

in 1866, and was elected bailiff in 1880, when he received the honour of knighthood. He was distinguished on the bench, where his judgments in the case of *Bradley v. Le Brun* and in the Mercantile Joint-Stock scandals attracted considerable attention beyond the island, and he suggested some important modifications in the laws affecting real property, which were adopted by the States in 1879. He edited in 1847 the manuscripts of Philip Le Geyt [q. v.], the insular jurist, and was also the author of several poems written in the Jersey patois. These were published in 'Rimes et Poésies Jersiaises,' edited by Abraham Mourant (1865), and in the 'Patois Poems of the Channel Islands,' edited by J. Linwood Pitts (1883). François Victor Hugo reproduced one of Maret's poems, 'La fille Malade,' in his 'Normandie Inconnue.' Sir Robert married in 1865 Julia Anne, daughter of Philip Maret of La Haule Manor, St. Brelade's, by whom he left four children. He died 10 Nov. 1884.

[Payne's Armorial of Jersey, pp. 273-7; Le Quesne's Constit. Hist. of Jersey, passim; Cal. State Papers, Dom. Ser. Addenda, 1580-1625, freq.; revision by E. T. Nicolle, esq., of Jersey; materials kindly furnished by Mr. Ranulph Maret, fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and only son of Sir R. P. Maret.] T. S.

MARFELD, JOHN (*d.* 1393), physician. [See **MIRFELD.**]

MARGARET, *St.* (*d.* 1093), queen of Scotland, was daughter of Edward the Exile, son of Edmund Ironside [q. v.], by Agatha, usually described as a kinswoman of Gisela, the sister of Henry II the Emperor, and wife of St. Stephen of Hungary. Her father and his brother Edmund, when yet infants, are said to have been sent by Canute to Sweden or to Russia, and afterwards to have passed to Hungary before 1038, when Stephen died. No trace of the exiles has, however, been found in the histories of Hungary examined by Mr. Freeman or by the present writer, who made inquiries on the subject at Buda-Pesth. Still, the constant tradition in England and Scotland is too strong to be set aside, and possibly deserves confirmation from the Hungarian descent claimed by certain Scottish families, as the Drummonds. The legend of Adrian, the missionary monk, who is said to have come from Hungary to Scotland long before Hungary was Christian, possibly may have been due to a desire to flatter the mother-country of Margaret. The birth of Margaret must be assigned to a date between 1038 and 1057, probably about 1045, but whether she accompanied her father to England in 1057

we do not know, though Lappenberg assumes it as probable that she did. Her brother Edgar Atheling [q. v.], was chosen king in 1066, after the death of Harold, and made terms with William the Conqueror. But in the summer of 1067, according to the 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,' Edgar child went out with his mother Agatha and his two sisters Margaret and Christina and Merleswegen and many good men with them and came to Scotland under the protection of King Malcolm III [q. v.], and he received them all. Then Malcolm began to yearn after Margaret to wife, but he and all his men long refused, and she herself also declined, preferring, according to the verses inserted in the 'Chronicle,' a virgin's life. The king 'urged her brother until he answered "Yea," and indeed he durst not otherwise because they were come into his power.' The contemporary biography of Margaret supplies no dates. John of Fordun, on the alleged authority of Turgot, prior of Durham and archbishop of St. Andrews, who is doubtfully credited with the contemporary biography of Margaret, dates her marriage with Malcolm in 1070, but adds, 'Some, however, have written that it was in the year 1067.' The later date probably owes its existence to the interpolations in Simeon of Durham, which Mr. Hinde rejects. The best manuscripts of the 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle' accept 1067. Most writers since Hailes, including Mr. Freeman, have assumed 1070. Mr. Skene prefers the earlier date, which has the greater probability in its favour. The marriage was celebrated at Dunfermline by Fothad, Celtic bishop of St. Andrews, not in the abbey of which parts still exist, for that was founded by Malcolm and Margaret in commemoration of it, but in some smaller church attached to the tower, of whose foundations a few traces may still be seen in the adjoining grounds of Pittencreiff.

According to a letter preserved in the 'Scalacronica' from Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop, in reply to Margaret's petition, sent her Friar Goldwin and two monks to instruct her in the proper conduct of the service of God. Probably soon after her marriage, at the instance of these English friars, a council was held for the reform of the Scottish church, in which Malcolm acted as interpreter between the English and Gaelic clergy. It sat for three days, and regulated the period of the Lenten fast according to the Roman use, by which it began four days before the first Sunday in Lent; the reception of the sacrament at Easter, which had been neglected; the ritual of the mass according to the Roman mode, the ob-

servance of the Lord's day by abstaining from work, the abolition of marriage between a man and his stepmother or his brother's widow, as well as other abuses, among which may have been the neglect of giving thanks after meals, from which the grace cup received in Scotland the name of St. Margaret's blessing.

According to a tradition handed down by Goscelin, a monk of Canterbury, she was less successful in asserting the right of a woman to enter the church at Laurence-kirk, which was in this case forbidden by Celtic, as it was commonly by the custom of the Eastern church. Her biographer dilates on her own practice of the piety she inculcated: her prayers mingled with her tears, her abstinence to the injury of health, her charity to the orphans, whom she fed with her own spoon, to the poor, whose feet she washed, to the English captives she ransomed, and to the hermits who then abounded in Scotland. For the pilgrims to St. Andrews she built guest-houses on either side of the Firth of Forth at Queensferry, and provided for their free passage. She fasted for forty days before Christmas as well as during Lent, and exceeded in her devotions the requirements of the church. Her gifts of holy vessels and of the jewelled cross containing the black rood of ebony, supposed to be a fragment from the cross on which Christ died, are specially commemorated by her biographers, and her copy of the Gospels, adorned with gold and precious stones, which fell into the water, was, we are told, miraculously recovered without stain, save a few traces of damp. A book, supposed to be this very volume, has been recently recovered, and is now in the Bodleian Library. To Malcolm and Margaret the Culdees of Lochleven owed the donation of the town of Balchristie, and Margaret is said by Ordericus Vitalis to have rebuilt the monastery of Iona. She did not confine her reforms to the church, but introduced also more becoming manners into the court, and improved the domestic arts, especially the feminine accomplishments of needlework and embroidery. The conjecture of Lord Hailes that Scotland is indebted to her for the invention of tartan may be doubted. The introduction of linen would be more suitable to her character and the locality. The education of her sons was her special care [see under MALCOLM III], and was repaid by their virtuous lives, especially that of David. 'No history has recorded,' says William of Malmesbury, 'three kings and brothers who were of equal sanctity or savoured so much of their mother's piety. . . . Edmund was

the only degenerate son of Margaret. . . . But being taken and doomed to perpetual imprisonment, he sincerely repented.' Her daughters were sent to their aunt Christina, abbess of Ramsey, and afterwards of Wilton. Of Margaret's own death her biographer gives a pathetic narrative. She was not only prepared for, but predicted it, and some months before summoned her confessor, Turgot (so named in Capgrave's 'Abridgment,' and in the original Life), and begged him to take care of her sons and daughters, and to warn them against pride and avarice, which he promised, and, bidding her farewell, returned to his own home. Shortly after she fell ill. Her last days are described in the words of a priest who attended her and more than once related the events to the biographer. For half a year she had been unable to ride, and almost confined to bed. On the fourth day before her death, when Malcolm was absent on his last English raid, she said to this priest: 'Perhaps on this very day such a calamity may befall Scotland as has not been for many ages.' Within a few days the tidings of the slaughter of Malcolm and her eldest son reached Scotland. On 16 Nov. 1093 Margaret had gone to her oratory in the castle of Edinburgh to hear mass and partake of the holy viaticum. Returning to bed in mortal weakness she sent for the black cross, received it reverently, and, repeating the fiftieth psalm, held the cross with both hands before her eyes. At this moment her son Edgar came into her room, whereupon she rallied and inquired for her husband and eldest son. Edgar, unwilling to tell the truth, replied that they were well, but, on her abjuring him by the cross and the bond of blood, told her what had happened. She then praised God, who, through affliction, had cleansed her from sin, and praying the prayer of a priest before he receives the sacrament, she died while uttering the last words. Her corpse was carried out of the castle, then besieged by Donald Bane, under the cover of a mist, and taken to Dunfermline, where she was buried opposite the high altar and the crucifix she had erected on it.

The vicissitudes of her life continued to attend her relics. In 1250, more than a century and a half after her death, she was declared a saint by Innocent IV, and on 19 June 1259 her body was translated from the original stone coffin and placed in a shrine of pinewood set with gold and precious stones, under or near the high altar. The limestone pediment still may be seen outside the east end of the modern restored church. Bower, the continuator of Fordun, adds the miracle,

that as the bearers of her corpse passed the tomb of Malcolm the burden became too heavy to carry, until a voice of a bystander, inspired by heaven, exclaimed that it was against the divine will to translate her bones without those of her husband, and they consequently carried both to the appointed shrine. Before 1567, according to Papebroch, her head was brought to Mary Stuart in Edinburgh, and on Mary's flight to England it was preserved by a Benedictine monk in the house of the laird of Dury till 1597, when it was given to the missionary jesuits. By one of these, John Robie, it was conveyed to Antwerp, where John Malder the bishop, on 15 Sept. 1620, issued letters of authentication and license to expose it for the veneration of the faithful. In 1627 it was removed to the Scots College at Douay, where Herman, bishop of Arras, and Boudout, his successor, again attested its authenticity. On 4 March 1645 Innocent X granted a plenary indulgence to all who visited it on her festival. In 1785 the relic was still venerated at Douay, but it is believed to have perished during the French revolution. Her remains, according to George Conn, the author of 'De Duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos,' Rome, 1628, were acquired by Philip II, king of Spain, along with those of Malcolm, who placed them in two urns in the chapel of St. Laurence in the Escorial. When Bishop Gillies, the Roman catholic bishop of Edinburgh, applied, through Pius IX, for their restoration to Scotland, they could not be found.

Memorials, possibly more authentic than these relics, are still pointed out in Scotland: the cave in the den of Dunfermline, where she went for secret prayer; the stone on the road to North Queensferry, where she first met Malcolm, or, according to another tradition, received the poor pilgrims; the venerable chapel on the summit of the Castle Hill, whose architecture, the oldest of which Edinburgh can boast, allows the supposition that it may have been her oratory, or more probably that it was dedicated by one of her sons to her memory; and the well at the foot of Arthur's Seat, hallowed by her name, probably after she had been declared a saint.

[The Life of Queen Margaret, published in the Acta Sanctorum, ii. 320, in Capgrave's Nova Legenda Angliæ, fol. 225, and in Vitæ Antiquæ SS. Scotiæ, p. 303, printed by Pinkerton and translated by Father Forbes Leith, certainly appears to be contemporary, though whether the author was Turgot, her confessor, a monk of Durham, afterwards archbishop of St. Andrews, or Theodoric, a less known monk, is not clear; and the value attached to it will vary with the

religion or temperament of the critic, from what Mr. Freeman calls the 'mocking scepticism' of Mr. Burton to the implicit belief of Papebroch or Father Forbes Leith. Fordun and Wyntoun's Chronicles, Simeon of Durham (edition by Mr. Hinde), and William of Malmesbury's Gesta Regum Anglorum are the older sources; Freeman's Norman Conquest, Skene's Celtic Scotland, Grub, Cunningham, and Bellesheim's Histories of the Church of Scotland, and Robertson's Scotland under her Early Kings give modern versions.]

Æ. M.

MARGARET (1240-1275), queen of Scots, was the eldest daughter and second child of Henry III of England and of his queen, Eleanor of Provence. She was born on 5 Oct. 1240 (GREEN, *Princesses*, ii. 171, from Liberate Rolls; *Flores Hist.* ii. 239; cf. MATT. PARIS, *Hist. Major*, iv. 48, and *Tewkesbury Annals* in *Ann. Monastici*, i. 116). The date of her birth is given very variously by different chroniclers, while others get some years wrong through confusing her with her younger sister, Beatrice, born in Aquitaine in 1243 (*Winchester Annals* in *Ann. Mon.* ii. 89; *Osney Annals* and WYKES in *ib.* iv. 90). Sandford's statement that she was born in 1241 is incorrect (*Genealogical History*, p. 93). She was born at Windsor, where the early years of her life were passed along with her brother Edward, who was a year older, and the daughter of the Earl of Lincoln. She was named Margaret from her aunt, Queen Margaret of France, and because her mother in the pangs of child-birth had invoked the aid of St. Margaret (MATT. PARIS, iv. 48). On 27 Nov. a royal writ ordered the payment of ten marks to her custodians, Bartholomew Peche and Geoffrey de Caux (*Cal. Doc. Scotland*, 1108-1272, No. 1507). She was not two years old when a marriage was suggested between her and Alexander, the infant son of Alexander II, king of Scots, born in 1241 (MATT. PARIS, *Hist. Major*, iv. 192). Two years later there was a fresh outburst of hostilities between her father and the king of Scots; but the treaty of Newcastle, on 13 Aug. 1244, restored peace between England and Scotland (*Fœdera*, i. 257). As a result it was arranged that the marriage already spoken of should take place when the children were old enough. Margaret was meanwhile brought up carefully and piously and somewhat frugally at home, with the result that she afterwards fully shared the strong family affection that united all the members of Henry III's family.

In 1249 the death of Alexander II made Margaret's betrothed husband Alexander III of Scotland. Political reasons urged upon both countries the hurrying on of the mar-

riage between the children, and on 26 Dec. 1251 Alexander and Margaret were married at York by Archbishop Walter Grey of York. There had been elaborate preparations for the wedding, which was attended by a thousand English and six hundred Scottish knights, and so vast a throng of people that the ceremony was performed secretly and in the early morning to avoid the crowd. Enormous sums were lavished on the entertainments, and vast masses of food were consumed (MATT. PARIS, v. 266-270; cf. *Cal. Doc. Scotland*, 1108-1272, Nos. 1815-46). Next day Henry bound himself to pay Alexander five thousand marks as the marriage portion of his daughter.

The first years of Margaret's residence in Scotland were solitary and unhappy. She was put under the charge of Robert le Norrey and Stephen Bausan, while the widowed Matilda de Cantelupe acted as her governess (MATT. PARIS, v. 272). The violent Geoffrey of Langley was for a time associated with her guardianship (*ib.* v. 340). But in 1252 the Scots removed Langley from his office and sent him back to England. The regents of Scotland, conspicuous among whom were the guardians of the king and queen, Robert de Ros and John Baliol, treated her unkindly, and she seems to have been looked upon with suspicion as a representative of English influence. Rumours of her misfortunes reached England, and an effort to induce the Scots to allow her to visit England proving unsuccessful, Queen Eleanor sent in 1255 a famous physician, Reginald of Bath, to inquire into her health and condition. Reginald found the queen pale and agitated, and full of complaints against her guardians. He indiscreetly expressed his indignation in public, and soon afterwards died suddenly, apparently of poison (*ib.* v. 501). Henry, who was very angry, now sent Richard, earl of Gloucester, and John Mansel to make inquiries (*ib.* v. 504). Their vigorous action released Margaret from her solitary confinement in Edinburgh Castle, provided her with a proper household, and allowed her to enjoy the society of her husband. A political revolution followed. Henry and Eleanor now met their son-in-law and daughter at Wark, and visited them at Roxburgh (*Burton Annals in Ann. Mon.* i. 337; *Dunstable Annals*, p. 198). Margaret remained a short time with her mother at Wark. English influence was restored, and Ros and Baliol were deprived of their estates.

Early in 1256 Margaret received a visit from her brother Edward. In August of the same year Margaret and Alexander at last ventured to revisit England, to Margaret's

great joy. They were at Woodstock for the festivities of the Feast of the Assumption on 15 Aug. (MATT. PARIS, v. 573), and, proceeding to London, were sumptuously entertained by John Mansel. On their return the Scottish magnates again put them under restraint, complaining of their promotion of foreigners (*ib.* v. 656). They mostly lived now at Roxburgh. About 1260 Alexander and Margaret first really obtained freedom of action. In that year they again visited England, Margaret reaching London some time after her husband, and escorted by Bishop Henry of Whithorn (*Flores Hist.* ii. 459). She kept Christmas at Windsor, where on 28 Feb. 1261 she gave birth to her eldest child and daughter Margaret (*ib.* ii. 463; FORDUN, i. 299). The Scots were angry that the child should be born out of the kingdom and at the queen's concealment from them of the prospect of her confinement. Three years later her eldest son, Alexander, was born on 21 Dec. 1264 at Jedburgh (FORDUN, i. 300; cf. *Lanercost Chronicle*, p. 81). A second son, named David, was born in 1270.

In 1266, or more probably later, Margaret was visited at Haddington by her brother Edward to bid farewell before his departure to the Holy Land (*Lanercost Chronicle*, p. 81). In 1268 she and her husband again attended Henry's court. She was very anxious for the safety of her brother Edward during his absence on crusade, and deeply lamented her father's death in 1272 (*ib.* p. 95). Edward had left with her a 'pompous squire,' who boasted that he had slain Simon de Montfort at Evesham. About 1273 Margaret, when walking on the banks of the Tay, suggested to one of her ladies that she should push the squire into the river as he was stooping down to wash his hands. It was apparently meant as a practical joke, but the squire, sucked in by an eddy, was drowned; and the narrator, who has no blame for the queen, saw in his death God's vengeance on the murderer of Montfort (*ib.* p. 95). On 19 Aug. 1274 Margaret with her husband attended Edward I's coronation at Westminster. She died soon after at Cupar Castle (FORDUN, i. 305) on 27 Feb. 1275, and was buried at Dunfermline. The so-called chronicler of Lanercost (really a Franciscan of Carlisle), who had his information from her confessor, speaks of her in the warmest terms. 'She was a lady,' he says, 'of great beauty, chastity, and humility—three qualities which are rarely found together in the same person.' She was a good friend of the friars, and on her death-bed received the last sacraments from her confessor, a Franciscan, while she refused to

admit into her chamber the great bishops and abbots (*Lanercost Chron.* p. 97).

[Matthew Paris's *Historia Major*, vols. iv. and v.; *Flores Historiarum*, vols. ii. and iii.; *Luard's Annales Monastici* (all in Rolls Series); *Chronicle of Lanercost* (Bannatyne Club); *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*; *Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. i.; *Fordun's Chronicle*; *Sandford's Genealogical History*, p. 93; *Robertson's Scotland under her Early Kings*, vol. ii. An excellent biography of Margaret is in *Mrs. Green's Lives of the Princesses of England*, ii. 170-224.]

T. F. T.

MARGARET (1282?-1318), queen of Edward I, youngest daughter of Philip III, called 'le Hardi,' king of France, by Mary, daughter of Henry III, duke of Brabant, was born about 1282. A proposal was made in 1294 by her brother, Philip IV, that Edward I of England, who was then a widower, should engage himself to marry her (*Fœdera*, i. 795). The proposal was renewed as a condition of peace between the two kings in 1298; a dispensation was granted by Boniface VIII (*ib.* p. 897); the arrangement was concluded by the peace of Montreuil in 1299; and Margaret was married to Edward by Archbishop Winchelsey at Canterbury on 9 Sept., receiving as her dower lands of the value of fifteen thousand pounds tournois (*ib.* p. 972; see account of marriage solemnities, which lasted for four days, in *Gesta Regum Cont. ap. Gervasii Cant. Opp.* ii. 317). She entered London in October, and after residing some time in the Tower during her husband's absence, went northwards to meet him. On 1 June 1300 she bore a son at Brotherton, near York, and named him Thomas, after St. Thomas of Canterbury, to whom she believed she owed the preservation of her life. For some time after this she appears to have stayed at Cawood, a residence of the Archbishop of York. On 1 Aug. 1301 she bore a second son, Edmund, at Woodstock. She was with the king in Scotland in 1303-4. Edward increased her dower in 1305, and in 1306 Clement V granted her 4,000*l.* from the tenth collected in England for the relief of the Holy Land, to help her in her expenses and in her works of charity (*Fœdera*, i. 993). At Winchester in May she bore a daughter called Margaret (WALSINGHAM, i. 117) or Eleanor (*Flores*, sub an.), who died in infancy. In June she was present at the king's feast at Westminster, and wore a circlet of gold upon her head, but, though she had previously worn a rich crown, she was never crowned queen. She accompanied the king to the north, and was with him at Lanercost and Carlisle. She grieved much over her husband's death in 1307, and employed John of London, probably her chaplain, to write a eulogy of him (*Chro-*

nicles of Edward I and II, ii. 3-21). In the following year she crossed over to Boulogne with her stepson, Edward II, to be present at his marriage. She died on 14 Feb. 1318, at the age of thirty-six, and was buried in the new choir of the Grey Friars Church in London, which she had begun to build in 1306, and to which she gave two thousand marks, and one hundred marks by will. She was beautiful and pious, and is called in a contemporary poem 'flos Francorum' (*Political Songs*, p. 178). Her tomb was defaced and sold by Sir Martin Bowes [q. v.] (Stow, *Survey of London*, pp. 345, 347); her effigy is, however, preserved on the tomb of John of Eltham [q. v.] in Westminster Abbey, and is engraved in Strickland's 'Queens of England,' vol. i.

[Strickland's *Queens*, i. 452 sqq.; *Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. i. pt. ii. vol. ii. pt. i. passim (Record ed.); *Political Songs*, p. 178 (Camden Soc.); *Matt. Westminster's Flores Hist.* pp. 413, 415, 416, 457, ed. 1570; *Gervase of Cant. Opp.* ii. 316-19 (Rolls ed.); *Ann. Paulini, and Commendatio Lamentabilis*, ap. *Chron. Edw. I, Edw. II*, i. 282, ii. 3-21 (Rolls ed.); *T. Walsingham*, i. 79, 81, 117 (Rolls ed.); *Opus. Chron. ap. John de Trokelowe*, p. 54 (Rolls ed.); *Liber de Antiqu. Legg.* p. 249 (Camden Soc.); *Chron. Lanercost*, pp. 193, 200, 205, 206 (Maitland Club); *Dugdale's Monasticon*, vi. 1514; *Stow's Survey*, pp. 345, 347, ed. 1633.]

W. H.

MARGARET OF SCOTLAND (1425?-1445), wife of the dauphin Louis (afterwards Louis XI, king of France), was the eldest child of James I of Scotland and Joan Beaufort. Her age as given in the dispensation for her marriage in 1436 would fix her birth to the end of 1424 or beginning of 1425 (BEAUCOURT, *Hist. de Charles VII*, iii. 37). But according to the 'Liber Pluscardensis' (vii. 375) she was only ten years old at her marriage. Charles VII of France at the critical moment of his fortunes sent an embassy, of whom Alain Chartier the poet was one, towards the close of April 1428, to request the hand of Margaret for the dauphin Louis (b. 3 July 1423), with renewed alliance and military aid (BEAUCOURT, ii. 396). James broke off his negotiations with England, renewed the Sco-to-French alliance (17 April), and undertook (19 April) to send Margaret to France within a year of the following Candlemas, with six thousand men, if Charles would send a French fleet and cede to him the county of Saintonge and the seigniorie of Rochefort (*Acts of Parl. of Scotl.* ii. 26-28; BEAUCOURT, ii. 397). The French council disliked the conditions, but on 30 Oct. Charles signed the marriage treaty at Chinon, with the provision that should the dauphin

die before the marriage was consummated Margaret should marry Charles's next surviving son, if there should be one, while if Margaret died one of her sisters should be substituted at the choice of James (*ib.* ii. 398). In April 1429 the English were on the look-out for the fleet which was to carry Margaret and the troops to France (*Proceedings of Privy Council*, iii. 324). But Charles was relieved by Joan of Arc from the necessity of purchasing help so dearly. He never sent the fleet, and it was not until 1433 that, in alarm at the renewed negotiations between England and Scotland, which ended in the despatch of English ambassadors to negotiate a marriage between Henry and a daughter of the Scottish king, he wrote to James intimating that though he was no longer in need of his help, he would like the princess sent over. James in his reply (8 Jan. 1434) alluded dryly to the long delay and rumours of another marriage for the dauphin, and requested a definite understanding (BEAUCOURT, ii. 492-3). In November Charles sent Regnault Girard, his *maitre d'hôtel*, and two others, with instructions to urge, in excuse of the long delay in sending an embassy to make the final arrangements for Margaret's coming, the king's great charges and poverty. James was to be asked to provide the dauphine with an escort of two thousand men. If the Scottish king alluded to the cession of Saintonge, he was to be reminded that Charles had never claimed the assistance for which it was promised. The ambassadors, after a voyage of 'grande et merveilleuse tourmente,' reached Edinburgh on 25 Jan. 1435 (Relation of the Embassy by Girard, *ib.* ii. 492-8). A month later James agreed to send Margaret from Dumbarton before May, in a fleet provided by Charles, and guarded by two thousand Scottish troops, who might, if necessary, be retained in France. He asked that his daughter should have a Scottish household until the consummation of the marriage, though provision was to be made 'pour lui apprendre son estat et les manieres par la' (*ib.* ii. 499). After some delay, letters arrived from Charles announcing the intended despatch of a fleet on 15 July, declining the offer of the permanent services of the Scottish escort, as he was entering on peace negotiations at Arras, and declaring that it would not be necessary to assign a residence to the princess, as he meant to proceed at once to the celebration of the marriage (*ib.* ii. 500-1). The French fleet reached Dumbarton on 12 Sept., but James delayed his daughter's embarkation till 27 March 1436. She landed at La Palisse in the island of Ré on 17 April, after a pleasant

voyage (*ib.* iii. 35, not 'half-dead' as MICHEL, *Écossais en France*, i. 183, and VALLET DE VIRIVILLE, *Hist. de Charles VII*, ii. 372, say). On the 19th she was received at La Rochelle by the chancellor, Regnault de Chartres, and after some stay there proceeded to Tours, which she reached on 24 June. She was welcomed by the queen and the dauphin. The marriage was celebrated next day in the cathedral by the Archbishop of Rheims, the Archbishop of Tours having (13 June) granted the dispensation rendered necessary by the tender age of the parties. The dauphin and dauphine were in royal costume, but Charles, who had just arrived, went through the ceremony booted and spurred (BEAUCOURT, iii. 37). A great feast followed, and the city of Tours provided Moorish dances and chorus-singing (*ib.* p. 38).

It was not until July 1437, at the earliest, that the married life of the young couple actually began at Gien on the Loire (*ib.* iii. 38, iv. 89). It was fated to be most unhappy. While under the queen's care Margaret had been treated with every kindness, but Louis regarded her with positive aversion (ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, *Commentarii*, p. 163; COMINES, ii. 274). According to Grafton (i. 612, ed. 1809) she was 'of such nasty complexion and evil savored breath that he abhorred her company as a cleane creature doth a caryon.' But there is nothing of this in any contemporary chronicler, and Mathieu d'Escouchy praises her beauty and noble qualities (BEAUCOURT, iv. 89). Margaret sought consolation in poetry, surrounded herself with ladies of similar tastes, and is said to have spent whole nights in composing rondeaux. She regarded herself as the pupil of Alain Chartier, whom, according to a well-known anecdote reported by Jacques Bouchet in his 'Annals of Aquitaine' (p. 252, ed. 1644), she once publicly kissed as he lay asleep on a bench, and being taken to task for choosing so ugly a man, retorted that it was not the man she had kissed, but the precious mouth from which had proceeded so many witty and virtuous sayings (MICHEL, i. 187; BEAUCOURT, iv. 90). We catch glimpses of her sallying into the fields with the court from Montils-les-Tours on 1 May 1444 to gather May, and joining in the splendid festivities at Nancy and Châlons in 1444-5. At Châlons one evening in June of the latter year she danced the 'basse danse de Bourgogne' with the queen of Sicily and two others. But the dauphin's dislike and neglect, for which he was warmly reproached by the Duchess of Burgundy, now on a visit to the court, induced a melancholy, said to have been aggravated by the reports spread by Jamet de Tillay, a councillor of

the king, that she was unfaithful to Louis. Her health declined, she took a chill after a pilgrimage with the king to a neighbouring shrine on 7 Aug., and inflammation of the lungs declared itself and made rapid progress. She repeatedly asserted her innocence of the conduct imputed to her by Tillay, whom, until almost the last moment, she refused to forgive, and was heard to murmur, 'N'etoit ma foi, je me repentirois volontiers d'être venue en France.' She died on 16 Aug. at ten in the evening; her last words were, 'Fi de la vie de ce monde! ne m'en parlez plus' (*ib.* iv. 105-10).

Her remains were provisionally buried in the cathedral of Châlons, until they could be removed to St. Denis, but Louis next year interred them in St. Laon at Thouars, where her tomb, adorned with monuments by Charles, survived until the revolution (MICHEL, i. 191). If the heartless Louis did not feel the loss of his childless wife, it was a heavy blow to his parents, with whom Margaret had always been a favourite. The shock further impaired the queen's health, and Charles, hearing how much Margaret had taken to heart the charges of Tillay, and dissatisfied with the attempt of the physicians to trace her illness to her poetical vigils, ordered an inquiry to be held into the circumstances of her death and the conduct of Tillay (*ib.* iv. 109, 111). The depositions of the queen, Tillay, Margaret's gentlewomen, and the physicians were taken partly in the autumn, partly in the next summer. The commissioners sent in their report to the king in council, but we hear nothing more of it. Tillay certainly kept his office and the favour of the king (*ib.* iv. 181-2).

A song of some beauty on the death of the dauphine, in which she bewails her lot, and makes her adieux, has been printed by M. Vallet de Viriville (*Revue des Sociétés Savantes*, 1857, iii. 713-15), who attributes it to her sister, Isabel, duchess of Brittany, and also by Michel (i. 193). A Scottish translation of another lament is printed by Stevenson (*Life and Death of King James I of Scotland*, pp. 17-27, Maitland Club). The Colbert MS. of Monstrelet contains an illumination, reproduced by Johnes, representing Margaret's entry into Tours in 1436.

[Du Fresne de Beaucourt, in his elaborate *Histoire* de Charles VII., has collected almost all that is known about Margaret; Francisque Michel's *Écossais* en France is useful but inaccurate; Liber Pluscardensis in the *Historians of Scotland*; Mathieu d'Escouchy and Comines, ed. for the Société de l'Histoire de France; Proceedings of the Privy Council, ed. Harris Niclas.]

J. T.-T.

MARGARET OF ANJOU (1430-1482), queen consort of Henry VI, was born on 23 March 1430 (LECOY DE LA MARCHE, *Le Roi René*, i. 434). The place of her birth is not quite clear. It was probably Pont-à-Mousson or Nancy (LALLEMENT, *Marguerite d'Anjou-Lorraine*, pp. 25-7). She was the fourth surviving child of René of Anjou and his wife Isabella, daughter and heiress of Charles II, duke of Lorraine. René himself was the second son of Louis II, duke of Anjou and king of Naples, and of his wife Yolande of Aragon. He was thus the great-grandson of John the Good, king of France. His sister Mary was the wife of Charles VII, king of France, and René himself was a close friend of his brother-in-law and as strong a partisan as his weakness allowed of the royal as opposed to the Burgundian party. At the time of Margaret's birth René possessed nothing but the little county of Guise, but within three months he succeeded to his grand-uncle's inheritance of the duchy of Bar and the marquisate of Pont-à-Mousson. A little later, 25 Jan. 1431, the death of Margaret's maternal grandfather, Charles II of Lorraine, gave him also the throne of that duchy, but on 2 July René was defeated and taken prisoner at Bulgnéville by the rival claimant, Antony of Vaudemont, who transferred his prisoner to the custody of Duke Philip of Burgundy at Dijon. He was not released, except for a time on parole, until February 1437. But during his imprisonment René succeeded, in 1434, by the death of his elder brother Louis, to the duchy of Anjou and to the county of Provence. In February 1435 Queen Joanna II of Naples died, leaving him as her heir to contest that throne with Alfonso of Aragon. With the at best doubtful prospects of the monarchy of Naples went the purely titular sovereignties of Hungary and Jerusalem. René had also inherited equally fantastic claims to Majorca and Minorca.

Her father's rapid succession to estates, dignities, and claims gave some political importance even to the infancy of Margaret. The long captivity of René left Margaret entirely under the care of her able and high-spirited mother, Isabella of Lorraine, who now strove to govern as best she could the duchies of Lorraine and Bar. But after 1435 Isabella went to Naples, where she exerted herself, with no small measure of success, to procure her husband's recognition as king. Margaret was thereupon transferred from Nancy, the ordinary home of her infancy, to Anjou, now governed in René's name by her grandmother, Yolande of Aragon, under whose charge Margaret apparently remained until Queen Yolande's death, on 14 Nov. 1442,

at Saumur (*ib.* i. 231). During these years Margaret mainly resided at Saumur and Angers. In 1437 René, on his release, spent some time in Anjou, but he speedily hurried off to Italy to consolidate the throne acquired for him by the heroism of his consort. But the same year that saw the death of Yolande witnessed the final discomfiture of the Angevin cause in Italy, and René and Isabella, abandoning the struggle, returned to Provence. For the rest of his life René was merely a titular king of Naples. On receiving the news of his mother's death, René hurried to Anjou, where he arrived in June 1443. For the next few years he remained for the most part resident at Anjou, generally living at Angers Castle with his wife and daughters. Anjou therefore continued Margaret's home until she attained the age of fourteen (cf. LECOY, *Comptes et Mémoires du Roi René*, p. 226).

The constant fluctuations of René's fortunes are well indicated by the long series of marriages proposed for Margaret, beginning almost from her cradle. In February 1433 René, then released for a time on parole, agreed at Bohain that Margaret should marry a son of the Count of Saint-Pol; but the agreement came to nothing, and René was subsequently formally released from it. In 1435 Philip of Burgundy, René's captor, urged that Margaret should be wedded to his young son, the Count of Charolais, then a boy a year old, but afterwards famous as Charles the Bold. She was to bring Bar and Pont-à-Mousson as a marriage portion to her husband, and so secure the direct connection between the Low Countries and Burgundy, which was so important an object of Burgundian policy. But René preferred to remain in prison rather than give up his inheritance. The story that a secret article in the treaty which released René in 1437 stipulated that Margaret should marry Henry VI of England is, on the face of it, absurd, though accepted by the Count of Quatrebarbes, the editor of René's works (*Œuvres du Roi René*, i. xlii.), and many other modern writers (cf. LECOY, i. 127). But the Burgundian plan for an Angevin alliance was still pressed forward. In the summer of 1442 Philip negotiated with Isabella for the marriage of Margaret with his kinsman Charles, count of Nevers. On 4 Feb. 1443 a marriage treaty was actually signed at Tarascon, but Charles VII opposed the match, and it was abandoned (G. DU FRESNE DE BEAUCOURT, *Histoire de Charles VII*, iii. 260; see for all the above negotiations LECOY, *Le Roi René*, i. 104, 117, 127, 129, 231, and the authorities quoted by him).

More tempting prospects for Margaret

were now offered from another quarter. Since 1439 the peace party, headed by Cardinal Beaufort, had gained a decided ascendancy at the English court, and had sought to marry the young Henry VI to a French princess as the best way of procuring the triumph of their policy. But their first efforts were unsuccessful, and excited the suspicions of the French, as involving a renewal of the alliance between the English and the old feudal party in France. However, the Duke of Orleans, who had been released from his English prison to promote such a plan, now changed his policy. After the failure of the Armagnac marriage, and the refusal of Charles VII to give one of his daughters to Henry, Orleans seems to have suggested a marriage between Henry and Margaret of Anjou. The idea was warmly taken up by Henry himself and by the Beaufort party, though violently opposed by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester [q. v.], and the advocates of a spirited foreign policy. In February 1444 William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk [q. v.], was sent to treat for a truce with 'our uncle of France.' He had further instructions to negotiate the Angevin marriage. Charles VII now held his court at Tours, whither King René came from Angers, and gave his consent to the sacrifice of his daughter in the interests of the French nation and throne. Suffolk was welcomed on his arrival at Tours by René, and the negotiations both for the marriage and truce proceeded quickly and smoothly. Early in May Margaret, who had remained behind at Angers, was brought by Queen Isabella to meet the English ambassadors. She was lodged with her father and mother at the abbey of Beaumont-lès-Tours. On 22 May it was decided to conclude a truce and the marriage of Margaret. On 24 May the solemn betrothal of Margaret and Henry was celebrated in the church of St. Martin. The papal legate, Peter de Monte, bishop of Brescia, officiated, and Suffolk stood proxy for the absent bridegroom. The king of France took a prominent part in the ceremony, which was carried out with great pomp and stateliness. It terminated with a great feast at St. Julian's Abbey, where Margaret was treated with the respect due to a queen of England, and received the same honours as her aunt the French queen. Strange shows were exhibited, including giants with trees in their hands, and men-at-arms, mounted on camels, and charging each other with lances. A great ball terminated the festivities, and Margaret returned to Angers (LECOY, i. 231-3, ii. 254-7; VALLET DE VIRIVILLE, *Charles VII*, ii. 450-4; STEVENSON, *Wars of English in France*, II. xxxvi-

xxxviii). On 28 May the truce of Tours was signed, to last for nearly two years, between England and France and their respective allies, among whom King René was included (COSNEAU, *Les Grands Traités de la Guerre de Cent Ans*, pp. 152-71).

Various difficulties put off the actual celebration of Margaret's marriage. Her father went to war against the city of Metz, and was aided by Charles VII. Financial difficulties delayed until December the despatch of the magnificent embassy which, with Suffolk, now a marquis, at its head, was destined to fetch Margaret to England. Suffolk, on reaching Lorraine, found René, with his guest King Charles, intent upon the reduction of Metz. The further delay that ensued suggested both to contemporaries and to later writers that fresh difficulties had arisen. It was believed in England that Charles and René sought to impose fresh conditions on Suffolk, and that the English ambassador, apprehensive of the failure of the marriage treaty, was at last forced into accepting the French proposal that Le Mans and the other towns held by the English in Maine should be surrendered to Charles, the titular count of Maine, and René's younger brother. The story is found in Gascoigne's 'Theological Dictionary' (*Loci e libro Veritatum*, pp. 190, 204, 219, ed. J. E. T. Rogers) and in the 'Chronicle' of Berry king-at-arms (GODEFROY, *Charles VII*, p. 430), and has been generally in some form accepted by English writers, including Bishop Stubbs, Mr. J. Gairdner, and Sir James Ramsay (*Hist. of England*, 1399-1485, ii. 62), who adduces some rather inconclusive evidence in support of it. The story seems mere gossip, and was perhaps based upon an article of Suffolk's impeachment. There is not a scrap of evidence that Suffolk made even a verbal promise, and none that anything treacherous was contemplated (DE BEAUCOURT, *Hist. de Charles VII*, iv. 167-8). Margaret, however, was carefully kept in the background, and may even, as has been suggested, have been hidden away in Touraine (RAMSAY, ii. 62) while Suffolk was conducting the final negotiations at Nancy. She only reached Nancy early in February (BEAUCOURT, iv. 91; cf. CALMET, *Hist. de Lorraine*, Preuves, vol. iii. col. ccc. pp. ii-iii). At the end of the same month Metz made its submission to the two kings, and the French and Angevin courts returned to Nancy to a series of gorgeous festivities. Early in March the proxy marriage was performed at Nancy by the bishop of Toul, Louis de Heraucourt. Eight days of jousts, feasts, balls, and revelry celebrated the auspicious occasion. The marriage treaty was not

finally engrossed until after Easter, when the court had quitted Nancy for Châlons. By it Margaret took as her only marriage portion to her husband the shadowy rights which René had inherited from his mother to the kingdom of Majorca and Minorca, and she renounced all her claims to the rest of her father's heritage. Margaret's real present to her husband was peace and alliance with France.

Margaret, escorted by Suffolk and a very numerous and brilliant following, was accompanied by her uncle, Charles VII, for the first two leagues out of Nancy, and she took leave of him in tears (BERRY ROY D'ARMES, p. 426). René himself accompanied Margaret as far as Bar-le-Duc, and her brother John, duke of Calabria, as far as Paris, which she reached on 15 March. On the 16th she was received with royal state at Notre-Dame in Paris. On 17 March the Duke of Orleans, the real author of the match, escorted her to the English frontier, which she entered at Poissy (MAUPOINT, 'Journal Parisien,' *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris*, iv. 32). There Richard, duke of York, governor of Normandy, received her under his care. She was conveyed by water down the Seine from Mantes to Rouen, where on 22 March a state entry into the Norman capital was celebrated. But Margaret did not appear in the procession, and the Countess of Salisbury, dressed in the queen's robes, acted her part (MATHIEU D'ESCOTCHY, i. 89). She was perhaps ill, a fact which probably accounts for a delay of nearly a fortnight before she was able to cross the Channel. She sailed from Harfleur in the cog John of Cherbourg, arriving on 9 April at Portsmouth, 'sick of the labour and indisposition of the sea, by the occasion of which the pokkes been broken out upon her' (*Proceedings of Privy Council*, vi. xvi). The disease can hardly, however, have been small-pox, as on 14 April she was well enough to join the king at Southampton (*Wars of English in France*, i. 449). On 23 April Bishop Ayscough of Salisbury repeated the marriage service at Tichfield Abbey. On 28 May Margaret solemnly entered London (GREGORY, *Chronicle*, p. 186), passing under a device representing Peace and Plenty set up on London Bridge, and welcomed even by Humphrey of Gloucester, the most violent opponent of the French marriage. On 30 May she was crowned in Westminster Abbey by Archbishop Stafford. Three days of tournaments brought the long festivities to a close (WYRCHESTER, p. 764). Parliament soon conferred on Margaret a jointure of 2,000*l.* a year in land and 4,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year in money (*Rot. Parl.* v. 118-20).

Margaret was just fifteen when she arrived in England. She was a good-looking, well-grown ('specie et forma præstant,' BASSIN, i. 156), and precocious girl, inheriting fully the virile qualities of her mother and grandmother, and also, as events soon showed, both the ability and savagery which belonged to nearly all the members of the younger house of Anjou. She was well brought up, and inherited something of her father's literary tastes. She was a 'devout pilgrim to the shrine of Boccaccio' (CHASTELLAIN, vii. 100, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove), delighting in her youth in romances of chivalry, and seeking consolation in her exile and misfortunes from the sympathetic pen of Chastellain. Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, presented her with a gorgeously illuminated volume of French romances, that 'after she had learnt English she might not forget her mother-tongue' (SHAW, *Dresses, &c., of the Middle Ages*, ii. 49). The manuscript is now in the British Museum (Royal MS. 15 E. vi.) She was also a keen lover of the chase, constantly ordering that the game in her forests should be strictly preserved for her own use, and instructing a cunning trainer of hounds 'to make two bloodhounds for our use' (*Letters of Margaret of Anjou*, 90, 100, 106, 141, Camden Soc.) The popular traditions which assign to her a leading part in the events of the first few years succeeding her marriage are neither likely in themselves nor verified by contemporary authority. She came to England without political experience. But she soon learned who were her friends, and identified herself with the Beaufort-Suffolk party, recognising in Suffolk the true negotiator of the match, and being attached both to him and to his wife, Chaucer's granddaughter, by strong personal ties. Unluckily for her and for the nation, she never got beyond the partisan's view of her position (see COMINES, *Mémoires*, ii. 280-1, ed. Dupont). A stranger to the customs and interests of her adopted country, she never learned to play the part of a mediator, or to raise the crown above the fierce faction fight that constantly raged round Henry's court. In identifying her husband completely with the one faction, she almost forced the rival party into opposition to the king and to the dynasty, which lived only to ratify the will of a rival faction. Nor were Margaret's strong, if natural French sympathies, less injurious to herself and to her husband's cause.

To procure the prolongation of the truce with France was the first object of the English government after her arrival in England. Her first well-marked political acts were devoted to this same object. A great French

embassy sent to England in July 1445 agreed to a short renewal of the truce, and to a personal meeting between Henry and Charles; but immediately afterwards a second French embassy, to which René also gave letters of procuracy, urged the surrender of the English possessions in Maine to René's brother Charles. 'In this matter,' Margaret wrote to René, 'we will do your pleasure as much as lies in our power, as we have always done already' (STEVENSON, i. 164). Her entreaties proved successful. On 22 Dec. Henry pledged himself in writing to the surrender of Le Mans (*ib.* ii. 639-42). But the weakness and hesitating policy of the English government prevented the French from getting possession of Le Mans before 1448.

Margaret was present at the Bury St. Edmunds parliament of 1447, when Duke Humphrey came to a tragic end, but nothing is more gratuitous than the charge sometimes brought against her of having any share in his death; though doubtless she rejoiced in getting rid of an enemy, and she showed some greediness in appropriating part of his estates on behalf of her jointure on the very day succeeding his decease (RAMSAY, ii. 77; *Fœdera*, xi. 155; *Rot. Parl.* v. 133). Suffolk's fall in 1449 was a great blow to her. She fully shared the unpopularity of the unsuccessful minister. The wildest libels were circulated about her. It was rumoured abroad that she was a bastard and no true daughter of the king of Sicily (MATHIEU D'ESCOTCHY, i. 303-4). The literature of the next century suggests that Margaret had improper relations with Suffolk; but this is absurd. Suffolk was an elderly man, and his wife was very friendly with Margaret during his life and after his death. Margaret now transferred to Somerset the confidence which she had formerly felt for Suffolk. But the loss of Normandy, quickly followed by that of Guienne, soon involved Somerset in as deep an odium as that Suffolk had incurred. It also strongly affected Margaret's position. She came as the representative of the policy of peace with France, but that policy had been so badly carried out that England was tricked out of her hard-won dominions beyond sea.

The leaders of the contending factions were now Richard, duke of York, who had popular favour on his side, and Edmund, duke of Somerset, who was popularly discredited. Margaret's constant advocacy of Somerset's faction drove York to violent courses almost in his own despite. When in 1450 Somerset was thrown into prison, he was released by Margaret's agency, and again made chief of the council. When York procured his second imprisonment, Margaret visited him in the

Tower, and assured him of her continued favour (WAURIN, *Chroniques*, 1447-71, pp. 264-5).

Margaret was now beginning to take an active part, not only in general policy, but in the details of administration. She became an active administrator of her own estates, a good friend to her servants and dependents, but a hearty foe to those whom she disliked. Her private correspondence shows her eager for favours, greedy and importunate in her requests, unscrupulous in pushing her friends' interests, and an unblushing 'maintainer,' constantly interfering with the course of private justice. She was an indefatigable match-maker, and seldom ceased meddling with the private affairs of the gentry (*Letters of Margaret of Anjou*, Camden Soc.; RAMSAY, ii. 128, 141; *Paston Letters*, i. 134, 254, 305, ed. Gairdner). Poor and greedy, she early obtained an unlimited power of evading the customs duties and the staple regulations by a license to export wool and tin whithersoever she pleased (RAMSAY, ii. 90).

A more pleasing sign of Margaret's activity at this time was her foundation of Queens' College, Cambridge. The real founder of this house was Andrew Doket [q. v.], rector of St. Botolph's, Cambridge, who had obtained in 1446 a charter for the establishment of a small college, called St. Bernard's College, of which he himself was to be president. But he afterwards enlarged his site and his plans, and in 1447 persuaded the queen, who was probably anxious to imitate her husband's greater foundation of King's College, to interest herself in the work. She petitioned her husband to grant a new charter, and, as no college in Cambridge had been founded by any queen, she begged that it might be called Queen's College, of St. Mary and St. Bernard. The prayer was granted, and in 1448 a new charter of foundation was issued. The whole of the endowment, however, seems to have been contributed by Doket. On 15 April 1448 her chamberlain, Sir J. Wenlock, laid the first stone of the chapel, which was opened for worship in 1464 (SEARLE, *History of Queens' College, Cambridge*, Cambridge Antiquarian Soc. 8vo ser. No. ix.; WILLIS and CLARK, *Architectural History of Cambridge*). After Margaret's fall the college fell into great difficulties, but Doket finally persuaded Elizabeth Wydville, the queen of Edward IV, to re-found the house. The course of events gave Margaret a new importance. In August 1453 Henry VI fell into a condition of complete prostration and insanity. On 13 Oct. Margaret gave birth to her only son, after more than eight years of barrenness. The king's illness put an end to the old state of confusion,

during which Margaret and Somerset had tried to rule through his name. A regency was now necessary. For this position Margaret herself was a claimant. In January 1454 it was known that 'the queen hath made a bill of five articles, whereof the first is that she desireth to have the whole rule of this land' (*ib.* i. 265). But public feeling was strongly against her.

Moreover, it is right a great abusion
A woman of a land to be a regent.

(*Pol. Poems*, ii. 268, Rolls Ser.)

On 27 March parliament appointed York protector of the realm, and the personal rivalry between York and Margaret was intensified. The birth of her son had deprived him of any hopes of a peaceful succession to the throne on Henry's death, while it inspired her with a new and fiercer zeal on behalf of her family interests. Henceforth she stood forward as the great champion of her husband's cause. The Yorkists did not hesitate to impute to her the foulest vices. At home and abroad it was believed that the young Prince Edward was no son of King Henry's (*Chron. Davies*, pp. 79, 92; BASIN, i. 299; CHASTELLAIN, v. 464).

The recovery of Henry VI in January 1455 put an end to York's protectorate. Somerset was released from the Tower, and Margaret again made a great effort to crush her rival. York accordingly took arms. His victory at St. Albans was marked by the death of Somerset, and soon followed by a return of the king's malady. York was now again protector, but early in 1456 Henry was again restored to health and, anxious for peace and reconciliation, proposed to continue York as his chief councillor. But Margaret strongly opposed this weakness. 'The queen,' wrote one of the Paston correspondents, 'is a great and strong laboured woman, for she spareth no pain to sue her things to an intent and conclusion to her power' (*Paston Letters*, i. 378). She obtained her way in putting an end to the protectorship, but she did not succeed in driving York and his friends from the administration. Profoundly disgusted at her husband's compliance, she withdrew from London, leaving Henry in York's hands. She kept herself with her son at a distance from her husband, spending part of April and May, for example, at Tutbury (*ib.* i. 386-7). At the end of May she visited her son Edward's earldom of Chester (*ib.* i. 392). She no doubt busied herself with preparations for a new attack on York. In August she was joined by Henry in the midlands, and both spent most of October at Coventry, where a great

council was held, in which Margaret procured the removal of the Bouchiers from the ministry, but failed to openly assail their patron, the duke. A hollow reconciliation was patched up, and York left Coventry 'in right good conceit with the king, but not in great conceit with the queen' (*ib.* i. 408). Next year he was sent out of the way as lieutenant of Ireland. Margaret remained mainly in the midlands, fearing, plainly, to approach the Yorkist city of London. To combine the Scots with the Lancastrians she urged the marriage of the young Duke of Somerset and his brother to two daughters of the King of Scots (MATHIEU D'ESCOUCHY, ii. 352-4).

In 1458 there was a great reconciliation of parties. On 25 March the Duke of York led the queen to a service of thanksgiving at St. Paul's. But Margaret at once renewed her intrigues. After seeking in vain to drive Warwick from the governorship of Calais, she again withdrew from the capital. She sought to stir up the turbulent and daring Cheshire men to espouse her cause with the same fierce zeal with which their grandfathers had fought for Richard II (*Chron. Davies*, p. 79). In the summer of 1459 both parties were again in arms. Henry's march on Ludlow was followed by the dispersal of the Yorkists. In November the Coventry parliament gratified the queen's vindictiveness by the wholesale proscription of the Yorkist leaders. By ordering that the revenues of Cornwall should be paid henceforth directly to the prince, it practically increased the funds which were at Margaret's unfettered disposal (RAMSAY, ii. 219; *Rot. Parl.* v. 356-62). Now, if not earlier, Margaret made a close alliance with her old friend Brezé, the seneschal of Normandy, the communications being carried on through a confidential agent named Doucereau. 'If those with her,' wrote Brezé to Charles VII in January 1461, 'knew of her intention, and what she has done, they would join themselves with the other party and put her to death' (Letter of Brezé quoted in BASIN, iv. 358-60, ed. Quicherat; cf. BEAUCOURT, vi. 288). There could be no more damning proof of her treasonable connection with the foreigner.

In 1460 the pendulum swung round. The Yorkist invasion of Kent was followed by the battle of Northampton, the captivity of the king, the Duke of York's claim to the crown, and the compromise devised by the lords that Henry should reign for life, while York was recognised as his successor. York, now proclaimed protector, ruled in Henry's name. The king's weak abandonment of his son's rights seemed in a way to justify the scur-

rilous Yorkist ballads that Edward was a 'false heir,' born of 'false wedlock' (*Chron. Davies*, pp. 91-4; cf. CHASTELLAIN, v. 464; BASIN, i. 299).

Margaret had not shared her husband's captivity. In June Henry had taken an affectionate farewell of her at Coventry, and had sent her with the prince to Eccleshall in Staffordshire, while he marched forth to defeat and captivity at Northampton. On the news of the fatal battle, Margaret fled with Edward from Eccleshall into Cheshire. But her hopes of raising an army there were signally disappointed. Near Malpas she was almost captured by John Cleger, a servant of Lord Stanley's. Her own followers robbed her of her goods and jewels (WYRCHESTER, p. 773). At last a boy of fourteen, John Combe of Amesbury (GREGORY, p. 209), took Margaret and Edward away from danger, all three riding away on the same horse while the thieves were quarrelling over their booty. After a long journey over the moors and mountains of Wales, the queen and the prince at last found a safe refuge within the walls of Harlech Castle. There is no sufficient evidence to warrant Sir James Ramsay (ii. 236) in placing here the well-known incident of the robber. The only authority for the story, Chastellain, distinctly assigns it to a later date.

The king's half-brothers upheld his cause in Wales. On the capture of Denbigh by Jasper Tudor, Margaret made her way thither, where she was joined by the Duke of Exeter and other leaders of her party. She was of no mind to accept the surrender of her son's rights, and strove to continue the war. The Lancastrian lords took up arms in the north. Margaret and Edward took ship from Wales to Scotland. She was so poor that she was dependent for her expenses on the Scottish government. James II was just slain, but the regent, Mary of Gelderland, treated her kindly and entertained her in January 1461 for ten or twelve days at Lincluden Abbey. She offered to marry Edward, now seven years old, to Mary, sister of James III, in return for Scottish help. But Mary of Gelderland also insisted on the surrender of Berwick. Margaret, with her usual contemptuous and ignorant disregard of English feeling, did not hesitate to make the sacrifice. On 5 Jan. a formal treaty was signed (BASIN, iv. 357-358). She also resumed her old compromising dealings with the faithful Brezé (*ib.* iv. 358-360). She thus obtained a Scots contingent, or the prospect of one; but her relations with the national enemies made her prospects in England almost hopeless.

Meanwhile the battle of Wakefield had been won, and York slain on the field. As Margaret was in Scotland, the stories of her inhuman treatment of York's remains, told by later writers, are obvious fictions. So much was she identified with her party that even well-informed foreign writers like Waurin believe her to have been present in the field (*Chroniques*, 1447-71, p. 325). It was not until some time after the battle that the news of the victory encouraged Margaret to join her victorious partisans. On 20 Jan. 1461 she was at York, where her first care was to pledge the Lancastrian lords to use their influence upon Henry to persuade him to accept the dishonourable convention of Lincluden (*BASIN*, iv. 357-8). The march to London was then begun. A motley crew of Scots, Welsh, and wild northerners followed the queen to the south. Every step of their progress was marked with plunder and devastation. It was believed that Margaret had promised to give up to her northern allies the whole of the south country as their spoil. An enthusiastic army of Londoners marched out under Warwick to withstand her progress. King Henry accompanied the army. On 17 Feb. the second battle of St. Albans was fought. Warwick's blundering tactics gave the northerners an easy victory. The king was left behind in the confusion, and taken to Lord Clifford's tent, where Margaret and Edward met him. Margaret brutally made the little prince president of the court which condemned to immediate execution Bonville and Sir Thomas Kyriel. 'Fair son,' she said, 'what death shall these two knights die?' and the prince replied that their heads should be cut off (*WAURIN*, p. 330). But the wild host of the victors was so little under control that even Margaret, with all her recklessness, hesitated as to letting it loose on the wealth of the capital. She lost her best chance of ultimate success when, after tarrying eight days at St. Albans, she returned to Dunstable, whence she again marched her army to the north (*WYRCHESTER*, p. 776). This false move allowed of the junction of Warwick with Edward, the new duke of York, fresh from his victory at Mortimer's Cross. On 4 March 1461 the Duke of York assumed the English throne as Edward IV, thus ignoring the compromise which the Lancastrians themselves had broken, and basing his claim upon his legitimist royalist descent. Margaret was now forced to retreat back into Yorkshire, closely followed by the new king. She was with her husband at York during the decisive day of Towton, after which she retreated with Henry to Scotland, surrendering Berwick to

avoid its falling into Yorkist hands. This act of treason and the misconduct of her troops figure among the reasons of her attainer by the first parliament of Edward IV, which describes her as 'Margaret, late called queen of England' (*Rot. Parl.* v. 476, 479). In Scotland Margaret was entertained first at Linlithgow and afterwards at the Black Friars Convent at Edinburgh. She found the Scots kingdom still distracted by factions. Mary of Gelderland, the regent, was not unfriendly, but she was a niece of the Duke of Burgundy, who was anxious to keep on good terms with Edward IV, and sent the lord of Gruthuse, a powerful Flemish baron, to persuade Mary to abandon the alliance. But Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews was sent back to Scotland by Charles VII to keep the party of the French interests in devotion to Lancaster, while Edward himself incited the highlanders against his enemies in the south. Margaret meanwhile concluded an indenture with the powerful Earl of Angus, who was to receive an English dukedom and a great estate in return for his assistance. 'I heard,' wrote one of the Paston correspondents, 'that these appointments were taken by the young lords of Scotland, but not by the old' (*Paston Letters*, ii. 111).

Margaret's main reliance was still on France, whither she despatched Somerset to seek for assistance. But Charles VII was now dead, and his son, Louis XI, was hardly yet in a position to give free rein to his desire to help his cousin (*ib.* ii. 45-6). Nothing, therefore, of moment occurred, and Margaret, impatient of delay, left her husband in Scotland, and, embarking at Kirkcudbright, arrived in Brittany on 16 April 1462. She had pawned her plate in Scotland, and was now forced to borrow from the Queen of Scots the money to pay for her journey. She was well received by the Duke of Brittany, and then passed on through Anjou and Touraine. Her father borrowed eight thousand florins to meet 'the great and sumptuous expenses of her coming' (*LECOY*, i. 345; cf. *WYRCHESTER*, p. 780), and urged her claims on Louis. Margaret herself had interviews with Louis at Chinon, Tours, and Rouen. In June 1462 Margaret made a formal treaty with him by which she received twenty thousand francs in return for a conditional mortgage of Calais (*LECOY*, i. 343). There was a rumour in England that Margaret was at Boulogne 'with much silver to pay the soldiers,' and that the Calais garrison was wavering in its allegiance to Edward (*Paston Letters*, ii. 118). Louis raised 'ban and arrière ban.' There was much talk of a siege of Calais, and Edward IV accused Margaret of a plot to make

her uncle Charles of Maine ruler of England (HALLIWELL, *Letters of Kings of England*, i. 127). But the French king contented himself with much less decisive measures. He, however, consented to despatch a small force, variously estimated as between eight hundred and two thousand men, to assist Margaret in a new attack on England. He appointed as leader of these troops her old friend Brezé, now in disgrace at court.

Early in the autumn Margaret and Brezé left Normandy, and, escaping the Yorkist cruisers, reached Scotland in safety. They were there joined by King Henry, and late in October invaded Northumberland, where they captured Bamburgh, Dunstanburgh, and Alnwick. But no English Lancastrians rose in favour of the king, who sought to regain his kingdom with the help of the hereditary enemy. A violent tempest destroyed their ships, the crews were captured by the Yorkists, and Margaret and Brezé escaped with difficulty in an open boat to the safe refuge of Berwick, now in Scottish hands. On their retreat Somerset made terms with the Yorkists and surrendered the captured castles.

In 1463 the three border castles were reconquered by the Lancastrians, or rather by the Scots and French fighting in their name. Margaret again appeared in Northumberland, but she was reduced to the uttermost straits. For five days she, with her son and husband, had to live on herrings and no bread, and one day at mass, not having a farthing for the offertory, she was forced to borrow a small sum from a Scottish archer (CHASTELLAIN, iv. 300). One day, when hiding in the woods with her son, she was accosted by a robber, 'nideous and horrible to see.' But she threw herself on the outlaw's generosity, and begged him to save the son of his king. The brigand respected her rank and misfortunes, and allowed her to escape to a place of safety. Such incidents proved the uselessness of further resistance, and Margaret sailed from Bamburgh with Brezé and about two hundred followers. Next year the last hopes of Lancaster were destroyed at Hedgeley Moor and Hexham. But there is no authority for the common belief that Margaret remained behind in Britain until after those battles, or that, as Bishop Stubbs represents, she returned to Scotland again before those battles were fought (see Mr. Plummer's note on FORTESCUE, *Governance of England*, p. 63). In August 1463 Margaret and her woebegone following landed at Sluys. Margaret had only seven women attendants, who had not a change of raiment between them. All depended on Brezé for their daily bread. The queen at once journeyed to Bruges, where Charles, count of

Charolais, mindful that his mother was a granddaughter of John of Gaunt, received the Lancastrian exiles with great hospitality and kindness (WYRCHESTER, p. 781). But his father, Duke Philip, was much embarrassed by her presence. He yielded at length to her urgency, and granted a personal interview. Margaret drove from Bruges to Saint-Pol in a common country cart, covered with a canvas tilt, 'like a poor lady travelling incognita.' As she passed Béthune she was exposed to some risk of capture by the English garrison at Calais. She reached Saint-Pol on 31 Aug., and was allowed to see the duke. Philip listened sympathetically to her tale of woe, but withdrew the next day, contenting himself with a present of two thousand crowns. His sister, the Duchess of Bourbon, remained behind, and heard from Margaret the highly coloured tale of her adventures, which, with further literary embellishments, finally found its way into the 'Chronicle' of Chastellain (*Œuvres*, iv. 278-314, 332). Margaret then returned to Bruges, where Charolais again treated her with elaborate and considerate courtesy. But there was no object in her remaining longer in Flanders, and Philip urged on her departure by offering an honourable escort to attend her to her father's dominions. Thither Margaret now went, and took up her quarters at Saint-Michel-en-Barrois. Louis XI, so far from helping her, threw the whole of her support on her impoverished father, who gave her a pension of six thousand crowns a year. She lived obscurely at Saint-Michel for the next seven years, mainly occupied in bringing up her son, for whom Sir John Fortescue (1394? - 1476?) [q. v.], who had accompanied her flight, wrote his well-known book 'De Laudibus Legum Angliæ.' 'We be all in great poverty,' wrote Fortescue, 'but yet the queen sustaineth us in meat and drink. Her Highness may do no more to us than she doth' (PLUMMER, p. 64). A constant but feeble agitation was kept up. Fortescue was several times sent to Paris, and great efforts were made to enlist the Lancastrian sympathies of the king of Portugal, the emperor Frederick III, and Charles of Charolais (*ib.* p. 65; CLERMONT, *Family of Fortescue*, pp. 69-79).

After 1467 Margaret's hopes rose. Though her old friend Charolais, now Duke of Burgundy, went over to the Yorkists, Louis became more friendly and better able to help her. In 1468 she sent Jasper Tudor to raise a revolt in Wales. In 1469 she collected troops and waited at Harfleur, hoping to invade England (WYRCHESTER, p. 792). In the spring of 1470 Warwick quarrelled finally with Edward IV and fled to France. He

besought the help of Louis XI, who wished to bring about a reconciliation between him and Margaret with the object of combining the various elements of the opposition to Edward IV. There were grave difficulties in the way. Warwick had spread abroad the foulest accusations against Margaret, had publicly denounced her son as a bastard (CHASTELLAIN, v. 464; BASIN, i. 299), and the queen's pride rendered an accommodation difficult. At last Warwick made an unconditional submission, and humbly besought Margaret's pardon for his past offences. He went to Angers, where Margaret then was, and remained there from 15 July to 4 Aug. Louis XI was there at the same time on a visit to King René. Louis and René urged Margaret very strongly to pardon Warwick, and at last she consented to do so. Moreover, she was also persuaded to conclude a treaty of marriage between her son and Warwick's daughter, Anne Neville. All parties swore on the relic of the true cross preserved at St. Mary's Church at Angers to remain faithful for the future to Henry VI (ELLIS, *Original Letters*, 2nd ser. i. 134). Soon after Warwick sailed to England. In September Henry VI was released from the Tower and restored to the throne. But Edward IV soon returned to England, and on Easter day, 14 April 1471, his victory at Barnet resulted in the death of Warwick and the final captivity of Henry.

Margaret had delayed long in France. In November she was with Louis at Amboise. Thence she went with her son to Paris. In February 1471 Henry urged that his wife and son should join him without delay (*Federa*, xi. 193). But it was not until 24 March that Margaret and Edward took ship at Harfleur, along with the Countess of Warwick and some other Lancastrian leaders. But contrary winds long made it impossible for her to cross the Channel (WAURIN, p. 664). 'At divers times they took the sea and forsook it again' (*Restoration of Edward IV*, Camden Soc., p. 22). It was not until 13 April that a change of the weather enabled her to sail finally away. Next day she landed at Weymouth. It was the same Easter Sunday on which the cause of Lancaster was finally overthrown at Barnet. Next day she went to Cerne Abbey, where she was joined by the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Devonshire. The tidings of Warwick's defeat were now known, whereat Margaret was 'right heavy and sore.' However, she was well received by the country-people. A general rising followed in the west; Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, Cornwall, and Devonshire all contributed their quota to swell Margaret's little force.

Margaret, who had advanced to Exeter, received there a large contingent from Devonshire and Cornwall. She then marched north-eastwards, through Glastonbury to Bath. Her object was either to cross the Severn and join Jasper Tudor in Wales, or to march northwards to her partisans in Cheshire and Lancashire, but she sent outposts far to the east, hoping to make Edward believe that her real object was to advance to London. Edward was too good a general to be deceived, and on 29 April, the day of Margaret's arrival at Bath, he had reached Cirencester to block her northward route. Margaret, on hearing this, retreated from Bath to Bristol. She then marched up the Severn valley, through Berkeley and Gloucester, while Edward followed her on a parallel course along the Cotswolds. On the morning of 3 May Margaret's army, which had marched all night, reached Gloucester. But the town was obstinately closed against the Lancastrian forces, and they could not therefore use the Severn bridge, which would have enabled them to escape to Wales. The soldiers were now quite tired out, but they struggled on another ten miles to Tewkesbury, where at length, with their backs on the town and abbey, and retreat cut off by the Severn and the Avon and the Swilgate brook, they turned to defend themselves as best they could from the approaching army of King Edward. They held the ridge of a hill 'in a marvellous strong ground full difficult to be assailed.' But the strength of the position did not check the rapid advance of the stronger force and the better general. On 4 May Edward won the battle of Tewkesbury, and Margaret's son was slain on the field (see *Restoration of Edward IV*, Camden Soc.; cf. the account in COMINES, *Mémoires*, ed. Dupont, Preuves to vol. iii., from a Ghent manuscript.)

Margaret was not present on the battlefield, having retired with her ladies to a 'poor religious place' on the road between Tewkesbury and Worcester, which cannot be, as some have suggested, Deerhurst. There she was found three days later and taken prisoner. She was brought to Edward IV at Coventry. On 21 May she was drawn through London streets on a carriage before her triumphant rival (*Cont. Croyland*, p. 555). Three days later her husband was murdered in the Tower. Margaret remained in restraint for the next five years. Edward IV gave it out that she was living in proper state and dignity, and that she preferred to remain thus in England to returning to France (BASIN, ii. 270). Yorkist writers speak of Edward's compassionate and honourable treatment of her; how he assigned her a

household of fifteen noble persons to serve her in the house of Lady Audley in London, where she had her dwelling (WAURIN, p. 674). She was, however, moved about from one place to another, being transferred from London to Windsor, and thence to Wallingford, where she had as her keeper her old friend the Dowager Duchess of Suffolk, who lived not far off, at Ewelme (*Paston Letters*, iii. 33). The alliance between Louis XI and Edward IV, established by the treaty of Picquigny, led to her release. On 2 Oct. 1475 Louis stipulated for her liberation in return for a ransom of fifty thousand gold crowns and a renunciation of all her rights on the English throne (CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, *Lettres de Rois, &c.* ii. 493-4 in *Documents Inédits*). Margaret was conveyed over the Channel to Dieppe, and thence to Rouen, where, on 29 Jan. 1476, she was transferred to the French authorities.

Margaret's active career was now over. Her father René had retired since 1470 to his county of Provence. In his will, made in 1474, he had provided for Margaret a legacy of a thousand crowns of gold, and, if she returned to France, an annuity of two thousand livres tournois, chargeable on the duchy of Bar, and the castle of Kœurs for her dwelling (LECOY, i. 392; CALMET, *Hist. de Lorraine*, Preuves, iii. clcxxxix). But Louis XI, angry at René's attempt to perpetuate the power of the house of Anjou, had taken Bar and Anjou into his own hands; so that Margaret on her arrival found herself dependent on the goodwill of her cousin. Louis conferred upon her a pension, but in return for this, and for the sum paid for her ransom, she had to make a full surrender of all her rights of succession to the dominions of her father and mother. The convention is printed by Lecoy (*Le Roi René*, ii. 356-8). It was renewed in 1479 and 1480.

Margaret's father died in 1481, but it is probable that she never saw him after her return, as he lived entirely in Provence with his young wife, and cared for little but his immediate pleasures and interests. Her sister Yolande she quarrelled with, having at the instigation of Louis XI brought a suit against her for the succession to their mother's estates. This deprived her of the asylum in the Barrois which her father had appointed. She therefore left Louppi, where she had previously lived (CALMET, iii. xxv, Preuves), and retired to her old haunts in Anjou, which after 1476 was again nominally ruled by her father. She dwelt first at the manor of Reculée, and later at the castle of Dampierre, near Saumur. There she lived

in extreme poverty and isolation. She occupied herself by reading the touching treatise, composed at her request by Chastellain, which speaks of the misfortunes of the contemporary princes and nobles of her house and race and countries ('Le Temple de Boccace, remonstrances par manière de consolation à une désolée reine d'Angleterre,' printed in CHASTELLAIN, vii. 75-143, ed. Kervyn; it includes a long imaginary dialogue between Margaret and Boccaccio). But her health soon gave way. On 2 Aug. 1482 she drew up her short and touching testament (printed by LECOY, ii. 395-7), in which, 'sane of understanding, but weak and infirm of body,' she surrenders all her rights and property to her only protector, King Louis. If the king pleases, she desires to be buried in the cathedral of St. Maurice at Angers, by the side of her father and mother. 'Moreover my wish is, if it please the said lord king, that the small amount of property which God and he have given to me be employed in burying me and in paying my debts, and in case that my goods are not sufficient for this, as I believe will be the case, I beg the said lord king of his favour to pay them for me, for in him is my sole hope and trust.' She died soon afterwards, on 25 Aug. 1482. Louis granted her request, and buried her with her ancestors in Angers Cathedral, where her tomb was destroyed during the Revolution. The attainder on her was reversed in 1485 by the first parliament of Henry VII (*Rot. Parl.* vi. 288).

Among the commemorations of Margaret in literature may be mentioned Michael Drayton's 'Misereries of Queen Margaret' and the same writer's epistles between her and Suffolk in 'England's Heroical Epistles' (Spenser Soc. No. 46). Shakespeare is probably little responsible for the well-known portrait of Margaret in 'King Henry VI.' Margaret was also the heroine of an opera, composed about 1820 by Meyerbeer.

A list of portraits assumed to represent Margaret is given by Vallet de Viriville in the 'Nouvelle Biographie Générale,' xxxiii. 593. These include a representation of her on tapestry at Coventry, figured by Shaw, 'Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages,' ii. 47, which depicts her as 'a tall stately woman, with somewhat of a masculine face.' But there is no reason for believing that this is anything but a conventional representation. The picture belonging to the Duke of Sutherland and supposed to represent Margaret's marriage to Henry (*Catalogue of National Portrait Exhibition*, 1866, p. 4) is equally suspected. The figure which Walpole thought represented Margaret is

engraved in Mrs. Hookham's 'Life,' vol. ii. Two other engravings by Elstracke and Faber respectively are known.

[The biographies of Margaret are numerous. They include: (1) Michel Baudier's History of the Calamities of Margaret of Anjou, London, 1737; a mere romance, 'fécond en harangues et en réflexions,' and translated from a French manuscript that had never been printed. (2) The Abbé Prévost's *Histoire de Marguerite d'Anjou*, 2 vols., Amsterdam, 1750, a work of imagination by the author of *Manon Lescaut*. (3) Louis Lallement's *Marguerite d'Anjou-Lorraine*, Nancy, 1855. (4) J. J. Roy's *Histoire de Marguerite d'Anjou*, Tours, 1857. (5) Miss Strickland's *Life in Queens of England*, i. 534-640 (6-vol. ed.); one of the weakest of the series, and very uncritical. (6) Mrs. Hookham's *Life of Margaret of Anjou*, 2 vols., 1872; an elaborate compilation that, though containing many facts, is of no very great value, being mostly derived from modern sources, used without discrimination. (7) Vallet de Viriville's *Memoir de la Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, xxiii. 585-94; short but useful, though of unequal value, and giving elaborate but not always very precise references to printed and manuscript authorities. Better modern versions than in the professed biographers can be collected from Lecoy de la Marche's *Le Roi René*; G. Du Fresne de Beaucourt's *Histoire de Charles VII*; Sir James Ramsay's *History of England, 1399-1485*; Stubbs's *Const. Hist.* vol. iii.; Pauli's *Englische Geschichte*, vol. v.; Mr. Gairdner's *Introductions to the Paston Letters*; and Mr. Plummer's *Introduction to his edition of Fortescue's Governance of England*. Among contemporary authorities the English chronicles are extremely meagre, and little illustrate the character, policy, and motives of Margaret. They are enumerated in the article on HENRY VI. The foreign chronicles are very full and circumstantial, though their partisanship, ignorance, and love of picturesque effect make extreme caution necessary in using them. It is, however, from them only that Margaret's biography can for the most part be drawn. Of the above, Chastellain, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, is the most important; but Mathieu d'Escouchy, Basin, Philippe de Comines, and Waurin also contain much that is valuable. They are all quoted from the editions of the *Société de l'Histoire de France*, except Waurin, who is referred to in the recently completed *Rolls Series* edition. The most important collections of documents are: *Rymer's Federa*, vols. x-xii.; *Nicolas's Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, vols. iii-vi.; the *Rolls of Parliament*, vols. v. and vi.; *Stevenson's Wars of the English in France* (*Rolls Series*); the *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner. Other and less general authorities are quoted in the text. A large number of letters of Margaret of Anjou, covering the ten years that followed her marriage, have been published by Mr. C. Monro for the Camden Society, 1863, but are of no great value.]

T. F. T.

MARGARET OF DENMARK (1457?-1486), queen of James III of Scotland, was the eldest daughter of Christian I of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, by Dorothea, princess of Brandenburg, and widow of Christof III. The marriage contract was signed 8 Sept. 1468, her father granting her a dowry of sixty thousand florins Rhenish; ten thousand florins were to be paid before the princess left Copenhagen, and the islands of Orkney, which then belonged to Denmark, were to be pledged for the remainder. James III by the same contract undertook to secure his consort the palace of Linlithgow and the castle of Doune as jointure lands, and to settle on her a third of the royal revenues in case of her survival. As the king of Denmark was only able to raise two thousand of the stipulated ten thousand florins before she left Copenhagen, he had to pledge the Shetlands for the remainder; and being also unable to advance any more of the stipulated dowry, both the Orkney and Shetland groups ultimately became the possession of the Scottish crown. The marriage took place in July 1469, the princess being then only about thirteen years of age (*Record of her Maundy Alms*, A.D. 1474, when she was in her seventeenth year, in *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, p. 71). In the summer of the following year she journeyed with the king as far north as Inverness. After the birth of an heir to the throne in 1472, she made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Ninian at Witherne in Galloway (*ib.* pp. 29, 44; *Exchequer Rolls*, vii. 213, 239). She died at Stirling on 14 July 1486 (Observance of day of obit, *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, pp. 89, 345), and was buried in Cambuskenneth Abbey. In 1487 Pope Innocent VIII appointed a commission to inquire into her virtues and miracles, with a view to her canonisation.

[*Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, vols. vii. and viii.; *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*; *Histories of Leslie, Lindsay, and Buchanan*; see art. JAMES III OF SCOTLAND.] T. F. H.

MARGARET, DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY (1446-1503), was the third daughter of Richard, duke of York, by Cecily Nevill, daughter of Ralph, first earl of Westmorland. Edward IV was her brother. She was born at Fotheringay Castle in Northamptonshire on Tuesday, 3 May 1446. She was over fourteen when her father was killed at Wakefield, and nearly fifteen when her brother Edward was proclaimed king. On 30 March 1465 Edward granted her an annuity of four hundred marks out of the exchequer, which being in arrear in the following November a warrant was issued for its full payment (RYMER, 1st

ed. xi. 540, 551). Two years later (24 Aug. 1467) the amount of it was increased to 400*l.* (*Pat. 7, Edw. IV*, pt. ii. m. 16). On 22 March 1466 the Earl of Warwick, Lord Hastings, and others were commissioned to negotiate a marriage for her with Charles, count of Charolais, eldest son of Philip, duke of Burgundy. The proposal hung for some time in the balance, and Louis XI tried to thwart it by offering her as a husband Philibert, prince of Savoy. A curious bargain made by Sir John Paston for the purchase of a horse on 1 May 1467 fixes the price at 4*l.*, to be paid on the day of the marriage if it should take place within two years; otherwise the price was to be only 2*l.* That same year Charles became Duke of Burgundy by the death of his father, and the suspended negotiations for the marriage were renewed, a great embassy being commissioned to go over to conclude it in September (RYMER, 1st ed. xi. 590). On 1 Oct., probably before the embassy had left, Margaret herself declared her formal agreement to the match in a great council held at Kingston-upon-Thames. A further embassy was sent over to Flanders in January 1468, both for the marriage and for a commercial treaty (*ib.* xi. 601), and on 17 May the alliance was formally announced to parliament by the lord chancellor, when a subsidy was asked for a war against France (*Rolls of Parl.* v. 622).

On 18 June Margaret set out for Flanders. She was then staying at the King's Wardrobe in the city of London, from which she first went to St. Paul's and made an offering; then, with the Earl of Warwick before her on the same horse, she rode through Cheapside, where the mayor and aldermen presented her with a pair of rich basins and 100*l.* in gold. That night she lodged at Stratford Abbey, where the king and queen also stayed. She then made a pilgrimage to St. Thomas of Canterbury, and embarked at Margate on the 24th. Next day she arrived at Sluys, where she had a splendid welcome with bonfires and pageants. On Sunday, the 26th, the old Duchess of Burgundy, the duke's mother, paid her a visit. Next day the duke himself came to see her 'with twenty persons secretly,' and they were affianced by the Bishop of Salisbury, after which the duke took leave of her and returned to Bruges. He came again on Thursday, and the marriage took place on Sunday following (3 July) at Damme. The splendour of the festivities, which were continued for nine days, taxed even the powers of heralds to describe, and Englishmen declared that the Burgundian court was only paralleled by King Arthur's. But according to a somewhat later authority,

just after the wedding the duke and his bride were nearly burned in bed by treachery in a castle near Bruges.

The marriage was a turning-point in the history of Europe, cementing the political alliance of Burgundy and the house of York. Its importance was seen two years later, when Edward IV, driven from his throne, sought refuge with his brother-in-law in the Netherlands, and obtained from him assistance to recover it. Margaret had all along strenuously endeavoured to reconcile Edward and his brother Clarence, and it was mainly by her efforts that the latter was detached from the party of Henry VI and Warwick. Of her domestic life, however, little seems to be known. She showed much attention to Caxton, who was at the time governor of the Merchant-Adventurers at Bruges, and before March 1470-1 he resigned that appointment to enter the duchess's household. While in her service Caxton translated '*Le Recueil des Histoires de Troye*,' and learned the new art of printing in order to multiply copies of his translation [see CAXTON, WILLIAM]. Within nine years of her marriage Margaret's husband fell at the battle of Nancy, 5 Jan. 1477, and she was left a childless widow. In July or August 1480 she paid a visit to the king, her brother, in England, and remained there till the end of September. During her stay she obtained several licenses to export oxen and sheep to Flanders, and also to export wool free of custom (*French Roll*, 20 *Edw. IV*, mm. 2, 5, 6). The rest of her life was passed in the Netherlands, where she was troubled at times in the possession of her jointure by the rebellious Flemings, and continually plotting against Henry VII after he came to the throne. A large part of the dowry granted her by Edward IV was confiscated on Henry's accession; and for this cause, doubtless, as well as party spirit, her court became a refuge for disaffected Yorkists. She encouraged the two impostors, Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, receiving the latter at her court as her nephew Richard, duke of York, and writing in his favour to other princes; but she was obliged in 1498 to apologise to Henry for her factiousness. In 1500 she stood godmother to the future emperor, Charles V, a great-grandson of her husband's, named after him. She died at Mechlin in 1503, and was buried in the church of the Cordeliers.

A good portrait of Margaret, painted on panel, once the property of the Rev. Thomas Kerrich [q. v.], librarian of Cambridge University, is now in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House. It shows a lady of fair complexion, with red lips, dark

eyes, and arched eyebrows; but her hair is entirely concealed under one of the close-fitting high headdresses of the period. The artist, Mr. Scharf thinks, was probably Hugo Vander Goes, who is recorded to have been employed on the decorations for Margaret's wedding. The picture was engraved in vol. v. of the first edition of the 'Paston Letters' (1804), and more recently in Blades's 'Life and Typography of William Caxton' (1861).

[Wilhelmi Wyrcester Annales; Excerpta Historica, pp. 223-39; Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche, iii. 101-201 (Soc. de l'Hist. de France); Mémoires de Haynin (Soc. des Bibliophiles de Mons), i. 106 sq.; Waurin's Recueil des Chroniques, vol. v. (Rolls ed.); Compte Rendu des Séances de la Commission Royale d'Histoire, Brussels, 1842, pp. 168-74, *ib.* 4th ser. ii. 9-22; Fragment relating to King Edward IV, at end of Sprott's Chronicle (Hearne), p. 296; Archaeologia, xxxi. 327-38; Memorials of Henry VII, and Letters and Papers of Richard III and Henry VII (Rolls Ser.); Calendars of State Papers (Venetian and Spanish); Hall's Chron.; Sandford's Geneal. Hist.] J. G.

MARGARET BEAUFORT, COUNTESS OF RICHMOND AND DERBY (1441-1509). [See BEAUFORT.]

MARGARET TUDOR (1489-1541), queen of Scotland, the eldest daughter of Henry VII, king of England, and Elizabeth of York, was born at Westminster on 29 Nov. 1489, and baptised in the abbey on the 30th, St. Andrew's day (LELAND, *Collectanea*, iv. 252 sq.; cf. *Hamilton Papers*, i. 51). Her sponsors were Margaret, countess of Richmond, her grandmother, the Duchess of Norfolk, and Archbishop Morton (GREEN, *Princesses*, iv. 50-2). She probably passed her infancy with her brother Arthur at Farnham in Surrey. Her education was early broken off, but she could write, though she confessed it an 'evil hand,' and she played upon the lute and clavicoerd (*ib.* pp. 53, 69). On 23 June 1495 Henry VII commissioned Richard Foxe [q. v.], bishop of Durham, and others, to negotiate a marriage between Margaret and James IV of Scotland in the hope of averting his reception of Perkin Warbeck, the pretended Duke of York (*Fœdera*, xii. 572; *Spanish Calendar*, i. 85; PINKERTON, *History of Scotland*, 1797, ii. 26). The offer failed to prevent James from espousing the cause of Warbeck, but was renewed the next year with the support of Spain. The commissioners of 1495 received fresh powers to arrange the marriage on 5 May, and again on 2 Sept. 1496 (BAIN, *Cal. of Documents relating to Scotland*, iv. No. 1622; *Fœdera*, xii. 635). James was not at this time willing to give up Warbeck

and it was not until after the departure of the pretender, and the truce of 30 Sept. 1497 with England, that the marriage was again suggested. The Tudor historians make James himself renew the proposal to Foxe when sent to arrange a border quarrel at Norham in 1498, which threatened to terminate the truce (GREEN, p. 57). Henry is said to have quieted some fears in his council by the assurance that, even if Margaret came to the English crown, 'the smaller would ever follow the larger kingdom' (POLYDORE VERGIL, xxvi. 607). Peace until one year after the death of the survivor was concluded between Henry and James on 12 July 1499, and Scottish commissioners were appointed to negotiate the marriage (*Cal. of Documents*, iv. No. 1653). On 11 Sept., three days after his ratification of the peace, Henry commissioned Foxe to conduct the negotiations (*Fœdera*, xii. 729). They were somewhat protracted. It was not until 28 July 1500 that the pope granted a dispensation for the marriage, James and Margaret being related in the fourth degree, through the marriage of James I with Joan Beaufort, and there was a further delay of nearly eighteen months before James, on 8 Oct. 1501, finally empowered his commissioners to conclude the marriage (*Cal. of Documents*, iv. No. 1678; *Fœdera*, xii. 765). At length the marriage treaty was agreed to at Richmond Palace on 24 Jan. 1502. Margaret was secured the customary dower lands, including Stirling and Linlithgow, to the amount of 2,000*l.* a year, but the revenues were to be paid to her through James. A pension of five hundred marks was, however, to be at her own disposal. Henry undertook to give her a marriage portion of thirty thousand gold 'angel' nobles (*ib.* xii. 787; GREEN, pp. 62, 109). A treaty of perpetual peace between England and Scotland was concluded on the same day (*Fœdera*, xii. 793). The ratifications were exchanged in December (*ib.* xiii. 43, 46, 48-52), and the espousals were celebrated at Richmond on 25 Jan. 1503. The Earl of Bothwell acted as proxy for James. The union was proclaimed at Paul's Cross, and welcomed with popular rejoicings (GREEN, pp. 63-6). The death of Queen Elizabeth, however, on 11 Feb. threw a cloud over the festivities.

In May Margaret's attorneys received seisin of her dower lands (*Fœdera*, xiii. 62, 64-71, 73). Henry had stipulated that he should not send his daughter to Scotland before 1 Sept. 1503. But on the request of James she left Richmond on 27 June. In her suite was John Young, Somerset herald, whose very full and quaint account of the journey

is printed by Hearne (*LELAND, Collectanea*, iv. 258 sqq.) Her father took an affectionate farewell of her at Collyweston in Northamptonshire, and, escorted northwards in state by the Earl of Surrey, and gathering a great train, she entered Scotland on 1 Aug. and reached Dalkeith on the 3rd. She received daily visits of ceremony from James until her state entry into Edinburgh on Monday, 7 Aug. They were married on 8 Aug. in the chapel of Holyrood, by the Archbishops of Glasgow and York (*ib.*) Miss Strickland (p. 58) prints a manuscript epithalamium. The court poet, William Dunbar, composed his allegorical poem, 'The Thistle and the Rose,' in which he exalted the lineage of the (English) rose above that of the (French) lily. Dunbar became a constant attendant of Margaret, and dedicated several of his poems to her. After several days' festivities her English escort returned home, carrying a rather petulant and homesick letter to her father (*GREEN*, p. 100). A northern progress occupied the rest of the year, and in March 1504 Margaret was crowned in the Parliament Hall.

The somewhat querulous young queen was childless for several years, and James, who had dismissed his mistress, Jane Kennedy, before his marriage, though not unkind, resumed his irregularities and acknowledged his illegitimate children (*ib.* pp. 99, 119). But their relations improved with the birth of a son, on 21 Feb. 1507, which brought upon Margaret a most violent disease, her recovery from which was ascribed to a special journey James made to the shrine of St. Ninian at Whithorn (*ib.* pp. 124-5). But the child, who was christened James, died on 27 Feb. 1508. A daughter, born 15 July in that year, died almost immediately, after again nearly costing Margaret her life, and a son born 20 Oct. 1509, and christened Arthur, lived only to 15 July 1510. But a son born on Easter eve, 10 April 1512, survived to be king as James V (*ib.* p. 148; *Letters and Papers*, i. 3882). A daughter born prematurely, in November of the same year, hardly outlived its birth (*ib.* 3577, 3631; *Memorials of Henry VII.*, p. 123; *GREEN*, p. 154). A son, Alexander, created Duke of Ross, was born on 30 April 1514, after her husband's death.

As early as 1508 James was again leaning towards a French alliance. The relations between England and Scotland grew more and more strained, and when Henry VIII joined the Holy League against France James entered into an alliance with Louis XII on 22 May 1512 (*ib.* p. 150). Margaret, who had assured Ferdinand of Aragon in March of

her husband's desire for peace (*Letters and Papers*, i. 3082), supported Angus Bell-the-Cat and the English party, although Henry risked this support and gave a pretext to James for his change of front by withholding a legacy which she claimed. The statements of Buchanan, Lindsay of Pitscottie, and Drummond that this legacy was one of jewels, &c., bequeathed her by Prince Arthur, may perhaps be reconciled with those of Margaret and Dr. West, the English envoy in Scotland, that it was a sum of money left by Henry VII, by supposing that Arthur had left them with the understanding that they were to belong to his father during his life. West's letters seem to imply that the sum was a valuation. It was first formally demanded in 1509. Henry seems to have been afraid that it would be used to supply James's want of money (*GREEN*, pp. 151-2; *Letters and Papers*, i. 3883, 4403).

By 1513 James had made up his mind to join in the war on the side of France, and told West, who was sent in March to promise payment of the legacy if he would keep the treaty of peace, that he would pay his wife himself (*GREEN*, p. 157). It was in vain that Margaret tried to deter him from war with England by dreams and prearranged miraculous warnings (*ib.*) Yet in his will he appointed Margaret, in the event of his death, sole regent and guardian of the young James, contrary to the custom of the realm by which the minor was left to the guardianship of the next in succession, and besides her dower bequeathed her one-third of his personal revenues for life. He also unwisely empowered her, without the knowledge or consent of his council, to dispose of a subsidy of eighteen thousand crowns lately received from France (*ib.* p. 163). He had refused to take her with him, and she remained at Linlithgow, sending to ask for Queen Catherine's prayers, until the news of Flodden and her husband's death arrived (*Letters and Papers*, i. 4424; cf. 4549). Retreating to Perth, she wrote to her brother deprecating further hostilities, and, summoning nobles and clergy, performed the 'Mourning Coronation' of James V within twenty days after his father's death (*STRICKLAND*, p. 95; *GREEN*, p. 173). But her position was a most difficult one. In face of the strong French feeling in Scotland, her success in obtaining a truce from Henry only decreased her influence, and she was unable to veto the recall from France of the next heir to the crown after her sons, John Stewart, duke of Albany [q. v.], whom the French party were already plotting to substitute for her as regent (*ib.* pp. 177-80). The council re-

sented her application to Rome for power to confer vacant bishoprics. At last there was an open split, and she withdrew with her supporters to Stirling. Strengthened by the accession of James Hamilton, second earl of Arran [q. v.], and Lord Home, she effected a temporary reconciliation of parties in July 1514, and Scotland was comprised in the treaty between France and England signed on the 29th of that month.

But Henry's failure to bind Louis not to allow Albany to return to Scotland left Margaret's position insecure, and almost forced her to lean more and more upon the Douglases. In what proportions passion, policy, and the pressure of the house of Douglas contributed to Margaret's decision to surprise the world by a marriage with the handsome young Archibald Douglas, sixth earl of Angus [q. v.], grandson of Archibald Bell-the-Cat, it is not easy to determine. She was certainly of a susceptible and impetuous temperament. Henry had defeated the Scottish idea of marrying her to Louis XII, and had induced the Emperor Maximilian, whose secretary went to Scotland and brought back a favourable report of her, to declare his willingness to marry her (*Letters and Papers*, i. 5208), but on 6 Aug. she was privately married to Angus in the church of Kinnoull, near Perth, by Walter Drummond, dean of Dunblane, nephew of Lord Drummond, justiciar of Scotland, and maternal grandfather of Angus, who is said to have promoted the match. Margaret was already seeking to advance Gavin Douglas the poet, uncle of Angus, to high preferment, and the secret soon leaked out. Henry VIII accepted the marriage, though he, too, had been kept in the dark, and he wrote to the pope in support of Gavin Douglas's claim to the archbishopric of St Andrews, which became vacant some months later. But Margaret found she had made a most imprudent step, for she had alienated the other Scottish nobles and strengthened the party of French alliance, led by James Beaton [q. v.], archbishop of Glasgow, and Forman, whom they successfully supported for the archbishopric of St. Andrews. Margaret was obliged to sign an invitation to Albany to come over as governor, and the privy council on 18 Sept. resolved that she had by her second marriage forfeited the office of tutrix to her son (GREEN, pp. 186, 189). She maintained herself in Stirling, and procured the bishopric of Dunkeld for Gavin Douglas; but Albany arrived in May 1515, was invested with the regency, and broke up the party of the Douglases. Margaret, after an attempt to work upon the loyalty of the besiegers by placing James on

the ramparts in crown and sceptre, had to surrender Stirling early in August, and Albany obtained possession of the young princes (see under DOUGLAS, ARCHIBALD, sixth EARL OF ANGUS; GREEN, pp. 185-211; *Letters and Papers*, i. 5614, 5641, ii. 67, 574, 705, 779, 827).

Margaret was kept under watch at Edinburgh, and her dower revenues were withheld. Henry had since the beginning of the year been urging her to fly to England with her sons, but she had feared to imperil James's crown (*ib.* ii. 44, 62, 66; GREEN, p. 198). Having now no further control over them, she obtained permission to go to Linlithgow to 'take her chamber,' and thus contrived to make her escape to the borders, and was admitted alone into England by Lord Dacre, under Henry's orders, on Sunday, 30 Sept. 1515. Eight days later she gave birth, at Harbottle Castle, Northumberland, to a 'Christen sowle beyng a yong lady,' Margaret Douglas [q. v.], afterwards countess of Lennox and mother of Lord Darnley (*ib.* pp. 223-4; ELLIS, *Letters*, 2nd ser. i. 265). She was again at the point of death. On 26 Nov. she was removed, suffering agonies from sciatica, to Morpeth, where Angus joined her (GREEN, p. 228; cf. *Letters and Papers*, ii. 1350). Her sufferings were somewhat relieved by a 'wonderful love of apparell' (*ib.*) 'She has two new gowns held before her once or twice a day. She has twenty-two fine gowns and has sent for more.' The news of the death of her favourite son Alexander, on 18 Dec., aggravated her illness. It was English pressure that made Margaret sign accusations against Albany of aiming at the crown and driving her from Scotland in fear of her life. At the dictation of Lord Dacre she demanded not only the government of her children, but the regency. A more reasonable letter from herself was followed by the release of Gavin Douglas, whom Albany had imprisoned, and Dacre in alarm advised her removal southwards (GREEN, pp. 232-6). Angus preferred the generosity of Albany, and escaped, 'which much made Margaret to muse' (HALL, p. 584). She set out from Morpeth on 8 April, received a flying visit from the remorseful Angus, and on 3 May entered London and was lodged at Baynard's Castle. On the 7th she joined the court at Greenwich (GREEN, p. 240). Henry, who aimed at the entire elimination of French influence in Scotland, impeded her reconciliation with Albany. But in 1517 she was allowed to return to Scotland. She was promised the restoration of her dower revenues and liberty to see her son, now in Edinburgh Castle, but

she was not to stay the night. Angus was induced to sign a document undertaking to cease to interfere with her lands (*ib.* pp. 242, 253, 260). But Henry neglected to secure an effective guarantee for the performance of these promises. On 7 May Margaret joined with her sister Mary and with Queen Catherine in saving the lives of all but one of the apprentices condemned for the riots of 'Evil May day' (*ib.* p. 254). On 18 May she left London, re-entered Scotland on 15 June, was met by Angus at Lamberton Kirk, and made her entrance into Edinburgh on the 17th (*ib.* p. 260).

Albany had left Scotland on 8 June on a visit to France, but had taken effective precautions to prevent Margaret's recovering the regency. Her dowerrents were still withheld, and she was refused access to her son on suspicion that she intended to convey him to England [see under JAMES V OF SCOTLAND]. She besieged the English council with complaints. In the contest for power between Angus and Arran, the head of the Hamiltons, Margaret at first sided with her husband. But Angus broke his promise as to her jointure lands. Arran took her part, and in October 1518 she wrote to Henry hinting at a divorce (*Letters and Papers*, iii. 166). Angus, she said, loved her not, but she does not allude to the 'gentill-woman of Douglasdaill,' with whom, according to Lesley (p. 112), he was now living. Henry failed to arrest her breach with Angus, and she joined Henry's adversaries in a request to Francis I for the return of Albany, which fell into her brother's hands (*Letters and Papers*, ii. 4547, iii. 373, 396). Taxed with it by Wolsey she pleaded (14 July 1519) her sore plight and the pressure of the lords (*ib.* iii. 373, 381). She had now access to her son (*ib.* 889). But next year she once more changed sides. Angus got possession of Edinburgh by the fray of Cleanse-the-Causeway, on 30 April 1520 (LESLEY, p. 115, but cf. GREEN, p. 300), and Henry in August sent Henry Chadworth, minister-general of the Friars Observants, to chide her for living apart from Angus to the danger of her soul and reputation and for her reported 'suspicious living,' and urged her reconciliation (*ib.* p. 292; *Letters and Papers*, iii. 467, 481-2). At the same time Arran and his party were opposing her resumption of the regency at the desire of Albany, whom Francis had promised Henry to keep in France (*ib.* iii. 467). She therefore joined Angus in Edinburgh on 15 Oct. (*ib.* 482, misdated). But before 8 Feb. 1521 they had quarrelled again, and Margaret rejoined Arran's party. According to the Douglas account she stole from Edin-

burgh by night escorted only by Sir James Hamilton, but this she denied (*ib.* iii. 1190; GREEN, p. 296). When Henry sided with Charles V, Francis allowed Albany to return to Scotland on 18 Nov. 1521. Albany and Margaret were now closely associated, and Dacre accused her, truly or falsely, of being 'over-tender' with the regent. He and Wolsey had circulated a rumour that in soliciting at Rome a divorce between Margaret and Angus Albany proposed to marry her himself. Albany, however, 'had enough of one wife' (*ib.* p. 311). So strong was the combination of the regent and the queen-mother that Angus either consented to retire to France or was kidnapped thither by Albany, as Henry asserted, and Lindsay of Pitscottie also states.

Margaret acted as intermediary in the truce negotiations between Dacre and Albany in September 1522. After Albany's return to France on 27 Oct. Margaret sought to form a party of her own round the young king with the support of England. Anti-English feeling ran high in Scotland after Surrey's devastation of the lowlands, and the queen professed herself ready, if need be, to enter England 'in her smock' to labour for the security of her son (*ib.* pp. 327-9; *Letters and Papers*, iii. 3138). When Albany did not return at the date promised (August 1523), Margaret, who had provided for her retreat into England, urged the English government to action, but they preferred to let events decide. The Scottish parliament of 31 Aug. would have emancipated James and come to an arrangement with England, but for the news that Albany had sailed from Picardy, which Margaret stigmatised as 'tidings of the Canon-gate.' After this rebuff she 'grat bitterly all day' (GREEN, pp. 334-5). The king, too, 'spoke very sore for one so young,' and from all Surrey could hear the queen 'did that she could to cause him so to do.' On Albany's arrival, 20 Sept., Margaret requested the promised refuge in England, but Surrey and Wolsey agreed that it would be better and less costly to keep her in Scotland (*ib.* p. 345). Her treacherous confidant, the prioress of Coldstream, reported that she was 'right fickle,' and that the governor had already 'almost made her a Frenchwoman.' Another report says that 'since nine hours to-day she has been singing and dancing, and the Frenchmen with her' (*ib.* p. 349). But her private opinion was that the governor, 'who can say one thing and think another,' would be 'right sharp' with her when the 'hosting' was done (*ib.* p. 351). Albany discovered that she was completely in the English interest, and the par-

liament of 18 Nov. separated her from her son. If we may believe Margaret, she refused a pension of five thousand crowns from Albany (*ib.* p. 362). But a rumour that Henry was promoting the return of Angus to Scotland seems to have induced her to enter into a bond with Albany by which she undertook to recognise the parliamentary arrangements for James, and to forward his marriage with a French princess, being assured of a residence in France for herself if necessary (*ib.* p. 367). A copy falling into the hands of the English she disavowed it. Albany, after failing to get Margaret's promise not to enter into alliance with England, or even to consent to peace, left Scotland at the end of May 1524, promising to return by 31 Aug. (*ib.* p. 372). Margaret, supported by England, though she could not get perfectly satisfactory assurances on the subject of Angus, who had arrived in England on 28 June, carried off James, with Arran's help, from Stirling to Edinburgh on 26 July 1524. The step was popular, and parliament on 20 Aug. received with favour her proposal to abrogate Albany's regency, in spite of the opposition of Beaton and the Bishop of Aberdeen, whom she cast into prison (*ib.* pp. 386-387). But she threw away the fruits of her triumph by her arbitrary employment of the king's English guard now formed, by close alliance with Arran and wanton offence to Lennox and others, and by her over-favour to Henry Stewart, a younger brother of Lord Avondale, who now came to court as master-carver to the king, and was thrust by the queen into the offices of lieutenant of the guard and treasurer (*ib.* p. 389). Hearing that Margaret and Arran were leaning to a French alliance and had alienated all the lords, Henry at last allowed Angus to cross the border (about 28 Oct. 1524).

The parliament, which met on 14 Nov., recognised Margaret as the chief councillor of the young king, and imposed restrictions upon Angus, who, losing patience, broke into Edinburgh with four hundred men on the morning of Wednesday, 23 Nov. Margaret fired upon him from the castle, and he retired to Tantallon (*ib.* p. 420). But she continued to act with imprudence, and as her adherents would not begin civil war except round the young king, she, on 21 Feb. 1525, admitted Angus into the regency, but next day wrote to Albany as 'governor,' to Francis, and to the pope urging her divorce from the earl (*ib.* p. 439). Finding the influence of Angus rapidly growing, she personally, and through the king, pressed him to consent to a divorce. Whether from want

of evidence or fear of a counter-charge, she did not accuse Angus of infidelity, but on the desperate plea, first brought forward early in 1525, that James IV had lived for three years after Flodden (*ib.* pp. 445, 450). After Pavia, Henry, who had intercepted her letters to Albany and Francis, and no longer feared her joining the French party, sent her 'such a letter as was never written to any noble woman.' The parliament of July, which she refused to attend, alleging fear of Angus, practically deprived her of all authority, but on the remonstrance of James gave her twenty days' grace. This was, however, of no avail. Angus was now master of the king's person and of the government. Margaret organised resistance in the north, but Angus foiled the junction she had planned for 17 Jan. 1526 at Linlithgow with Arran and other opponents of the Douglasses, and she retreated to Hamilton with Arran, who soon made terms with Angus (*ib.* p. 454). On receiving assurances of personal freedom, Margaret rejoined her son in Edinburgh in February, but was soon again moving the council against Angus for withholding her rents. Finding her influence gone, she went to Dunfermline, where she was presently joined by Lennox and by Beaton, from whom Angus had taken the seals. After the failure of two attempts to rescue James by force from the constraint Angus put upon him, Margaret undertook to be guided by Angus, and to renounce the company of Henry Stewart (*Letters and Papers*, iv. 2575). Angus on his side is said to have withdrawn his opposition to the divorce (GREEN, p. 462).

On 20 Nov. she came to the opening of the new parliament, and soon regained her old influence over James. Beaton was recalled to court, and a new revolution was expected. But her request for the return of Henry Stewart was refused by James, and she retired in dudgeon to Stirling, which she had placed in Stewart's hands (*Letters and Papers*, iv. 2777, 2992). She was now 'entirely ruled by the counsel of Stewart,' who, if not a married man, had only lately divorced his wife in the hope of marrying the queen. At last, on 11 March 1527, Albany's efforts to promote her divorce were crowned with success, and the Cardinal of Ancona, appointed judge by Clement VII, gave judgment in her favour (*State Papers, Henry VIII*, iv. 490). Owing to the disturbed state of the continent, Margaret did not hear of the sentence until December (*Maitland Club Miscellany*, ii. 387). It was soon whispered that she had contracted a secret marriage with Stewart, and in March 1528 she openly de-

clared it (*Letters and Papers*, iv. 4134). Lord Erskine, in the name of the king, appeared before Stirling, and Stewart was given up by Margaret and put into ward. Wolsey wrote in Henry's name to remind her of the 'divine ordinance of inseparable matrimony first instituted in paradise,' protesting against 'the shameless sentence sent from Rome' (*ib.* iv. 4130-1). It was probably now that Angus separated her from her daughter (GREEN, p. 471). When James threw off the tutelage of Angus in June, and the earl was driven into England, Margaret and her husband became his chief advisers. Lands and revenues were showered upon them, and James created Stewart Lord Methven, and master of the artillery, 'for the great love he bore to his dearest mother.' Margaret, who went everywhere with her son, recovered possession of her Ettrick lands (1532) and entrusted them to Methven. She successfully used her influence in favour of a truce with England, and Magnus reported her very favourable to the proposed marriage of James with the Princess Mary. But Lord William Howard of Effingham [q. v.], who was sent to Scotland to promote this match in 1531, when Mary's position in England had become a very dubious one, met with open opposition from Margaret (*ib.* p. 481; STRICKLAND, p. 243). She, however, helped to bring about the peace with England concluded on 11 May 1534 (*Hamilton Papers*, i. 2, 8; *Federa*, xiv. 529). The proposed interview between Henry and James, first suggested in the autumn, received her warm support, and she wrote to her brother and Cromwell on 12 Dec. boasting that, 'by advice of us and no other living person,' James had consented to the meeting (*State Papers*, v. 2, 12). The prospect of taking a principal part in a splendid spectacle, and appearing before the world as mediator between her son and her brother, powerfully appealed to Margaret's vanity, and though already deeply in debt, she spent nearly 20,000*l.* Scots in preparations for the interview. When James was induced by the Scottish clergy, well aware that Henry intended at the meeting to urge a reformation in Scotland upon his nephew, to qualify his consent, Margaret allowed her disappointment to carry her to the length of betraying her son's secret intentions to Henry (*ib.* v. 38). This coming to James's ears was naturally connected by him with the gifts which Henry, in response to her importunity, had recently sent her, and he roundly accused her of taking bribes from England to betray him (*ib.* pp. 41, 46-7; *Hamilton Papers*, p. 31). She begged Henry to allow

her to come into England, 'being at the most displeasing point she could be, to be alive,' but was told that she must get her son's consent (*State Papers*, v. 55; *Letters and Papers*, xi. 111-12). She was so irritated by this reply being conveyed through James's ambassador, Otterbourne, that she wrote a letter to Cromwell, which he called 'insolent,' and for which she afterwards apologised (*State Papers*, v. 56; GREEN, p. 488). Her suggestion that Henry ought to defray the losses the border wars had cost her, and her expenditure for the abortive interview, was coldly and firmly refused (*State Papers*, v. 56).

Margaret appears in a more agreeable light a month later (12 Aug.) in her intercession with her brother for her daughter, Lady Margaret Douglas, who had excited his suspicious wrath by a contract of marriage with a younger brother of the Duke of Norfolk (*ib.* v. 58). The English parliament professed to believe that there was a scheme to raise Lady Margaret and her husband to the throne if the king died heirless, and that in her lately projected visit to England Queen Margaret had designed a reunion with Angus, so as to strengthen the interests of her daughter by confirming her legitimacy (GREEN, p. 491). On 20 Oct. and again on 10 Feb. 1537 she begged help of Henry that she might not be disgraced before the queen (Magdalene) whom her son was bringing home from France (*Hamilton Papers*, i. 38-9; *State Papers*, v. 66). Sir Ralph Sadler, who was sent to Scotland in January, heard at Newcastle a rumour that Margaret had taken the veil, which he thought 'no gospel.' He found her 'conveyed to much misery during her son's absence,' and 'very evilly used' in the suit she had brought for a 'decision of the validity of the matrimony between her and Methven' (*ib.* i. 529, v. 66, 70). To Henry she only accused Methven of having enriched his own friends out of her rents, but he is stated to have had children by Janet Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Atholl, whom he married after Margaret's death. One of these children was mother of the celebrated Earl of Gowrie, which has given rise to the absurd modern hypothesis that the mother of Earl Gowrie was really daughter of Lord Methven and Queen Margaret (GREEN, pp. 493-4; but cf. *Reg. Mag. Sigill. Scotiæ*, 1546-80, Nos. 184-5, 639-41, 1568).

Margaret seconded Sadler's report by a letter to her brother dated 8 March, complaining that the Bishop of St. Andrews delayed pronouncing sentence in her divorce, though her case was proved by 'twenty

soffycient prowes,' and urging her desire to be free of Methven, 'who is but a sobare man,' before the return of her son and his young wife (*Hamilton Papers*, i. 42). Sadler was despatched to Rouen to remonstrate with James, who, as Margaret hastened to inform her brother, instructed 'his Lordis' to do her justice with expedition (*State Papers*, v. 70, 74). She implored Norfolk not to make war upon Scotland until she was safely divorced, and assured him that nothing should pass in Scotland which she would not communicate to Henry (*ib.* v. 75). On 7 June, after James's return, she wrote to Henry to notify him that her divorce was at the giving of sentence (*ib.* v. 90). It was therefore with bitter disappointment that she had soon after to inform her brother that James had stopped her suit when the sentence was already written out, and proved by forty famous provers, although she had bought his promise to let it go on. She declares that Methven had offered him a higher bribe from her lands (*ib.* v. 103). But perhaps James's proceeding admits of a sufficiently obvious and more creditable explanation. She attempted to steal into England, but was overtaken within five miles of the border and conveyed to Dundee by Lord Maxwell, who expressed an opinion that all things would go well between the realms if she did not make a breach (*ib.* v. 109). According to her own account, Methven had persuaded James that she had intended to reconcile herself with Angus because she went to her lands in Ettrick. He will only allow her to depart 'bed and bwr'd' from Methven, and not 'somplecitur.' She complains that she has none of her dower palaces to live in, and talks of a cloister. Henry is urged, since she is now his only sister, to take strong measures in her behalf; she is now 'fourty years and nine,' and wishes ease and rest rather than to be obliged to follow her son about like a poor gentlewoman as she has done for twenty weeks past (Letters of 13 and 16 Nov., *ib.* i. 534, v. 115; *Hamilton Papers*, i. 49-51). But this mood was transient. She cordially welcomed Mary of Lorraine in June 1538, seeking to impress her by pretending to have had recent letters from Henry (*State Papers*, v. 127, 135). The young queen seems to have soothed Margaret's morbid vanity, and by the beginning of 1539 she was reconciled with Methven (*ib.* p. 154; GREEN, p. 500). Norfolk reported to Henry that 'the young queen was all papist, and the old queen not much less' (*ib.*) But in 1541 she was again plaguing Henry with her money troubles; and although he was puzzled by the contra-

dictory reports of her treatment he received, he gave some ear to her complaints, as he required a spy upon the Scottish war preparations (*Hamilton Papers*, i. 60-5, 75). On 1 March 1541 she preferred a curious request to Henry on behalf of a begging friar from Palestine (THORPE, *Cal. of Documents relating to Scotland*, i. 40). On 12 May she informed Henry from Stirling of the death of the two young princes, and that she never left the bereaved parents (*State Papers*, v. 188). At the end of that month Henry's messenger, Ray, was in secret communication with her at Stirling (*Hamilton Papers*, i. 75). She was seized with palsy at Methven Castle on Friday, 14 Oct., and finding herself growing worse sent for James from Falkland Palace, but he did not arrive in time to see her alive. She is said to have 'extremely lamented and asked God mercy that she had offended unto the Earl of Angus as she had done,' but this rests upon the report of Henry's messenger, Ray (*State Papers*, v. 193-4). She was unable to make a will, but desired that Lady Margaret should inherit her goods. Ray was informed that she had no more than 2,500 marks Scots at her death (*ib.*) She died on Tuesday, 18 Oct., aged nearly fifty-three (*Chronicle of Perth*, Maitland Club, and Treasurer's Accounts for October 1541, quoted by GREEN, p. 504; the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, Bannatyne Club ed., places her death on 24 Nov.) James buried her splendidly in the vault of James I in the Carthusian church of St. John at Perth (LESLEY, p. 157). Methven, by whom she had no offspring, though the contrary has been asserted, survived her some years.

Margaret had, in the words of an old Scottish writer, a 'great Twang of her brother's Temper.' Impetuous, capricious, equally ardent and fickle in her attachments, unscrupulously selfish, vain of power and show, and not without something of Henry's robustness and ability, the likeness is not merely fanciful. She listened neither to the voice of policy nor of maternal affection when passion impelled her. Yet she showed a real affection even for the daughter of whom she had seen so little, and James loved and trusted her until she shamefully abused his confidence. It was a hard part that she had to play in Scotland, distracted by internal turbulence and the intrigues of Henry VIII, but she played it too often without dignity, consistency, or moderation. It was not unnatural that in the miserable conflict of French and English influence she should range herself on the side of her brother; but nothing can justify the cold-bloodedness with which she urged him to destroy Scot-

tish ships and Scottish homes, and the treachery with which she betrayed her own son's counsels to his enemy. Her motives, too, were thoroughly selfish, for when her own interests dictated it she threw over her brother without scruple. Nor can we have any real sympathy with the ignoble private anxieties which she carried to her grave. If we may credit Gavin Douglas, Margaret in her youth was handsome, with a bright complexion and abundant golden hair. But Holbein's portrait represents her with rather harsh features. In middle age she grew stout and full-faced. Her portrait was frequently painted. There is a well-known one of Margaret and her two brothers by Mabuse, about 1496, in the china closet at Windsor, engraved as vignette on the title-page of vol. iv. of Mrs. Green's 'Princesses.' Minour painted one for presentation to James in 1502. A portrait by Holbein, in the possession of the Marquis of Lothian, is engraved as a frontispiece in the same volume. Another is mentioned as in the possession of the Earls of Pembroke at Wilton House. Small (GAVIN DOUGLAS, *Works*, vol. i. p. xci) gives a reproduction of an interesting portrait of Albany and Margaret, belonging to the Marquis of Bute, painted, he thinks, at the period when they were reproached with being over-tender. There is a portrait at Queen's College, Oxford; another, belonging to Charles Butler, esq., is described in the catalogue of the Tudor Exhibition (p. 55); and a third is engraved by G. Valck in Larrey's 'Histoire d'Angleterre' (BROMLEY, *Cat. of Engraved Portraits*, p. 7).

[Most of the authorities used have been mentioned in the text. Miss Strickland's *Life* is inaccurate and a little malicious. The *Life* by Mrs. Green is extraordinarily thorough and careful. The recently published *Hamilton Papers* have thrown some new light on the subject. Margaret was a prolific correspondent, and her letters will be found in great numbers in the *State Papers*, Mrs. Green's *Letters of Royal Ladies*, Teulet's *Inventaire Chronologique* and *Papiers d'Etat*, Ellis's *Historical Letters*, and the *Hamilton Papers*. Lesley is quoted in the *Bannatyne Club* edition, and Polydore Vergil in the *Basle* edition of 1570.] J. T.-r.

MARGARY, AUGUSTUS RAYMOND (1846-1875), traveller, third son of Henry Joshua Margary, major-general R.E., was born at Belgaum, in the Bombay presidency, 26 May 1846. He was successively educated in France, at North Walsham grammar school, and at University College, London. Having received a nomination from his relative, Austen Henry Layard, he

studied Chinese seven hours a day, passed a competitive examination before the civil service commissioners, obtained an honorary certificate, and was appointed a student interpreter on the Chinese consular establishment 2 Feb. 1867. In the following month he went to China, and on 18 Nov. 1869 rose to be a third-class assistant. The silver medal of the Royal Humane Society was awarded to him 16 July 1872 for saving the lives of several men who were wrecked during a typhoon in the island of Formosa, 9 Aug. 1871, and he also received the Albert medal of the first class 28 Oct. 1872. Till 1870 he was attached to the legation at Peking, when he was sent to the island of Formosa, and there took charge of the consulate during twelve months. He was made a second-class assistant 7 Dec. 1872, was acting interpreter at Shanghai 16 Oct. to 12 Nov. 1873, and interpreter at Chefoo 24 Nov. 1873 to 9 April 1874. In August he received instructions from Peking to proceed through the south-western provinces of China to the frontier of Yunnan, to await Colonel Horace Browne, who had been sent by the Indian government on a mission into Yunnan, from the Burmese side, in the hopes of opening up a trade with Western China. To this mission Margary was to act as interpreter and guide through China. On 4 Sept. 1874 he left Hankow on an overland journey to Mandalay. Passing the Tung-ting lake on the Yang-tse he ascended the Yuen river through Hoonan, and travelled by land through Kweichow and Yunnan, and on 17 Jan. 1875 joined Colonel Browne at Bhamô. He was the first Englishman who had traversed this route. On 19 Feb. 1875 he was sent forward to survey and report on the road from Burmah to Western China, but on 21 Feb. he was treacherously murdered at Manwein on the Chinese frontier.

[The *Journey of A. R. Margary from Shanghai to Bhamô, and back to Manwyne, 1876*, biog. preface, pp. i-xxi, with portrait; J. Anderson's *Mandalay to Momiên, 1876*, pp. 364-449; Boulger's *History of China, 1884*, iii. 715-22; *Foreign Office List, January 1875* p. 140, July 1875 p. 215; *Times*, 9, 22, and 28 April 1875; *Illustr. London News, 1875*, lxvi. 233-4, 257-8, with portrait; *Graphic, 1875*, xi. 296, with portrait.] G. C. B.

MARGETSON, JAMES (1600-1678), archbishop of Armagh, born in 1600, was a native of Drighlington in Yorkshire. He was educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, and returned after ordination to his own county, where he attracted the notice of Wentworth, then lord president of the north, who took him