

## CHAP. V.

## M A R Y.

1542 - 1546.

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 CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 69, 74, 75, 81.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 97.

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

<sup>1</sup> Maitland, vol. ii. p. 838.

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

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

In the ranks of the opposite faction were found a

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 137-8.

<sup>2</sup> Knox, History, p. 35. Letter, State Paper Office, Jan. 10th,

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 94.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Sadler's State Papers, vol. i. p. 138.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Letter *ut supra*. Sir Thomas Wharton to Suffolk. State Paper Office.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 411, 412, 413.

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

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

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



















































































