into England. Mr. John Craig, in his sermon the following Sunday, spoke strongly against false accusations, whereupon Captain James Stewart from his pew threatened him with his dagger drawn, charging him to forbear otherwise he should receive his reward. This silenced Craig.

Morton lay five months in prison before he was tried. The authorities, anticipating trouble from his supporters,

ordered two companies of soldiers to be placed at the Cross, and two bands above the Tolbooth, while the citizens, armed also, and with another body of troops, filled the principal street for the purpose of conducting Morton from his lodging to the Tolbooth, where his trial took place on 27th May. The jury, consisting of sixteen of the nobles and lords of Parliament, were commanded by the King to confine their attention to his connection with the murder of Darnley.

Several of Queen Mary's nobles, his enemies, were on the jury, such as Argyll, Montrose, Sutherland, Rothes, Ogilvy, Maxwell and Seton. He was found guilty of being one of Darnley's murderers, and on 2nd June, 1581, executed at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh; and his head thereafter placed on the highest point of the Tolbooth, where it remained a spectacle for no less than eighteen months. This was a fitting end to the life of a tyrant and a murderer; and probably he was more than any man responsible for the fate of his sovereign, Queen Mary. Had he exerted himself in her favour, the betrayal at Carberry Hill would never have taken place; but he was a traitor on that occasion, and the principal traitor, and was responsible, along with Lindsay, for having directed the whole diabolical proceedings of that fatal night. Morton, the night before his death, declared his innocence of the charge, but admitted having known of the plot for Darnley's murder, but he had neither art nor part in the deed. These last words of Morton cannot be accepted as truth. He left no issue, and his estates and title eventually went to Sir William Douglas of Lochleven, the custodier of Queen Mary, and he became Earl of Morton.

The death of Morton was an unquestionable relief to the nation, and the Earl of Lennox and James Stewart, now created Earl of Arran, the King's favourites, had the principal charge of administering the kingdom under the young King. Lennox was made Duke, and Ruthven, Earl of Gowrie, while the estates of the

Douglases were confiscated. The attention of the nobility was at this period taken up violently with the religious question. The King, Lennox and Arran championed Episcopacy, and Gowrie, Mar, Lindsay and Glamis supported Protestantism. Lennox and Arran, it would appear, organised a plot to seize the Protestant lords, which ended in a fiasco, and in the meantime the King, doubtless unaware of this plot, went on 22nd August, 1582, on a visit to Gowrie at Ruthven Castle, to enjoy some hunting and sporting. That notable intriguer, Walsingham, again appears on the scene, and having, by his spies, heard of the Lennox plot, he advised the Protestant lords to secure the King. Lennox had gone to Dalkeith Palace, and Arran to Kinneil. The knowledge of this plot induced the Protestant lords, headed by Gowrie, to carry out what is known as the Raid of Ruthven, one of its objects being to secure not only the King but the persons of Lennox and Arran. Gowrie and his companions assembled 1,000 men and surrounded Ruthven Castle. He and Mar entered the King's presence, and to his astonishment removed his guards, and presented a list of their grievances ; professing at the same time fidelity to his person. Intelligence was instantly sent to Lennox and Arran that the King was captive. Arran and his brother, Captain Stewart, at once set out for Ruthven Castle at the head of a considerable number of followers. Captain Stewart, upon his arrival, was attacked by Mar and Douglas of Lochleven, who sprung upon him from an ambush where they had watched him. Arran, who had gone by another rout to Ruthven was seized the moment he entered the precincts of the castle, and confined under a guard. Next morning the King prepared to take horse and return to Stirling, but Glamis informed him that the lords thought it better he should remain at Ruthven. This was Patrick Lyon, eleventh Lord Glamis, son of the late Chancellor. The King declared he would go at once, but Glamis prevented him, and the King then realised that he was

a prisoner. He was, however, taken to Stirling, where he remained under restraint till the 8th October, when he went to Holyrood, still a captive, and held a Parliament. Lennox, who ought to have rendered material help, became timid and irresolute, and sent Lord Herries to Stirling, where the King had gone, with some offers of reconciliation which were rejected. Herries and the Abbot of Newbattle, who accompanied him, were not allowed to see the King in private. At the Council table they delivered their message, after which the King, who was present, started up and said it was all true : he was a captive, and not allowed to move a step without a guard. He requested them to publish this openly. The conspirators, led by Gowrie, were very cautious, knowing as they did that they had committed treason ; and at this move of the King manifested great confusion. They said they were faithful subjects, but they would not allow Lennox and Arran to mislead him any longer. They desired Lennox to retire to France, and if he did not they would compel him. The conspirators followed this up by ordering Lennox to surrender Dumbarton Castle, and quit the kingdom. These conspirators or Ruthven lords carried everything with a high hand. They compelled the King to issue a proclamation declaring that he was a free monarch, and prepared to remain for the present at Stirling. On 24th June, 1583, after ten months of captivity, he had an interview at Falkland with the English ambassador, and three days thereafter, by the contrivance of Captain Stewart, he escaped from the Ruthvens and reached St. Andrews. No one was admitted to St. Andrews Castle except those connected with the plot. His escape surprised the conspirators, especially Mar and Angus. They were determined to recapture the King, but were met six miles from St. Andrews by a herald who charged them, on pain of treason, to disband their forces and come singly. They reluctantly obeyed, and on their meeting with the King he ordered them at once to return home, which they

did. The conspirators afterwards sued for mercy. The King declared his intention of punishing those who refused to do so, while he pardoned all who would acknowledge their offence. Angus, Mar, the tutor of Glamis, Douglas of Lochleven, and others of the Ruthven lords were banished out of the country.

On 23rd August Arran took his place in the new Privy Council. During the next two years, he was to dominate Scotland as Lennox had done before him. To crush the leaders of the Raid of Ruthven was the most pressing business of James and Arran. This state of Scotland was perplexing to Elizabeth who, in 1584, supported another plot of some of the Ruthven or Protestant lords and the Hamiltons for the capture of the King and assassination of Arran, but it came to nothing. Gowrie hesitated for some time between submitting to the King and taking part in the plot to assassinate Arran, and he chose the latter. Arran, who allowed nothing to escape his notice, quietly let the plot proceed to the very point of execution. Having privately desired his friends to hold themselves in readiness, he remained at Falkland with the King until he ascertained that Angus, Mar and Glamis had emerged from their banishment, reached Stirling with a body of horse, and had taken possession of the castle. Gowrie was at Dundee, waiting only for the signal of his fellow-conspirators. Arran then despatched Captain Stewart, with 100 troopers, to arrest Gowrie. Gowrie bravely defended himself for fully twelve hours, but was at last overpowered, arrested and taken to Edinburgh. Arran, with a force estimated at 10,000, probably exaggerated, advanced to Stirling to seize the conspirators and their troops; but hearing of this movement and the arrest of Gowrie, the conspirators got alarmed and fled to Newcastle before Arran could overtake them. And so this conspiracy collapsed. The conduct of Arran and his brother, Captain Stewart, was praiseworthy, and to them the failure of this conspiracy is due. Gowrie was immediately

afterwards tried for treason, found guilty and executed, May, 1584. His removal was no small relief to the King and the nation, and contributed greatly to the restoration of peace. He began his treasonable career in 1567, when, along with his father, he became one of the Darnley conspirators. From that period to his death he seems to have championed every conspiracy and treasonable plot that would subvert the King's authority.

This year what has been called an astounding document, a secret letter of James to the Pope, dated 19th February, 1584, was discovered. In this letter he thanks the Pope for his goodness to his mother, begs his assistance in putting down his enemies, as without assistance he must otherwise be forced to second their designs, and concludes: "I hope to be able to satisfy your Holiness on all other points, especially if I am aided in my great need by your Holiness." This was doubtless an appeal for money.

At a Parliament held at Edinburgh, May, 1584, Angus, Mar, Lyon and their followers, for their rebellious conduct, were declared guilty of treason and their estates forfeited. At this Parliament the authority of the King was declared supreme, and treason not to accept his judgment and that of his Council on any matter whatsoever; the jurisdiction of any court, spiritual or temporal, which was not sanctioned by him and the Three Estates was invalid.

James was the head of the Church as well as of the State. No assemblies of the Church were to be held without his order; he would appoint all bishops, and no minister was to express his opinion on public affairs on pain of treason.

An important conference took place on the borders on 14th August following, between Arran on behalf of the King, and Lord Hunsdon on behalf of Elizabeth. Arran's escort consisted of 5,000 horse, which appalled Hunsdon, who had a small retinue. Its object was to secure an *entente cordiale* between

both countries, and to restore the rebellious nobles in exile to their estates. The two ambassadors had a hot debate, Arran maintaining his position and defending the rule of James. He pointed out to Hunsdon that Bowes, the English ambassador, was at the bottom of the late conspiracy for the seizure of the King, and that the dealings of the rebel lords had cost Gowrie his head. "With what craft did they seduce the ministers, plotting my death and the King's second apprehension, had it not been happily detected and defeated. At this moment the men you are pleading for as penitent exiles are as active and cruel-minded in their captivity as ever; and I have in my hands certain proofs of a plot now going forward to seize the King, to assassinate myself, to procure by treachery the Castle of Edinburgh, and to overturn the Government. 'Tis but a few days since this was discovered, and can your lordship advise your mistress to intercede for such traitors?"¹ This was too much for Hunsdon, and he changed the subject. Arran said that he did not despair of uniting the two crowns. There were two parties in the State that must be put down at all risks: one for the release of the captive Queen and her association in the government with her son; the other was intriguing for the return of Angus and the exiled lords, for the triumph of the Kirk over Episcopacy, and the re-establishment of these Republican principles which led to the Raid of Ruthven, and the other plots for seizing the King. The first party was supported by France, Spain and the Catholics; and the second by Walsingham and Davison, Elizabeth's ambassadors. These judicious observations of Arran appear to have terminated the conference, which lasted five hours, and was satisfactory and friendly.

Arran returned to the capital and resumed the management of affairs with a high hand. A Parliament was shortly after held. It is said that the Countess of Arran (Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of John, Earl

¹ S.P.O., Hunsdon to Walsingham, 14th August, 1584.

of Atholl) was a woman whose pride and insolence exceeded that of her husband, and that she domineered over the deliberations of Parliament.¹ Arran was her third husband.

At this Parliament sixty persons were forfeited, and we are also informed that the Countess of Gowrie (daughter of Henry Stewart, Lord Methven) was brutally treated. She wished an interview with the King to plead for herself and her children. By Arran's order she was driven to the open street. As the King passed she threw herself at his feet. Arran pulled the King past, and pushing the suppliant aside, not only threw her down but, it is said (on insufficient authority), trod upon her, as the cavalcade moved forward leaving her in a faint on the pavement. "Can we wonder," the historian adds, "that the sons of this injured woman, bred up in the recollection of wrongs like these, should in later years have cherished in their hearts an appetite of revenge?" After this Parliament the King went to Falkland. James made a companion of Arran, who became Chancellor of Scotland and First Minister of the Crown. Arran was Captain Stewart, second son of the third Lord Ochiltree, and the only Stewart who held that title. He was selfish, avaricious, and always with an eye for confiscated estates, which in that age were plentiful. In 1585 he and the King and Montrose were concerned in a curious plot for the murder of Angus. Angus is said to have been very obnoxious to James, in his adherence to Presbyterianism and his opposition to James's efforts to introduce Episcopacy. Montrose found one of his clan, Robert Graham, who had a feud with Angus, to do the deed, and he duly arrived at Falkland, where the King, Arran and Montrose urged him to assassinate Angus, Mar, and the Abbot of Cambuskenneth. Graham agreed to the matter so far as Angus was concerned, but he would have nothing to do with the others; and he desired to know his reward. James would give him sixty French crowns,

¹ S.P.O., Davison to Walsingham, 24th August, 1584.

and afterwards a piece of land at Montrose. The historian¹ adds, that such an atrocious felony should have been planned by the sovereign in conjunction with the First Minister of the Crown seems almost incredible. But the fact is established by evidence too strong to admit of doubt. The design, however, was frustrated. Graham was arrested as he was lurking suspiciously about Newcastle; and being examined before Lord Scrope, he divulged the whole plot. By this means Angus and Mar were advised of what was going on. Arran, not satisfied with the vast estates he already possessed, is recorded to have imprisoned John Stewart, fifth Earl of Atholl, his brother-in-law, because he refused to divorce his wife, Lady Mary Ruthven, a daughter of the Earl of Gowrie, and to entail his estates on him. Arran committed to prison Lord Home and the Master of Cassillis, the former because he refused to give up the lands of Dirleton which adjoined Arran's property, and the latter because he would not lend him a sum of money. Several of the nobility were put to death by Arran who, it is not surprising, was much disliked.

That notable intriguer and rebel, the Master of Gray, was also hard at work. He was a sworn enemy of the King's mother, and he was quite willing to join the rebels against the King when it suited his purpose. He also kept up a species of friendship with Elizabeth to suit his own ends. At this date several of the nobles and ministers were still in exile for the Raid of Ruthven. Gray was determined to release them for one reason, viz., to get Arran removed from the King's counsels; Gray was no friend of Arran. Into this conspiracy Gray was able, without difficulty, to secure the support of Elizabeth, which was essential to its success. At the same time, and doubtless with the full knowledge of Elizabeth, Wotton, the English Ambassador, formed a plot for the seizure of James in the King's Park, Stirling, and conveying him to England, but the plot was dis-

¹ James Taylor, D.D.

covered, and James ordered Wotton to be arrested in his house, with the intention of carrying him along with the army; Wotton, hearing of his danger, escaped during the night on a fleet horse to Berwick. On 17th October, the banished lords opposed to Arran's rule—Angus, Mar, Lyon and others—appeared in Berwick, and within a few days they were across the border. On 25th October they advanced to Jedburgh, where they issued a proclamation in their own defence. It was arranged that their united forces should be at Falkirk by 1st November. They insisted on the delivery of the King from his present evil counsellors, the independence of the Church, and the rescue of the kingdom from the grievous oppression and misgovernment of Arran.

Arran arrived from Kinneil, and with a body of troops was in attendance on the King, when he was informed that the banished lords were already in Scotland, and rapidly approaching Stirling. The relations between Arran and Gray were such that Arran had undertaken to stab Gray in the King's presence, when a messenger arrived announcing the approach of the rebels. Arran accused Gray of being the author of this, and requested the King to order his arrest and have him put to death. Gray was summoned, and appeared before the King and made his defence, which evidently resulted in his being pardoned; meanwhile the rebels, 8,000 men, were within a mile of Stirling. To resist such a force there was no time. Arran, realising his danger, believed that in the absence of adequate support his life was unsafe, and he resolved to make his escape. This was practically the close of Arran's short but brilliant career. The great event of his life was his impeachment of the Regent Morton, which resulted in Morton's execution; Morton was one of the great Douglas family. The Douglasses kept their eye on Arran for causing the execution, and it would appear from the records that Arran who, for some years had been bereft of his estates and honours, was in 1596 assassinated by Sir James Douglas of Torthorwald;

another illustration of the lawlessness of the times and the savage nature of the Douglasses; for the execution of Morton was a just punishment for his crimes.

The rebel forces arrived and attacked the castle, when the King sent out Gray with a flag of truce to demand the cause of their coming, to which they replied that they had come to offer submission to the King, and to kiss his hand. The King was unwilling to see them, but he granted them an interview and pardoned them. They then seized and made prisoners the Earls of Montrose, Crawford, Rothes and others, who were in attendance on the King, and proclaimed Arran a traitor at the Mercat Cross of Stirling, and his brother, Colonel Stewart, was dismissed from office. Lord Arbroath, afterwards first Marquis of Hamilton, was appointed Governor of Dumbarton Castle. A Parliament was held at Linlithgow, when decrees passed against the banished lords were all cancelled; Arran's title reverted to the Hamiltons, and he was thereafter known simply as Captain James Stewart. The Master of Gray afterwards confessed before the Privy Council that he had advised the Queen of England to take away the life of her rival, Mary, recommending only that she should be made away with by some underhand means instead of by a public execution.

In 1586 Archibald, ninth Earl of Angus, who was in exile in England the previous six years, was recalled in order to be catechised about Darnley's murder. James admitted him to a private interview, the result being that Angus was brought to a pretended trial and acquitted. He was then received into the King's confidence, restored to his rank and estates, and sent back to Elizabeth in the capacity of ambassador.

Parliament met shortly after at Linlithgow, when a league of peace was concluded between England and Scotland, and on 1st April, 1586, was signed by the King. This league, it is said, assured the protection of the Protestant faith in Scotland. James had fixed on a particular day on which prayers were to be offered up

for his mother in the several churches, and had selected the bishop of St. Andrews to officiate in his own presence on the occasion. As soon as this became known to the Opposition they induced a young man named John Cowper to ascend the pulpit and forestall the bishop. The King, seeing Cowper in the pulpit, called to him from the pew, and said: "Mr. John, that seat was destined for another; yet since you are there, if you obey the charge that is given, and remember my mother in your prayers, you shall go on." Cowper, replying that he would do as the Spirit of God should direct him, was ordered to leave the pulpit. This order he showed no intention to obey, and Lyon, Captain of the Guard, proceeded to pull him out, on which Cowper excitedly said: "This day shall be a witness against the King on the great day of the Lord," and then denouncing a woe on the inhabitants of Edinburgh, he retired.

On 6th January, 1587, commissioners, appointed by James for the purpose, had an audience of Queen Elizabeth to remonstrate with her about Mary, and demanded that her life should be spared. They had another audience on the 10th, when the same request was preferred, but with no result. On the 17th January they took leave of her, and protested against anything she might do against Mary's life. Notwithstanding these remonstrances, at the instance of James, Elizabeth, on 1st February, signed the warrant for Mary's execution, while with scandalous duplicity she affected to disapprove of and deeply to lament the deed. James wrote her a letter beseeching her to spare his mother's life, but to it she paid no attention. James was a youth of twenty-one years of age at this date, and was under financial obligations to the English Queen, for he was a reckless spender of money. He was a weak-minded man all through life, and that unfortunate defect in his nature doubtless explains why he had not the moral courage to raise an army and compel his mother's release.

On 14th May James entertained the convention

which condemned the Master of Gray to a banquet in Holyrood, and after thrice drinking their health, called on them to enter into a bond of brotherly affection, vowing that he would be the mortal enemy of him who first broke the pledge. The following night he marched at their head from Holyrood to the castle, demolishing the gibbets, and releasing from the Tolbooth those who were in prison, for debt. At the Mercat Cross a table had been spread with wine, bread and sweetmeats; the whole company pledged each other in a cup of kindness in the presence of the assembled multitude, accompanied with a roar of cannon from the castle, and so this slender but foolish bond was inaugurated.

The King attained his majority on 19th June, 1587, when great rejoicings took place in the capital. The various feudal houses in the kingdom became involved at this period in political and religious quarrels. The King resolved he would put an end to this state of matters, and entertained a section of them at Holyrood. After the banquet, they were coupled two and two, so that each might hold his chief enemy by the hand; and thus they marched along High Street, the King at their head, to the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, where the people praised the King for his courage. Thereafter they, returned in the same order, the guns on the castle firing a salute.

In 1588 James had just returned to Edinburgh when news arrived of the sailing of the Spanish Armada. He convened a meeting of the Estates, and pointed out to them the advantages of a union between England and Scotland. The kingdom was put into a state of defence, and noblemen were authorised to issue proclamations convening His Majesty's subjects as they should think meet. The Armada appeared in the British Channel in July. It was attacked by the English fleet under Sir Frances Drake, and after several disasters the Admiral deemed it prudent to return home. He was overtaken by a dreadful storm,

and being unacquainted with the navigation of the dangerous seaboard on the West Coast, the greater number of the vessels were wrecked on the West Coast of Scotland and Ireland.

The failure of the Armada was keenly felt by the Catholic party. Letters from the Earls of Huntly and Errol to the King of Spain fell accidentally into Elizabeth's hands, and were sent to James. The proceedings which followed are rather obscure, but it is recorded that these Earls raised a force of 3,000 men and defied the King's authority. At Bridge of Dee, near Aberdeen, where they heard of the Royalist troops being raised against them, they lost courage and disbanded their forces. The leaders of this revolt gave themselves up, and were imprisoned for a short period, but released before the close of September.¹

The next thing that engaged the attention of the King was his marriage with the Princess Anne, second daughter of the King of Denmark. By special instructions, the Earl Marischal, with an escort, sailed for Copenhagen in August, 1589, and the marriage was celebrated there by proxy during the month. A fleet was equipped to carry the bride to Scotland.

In consequence of a violent storm Anne of Denmark and her fleet had to take refuge at Upslo on the coast of Norway. She sent an ambassador to James explaining the situation. He was busy making the appointments of those who were to compose her household, giving preference to those who had been faithful to his mother in her long adversity. He reserved the most honourable place for Jane Kennedy and her husband, Sir Andrew Melville. Lady Melville was appointed first Lady of the Bedchamber. Immediately on her appointment she set out for Denmark to see her new mistress. She crossed Leith ferry in a violent storm, when her boat was run down by another vessel and she was drowned, along with two servants of her brother-in-law, Sir James Melville.² James set out

¹ Calderwood.

² See page 516.

for Norway, accompanied by the Earl Marischal and the Chancellor to meet the Princess Anne, arriving on the Norwegian Coast on 28th October, 1589, but the historian informs us that it was the 19th of November before he found her out. He married her the Sunday after he met her, viz., 23rd November, his chaplain Lindsay performing the ceremony in French ; his vice-Chamberlain, Alexander Lindsay, who accompanied him, had advanced 10,000 gold crowns, to pay the expenses of the expedition. James spent his honeymoon at Upslo, where he remained with his bride till 22nd December. He took farewell of her at that date, and travelled through some of the wild passes of Norway, but on account of the danger of the journey he retraced his steps. On his second attempt the bride accompanied him over the Norwegian Alps, and at a point on the journey they were met by an escort of 400 horse, sent by the King of Sweden to guide them through his dominions. After many hardships they arrived at the Castle of Cronneberg, where they were met by Sophia, the Queen-Regent, and the Danish Royal family who were in waiting. Here James had to go through the marriage ceremony again. In connection with this marriage the Orkney and Shetland Islands were ceded to Scotland in security for payment of Queen Anne's dowry—40,000 crowns. The fleet conveying the King and Queen arrived at Leith on 1st May, 1590, the Queen's escort numbering 224 persons. A carriage with eight horses drove her to Holyrood, the King being on horseback.

The coronation of the Queen took place on 17th May, 1590, in the Abbey Church, Holyrood. The King's procession having entered the Abbey, that of the Queen followed, preceded by several Danish nobles, magnificently dressed, with diamond chains about their necks. Then came the Scottish nobles and heralds ; Lord Thirlstane carried the Queen's crown ; then followed the Queen in her robes, supported on the right by Sir Robert Bowes, the English ambassador,

on the left by Munch, the Danish Admiral, and two Danish ambassadors. Mrs. Bowes and the Countess of Mar, who had brought up the King from his birth, followed directly after the Queen; after them wives of nobles and Scotch ladies, then followed certain noble Danish virgins and other ladies. Patrick Galloway, the King's chaplain, preached the sermon from the 45th Psalm. Robert Bruce then announced that he was directed by His Majesty to crown the Queen. The Countess of Mar stepped forward, took the Queen's right arm, when she was anointed by Robert Bruce. Lennox and Hamilton, and the ladies from Denmark, escorted the Queen to her retiring-room, where she put on another robe and resumed her seat in the church. The King commanded the Queen's crown to be brought to him, when Lennox, Hamilton, and the Lord Chancellor placed it on the Queen's head, and Bruce delivered the sceptre. The officiating minister addressed her and acknowledged her as the sovereign Queen, after which she took the oath professing before God and His angels that during her whole life she would worship that same God according to His revealed will in the Scriptures, and would abjure all Papal superstitions and rites contrary to the word of God, and procure peace to the Church within this kingdom. The herald then proclaimed with a loud voice, "God save the Queen," and the whole people echoed and the trumpets sounded. Her Majesty was raised off the seat where she was sitting, to a higher seat. The nobility then knelt before her, holding up their hands, offering her their homage as Queen. Galloway then pronounced the blessing, and the Royal procession retired to Holyrood. At this ceremony Andrew Melville also officiated, and it is recorded that the rejoicings lasted two months.¹ The coronation was followed by the Queen's official entry into the capital, a ceremony conducted with considerable

¹ Papers relating to the marriage of James, reprinted by Gibson Craig.

splendour, and most creditable to the burgesses, who provided the ways and means. When the Queen entered at the west port she was greeted with a little oration by an inhabitant named John Russel, while his little boy who was ingeniously shut up in a gilded globe stuck upon the top of the gate, fluttered down in the dress of an angel, and delivered to the Queen the keys of the city, cast in silver. She was conveyed under a canopy to Holyrood, forty-two young men clad in white taffety and visors of black danced before her all the way.¹

Historians are agreed that the Princess Anne, married at fifteen years of age, became in after life a lady of a masculine nature, out of sympathy with her husband, and they say: "No two persons could be more unlike." She was ambitious, bold, enterprising, fond of tumult, impatient of control, despising her timorous and pedantic husband, and yet vainly endeavouring to govern him and his councils. After his accession to the English throne, he entirely separated himself from his unsympathetic wife.² This photograph of Queen Anne, we think, is more severe than circumstances warrant. We ought to have had some illustrations more than the writer has given to warrant this verdict. A masculine woman was doubtless required to control the buffoonery of the King, and for this purpose it is evident that Queen Anne was not masculine enough. The wife of such a monarch had a hard time of it, and it would be an ungenerous act to judge her apart from her husband. Nothing can be said against the moral character of either King or Queen.

In 1590 the King's devotion to the Queen of England was conspicuous. In return for this, Elizabeth transmitted at intervals large sums of money to him, complimented the young Queen with presents and flattered her by letters.¹ In the reign

¹ Papers relating to marriage of James VI.

² Jesse's Memoirs.

of Queen Mary occurred the Huntly Rebellion, when the Earl of Moray massacred so many of the Huntly family, in order that he might seize the Moray estates held by them. Such an outrage on a powerful family it was impossible to forget. After the lapse of thirty years Huntly, so it is said, was determined to avenge the deed. The Earl of Moray of that date was a son of Lord and Lady Doune, the latter being the eldest daughter of the Regent. The Gordons of Huntly had been restored to their honours and estates, but not to the Moray estates. As the historian says: "The deep principle of feudal vengeance demanded blood for blood, and there was not a retainer of the House of Huntly who did not acknowledge the sacred necessity of revenge." The Earl of Moray, the Regent's grandson, was, it is said, one of the bravest and handsomest men of his time and a favourite at Court. For some years a deadly feud had been going on between him and Huntly. Lord Ochiltree, who was a Stewart, endeavoured to bring about an understanding between them, and had so far succeeded that Moray, with a small retinue, came down from the North to his mother's castle of Donibristle. Huntly was in attendance on the King. Ochiltree, who had informed him of Moray's wish for a reconciliation, took horse and rode to Queensferry, intending to cross the river at Donibristle and arrange an amicable meeting. To his surprise he found that boats were interdicted that day from crossing the river. That very day, 7th February, 1592, the King arranged to go out on a hunting excursion, when Huntly, who had a retinue of forty horse, was to accompany him. He, however, obtained permission from the King to go in pursuit of Francis Stuart, Earl of Bothwell, who had been concerned in a plot to seize the King. Passing the ferry, Huntly beset the house of Donibristle; in place of pursuing Bothwell, he summoned Moray to surrender. This was

¹ Tytler.

refused, and Moray and his vassals bravely defended themselves till nightfall, when Huntly, collecting the corn-ricks in an adjoining field, piled them up against the walls, and ordered the house to be set on fire. The unhappy inmates made a desperate sally forth in order to escape being burned alive. Dunbar, the Sheriff of Moray, was slain. The Earl, aided by his great stature and strength, rushed forth, all burned and blackened, with his long and beautiful tresses on fire, streaming behind him, threw himself furiously on his assailants, broke through the toils like a lion, and escaped to the sea-shore. Here, unfortunately, his hair and the silken plume of his helmet blazed through the darkness, and his pursuers, tracing him by the trail of light, ran him into a cave where they put an end to his life.¹ It is said that not only Huntly but the King and Maitland, the Chancellor, were involved in this conspiracy, but the statement is difficult to verify. This was George Gordon, first Marquis of Huntly. Lady Doune, mother of young Moray, and her daughters, who had narrowly escaped from Donibristle, exhibited the mangled bodies of her son and the Sheriff of Moray in the church at Leith, while Huntly, who seems to have been mobbed everywhere, was for a short time imprisoned in Blackness Castle, but on his release was obliged to make his escape to the North, and thus this unhappy matter seems to have terminated, for no more was ever heard of it.

It is reported, but on doubtful authority, that the Queen fixed her affections on the "Bonnie Earl of Moray," who was so cruelly assassinated, as she found she had married a weak-minded husband; and this is supported by the statement that James had been accused of being accessory to Moray's death, because of his jealousy of the Queen.² When we remember that the King and Queen arrived in Scotland from their marriage tour in 1590, that the Queen was at that date only

¹ S.P.O., Aston to Bowes, 8th February, 1592.

² Jesse's Memoirs.

fifteen years of age, and that Moray was assassinated in 1592, the slander against the Queen seems ridiculous. At a later period of her life the relations between her and her husband would have made it more likely. On the other hand, the King's jealousy was chronic. It was part of his nature; and it is conceivable that he was a willing spectator of Moray's death. Moray, who had a commanding appearance, was one of the leading nobles of the time, and was on friendly terms with the King and Queen; although it has been suggested, but on insufficient authority, that he approved Bothwell's plot for the seizure of the King. This matter gave rise to the well-known ballad:—

Ye Highlands and ye Lowlands, O where have ye been? They've slain the Earl of Moray, And laid him on the green.	He was a braw gallant, And he played at the ba'. And the bonnie Earl of Moray Was the flower among them a'.
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Now, woe betide thee, Huntly! And wherefore did ye sae? I bade ye bring him with you, And forbade you him to slay.	He was a braw gallant, And he played at the glove; And the bonnie Earl of Moray He was the Queen's love.
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He was a braw gallant, And he rode at the ring; And the bonnie Earl of Moray He might have been a king.	O lang will his lady Look o'er Castle Doune, Ere she see the Earl of Moray Come sounding through the toon.
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Arran this year appeared at Court, and was favourably received by the King. His misfortunes, it is said, had neither turned his pride nor quelled the fiery energy and unscrupulous daring that had prompted him to destroy the Regent Morton. It is said that at the command of James he came to lodge certain accusations against Maitland, the Chancellor. He was not well received, and returned to his retreat.

From the correspondence between Bowes, the English ambassador, and Burghley, we learn that James at this period had scarcely a counsellor on whom he could

rely. With his capital full of barons armed to the teeth, having no great respect either for the throne or the law ; the streets in possession of vassals also fully armed ; his Court divided by the intrigues of rival factions, the wonder is that he possessed courage to withstand it all. But the emergency seemed to rouse him from his lethargy ; and by firmness and discretion he succeeded in warding off the dangers, persuaded the barons to dismiss their followers, and brought about a reconciliation between factions. Bothwell, who was proclaimed a traitor at the Parliament of July, 1593, organised a plot immediately after to seize the King. This was another illustration of the absolute weakness and incapacity of the Government. On the night of the 23rd July, Bothwell was secretly conveyed into the house of Lady Gowrie, which adjoined Holyrood. Her daughter, the Countess of Atholl is said to have contributed to the success of the plot. Early in the morning she smuggled Bothwell (Francis Stuart) and John Colville, by a back passage, into the ante-room adjoining the King's bedchamber, hid them behind the curtains or hangings, removed the weapons of the guard, and locked the door of the Queen's bedchamber, through which the King might have escaped. This was a very daring and treasonable act on the part of Lady Atholl, but we must remember that she was a Ruthven. All this time the King was asleep, but he awoke at nine o'clock. An alarm suddenly rose in the next room, and the King, rushing out with his undergarments in his hands, confronted Bothwell, who emerged from behind the hangings, and stood with a drawn sword in his hand. The King shouted "Treason!" and ran to the door of the Queen's bedroom, but found it locked. Nothing remained but to face his enemy, which he did. "Come on," said he. "Francis, you seek my life and I am wholly in your power ; take your King's life, I am ready to die. Better to die with honour than live in captivity and shame . . . you have plotted my death, and I call upon you now to execute

your purpose." Bothwell on his knees disclaimed any such intention, and taking his sword by the point, delivered it to the King, and placing his head beneath James's foot called on him to strike it off if he believed he ever harboured such a thought. The King, raising him from the ground, retired to a window recess to talk apart, when there was an uproar in the street, the citizens having heard of the conspiracy. The King from the window commanded the citizens as good subjects to retire to their homes, which they did. He, however, was a prisoner and not allowed to leave Holyrood; and the proceedings of that period show that Elizabeth was practically the author of this plot. The King made an effort to escape, but failed through the prompt action of Bothwell. He declared to the clergy that "he would either be a free monarch and released from these traitors, or proclaim himself a captive; and he charged them to let his mind be known to the people; to exhort them to procure his liberation by force, and to assure them he would hazard his life to attain it." The trial of Bothwell for this outrage came on on 10th August and lasted nine hours. He was accused in the indictment of three several attempts against the King's life, one by poison, another by fabricating a wax image in the likeness of the King, and one by enchantments to prevent his returning from Denmark. The charges were not proven and Bothwell was acquitted.

Early next morning, the plot for the King's escape was attempted. Bothwell, who slept in Holyrood, was awakened by the watch. He immediately ran down stairs to find the place in activity. Repairing to the King, who was making ready to take horse, Bothwell interdicted the journey, when a stormy interview between him and the King took place. The King pointed out to him that he had been acquitted at the trial, and that therefore he (the King) was free to go to Falkland. "But," said Bothwell, "we must be relaxed from the horn, restored to our lands and offices, and

see the foul murder of Moray punished: They who slew him are known, also they who signed the bond for the murder—Maitland, Sir George Hume, and Sir Robert Melville.” The King was indignant at these observations, and according to a letter from Bowes, the English minister, to Burghley (16th August, 1593), any reconciliation between the King and Bothwell was at an end. Bowes, who knew what was going on, had an audience of the King, assured him of Elizabeth’s sympathy, advised an amicable settlement, and after two days negotiations, with the assistance of the judges of the Court of Session and the magistrates, an agreement was eventually arranged, and Bothwell fully pardoned. It would appear that Bothwell, instead of accepting the King’s pardon and retiring from the realm, entered into fresh intrigues with England, and trifled with the Royal mercy. The King detecting these intrigues, marched suddenly in person with a strong force from Stirling to Doune, where Atholl, Gowrie and Montrose, with 500 horse, attacked them, but Gowrie and Montrose were made prisoners, Atholl escaping by the fleetness of his horse. Immediately after this Bothwell entered again into an intrigue, along with Zouch, an ambassador of Elizabeth’s, for the surprise of the King; but the plot failed on account of the King having secret information. Why the King should have suffered from various plots to capture him seems extraordinary, the more so as at that period he was twenty-eight years of age, and able to administer the crown. He ordered Hume, Cessford and Buccleuch to concentrate their forces at Kelso, where the enemy might cross the border; he also imprisoned some of the clergy, and addressing the people in the High Church of Edinburgh, after sermon, he informed them of this plot, and raising his hand to Heaven, took a solemn vow to God that if they would advance with him into the battlefield, he would not rest till he had banished Bothwell and the Catholic lords from his dominions. As soon as he had finished speaking, he

was informed that Bothwell was at Leith with 600 horse waiting the arrival of Atholl and Argyll and their followers. The King immediately mustered his forces, consisting, it is said, of 1,500 fighting men, exclusive of 1,000 City of Edinburgh Infantry. On the appearance of this force Bothwell, who was not prepared for it, retired to Niddry. Hume, on behalf of the King, advanced also to Niddry, while the King took up his position in the Burghmuir. Bothwell attacked Hume at Niddry, and drove him off the field with the loss of twelve men. Hume and his troops were chased to the Burghmuir, where the King's forces were, and Bothwell at once sounded the trumpet and retired by Craigmillar, not having lost a man. He then retired to Kelso, and finding his game hopeless, dispersed his followers and went to England. James was determined to root out the Catholic earls, Huntly, Angus and Errol, who were in open rebellion to his authority, and on 30th May, at a meeting of the the Estates, these men were attainted, their estates forfeited to the Crown, and themselves declared traitors. The young Earl of Argyll in the north was ordered to pursue them with fire and sword.

Prince Henry, son of James, and Queen Anne's first child, was born at Stirling Castle on the 19th February, 1594, and was baptized according to the ritual of the Episcopal Church. The Countess of Mar, his governess, brought him from his nursery, and laid him on a state bed in the Queen's presence chamber. The Duke of Lennox then presented him to the Earl of Sussex, ambassador of the godmother, Queen Elizabeth; Lord Hume carried the Prince's ducal coronet of Rothesay; Lord Livingstone the towel; Lord Seton the basin; Lord Sempill the laver. The Earl of Surrey followed with the Royal babe, and four of the Scottish nobility bore a canopy over him. When the procession arrived at the door of the Chapel Royal King James received the English ambassador, who delivered the babe to Lennox. The bishop of Aberdeen officiated, after

which the Lord Lyon proclaimed the titles of the Prince. Sir James Melville says: "I was appointed to stand next to Her Majesty's chair; the ambassadors then presented their gifts; the jewels and precious stones she received with her own hands, and gave to me to put in cases, and lay them on a table which was prepared in the middle of the chamber. Queen Elizabeth sent a cupboard of plate and some cups of massive gold. Holland presented a parchment with a yearly pension of 5,000 florins to the Prince. (The cups were so heavy that Melville declares he could hardly lift them.) I leave to others to set down their value; all I know is they were soon melted and spent; I mean those of gold, which should have been kept for posterity."¹ Elizabeth sent by him a letter to James, in which she stated that she was proud to be the baptizer of both father and son. The child was named Henry Frederick, and after the ceremony the company retired to the castle amidst the roaring of the guns from the battlements.

At the banquet afterwards, when the first course was over, there came in a chariot having traces of pure gold, a triumphant car on which was a covered table decked with all sorts of delicacies, fruits and confections. Around the table were stationed six gallant dames who represented a silent comedy. The chariot should have been drawn by a lion, but it was thought his presence might have caused danger. The ladies delivered their dishes to the noblemen and then withdrew. Presently in sailed a ship 18 feet by 40 feet high. The artificial sea was 24 feet long; no one could perceive what brought her in; Neptune stood on the stern with his trident and crown, and round about the ship the marines, with the sirens decorated with all the riches of the seas—pearls, corals, shells, etc. The ship was laden with sweetmeats in crystalline glass, gilt with gold and azure, her masts and cordage red with golden pullies, her ordnance thirty-six brass cannon, her anchors silver gilt, her sails of white taffeta, and her pilot in

¹ Strickland.

cloth of gold. Volleys from these guns as they approached startled the assembly. There were fourteen musicians in taffeta, of His Majesty's colours, and Orion with his harp. She sailed slowly and gracefully up to the table to the accompaniment of Triton's conch, the minstrel's whistle, and the discharge of her ordnance. All this was illusive of King James's matrimonial voyage to Denmark. Arrived at their destination, the ship gave up her stores, and while these were being removed to the table, and discussed by the guests, Orion, who was sitting on the galley-nose which resembled a dolphin, played on the harp, and this was succeeded by a concert of all the instruments. When the banquet was ended, the 128th Psalm was sung, after which the ship retired and the party broke up.¹

It is facetiously said by one historian that when James's animal spirits ran away with the little discretion he possessed, the King was wont to comport himself, according to the apt simile of Sir Walter Scott, exceedingly like an old gander running about and cackling all manner of nonsense. The Queen likened him less reverently to a sow, and she charged her protégé, George Villiers, to give his Royal master some hint, imperceptible to the bystanders, when he was transgressing the bounds of kingly behaviour.

After the baptism of Prince Henry, the King's attention was called to the Northern or Catholic earls who, along with Bothwell, were gradually forming a new conspiracy to seize him. The King on this occasion was to be put in Blackness Castle until the arrival of these earls and their troops from the North. These traitors were intriguing with Sir Robert Cecil, endeavouring by means of a large bribe to enlist his support against the King. Bothwell advised him to accept the money, and then disclosed the whole matter to Elizabeth, on condition that she would befriend him in his present circumstances. His plot, however, was detected, and he came to grief. His servant Orme and the keeper of

¹ Lives of the Lindsays.

Blackness Castle were executed, and Elizabeth finding him no use to her, ordered him to leave her dominions forthwith, and prohibited her subjects under pain of treason from giving him shelter or aid.¹

On 21st September the young Earl of Argyll took the field against these earls, with a force of 6,000 men, and laid siege to Huntly's Castle of Ruthven in Badenoch, but it was obstinately defended, and Argyll retired. Huntly and Errol resolved to attack Argyll at Glenlivet. The latter took up a strong position on the adjacent heights, where he arranged his men into three divisions while the Catholic earls and their followers occupied the ground at the bottom, which was soft and mossy. Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindoun, urged on by his fiery temper, got entangled with his men in the mossy ground, and was exposed to a withering fire from MacLean of Duart and his men. Although his ranks were thinned by this fire, Gordon spurring up the hill received a bullet and fell from his horse, while his companions made desperate efforts to rescue him. The Highlanders, however, rushed in upon him, slew him and cut off his head, and displayed it in triumph. This enraged the Gordons, who fought with great fury. In the heat of the battle Huntly himself was in imminent danger of his life, his horse was shot under him, and the Highlanders were about to attack him with knives and axes when he was extricated by some of his followers. He then charged the enemy, and eventually Argyll's troops wavered and began to make their escape. Seven hundred Highlanders were slain by the troops of Huntly; MacLean, an experienced soldier, was able to retire from the field with his men in good order.²

Intelligence of this defeat reached the King at Dundee, where he had arrived with his troops a few days before, when he resolved to proceed vigorously to the aid of

¹ This Bothwell was Francis Stuart, nephew of James Hepburn, the last Earl, his mother being Lady Jane Hepburn. The title and estates were restored by James VI.

² Letter, State Paper Office, Colville to Cecil.

Argyll. On his march, he was joined by several clans who were at feud with Huntly. He reached Aberdeen, but his exchequer was empty, and he had to despatch Sir James Melville to Edinburgh to raise money to pay the soldiers and save mutiny. He then proceeded to Huntly's magnificent residence in Strathbogie, that took fourteen years to build, which he found empty, and he ordered it to be razed to the ground. Slaines Castle, the residence of Errol, shared the same fate. The insurgents appear to have fled at the approach of the King's troops. A number of Huntly's followers were arrested and executed in Aberdeen, and the King issued a proclamation offering pardon to all commoners who had taken part against Argyll, on their paying certain fines imposed by the council. The Duke of Lennox was thereafter appointed Lieutenant, for a temporary period, of that part of the kingdom. The result of this action of the King was that peace was restored in the North, and Huntly was punished for murdering the Earl of Moray.

Note.—Jane Kennedy, who attended Queen Mary at her execution in 1587, was probably the most devoted of all her servants. She was afterwards married to Sir Andrew Melville, Master of the Household. By James VI., shortly before his marriage, she was appointed First Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Anne of Denmark. At that period there was a service of small boats (poor and inadequate) between Leith ferry and Burntisland, and at the latter place vessels for Denmark. Lady Jane Melville resolved to go there to make the acquaintance of her new mistress, and went on board the small boat at Leith ferry. Through the drunkenness and disgraceful conduct of the crew she, along with thirty persons, were all drowned in a perfectly calm sea, and £10,000 of goods and jewellery entirely lost. This was a melancholy end to a noble life. The boatmen at that period had a disreputable custom of collecting the fares in mid-channel, when double fare was exacted, with threatened detention at sea if not at once paid.—(Hist. MSS. Com. Traquair Papers.)

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LITERARY NOTES.

"Beau Brocade," the new romance by Baroness Orczy, recently published by Messrs. Greening, seems likely to repeat the success of the famous "Scarlet Pimpernel." The first large edition of 15,000 copies is exhausted, and the second large edition is going so fast that a third is in the press.

* * *

Her Majesty Queen Alexandra has been graciously pleased to accept a copy of "Lotos," by Harold Simpson, published by Messrs. Greening. "Lotos" is the title of a charming phantasy suggested by H.S.H. Princess Henry of Pless, who performed in it at Chatsworth before the King and Queen.

* * *

Who is Mary Walpole? If as we are told she is a descendant of Horace Walpole, her literary ability is accounted for. But "The Love Seekers" just published by Greening & Co. does not read like the work of a new writer. It has all the brilliance, the firmness of touch, the power of a practised novelist. "The Love Seekers" is a book to buy and a book to keep.

* * *

"Wanted—Twenty young men for extremely hazardous exploring expedition in South Africa; must be acquainted with the use of firearms and be able to stand severe marching; mounted ex-soldiers preferred." This advertisement, which appeared in a daily newspaper, and to which he replied, gave Mr. Robert Aitken the idea for his famous story, "The Golden Horseshoe," just published by Messrs. Greening. In America, "The Golden Horseshoe" has had a phenomenal success, and it will be surprising in view of the thrilling nature of the plot if it does not also please English readers. Mr. Aitken is an Englishman.

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Sailor, Railwayman, Novelist and Clergyman.—
 That is the record of the Rev. Cyrus Townsend
 Brady, author of "Blue Oceans' Daughter," which
 is published by Greening. Mr. Brady is a man
 of unique energy and ability who has a most
 adventurous career. He has published several
 successful novels in America, and was the first
 to use the phonograph for the purpose of pro-
 ducing novels. He collaborated with Mr. Edward
 Peple in "Richard the Brazen," which had con-
 siderable success. "Blue Oceans' Daughter" is
 his best book.

* * *

"The Harvest of Deceit" is the title of a capital
 novel by Clive Pemberton (brother of Max Pem-
 berton) recently published by Greening & Co.
 Mr. Pemberton comes of a literary and artistic
 family, his grandfather being Charles Pemberton,
 the famous advocate of Liverpool, and Henry
 Phillips, the singer and intimate associate of the
 great Mendelssohn.

* * *

In addition to the fore-mentioned books, the
 following may safely be added to your list this
 month:—

"LADY LILIAN'S LUCK," by the *Comtesse de*
Brémont;

"A CHARMING GIRL," by *Esmé Stuart*;

"THE WHITE ROSE MYSTERY," by *Gerald Biss*;

"THE PLACE TAKER," by *Peter Earlston*;

"VINCENZO'S VENDETTA," by *Joseph Prague*;

"BRENDVALE" by *E. Black*;

"LET ERIN REMEMBER," by *May Wynne*;

"THE CARDINAL AND LADY SUSAN," by *Lucas*

Cleeve;

"THE NEW GALATEA," by *Samuel Gordon*;

"LEROUX," by *Hon. Mrs. Walter Forbes*.

