

HBeet.
Seot.
H

THE ARCHBISHOPS OF ST ANDREWS

VOL. III.

BY

JOHN HERKLESS

PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

AND

ROBERT KERR HANNAY

LECTURER IN ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

118821
26/9/11

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MCM X

PRINTED documents, with the *Formulare* and other MSS., furnish the materials for the life of James Beaton. The prelate appears as the advocate of the anti-English policy, which was afterwards upheld by his nephew, the Cardinal David Beaton.

In this, as in the previous volumes, years have been translated into the new style.

J. H.

R. K. H.

THE UNIVERSITY, ST ANDREWS,
December 1910.

CONTENTS.

JAMES BEATON.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	1
UNIVERSITY CAREER (FROM 1488) AND FIRST PROMOTIONS	4
ABBOT OF DUNFERMLINE (1504) AND TREASURER (1505)	9
BISHOP OF WHITHORN (1508)	19
ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW (1509)	21
COMMENDATOR OF KILWINNING	38
LORD CHANCELLOR (1513)	45
A CANDIDATE FOR ST ANDREWS	51
THE COMING OF ALBANY (1515)	58
THE DEPARTURE (1517) AND ABSENCE OF THE GOVERNOR	64
BEATON NOMINATED FOR ST ANDREWS (1521)	77
RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND	80
ADMISSION TO ST ANDREWS (1523)	95
FINAL DEPARTURE OF ALBANY AND ERECTION OF JAMES V. (1524)	107
IMPRISONMENT	114
DEALINGS WITH ARBROATH—ENGLISH DIPLOMACY	138

GREAT SEAL RESTORED TO BEATON (1525)	.	.	.	148
DOMINATION OF ANGUS	.	.	.	158
HERETICS—PATRICK HAMILTON	.	.	.	170
RELATIONS WITH GAVIN DUNBAR—COURT OF SESSION	.	.	.	212
SECOND IMPRISONMENT (1533)	.	.	.	224
COLLEGE OF ST MARY	.	.	.	240
DEATH (FEB. 14, 1539)	.	.	.	245
APPENDIX	.	.	.	248
ADDITIONAL APPENDIX	.	.	.	256

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

Act. Fac. Art.	= Acta Facultatis Artium (St Andrews Univ. MS.)
A. D. C.	= Acta Dominorum Concilii.
A. P.	= Acts of the Scottish Parliament.
Arbroath R. N.	= Black Register of Arbroath.
Brady	= Brady's Episcopal Succession.
Cupar R.	= Register of Cupar.
Dunferml. R.	= Register of Dunfermline.
E. R.	= Exchequer Rolls.
E. R. S.	= Epistolæ Regum Scotorum.
Eubel	= Eubel's Hierarchia Catholica Medii Ævi.
F.	= Formulare (St Andrews Univ. MS.)
Glasg. R.	= Register of Glasgow.
H.	= Henry VIII. Letters and Papers (For. and Domest.)
R. M. S.	= Register of the Great Seal.
R. P. S.	= Register of the Privy Seal.
Rymer	= Rymer's Fœdera.
St. P.	= Henry VIII. State Papers.
T. A.	= Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer.
Theiner	= Theiner's Vetera Monumenta.

THE
ARCHBISHOPS OF ST ANDREWS.

VI.

JAMES BEATON.

IN the period of Albany's regency the strife of factions disturbed the peace of the realm, and was fostered by the English king in his jealousy of France. Ambitious to coerce the nation he had defeated in battle, and anxious for the sake of England's security to destroy the alliance of Scotland and France, Henry made use of diplomacy, intrigue, and craft, and from the year of Flodden till the year of his death had Scotsmen in his pay. The King of France, too, had a party; but the men of it, while not rejecting his favours, were enemies of England who cherished the hatred transmitted as an inheritance from their fathers. After Flodden, in the first years of James V., the

affairs of Scotland were in dangerous confusion. There was dread of England and there was English intrigue; while sentiment for France conflicted with the insular suspicion of the foreigner. When the Regent departed from Scotland in 1517, noble was set against noble and churchman against churchman. Angus competed with Arran for the first place in the councils of the realm, and with the one was associated the prelate of St Andrews, and with the other the prelate of Glasgow. James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow and Chancellor of Scotland, favoured the French alliance as the security for his country's independence; and his constancy to Albany never wavered, while Margaret, the queen, flattered or abused him, and Henry sought to win him to his side or to entrap him. He aspired to St Andrews, and Henry, of course, was not willing that a friend of France should attain to the primacy, and in his arrogance named a candidate. Beaton with his determination to preserve his country's liberty was not the man whom Henry could approve, and to the end the Scottish primate and the English king were enemies.

When Forman died, his office was sought by Beaton and by Gavin Douglas, the Bishop of Dunkeld. Each had aspired to the same high dignity, when Forman was their successful rival.

Douglas at his first candidature had Henry VIII. and Queen Margaret to plead his cause with the pope, but there was no man with political power to urge the claim of Beaton. With the advancing years, however, Beaton's service to the State as Chancellor, and to the Church as Archbishop of Glasgow, gave him repute far beyond that of Douglas, and faithful attachment secured the Regent's favour. Amidst the shiftings of political parties and her own domestic interests, Margaret was no longer eager to advance the kinsman of Angus; and Henry VIII. failed to persuade the pope to accept the Bishop of Dunkeld and reject the Archbishop of Glasgow. James Beaton passed to St Andrews, but the road was not smooth to the high place of priestly dominion.

The Beatons, who claimed an ancestor in a Norman follower of William the Conqueror, were settled in Fife. While their descent was long, their possessions were few; and James V., writing in malice against the archbishop, described him as of low family. Genealogical records show that in the reign of Robert II. the heiress of John de Balfour was given to Robert de Bethune; and their descendant, John Beaton of Balfour, in the parish of Markinch, married Marjory, daughter of Sir David Boswell of Balmouto, in the parish of Kinghorn.

James, the sixth son of this marriage, was ultimately promoted to St Andrews.¹

Among the bishops and archbishops of St Andrews there had been men of royal descent and men of humble rank. Beaton was not allied by blood to any of the great houses of Scotland, and though in the Catholic Church a peasant might rise by priestly steps to the papal throne, a prelate who was a statesman in a distracted country suffered when he had no great and powerful kinsman to aid him. There was no Scottish noble, when Beaton, pursued by royal malice, was consigned to a prison, to stand by him and demand his liberty.

The date of James Beaton's birth is unknown. If he was fourteen years of age when he was incorporated in St Andrews University, it might be placed in 1474; but the fact that his Arts course was protracted, makes it possible that he was very young when he entered the University, and that the birth must be assigned to a later year. He became a student in 1488.² Whether it was immaturity, weak health or lack of application that delayed him, Beaton did not "determine" till the winter of 1491;

¹ Macfarlane's *Geneal. Coll.*, i. 6. Crawford in 'Officers of State,' says James was the second son.

² His name is found among those incorporated between March 1488 and March 1489. It is improbable that he would enter after October 1488.

and in Lent, 1492, he would have to appear at the "responsions" which entitled him to be styled bachelor. As a rule, two years elapsed before a bachelor applied for a license. By the following Lent, however, Beaton had passed the *temptamen* or "trial"; and a few weeks later he proceeded to the examination *in cameris*, at which the order of merit was finally settled. According to statute it was necessary to hold the master's "act" within a limited period after license, which was received immediately after the examination *in cameris*. Great difficulty was found at that time in making licentiates proceed to the masterate, chiefly owing to the expenses incurred in presents and festivities. The masters of the Faculty of Arts were not disposed to discourage the customary entertainments, though they found that many were disinclined to face the outlay and preferred, after receiving the license, to leave the University and to avoid membership in the Faculty. The abuse went so far that the examiners were entertained by candidates during the *temptamen*; and, while it was held that their labours gave them a claim to refreshment, it is surprising to find that the practice was described as useless rather than as corrupt. Beaton, who was seventh in order of merit, decided to take the masterate; and it is probable, therefore, that

he intended to remain in the University, though we have no information regarding his subsequent academic career. An irksome statute required new masters to give *lectura* for two years; but in Beaton's time it was merely an excuse to exact a contribution, by way of dispensation, for the purse of the Faculty, and the teaching was conducted almost exclusively by the official regents. Even if he did not propose to become a regent in arts, however, it was necessary for a man intending to prosecute the higher studies to enter the faculty as a master, since membership gave him a recognised position and also a claim to participate in the ceremonies and festivities of the place. The aptitudes subsequently displayed by Beaton make it probable that he devoted himself to the study of law, which to a Scottish churchman offered greater promise of advancement than theological learning. A year or two spent at a French university, such as Orleans, would be more profitable than an extended curriculum at St Andrews, were he ever to engage in diplomacy or rise to statesmanship; but we do not know that Beaton went abroad, and possibly the practical ability which he afterwards showed was something of a surprise to those who knew him as a not very brilliant student. The place which he took at license certainly did not betoken learning or scholar-

ship. The customs of the time, it is true, gave a preferential treatment to those who were noble or wealthy. Yet there is nothing to indicate that the six men who were placed before him received undue prominence. Like Andrew Forman, he had a respectable academic record, and his social distinction was not sufficient to arouse the enthusiasm of the examiners. Gavin Douglas, his future rival, who stood first on the list of 1494, must have proved a welcome instance of a candidate in whom scholarship and nobility were so combined as to preclude the necessity of weighing eminence of birth against deficiency of learning.

There is nothing to indicate what Beaton did immediately after leaving the University; but on September 17, 1497, he was presented to the chantry of Caithness, which he retained for two years.¹ His brother, Sir David Beaton of Creich, whom he followed in the office of Lord High Treasurer, was in a position to secure favours, and through him the benefice may have been obtained. No reason has been noted for the resignation of the chantry. Beaton, however, was provost of the Church of Bothwell in 1502, and in 1503 was in possession of Kirkinner, which may have been given at an earlier date in exchange for the Caithness benefice. George,

¹ R. P. S., i. 136, 145, 426.

provost of Bothwell, was promoted to the abbey of Arbroath in 1502, and Beaton succeeded him in Bothwell.¹

The first part of Beaton's career, down, indeed, to the time when he was raised to the episcopal order, is marked in our records mainly by financial transactions unconnected with the benefices he held. Even after his elevation to the archbishopric of Glasgow, he gave to the private affairs of the king and the financial interests of the State time which could ill be spared from the Church. His brother, the Treasurer, would naturally help him to advance his fortunes outside the sphere of his clerical profession, and it was doubtless he who first employed the young ecclesiastic and brought him into the service of the king. So early as 1500 and 1501, Master James Beaton was engaged with the Comptroller;² and in 1502 he was sent to Inverkeithing, probably in connection with the fitting out of the *Eagle*.³

The records of 1503 show that Beaton continued to transact financial business, and also that he was a churchman, or at least the possessor of a benefice. It is not known whether he served or simply neglected the spiritual wants

¹ Crawford's 'Officers of State,' 368. Douglas Book, iii. 178. Rymer, xiii. 71.

² E. R., xi. 265, 270, 297, 341, 362.

³ T. A., ii. 147. See also 270, 271.

of the people of Kirkinner, though it is more than probable that he employed a deputy to discharge his duties. He held the living, however, and on December 9, 1503, appointed procurators to resign it in his name, and at the same time to consent to its annexation to the Chapel-Royal.¹ James IV. was organising the Chapel-Royal, that it might be fit for a king's worship, and Beaton, by the assistance rendered in connection with Kirkinner, secured his favour. The death of Archbishop James Stewart enabled James to discharge any debt or fulfil any promise to Beaton, by promoting him in 1504 to the Abbey of Dunfermline, which the prelate of St Andrews had held. Beaton was not a monk, but custom did not prevent him from holding the abbey, which was given to him by papal indulgence for two years *in commendam*, "citra habitum sumendum et emittendam professionem."² Dunfermline was a rich reward for any services the young ecclesiastic had rendered to the king, and the influence of the Lord High Treasurer most probably may be traced in the transaction. The office carried with it wealth and political dignity, and did not imply in its occupant monkish

¹ Cf. Rogers' History of the Chapel-Royal, 49, 51, 57. A. P., ii. 239, 240. On June 4, Pope Julius commissioned the Abbot of Dunfermline and others to erect benefices in the Chapel-Royal (Rogers, 53).

² Letters of Rich. III. and Henry VII., ii. 206.

severity, or require from him a disciplinary care of brothers under his obedience.

The Abbot of Dunfermline, as he was styled, attended a parliament on March 13, 1504. In the minute of the session of March 18, however, the designation of abbot was changed to that of postulate, and it is evident that the Bulls in his favour had not reached Scotland at that date. While still postulate he appointed David Beaton, whichever member of the family he was, to the office of "yconomus" of the abbey.¹ At the parliament held in March, the court known as the Session, which James I. had instituted and James II. had reformed, was changed to the Daily Council. The members were to be chosen by the king from time to time, and Beaton was named. The duties of his new office, however, could not at once be undertaken, as James sent him to Rome in connection with the nomination of Alexander Stewart to the Archbishopric of St Andrews.² The business of the king may have led him into the papal presence, as Julius delegated him along with the Abbot of Cambuskenneth to defend the exemption of certain royal servants from the jurisdiction of ordinaries.³ The appointment could add nothing to the dignity of an abbot, though it doubtless brought fees to Beaton, and was

¹ E. R., xii. 274.

² T. A., ii. 244.

³ Cf. Rogers' *History of the Chapel-Royal*, 78.

given and accepted as a reward to a royal commissioner. Such offices were easily created, and the pope could bestow them as favours without expense to his exchequer. James did not neglect his servant, and the Treasurer's Accounts show that a sum of £300 was paid to the Abbot of Dunfermline, when he passed to Rome for errands of the king.¹ On his return to Scotland, though he had been an ambassador to the Court of the Supreme Pontiff, Beaton was employed in the trivial tasks of paying at the royal order fourteen shillings to a "broudstar" and twenty-eight shillings of drink silver to certain ship-wrights.² It is recorded, too, that the Abbot of Dunfermline sent "ane mulet," and on more than one occasion a horse, to the king.³

The year 1505 saw the further advancement of Beaton, who was appointed at the death of his brother to the charge of the king's finance. He was certainly not inexperienced, as in the previous year, probably during Sir David's illness, he was performing the work of the Treasurer, and was even styled Treasurer, under dates of 1504, in the Register of the Great Seal.⁴ He was chosen also to be auditor of Sir David's accounts.⁵ The office of Treasurer was a position of distinction, which

¹ T. A., ii. 244.

² *Ibid.*, 463.

³ *Ibid.*, 468 ; iii. 127, 146, 157 ; iv. 87, 96.

⁴ Cf. T. A., iii., xiv ; R. M. S., under dates April 25 and November 2.

⁵ T. A., ii. 479.

men of good name had held; and no breach of custom was made, when a churchman was chosen to direct finance. Among his predecessors were Bishops of Dunkeld and Moray, and Abbots of Holyrood, Cambuskenneth and Paisley. As abbot or commendator of Dunfermline, Beaton had high rank, and was not therefore too mean in the ecclesiastical or the social order to be worthy of the chief financial position under the king. He was still a young man, however, when he received the office, and his appointment indicated the royal favour.

Apart from his duties as Treasurer, Beaton was entrusted from time to time with the letting of the king's lands, and of lands in the keeping of James;¹ and it is of interest to note that on one occasion he and the Comptroller sold to Andrew Forman the "gere" on the Mains of Dunbar.² With the Comptroller he was made baillie of Dirleton, while that lordship was in ward;³ and in 1507 was an auditor of accounts connected with repairs on Stirling Castle.⁴

In addition to the Treasurership, Beaton held the office of Chamberlain of Fife, which had been made vacant by the death of his brother; and his accounts indicate that he was keeper of the Palace of Falkland. As Abbot of Dun-

¹ E. R., xii. 301, 630, 695, &c. R. P. S., i. 1171, 1186, 1228.

² R. P. S., i. 1534. ³ Ibid., 1216. ⁴ Ibid., 1422, 1515.

fermline he was a member of the clerical estate, and we find him acting as a lord of Council, and as a commissioner for arranging a parliament.¹ Amidst public business the affairs of the abbey, in which he had a personal interest, were not neglected; and the records tell, for example, of a charter of excambion granted to George of Dunkeld, and the purchase of a part of the lands of Halis.² An indenture of 1507 possesses economic interest. James, Abbot of Dunfermline, made choice of a wright to do all needful repairs in the abbey. The appointment was for life, and the man was to receive annually twenty marks Scots, one chalder of meal and three bolls of malt.³

Dunfermline, as has been noted, was conferred by the pope under conditions; but, customary though they were, they did not please the commendator, and he petitioned for the benefice *ad vitam*. His letter to Rome has not been preserved, and the terms of his request are therefore unknown. In 1506, however, he received through the Cardinal of St Mark's, the protector of Scottish interests at the papal

¹ Book of Melrose, 601. A. P., ii. 260, 266.

² R. M. S., i. 2955. Dioces. R. of Glasg., ii. 615. Cf. Hist. MSS. R., xi. 6; Menteith Book, i. 277; R. P. S., i. 1384. Fraser's 'Melvilles,' i. 39; Dunferml. R., 361. On the seal of the abbot of Hutton's Seals, 5; Laing's Suppl. Catal., 198.

³ Dunferml. R., 361.

court, an extension of time to hold the living without assuming the habit or making profession. Beaton was young, active and eager, and the abbey alone did not satisfy his ambition. He certainly gave no indication that he craved a wide field for spiritual labour, but he desired episcopal rank and the career of a statesman.

In a communication to the Cardinal of St Mark's, sent at the end of 1506 or the beginning of 1507, Beaton intimated that the Bishop of Dunkeld was an old man, and had selected him as his successor. He stated, too, that a plan of resignation in his favour by procurators at Rome had received the sanction of the king, who was giving the required mandate. In thanking the cardinal for his favours, Beaton again expressed a desire for the commend of Dunfermline *ad vitam*.¹ James showed himself friendly to the young ecclesiastic, and in support of the candidature for Dunkeld wrote to Pope Julius and Louis of France.² In his letter to Rome he stated that the practice of nomination before a vacancy was common in Scotland during the pontificate of Alexander VI., especially when the consent of the holder of the living was secured. The negotiations,

¹ Letters of Rich. III. and Henry VII., ii. 205.

² *Ibid.*, 223, 224.

however, were rendered useless, as Beaton secured the nomination to the bishopric of Whithorn and the Chapel-Royal, and was consecrated to Glasgow before the death of the man who had named him as his successor.

The king's favour to his servant was shown in another fashion. James himself having obtained, as a substantial mark of papal grace, a right of nomination to thirty benefices,¹ employed Beaton as a judge-delegate to assist in filling the vacancies. Such service as the prelate rendered was never done without reward. Fees were earned, and Beaton's name is found in connection with the deanery of Aberdeen, the chancery of Brechin and the arch-deaconry of Whithorn. In the case of Brechin he was described as "conservator facultatis per bullas apostolicas desuper concessas."² James continued his favour when he gave or sold to Beaton, in conjunction with the provost of Bothwell, the marriage of Livingstone of Drumry, and bestowed on him the ward and marriage of Robert Dury.³ Even in 1512, after he had obtained high ecclesiastical promotion, Beaton secured the ward and marriage of the heir of Lord Lile.⁴ The lease of Tuli-

¹ R. P. S., i. 1596.

² Ibid., i. 1172, 1221, 1478, 1575.

³ Ibid., 1241, 1587; T. A., iii. 238.

⁴ R. P. S., i. 2354.

beltane and Innernyte, granted to the prelate and his nephew, may have been an ordinary business transaction.¹

One of the documents of 1506 reveals the character of the Abbot of Dunfermline, as James saw or professed to see it. It is not necessary to conclude that the king dictated all the letters to which he attached his name; and in the communication to the pope, which bore the royal signature and set forth the qualities of the prelate, it is probable that Beaton himself was even more interested than James. Writing to Pope Julius, the king declared that as he was unable to keep an eye on every part of his dominions, he required the services of provincial magistrates. The variable and uncertain nature of many persons raised to power caused him to value a man specially sagacious, having tact and moderation, and one to be trusted thoroughly by the State and by his patron. James Beaton, Abbot of Dunfermline, Treasurer of the kingdom, he said, was in that position, but conscience troubled him. The king accordingly asked liberty to choose a confessor for him, who would absolve him "in foro conscientie dumtaxat" for simony (except in cases under the Bull *cœnæ domini*) and irregularity (unless bigamy and wilful homicide), which might be practised in the execution of orders and the

¹ E. R., xii. 684.

retention of benefices.¹ The royal communication testifies to the high character of the abbot and Treasurer, and records that he had a conscience. That conscience, however, must have been soothed, and perhaps easily, since its possessor did not resign any of his civil or ecclesiastical offices, but on the contrary gained new benefices.

One of the letters of the Cardinal of St Mark's dated January 1, 1508, shows that in the previous year James was seeking in some way unknown to us to advance Beaton's interests. The cardinal explained to the king that he had been absent from Rome during the summer, and gave assurance that these interests, though the business was difficult and protracted, were being furthered.² The letter may have referred to the commend of Dunfermline or the reservation of Dunkeld; and it certainly indicated that James valued his servant's work, and was aiding him in his schemes of ecclesiastical promotion. The relations of the king and the abbot were most friendly, and in 1517 Beaton was associated with "Antonius de Initiatis, miles Alexandrinus" in the honourable duty of presenting, in name of the pope, Julius II., a sword of state and a consecrated hat to James. The ceremony took place in the kirk of Holyrood House; and though the hat

¹ Letters of Rich. III. and Henry VII., ii. 224.

² Ibid., ii. 253.

has not been preserved, the sword is still to be seen among the Scottish Regalia.¹ Bishop Lesley has described the incident. "Julius the Second," he says, "Paip for the tyme, send ane ambassadour to the King, declaring him to be protectour and defendour of christen faythe, and in signe thairof send unto him ane purpouir diadame wrocht with flowris of gold, with ane sword, having the hiltis and skabert of gold, sett with precious stains, quhilkis war delyverit be the same ambassadour, and abbot of Domfermeling in the Abby Kirk of Halyrudhous, and confirmit alsua the treaties of peace contractit betuix the King of Scotland and Ingland."² The day of the Reformation had not dawned, and the pope was not attempting and had no need to bind the King of Scotland to obedience and to foster his attachment to an injured Church. Julius was a temporal sovereign, with schemes for the extension of the Church's territory; and, as France was involved in his troubles with the Venetian Republic, he did not forget the ancient alliance of Scotland and France, and prudence suggested the gifts of the sword and the hat.

Beaton, as has been indicated, secured the reservation of Dunkeld, but before an election was made he was the possessor of a greater see.

¹ Brit. Mus., MSS. Roy. 13. B., ii. 35. E. R. S., i. 43.

² Lesley, Hist. of Scotl., 75.

Early in 1508 the Bishopric of Whithorn and the Chapel-Royal was vacant; and the Treasurer's Accounts show that on January 29 a payment was made on behalf of the king to "Schir Andro Makbrek to ger do dirige and saule mes for the Beschop of Gallaway." On March 1 James, in a communication to Pope Julius, nominated Beaton, requesting at the same time that he might be continued in Dunfermline and receive the commend *ad vitam*. He stated that Whithorn was subject to the Holy See, and that the prelate ranked immediately after the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow. At the same time he asked that Restennot, Inchmahome, and the provostry of Lincluden should be annexed to the bishop's table.¹ Julius did not refuse the petition of the Scottish king, and, as the *Obligazioni* show, Beaton was provided on May 12. The papal prerogative, however, was carefully guarded, and according to the narrative in the *Notes of Provisions*, "Jacobus notarius apostolicus electus fuit ecclesie Candidecase. De rege Scotorum nulla fit mentio 1508 anno quinto Julii II. Idem Jacobus a capitulo fuit postulatus, non tamen a sede apostolica postulationis causa approbatus, sed simpliciter de eadem provisus."² The nomination by the king followed a precedent recognised

¹ Letters of Rich. III. and Henry VII., ii. 257.

² Cf. Scot. Hist. Rev., v. 447.

in Scotland and Rome, and Julius did not attempt to set it aside; but it is evident that he desired to maintain the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome over the benefices of the Catholic Church, and would not recognise even the action of the local chapter in the postulation of the prelate. It is instructive to note, in illustration of the work in which an ecclesiastic could be employed, that Beaton, though elect of Galloway, was in correspondence with Antwerp, and his letter was concerned with Scottish trade.¹

In the provision to Galloway or Whithorn James acted with generosity. It was within his power to create difficulties, so that the period of the vacancy might be extended, and his revenues augmented. The temporality, in any case, could have been retained by him till the admission of the prelate. It was granted, however, on July 17, though the Bulls had not been received.² The provision to the see was made at Rome on May 12; and while the Bulls as usual were not at once dispatched, Beaton was named in an official writing of August 1, and was styled Bishop of Candida Casa and the Chapel-Royal.³ On September 1 he was designated elect - confirmed of Galloway,⁴ and on

¹ Letters of Rich. III. and Henry VII., ii. 262.

² R. P. S., i. 1707.

³ Ibid., 1711.

⁴ Cupar R., i. 273.

September 18, elect of Whithorn.¹ No note has been preserved of the arrival of the Bulls, and yet in a document dated in November he was addressed as Bishop of Candida Casa.² There is, in fact, no description of or reference to the consecration, and it does not appear that Beaton was canonically the Bishop of Galloway.

In an "Account of Religious Houses," a manuscript used by Bishop Keith in the preparation of his 'Catalogue,' the statement was made, and has often been repeated, that Beaton was prior of the monastery of Whithorn, belonging to the White Canons. No evidence exists, however, in any of our documents to show that he was prior; and, though even boys were sometimes pluralists in their enjoyment of the revenues of great livings, we have no direct proof that Beaton, a young man of no illustrious house, who gained Dunfermline in 1504, and was Lord High Treasurer in 1505, added the priory of Whithorn to his possessions.

A greater benefice than Galloway was in store for Beaton. On November 9, 1508, royal letters were presented to the chapter of Glasgow, directing the election or postulation of James Beaton, Bishop of Galloway, to the Archbishopric of the Church of Glasgow, which was destitute

¹ Cf. Rogers' History of the Chapel-Royal, 84.

² R. P. S., i. 1765.

of a pastor and archbishop, it was alleged, through the death of Robert, late Archbishop of Glasgow. The chapter unanimously and with one voice, in accordance with the supplication of His Highness, postulated the said reverend Father James Beaton as Archbishop of Glasgow, to be transferred from the see of Galloway.¹ While the postulation was unopposed a member of the chapter urged that there should be time for deliberation, though he knew, he said, that if Archbishop Robert, now alleged to be dead, were present and wished to resign, he would elect or postulate the said James to be his successor in preference to any other.² In the Vatican Notes of Provisions the record is, "Jacobus . . . in archiepiscopum Glasguen. a capitulo concorditer postulatus fuit; sed simpliciter de eadem provisus, nullo etiam supplicante, ac postulatione hujusmodi minime approbata, 1508, anno sexto Julii II."³ The date of the translation from Galloway to Glasgow, as shown in the *Obligazioni*, was January 19, 1509.⁴ On December 1 of the previous year Beaton, signing as elect of Glasgow, was a witness to a document; and on January 28, 1509, designated elect of Glasgow and Treasurer, he was commissioned for three years, with Bishop

¹ Dioc. R. of Glasg., ii. No. 288.

² *Ibid.*, 289. Appendix I.

³ Scot. Hist. Rev. v. 448.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Elphinstone of Aberdeen and others, to set lands belonging to the king.¹ On March 14 he was still postulate;² but at length, on April 8, one of the canons of Glasgow, appearing in the name of James, archbishop, delivered to the president and chapter, letters of Julius II., entreating and exhorting them to receive Beaton as archbishop; and, when these letters had been read and considered, the president and chapter, desirous as obedient sons to comply with the apostolic entreaties and exhortations, received and admitted the said James as their archbishop in the see of Glasgow and the father and shepherd of their souls.³ At Stirling on April 15, Beaton was ordained and consecrated.⁴ From the words in the Register, "ordinatus et consecratus fuit," it is evident that he had not been consecrated as Bishop of Galloway. From Stirling he passed immediately to Glasgow, and there, on the 17th, in presence of the dean and chapter, took the archiepiscopal oath, according to the statutes of the cathedral, by touching his breast and swearing by the word of an archbishop and on the Holy Gospels.⁵ When the ceremony was completed the dean made offer of obedience to the prelate, according, doubtless,

¹ R. M. S., i. 3274; R. P. S., i. 1810. See also R. M. S., i. 3311; A. P., ii. 227.

² R. P. S., i. 1841.

⁴ Ibid., 431.

³ Dioc. R. of Glasg., ii. 357.

⁵ Ibid., 353.

to the general ecclesiastical custom. He acted, however, on his own initiative, and was forced to revoke what he had said. The chapter, it is recorded, held the offer to be null and void; and while neither assenting to nor dissenting from it, they alleged that the dean was not charged to express obedience in their name. It is significant, however, that the instrument which contains the narrative is crossed out in the original writing.¹ The University and clergy, through the Rector of the University, and the citizens and people, through two of the baillies, formally received the archbishop as the father and shepherd of their souls.²

To Archbishop Blackader, Knox says in his History, "succeeded Mr James Beatoun, . . . who was moir cairfull for the world then he was to preach Christ, or yitt to advance any religioun, but for the fassioun only; and as he soght the warld, it fled him nott."

In the Faculty of Arts minutes of the University of St Andrews, under the year 1508, an amusing competition for precedence, in which Beaton was an actor, is recorded. The University decided that the Rector should have the first place in the absence of Alexander Stewart, the archbishop; but at Vespers on December 24, Forman and Beaton took the

¹ Dioc. R. of Glas., ii. 354.

² Ibid., 358, 359.

chief seats. The Dean of the Faculty of Arts, at the mandate of the Rector, asked the prelates in a friendly manner to give way to the Rector. The whole congregation looked on and heard. "After some words," the Dean wrote in the minute, "from one of the bishops, insulting to the honour of the University and the Rector, I forbade them to take the place any longer, and commanded them on pain of perjury to give way to the Rector. Thereupon Master James Beaton, the Treasurer, moved to the vestibule of the church, and at length the Bishop of Moray followed. I then called the Rector to his proper place, which he enjoyed during all the Christmas feast in presence of the King, Queen, and Court, while I, the Dean, though unworthy, sat next to him,—an incident which will always be remembered as redounding to the honour of the University."

Beaton was now Archbishop of Glasgow, and James had aided his advancement to the great diocese. The action of the king, however, was not altogether a work of grace, as he desired Dunfermline for one of his sons; and it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the abbey was the price paid for the archbishopric. On December 1, 1508, James wrote to the Cardinal of St Mark's and requested Dunfermline for his natural son, James Stewart, or for

Alexander Stewart, who was also a natural son.¹ It is evident from the letter itself that it was not the first on the subject, and that the king must have had word in some way of Blackader's death. The cardinal's secretary sent an intimation of the death, which was received on December 9;² but there must have been an earlier notice, on the strength of which negotiations for Dunfermline were begun. The action of James did not imply that Beaton had lost the royal favour; though difficulties connected with the Chapel-Royal were to estrange them for a time. On December 7, Patrick Panter informed Alexander Stewart that the Chapel-Royal was to be united to St Andrews,³ and it is evident that the arrangement would involve the stripping of a privilege from Glasgow. In another letter Panter announced that Dunfermline had been secured for Alexander Stewart.⁴ Beaton, in spite of his efforts, had not obtained the abbey *ad vitam*, as James described him in a communication to the pope as "pro tempore commendatarius";⁵ but in any case the prelate offered no objection, and probably freely consented, to the provision of the king's son to Dunfermline. While the transference of the

¹ Letters of Rich. III. and Henry VII., ii. 265.

² E. R. S., i. 51.

³ Letters of Rich. III. and Henry VII., ii. 271.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 273.

⁵ E. R. S., i. 52.

abbey was effected without dispute, James, fearing that there might be trouble concerning an exemption, urged the Cardinal of St Mark's to accelerate the consecration of Beaton to the archbishopric.¹

In the correspondence with Rome James thanked the pope for waiting communications in reference to the vacancy in Glasgow, and asked him to continue the prerogative, jurisdiction, and exemption of the Chapel-Royal granted by Alexander VI. and Julius himself.² He requested, too, that the primatial and legative authority of St Andrews should be maintained, and was informed by the Cardinal of St Mark's that that authority had been reserved to St Andrews on Beaton's provision to Glasgow. Beaton, James admitted, had received from him a letter addressed to the pope, in which agreement was given to the exemption of Glasgow from the jurisdiction of St Andrews; but he stated that after representations from his confessor he had changed his mind regarding that exemption.³ Julius was able to satisfy the Scottish king, and in due time received his thanks.⁴ The troubles connected with exemptions, however, were not at an end; and James demanded that Whithorn

¹ E. R. S., i. 53.

³ *Ibid.*, 56.

² *Ibid.*, 52, 53.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 64.

and the Chapel-Royal should be freed from the jurisdiction of Glasgow and placed under Rome or St Andrews.¹ Beaton was defeated in the case, and duly appealed to Rome; and at a subsequent stage James declared that through his influence the prelate had obtained, without even writing for it, the exemption of the Chapel-Royal from the ordinary, and yet was not ashamed to dispute that exemption.²

Immediately after his consecration at Stirling Beaton forwarded a petition to Rome. He stated that when he was elect of Whithorn he did not receive the whole of the usual subsidy, and special mention was made of Holyrood in respect of certain churches. Julius in reply appointed commissioners to give judgment.³

The nomination to the archbishopric again involved Beaton in serious expense, and he demanded a subsidy, which the dean and chapter of Glasgow refused, on the ground that a gratuity to his grace would be a breach of their privileges.⁴ They resolved, however, to contribute for the defence of their own rights.⁵ Blackader, during whose tenure the see was raised to archiepiscopal status, met with serious

¹ E. R. S., i. 64. ² H. I., 288, 910. Cf. vol. i. 242, 269.

³ Transcripts (Register House), iii. 208.

⁴ Dioc. R. of Glasg., ii. 368.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 433.

opposition from the chapter, and was constrained to promise that he would leave them free from subsidy, visitation, or prosecution. An instrument was framed, and the king undertook to guard the rights of the chapter.¹ The appeal to privilege, when Beaton demanded a subsidy, was doubtless based on the assurance given by the first archbishop. Beaton, however, did not desist, and on June 12, 1511, the chapter again unanimously resolved that no aid should be given.² A payment by the vicar of Kirkurd indicates that the clergy of the diocese subscribed a subsidy, as was usual on the promotion of a prelate.³

The Archbishop of Glasgow enjoyed the patronage of certain livings within the diocese, but the right could not be exercised without restriction, and on July 13, 1509, Julius granted the disposition of the livings falling vacant in February, April, June, August, October, and December, provided they were not affected by general reservation. The indult was to be valid during Beaton's incumbency, and he was enjoined not to use other general faculties about certain months, which had been granted to other prelates.⁴ Beaton was afterwards in doubt regard-

¹ Vol. i. 142.

² Dioc. R. of Glasg., ii. 533.

³ Coll. Churches of Midloth., 170.

⁴ Transcripts (Register House), iii. 212.

ing the effect of the indult, and obtained from Julius a grant *de novo*.¹

The archbishop, though the chapter retained their gold, found money to erect a high wall round the castle, the episcopal residence, and made the building so strong that the king afterwards made use of it as a military depot. He proceeded also to heighten the tower of the castle which Bishop Cameron had begun, to build or repair bridges over the Clyde, and to augment the altarages in the cathedral choir.² Crawford in his 'Officers of State' gives an account of these works, which illustrates, as other descriptions do, the energy of the prelate and his zeal for the material splendour of his diocese. "While Arch-Bishop Beaton was in this see," Crawford wrote, "he inclosed his Episcopal palace in the city of Glasgow with a noble and magnificent stone wall of aisler-work toward the east, south and west, with a bastion on the one corner and a tower on the other pointing to the Hight Street, whereupon are fixed in different places his coat of arms, viz., quarterly, first and fourth, as the heraulds blazon it, a fess betuixt three lozenges, two in chief, and one in baze. Second and third, a cheveron

¹ Transcripts (Register House), iii. 228.

² Keith's Catalogue, 256. Cf. The Book of Glasgow Cathedral, 330-331.

charged with an ottar's head coupée, surmounted of a samon fish, the arms of the see, and his archiepiscopal cross instead of a mitre and crosier, and the word misericordia for his motto; but this was not all his benefactions to the see while he sat here; for he augmented the altarges in the choir of the cathedral, over which he could affix his arms blazoned in their proper tinctures, where they are still to be viewed by the curious. He laid out also a good deal of money in building and repairing of bridges that were gone to decay at different places of the regality, and about the city of Glasgow, whereupon are his arms engraven, which will remain as perpetual monuments of his charity."

When Glasgow was elevated to an archbishopric the prelate of St Andrews was appointed conservator of the privileges of the chapter; and in 1509 Alexander Stewart delegated his authority as conservator to commissioners.¹ Beaton made formal protest that appeals to St Andrews should not prejudice him, his church, and his province. He was not, however, above suspicion in his dealings with the youthful primate, and on April 3, 1510, Martin Rede affirmed that he had heard that James, Archbishop of Glasgow, was to pay canonical obedience to the

¹ Vol. i. 145.

Archbishop of St Andrews, Primate of Scotland, and he, therefore, as a dignitary of the chapter, protested that obedience improperly rendered, through fear of the king, should not prejudice the church and chapter of Glasgow. The chancellor and chapter on June 21, after declaring that they had heard that the primate was approaching the city of Glasgow, and that the archbishop was to go forth to meet him, protested that any homage or obedience or courtesy paid by the archbishop should not prejudice them or their successors.¹

A series of protocols connected with Beaton's administration of the see has been preserved, and these illustrate his ecclesiastical work and show that his office was not a sinecure. The Lord High Treasurer and Chancellor of Fife was the guardian of the king's finance and the keeper of his palace of Falkland, but he was also the prelate of a great diocese. One of the protocols represents the archbishop sitting with the dean and chapter, and making a declaration of his purpose to render justice to those desirous of prosecuting ecclesiastical "personæ" of his diocese, "ab itinere justiciarii ad ecclesiastice libertatis jurisdictionem replegiatas."² Having made this benevolent intimation he descended to meaner things, and heard the statement of a commissary

¹ Vol. i. 246, 248.

² Dioc. R. of Glasg., ii. 360.

regarding the price of oatmeal.¹ Shortly after his appointment a difficulty arose over a benefice. The king presented it to one man and the archbishop to another; but no conflict arose between Church and State, since the prelate expressed his willingness to reduce his collation, as equity and the form of the law demanded.² An ecclesiastical custom of the times, not unworthy of notice, was exemplified when in conferring a vicarage the archbishop placed his ring on the finger of the presentee.³ The protocols witness also that he confirmed to the abbots of Paisley and Crossraguel privileges enjoyed under his predecessors.⁴

The varied character of the archbishop's jurisdiction is illustrated by his appointment of arbiters to settle a claim of five shillings, his approval of the erection of a wall round a mill, and his purchase of the lands of Cartisbrig with the issue of letters of regress in connection therewith to Lord Maxwell.⁵ An interesting case, in which the parties were of high degree, shows us the consistorial procedure. Letters of the great

¹ Dioc. R. of Glasg., 361.

² *Ibid.*, 387, 388.

³ *Ibid.*, 393. See also 408, 416, 552. Records of presentations to livings directed to him are found in R. P. S., i. 1296, 2029, 2057, &c.

⁴ Dioc. R. of Glasg., ii. 386.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 518, 641. R. M. S., i. 3339; R. P. S., i. 1876. On April 8, 1513, it was stated that he had alienated the lands (Protocol. Bk. of Gavin Ros, 36).

penitentiary of the pope were directed to the archbishop concerning John, Lord Fleming, and Margaret Stewart, who had lived together, though their marriage had been declared null. Absolution had been granted, and penitence enjoined; and in spite of certain impediments of consanguinity and affinity they had been allowed to contract marriage of new. As their true relationship, however, had never been accurately stated, they had sought the declaratory letters from the penitentiary; and in virtue of these the archbishop granted such a dispensation as satisfied their scruples.¹ In another case the archbishop, described as judge, commissary, and executor, pronounced divorce, after letters from the penitentiary, between two parties who were related within the fourth degree of consanguinity and the fourth of affinity, as was proved by witnesses who were sworn and examined.²

The pope's penitentiary, who was the Cardinal of St Marcellus, commissioned Beaton to dispense with the impediments of illegitimacy in the cases of six scholars, in addition to that of John Tynding, who alone was named. For some reason not specified, Beaton obeyed only so far

¹ Dioc. R. of Glasg., 394, 405, 437.

² *Ibid.*, 502. The record of a case of legitimation is given in Douglas Book, iii. 206.

as Tynding was concerned, and protested that his action should not endanger his soul.¹ Unfortunately the record which tells of the peril to the archbishop's soul does not indicate whether obedience in the dispensation for one of illegitimate birth or disobedience in reference to the six was the ground of the spiritual alarm.

An action connected with a criminal case was brought before the prelate in 1509, and for some reason had to be determined in Edinburgh. He accordingly appointed Lord Gray justice of the regality, and directed him to hold a court. Gray, after presenting his commission in presence of Bishop Elphinstone and others, caused the court to be affirmed in the Tolbooth, "ut loco legitimo"; while Beaton, careful for the privileges of his see, protested that in the affirmation there should be no prejudice to Glasgow.² In the ordinary court in Glasgow, as the protocols testify, criminals were brought to judgment. Uthred Knok appeared by procurators before the chapter, and declared himself ready to yield to the orders of the archbishop in respect of the wounding of Sir John Kirchin, in the church of Sempell, in presence of the sacrament and to

¹ Dioc. R. of Glasg., ii. 511, 512.

² Glasg. R., 520. Pitcairn's 'Criminal Trials.'

the pollution of the building. His confession, he protested, should not prejudice him as to the laws of the realm. Knok ultimately sought absolution at Rome, and, till the decision of the papal court was announced, the archbishop, upon receiving caution, granted a temporary absolution.¹

Another record, which gives but few details, narrates that Sir George Kirkhope declared his willingness to answer for the alleged crime of slaying Thomas Pile.² The case of Sir John Crawford, which was also brought before the court, was of a different kind. Crawford made oath that he was afraid of personal injury from two persons whom he named, and judgment was given that these persons should provide security that they would do no injury.³ The proceedings following the crime or fault of the laird of Blair illustrate still further the extent of the archbishop's jurisdiction, and indicate also the consequences of a sentence of excommunication. Unaware that Sir Thomas Brown had not been absolved after excommunication, the laird took him to the church of Dalry; and though the act was no more than an inadvertence, he had to make solemn confession before the archbishop.⁴

¹ Dioc. R. of Glasg., ii. 411, 415, 418.

² Ibid., ii. 579, 627, 628.

³ Ibid., 505.

⁴ Ibid., 478.

A conflict between the spiritual and temporal powers, though in no way serious, is noted in the protocols; and it may be seen that in Glasgow as elsewhere the temporal authority was forced to yield. The magistrates, as the Earl of Lennox, the provost of the city, acknowledged, imposed a fine upon a man for appealing from the civil to the ecclesiastical court; and the Church, careful of its privileges, placed the magistrates under the ban. The provost, however, in their name renounced all statutes made by them against the jurisdiction of Holy Mother Church, and the archbishop, pleased with the apologetic provost, removed the excommunication.¹

The dignity of churchmen, not less than the jurisdiction of the Church itself, had on occasion to be maintained. It is narrated that Walter Buchanan of Buchanan promised before the archbishop to abide by the orders of the Church for having used contumelious words against a judge in the consistorial court.² Against the same judge a complaint was made by a Mr Andrew Birkmyre. Evidence showed that Birkmyre, being ordered as an excommunicated person to leave the court, said to the official, "It sall pas your power to fessyn my feyt; ye are parcial;

¹ Dioc. R. of Glasg., ii. 503, 504, 508.

² *Ibid.*, 515.

ye dow nocht to fessyn a scheip hede." Words still more insulting were used, and the archbishop, deciding in favour of the judge, caused the offender to ask pardon "flexis genubus."¹ Though no details of the allegation have been preserved, it is recorded that the members of the chapter were forced to defend their dignity by proceedings against two of their own number, who had slandered them to the archbishop.² In the year following these proceedings, on July 8, 1512, Beaton confirmed at the high altar of the Church of Glasgow the rights and privileges of the dean and chapter.³ Early in his episcopal career Beaton published certain statutes and confirmations, but unfortunately no copy exists.⁴ It is known, however, that Blackader's edict concerning the residence of beneficed clerics at a university was renewed, and in one case at least was enforced.⁵

A few years after his elevation to Glasgow Beaton obtained the abbey of Kilwinning; but before his settlement incidents occurred which were worthy of the most lawless times. In 1513 the Earl of Glencairn endeavoured to force the abbot to resign in favour of John Forman. Violence was used, and the abbot declared that while he lived he would not do what the earl

¹ Dioc. R. of Glasg., ii. 440.

² Ibid., 514.

³ Ibid., 591; Glasg. R., 524.

⁴ Ibid., 423.

⁵ Ibid., 577, 588.

proposed. He refused to open the gate of the abbey when the Earl of Angus and the king's herald demanded entrance; and with threat of an appeal asserted that he was under the pope's protection. Forman, however, had apostolic letters in his favour, which were read aloud by a notary before the gate; and the herald formally presented to Forman a royal missive, addressed to him as abbot. When the scenes of violence and coercion were over, the abbot annulled all that he had done through fear, and in the end appointed procurators to resign the abbey in favour of the Archbishop of Glasgow.¹ Forman, however, was duly admitted by the king to the temporality, March 13, 1513;² and on February 7 of the following year, a supplication by John, Abbot of Kilwinning, was brought before the Lords of Council by James Beaton, who was chancellor of the kingdom.³ The supplication referred to certain payments which Forman claimed should be made to him as abbot. On the 27th day of the same month the Lords received another supplication from Forman, styling himself John, Abbot of Kilwinning.⁴ According to the minute of the Council, "My Lord Archibishop of Glasgw, chancelar, askit ane instrument that

¹ Dioc. R. of Glasg., ii. 621-625, 630, 631.

² R. P. S., i. 2487, 2725.

³ A. D. C.

⁴ Ibid.

Maister Mathew Stewart (servand to Maister Johne Forman and of his command) gaif in this supplicatioun befor the lordis." The petition dealt with the alleged abduction of Sibyl Galloway, and Forman declared that she had gone to him of her own free will.

In spite of the king's action regarding the temporality, Beaton did not withdraw from the contest for the abbey, and ultimately obtained it. On January 9, 1514, Leo, with advice of the consistory, granted him the rights which William Bunch had in Kilwinning, and confirmed the arrangement for the payment of a pension to Bunch.¹ In the same year a promise in Beaton's name of 230 golden florins was made at Rome.² In pursuing his candidature Beaton was not acting in opposition to his king, since before the transaction at Rome James had fallen at Flodden. At length, on March 10, 1516, he was admitted to the temporality,³ and the settlement of the case was included in the arrangement entered into by Andrew Forman, when after many difficulties he obtained the Archbishopric of St Andrews. By that arrangement the Archbishop of St Andrews relinquished for himself and friends certain benefices, among which was Kilwinning.⁴

¹ Transcripts (Record Office), 62, 108.

³ R. P. S., i. 2725.

² Brady, i. 195.

⁴ Vol. ii. 146.

The success of Beaton implied the defeat of John Forman, who naturally suffered disappointment, after obtaining the royal influence in his favour; and even in the year 1518 he was litigating in regard to transactions connected with the abbey, with which he had dealt as if it had been his own.¹ Before the competition for the great benefice was ended, another financial privilege was obtained by the man who already had great possessions. The treasurer of the Church of Glasgow assigned to the archbishop the disposition of the livings held by himself, on condition that the prelate obtained a papal sanction to deal with them.² The emoluments of his great offices and the profits derived from transactions, such as the traffic in benefices, made Beaton a rich man, and gave him wealth which was used when he was in danger of being crushed by political opponents.

On his elevation to the episcopate Beaton demitted the office of Lord High Treasurer, though for a short period in 1511, when the business had been mismanaged, he resumed the duties.³ The Chamberlainship of Fife, however, was retained, and we find the prelate included among the Lord Commissioners of the Audit.⁴

¹ A. D. C. ² Dioc. R. of Glasg., ii. 632. Appendix II.

³ E. R., xiii. 153, 282, &c.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 225. He was an auditor in July 1508 (*Ibid.*, xii. 616).

In 1508 the custom of salmon was assigned to him, and he continued to be employed in letting the king's lands.¹ As a churchman his privileges were increased when, on March 19, 1513, he obtained from the pope a faculty to annex, incorporate, and otherwise dispose of benefices.² He received, but he also gave. A sum of £100, under "taxa sive contributio cleri," was paid in 1511, and in the following year the archbishop's share of a tax from the diocese amounted to £400. Two years later he granted £6, 13s. 4d. to the Church of the Holy Trinity in Edinburgh.³

In the period before Flodden Beaton was an official rather than a statesman. James IV. was young and active, and trusting to his own wisdom did not seek to have faithful advisers by his side. In foreign affairs he consulted and made use of Andrew Forman, but in Scottish affairs there was no man who was the king's Minister. Beaton, however, so long as he was Treasurer, was in close association with James, and after his elevation to Glasgow did not forsake the world in devotion to a diocese. While there is nothing to show that he was an adviser or counsellor, there are notices of transactions in which he was engaged. In a letter to Henry VIII., dated June 26, 1509, Thomas Spinelly

¹ E. R., xiii. 232.

² Regesta Leo. X., i. 80.

³ T. A., iv. 173, 391. Colleg. Churches of Midloth., 170.

wrote, "Le Roy d'Escosse fait faire artilleryes de champ, et pour navires, es pays de pardeca, et avec se acheter harnois servans a la guerre, dont le tout se conduit par les gens l'Arcevesque de Glasgwo."¹ In that year the peace with England was renewed, and Beaton was one of the witnesses to the document.² He was more prominent, however, in the business of the peace, when in the spring of 1513 he negotiated with Henry's ambassador;³ and though Flodden was fought in that year, the rashness of the Scottish king and his desire to enter the pale of European politics accounted for the war, and a more skilful diplomatist than Beaton could not have prevented it.

The disaster of Flodden left Scotland mourning the loss of many of her bravest sons; and few illustrious men remained to guide her destinies. Churchmen were among the dead, and of these was the young Archbishop of St Andrews. Bishop Elphinstone, the best of Scotland's priests, who had not marched with his king to battle, was too infirm to bear arms and too old to share the government. Andrew Forman, the Bishop of Moray, who with his years of diplomatic service was fitted to be a statesman, was occupied for two years in the struggle

¹ St P., vi. 5. H., i. 216.

² H., i. 714. Rymer, xiii. 268.

³ Illustr. of Scot. Hist. (Maitland Club), 82, 85.

for St Andrews, and was excluded from the councils of the realm. Opportunity seemed, indeed, to prepare the way of James Beaton to high office and great power; and when, as the chief ecclesiastic in the land, he crowned James V. at Stirling, the ceremony marked his own entrance into political life.

Flodden was fought on September 9, 1513, and on the 19th of the same month the Lords of the Council assembled at Stirling. Of those who attended the meeting, the first named in the list was James, Archbishop of Glasgow, and among those associated with him were the Bishops of Aberdeen, Candida Casa, and Dunblane, and the Lords Angus, Huntly, Morton, Argyll, Lennox, Eglinton, Glencairn and Athol. The record states that "The Lordis forsaied thinks expedient and it pleis the quenis grace that the king our souerane lord be crounit on Wednesday nixtocum the xxj day of this instant moneth of September in the kirk of the Castell of Striveling, and that my lord of Glesgw be executor officii and provyde therfor and that all uther necessar provisioun be maid for the said coronatioun againe the said day." In the same record there is the note, "Thir ar the Lordis ordanit be the generall counsell to sit upoun the daily counsell for all materis occurrand in the realme or ane sufficient part of thame and euer thre spirituall

and thre temporall of thir as it lykis the queyn to coumand"; and the Archbishop of Glasgow is named.¹

The coronation of James V., whose age, according to Lesley, was one year, five months and ten days, took place at Stirling, and the ceremony was performed by Beaton, one of the godfathers of the child.² Of the ceremony we have no description, but in the mourning after Flodden it could not have been carried out with pomp. Frequent meetings of the Lords of the Council were held after the coronation, at which the archbishop was faithful in attendance; and a special Council was appointed to act with the queen and advise her in all matters concerning the realm. The selection of lords, spiritual and temporal, among whom Beaton was included, was made at Perth on October 22, and it was ordained that three or four of them should attend daily on the queen.³ In one of the records of this period, the minute of the Council of September 29, Beaton for the first time was designated chancellor.⁴ The office of chancellor had been held by Archbishop Alexander Stewart, and unfortunately we do not know in what way the duties were performed. The appointment of a prelate to a

¹ A. D. C. ² Lesley, *De Origine*, 367. *Dioc. R. of Glasg.*, ii. 431.

³ A. D. C.

⁴ On October 2 he witnessed a document and signed as Archbishop and Chancellor (*R. M. S.*, ii. 2. See also *R. P. S.*, ii. 2565).

civil post created no scandal ; but he was a boy when he was elevated to the high dignity, and was incapable of transacting business. There must have been work, however, for a chancellor to do, and Beaton by his long experience was fitted to undertake it. It was afterwards said, when Margaret was his enemy, that she had opposed his elevation to the chancellorship ; and it is possible that she did not trust him, even while her husband lived.¹ She was an Englishwoman, and may have hated those who approved the policy which led to Flodden. In the stricken time after the war, however, an able administrator was demanded for the Great Seal, and she must have known that her husband had advanced the archbishop and found him worthy of confidence. Her opposition, if it did exist, did not exclude Beaton from the chancellorship ; and in any case she could not have found a friend of the country of her birth who was fitted for the office. She herself, as Henry knew, might be of service to England, and he did not neglect her.

In spite of the disaster to the army, Scotland might give trouble to Henry through an alliance with France, and it was his policy to separate his enemies. Margaret, by her husband's will, was regent, and was the natural guardian of the infant king. Her rule, if it could be established,

¹ H., ii. 779.

would suit Henry's plans, as she would not approve a league with France; but she was the sister of Henry, and there were men in Scotland who would not have the Englishwoman to govern, and who feared that she would betray their interests. Unfortunately for these men there was no one among the Scottish nobles with military strength or political craft to control a turbulent people. Arran had royal blood in his veins and was not far off from the crown. He was not, however, a wise and experienced statesman, to be trusted with the government, and had not the power to force himself on the realm. In their perplexity the Scots turned their eyes to France, and determined to invite John, Duke of Albany, to join them as the protector of their king and country. Albany, the son of the prince whom James III. had banished, was a Frenchman by speech and training, but was also a Scot by name and race. Negotiations were begun, and on November 26 an Assembly met at Perth and gave audience to ambassadors from the King of France. Without dissent the Assembly agreed that the ancient alliance should be maintained, and they accepted the offer of Louis XII. to send Albany with men and arms to defend the country against an English invasion. Thus within a few weeks after Flodden Scotland turned to France, and showed that Henry was not to be

the lord of the realm. There was as yet no advocate for England, but the country did not long continue one and undivided.

Lindesay of Pitscottie narrates that the Earl of Home proposed that the invitation be sent to Albany, and that Beaton, commissioned by the Lords, replied to him, saying, "My lord, the Duke of Albanie is ane Frinche man borne, thocht he be neirest of bloode to have the gowernment of this realme zeit he hes not our leid nor knawis not the nature of our contrie nor our lawis nor executioun sa weill as our awin lordis that is borne and gottin in Scotland and hes our langage; thairffor, my lordis, I think it best for me to cheise ane of our awin lordis quho wnderstandis ws and we him and kens the quallietieis of Scotland." According to Lindesay's story Beaton proceeded to name Arran and Lennox, thinking that one of them would be chosen for the regency, but Home was successful in urging the claim of Albany.¹

The record of the Perth Assembly shows very clearly that there was cordial unanimity in the invitation to Louis to send Albany to the Scottish regency; and Lindesay may have been misled by the fact that the archbishop was closely associated with Margaret in the days which followed Flodden. Lesley specifically states that the

¹ Chronicles of Scotland (Scot. Text Soc.), xxi. 2.

government of the realm was committed to her, with Beaton and the Lords Huntly, Angus and Arran as her Council. That Council, as has been seen, was a much larger body, but Lesley's narrative indicates the close connection of the prelate with the queen. Albany was willing to accept the invitation of the Scots; but his arrival was to be long delayed, and for a time Margaret, though destitute of political genius, was enabled by her royal rank to occupy a high place and exercise a strong influence in the government of the country. She was the widow of one king and the mother of another, and in spite of her English birth might have continued to enjoy authority in the Council. Her own action, however, destroyed her power. In August 1514, within a year after her first husband's death, she married the Earl of Angus. In her infatuation she gave herself to a man of twenty years of age, who, if not too young to be the husband of the queen, was certainly too inexperienced to be the ruler with her of Scotland. Moreover he was a Scottish earl, and jealous nobles beheld the elevation of a rival, and did not forget the pretensions of the house of Douglas. Myln tells us that Home and Beaton, a noble and a prelate, were the chief opponents of Margaret after her marriage;¹ and Lesley asserts that she committed

¹ Vitæ, 49.

the government of the realm to Angus. She certainly had the will though not the power to crown her husband with authority, and she did not hesitate in the attempt to overthrow the chancellor. Beaton held the Great Seal, and she desired it for Angus. "The Archbischope of Glasgw," Lesley says, "Chancellor of the Realme resisted, quhairfor she findeing him in S. Johnstoun depriuet (him) of the Gret Seale. The Bischope sa iniueret, in a furie cumis til Ed^r, occupis the toune and all the boundes about, gathiris his freindes, intendes to hald out the quene and her husband. Of thir spunkis through Scotland kindlet sik a low that Angus and the Quene tuke thame to their fate, and fled to the Bordouris of England."¹ In the 'Diurnal of Occurrents' it is recorded that "thair wes tane James Betoun bischope of Glasgow, chancellare of this realme, be sum secularis, quha wes denuncit cursit for that caus; thair wes no seruice done in the quenis grace presence, nor zit in the dyoceis quhair the personis duelt."

There was undoubtedly a quarrel between Margaret and the chancellor, and very probably her marriage was the cause. Lesley was not mistaken when he declared that Beaton was deprived of the Great Seal, and the Acts of the Lords of Council show that on August 26,

¹ Father Dalrymple's translation (Scottish Text Soc.), ii. 151.

1514, Margaret proposed that the Seal should be entrusted for a time to Gavin Dunbar, Archdeacon of St Andrews, and the keys of the Seal to Gavin, Postulate of Arbroath. The suggestion was not accepted, and Arran craved an instrument that the Lords consented to the restoration of the Seal to Beaton. At the same time the invitation was renewed to Albany.

The Duke did not decline the regency, even when it was first offered, and yet there was no word to the Scots of his arrival. They knew, however, that he was not responsible for the delay; and once more, at Dunfermline on September 18, the Lords repeated their invitation and asked him to secure the aid of France for their country. The record shows that Beaton, Elphinstone, Huntly, Arran, and Home were responsible for the renewed invitation. Gavin Douglas appeared at Dunfermline, and as the representative of Margaret declined to submit to the archbishop as a judge in any action in which she was concerned. It is evident that she was strongly incensed against Beaton, and it may be safely conjectured that he was thwarting her schemes for the advancement of Angus. The Lords were certainly not with her, and they decreed that by her marriage she had forfeited the tutory of the young king. Margaret, in turn, refused to part with the Great Seal,

which was in the keeping of her friends. The Lords, who were not less stubborn, gave orders, on September 21, that Gavin Douglas should hand the keys and Gavin Dunbar the Seal itself to Beaton. The record of the Council shows that the Seal had been taken from the chancellor in some irregular way, and that it was required in the public business. It was one thing to issue commands and another thing to coerce an irate and determined woman. Douglas and Dunbar, who were simply her servants, refused to obey the Lords, and on October 24 the Council resolved that if necessary a new seal should be made. There is no indication that a new seal was procured, though so late as November 14 Gavin Douglas, when writing in the queen's name, signed as chancellor.¹ A few days later, however, Margaret informed Henry that her adversaries had the Great Seal, and were using it "as they were kings."²

An attempt has been made to assign the seizure of the Seal to the period between the 2nd and the 26th of August. It may be noted in this connection that on July 6 Beaton signed as Chancellor and Archbishop, and on July 18 simply as Archbishop.³ The style of signature, however, may have had no significance in relation

¹ A. D. C.

² H., i. 5614.

³ Scot. Hist. Rev., v. 450. R. M. S., ii. 18, 22.

to the chancellorship; and his designation on January 5, 1515, as chancellor of the king may not have implied the restoration of the Seal, and may have been nothing more than a technical description which had not been disused.¹ The seriousness of the opposition, however, is shown by the fact that, so late as August 1, Lord Dacre intimated to the Lords of Henry's Council that, against Margaret's express wishes, the Bishop of Glasgow had been appointed chancellor.²

Before the difficulties arose in connection with the chancellorship, Pope Leo issued a commission to the Archbishop of Glasgow, with the Bishops of Aberdeen and Whithorn, to induct George Dundas into Torphichen.³ While the difficulties still existed, Beaton himself became a candidate for a benefice. Though occupying a high position in the Church he was not the first cleric in the land, and St Andrews tempted his ambition. The candidates in the first instance were Elphinstone and Forman, and after Elphinstone's death Hepburn and Douglas entered the contest. The situation was complicated by the endeavour of the pope to promote his own nephew, the Cardinal Cibo. The Lords of the Council favoured Elphinstone, and Beaton joined with them; but when the death of the prelate freed him from

¹ Glasg. R., 525.

² H., ii. 779.

³ Regesta Leo. X., i. 553.

obligation, he was no longer constrained to stand aloof. As the enemy of Margaret and the supporter of Albany he could expect no help from England, and Henry opposed him at the Roman court.¹ He was, too, unable to obtain assistance from Albany, as he was simply one of the lords who had invited him to accept the regency. His candidature, though seriously pursued, was unsuccessful, and Forman gained St Andrews. He played no mean and petty part, however, while the competition for the great prize continued, and he did not harass his successful rival, after the manner of Gavin Douglas and John Hepburn. It is true that, when a declaration was made in the Council that Forman had purchased most of the benefices made vacant by the disaster of Flodden, the chancellor demanded an instrument that he had requested Arran, Home and other lords to write to Albany in support of the royal privilege which had been infringed; but it is also true that at a meeting held in Hepburn's chamber in St Andrews, the king's advocate craved an instrument that the Lords, with the exception of Beaton, adhered to the appeal against Forman's Bulls for St Andrews, Dunfermline and Arbroath.² Immediately after the meeting letters in opposition to Forman were

¹ H., ii. 44.² A. D. C.

sent in the king's name to Leo, and these would be signed by the chancellor.¹ Yet it was the chancellor and not the defeated candidate who was writing against the man who was to be primate, and in any case there was no interest of his own to induce him to assist Douglas or Hepburn. Very probably he acted out of courtesy when he refused to sign the appeal; but he was certainly astute enough to see that Forman, who was ultimately the papal nominee, would succeed, and clever enough to obtain favours for his archbishopric to which the primate agreed. Glasgow, Whithorn, and Lismore, along with twelve of Beaton's household beyond those resident in the diocese, were exempted from the jurisdiction of St Andrews, and the agreement was to continue even though Forman should be made a cardinal.²

A year or two after his settlement Forman repented of some of the arrangements which had been made to smooth the pathway to the primacy. The exemptions granted to Glasgow were special causes of annoyance, and in an attempt to annul them he sought the aid of Henry VIII. James V., however, or someone writing in his name, favoured Beaton, and Henry was asked to do nothing against the interests of the man who was the preceptor of the Scot-

¹ E. R. S., i. 17, 18.

² Dioc. R. of Glasg., ii. 531.

tish king and was daily with him.¹ Forman failed in his attempt to enrich St Andrews, and the privileges of Glasgow were continued.

In the contest for the primacy Douglas showed bitter enmity to Forman, and opposed Beaton in the strife over the chancellorship. He was not left destitute, however, and according to Myln's narrative, he obtained the see of Dunkeld through the influence of the Archbishop of Glasgow.² Myln was mistaken, and another story is told in the records of the Privy Council. Papal sanction was given to Douglas to choose a Catholic "antistes" for his consecration, but before the ceremony could be arranged he was summoned before the Lords on the charge of purchasing Dunkeld and obtaining the help of the English king in the transaction. The case was tried on July 6, 1515, and one of the Lords was the reverend father in God, James, Archbishop of Glasgow and Chancellor. Douglas tendered a plea, three days later, that he was "ane spirituale man," and was not subject to the jurisdiction of the Council. The objection was not sustained, on the ground that the alleged offence was a breach of the Acts of the Parliament, and Douglas was ultimately declared to be guilty. The punishment, which should have been banishment, was reduced to imprison-

¹ H., iii. 269.

² Vitæ, 70.

ment.¹ When events at last allowed him to seek consecration he found himself in a grave difficulty, as he had been at enmity with the Archbishop of St Andrews and also with the Archbishop of Glasgow. To which "antistes" could he go? History presents a curious illustration of the value of contemporary evidence. Myln in his 'Vitæ' asserts that Douglas was consecrated by Beaton, who gave him "jocalica munera"; and, on the other hand, the narrative of Lauder, one of Forman's secretaries, represents that it was the Archbishop of St Andrews who presided at the consecration.² If the degree of seriousness in the quarrels in any way affected Douglas in his selection of an "antistes," it was certainly not Forman who elevated him to the episcopal order.

The incident of the Great Seal showed Margaret's purpose to make herself ruler of the country, and revealed her expectation that Albany would be detained in France and would never be the regent of Scotland. Even with the Douglasses to help her, however, she did not succeed in establishing her power. The Earl of Home was her most formidable antagonist, and on one occasion she was forced to flee from Edinburgh and seek a refuge in Stirling Castle, where she awaited aid from England.

¹ A. D. C.

² Vol. ii. 166.

Henry did nothing for her, and her enemies removed her to Edinburgh. She was really a prisoner, but managed to escape from the city, and with her husband found a refuge once more in Stirling Castle, which was attacked by John Hepburn, the Prior of St Andrews.

While the civil warfare was being accomplished, Albany's journey was again and again postponed. He himself was not responsible for the delay, which was due to the King of France, who was serving his own ends with England. At last, in May 1515, the Duke reached Scotland, and on the 22nd intimated to Francis his approbation of a treaty arranged in the previous August between France and England, in which Scotland, under conditions, was included.¹ The treaty was accepted by the king in a communication to Francis, which Beaton and others signed as witnesses.² By its terms Henry was to make no attack on Scotland, and was, therefore, prevented from assisting Margaret in her attempt to crush the men who were eagerly awaiting the arrival of Albany.

The Duke, after landing at Dumbarton, passed to Glasgow, and at the very outset of his rule associated with the archbishop, who was to be his most faithful adherent. Margaret, whose

¹ H., ii. 494.

² Rymer, xiii. 508, 509. H., ii. 464.

schemes for authority were overthrown, was compelled to leave her son and seek an asylum in England. The Earl of Home, too, found his way to England, after listening to Dacre, the English warden. He had been eager for the coming of Albany, and more than probably had hoped for the first place in his councils. In his disappointment he fortified Fast Castle against the Regent and fled at the approach of an attacking force. Returning to Scotland and yielding himself, he was warded in Edinburgh under the custody of Arran, who, instead of guarding his prisoner, disappeared with him. Eventually Home was executed; and the man who had escaped from Flodden Field died as a plotter and intriguer, the first to suffer for a guilty traffic with England. Letters, dated November 11, 1516, were directed in the king's name and with the consent of Albany to the Archbishop of Glasgow, granting a remission to the Turnbills for their assistance to the late Lord Home.¹

The disaffection of Arran involved Beaton in personal trouble. Mure of Caldwell, who was banded with the earl, seized the castle of Glasgow, which, though it was the episcopal residence, was being used as a military depot by the Regent. The Duke after a march to

¹ Hist. MSS. Rep., xiv. 3, 28.

the west took the castle from the hands of his enemies; and Beaton, who was the real sufferer, at a later time brought an action against Mure for damage done to the buildings and furnishings.¹ According to Lesley's narrative, Arran, within a month after his flight with Home, proceeded to Edinburgh with "the Bischoep of Glasgw," and promised faithful obedience to the Regent; but he soon showed himself to be a traitor, and making trouble in the west, occupied the castle of Glasgow. "The Gowernour," Lesley says, "in haist cumis to Glasgw with a power to ding doun his audacitie." Fortunately for the public order, however, the archbishop prevailed with counsels of peace, and a reconciliation was effected. In hope of pleasing certain discontented nobles, Albany at that time made a distribution of benefices; and, according to Lesley, gave Beaton "the abbacie of Arbroth with the condicione that he pay thairout a zerlie pension to the Erle of Moray. To ane of the hous of Hammyltoun he gaue the abbacie of Kilwinnin."²

The two years of Albany's residence in Scotland were rudely disturbed with civil strife,

¹ Caldwell Papers, i. 54. Hamilton of Wishaw's Account of the Shyres of Renfrew and Lanark, 194.

² De Origine (Dalrymple's Translation, ii. 161-163).

which was fomented by Dacre, who boasted that he had 400 Scots in his pay. Henry was determined to drive Albany out of the country, and in his arrogance demanded that the Scottish Estates should send him back to France. He was not, however, the dictator, as he learned when the chancellor with the prelates and nobles resolutely refused to depose the governor. Throughout these years Beaton was in close touch with Albany, and a room in the palace of Holyrood was reserved for his use.¹ Associated though he was with the Regent and eager to continue the alliance with France, he saw the need of a friendly arrangement with England. By the treaty of 1514 an English army was not to enter Scotland, but the two countries had not concluded the terms of a permanent peace. Negotiations were accordingly begun, and it was arranged that on the last day of August 1516 Beaton and Dacre should meet in conference.² The chancellor made constant protestation of his desire for a settlement; and there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the man who, while guarding the independence of the country, saw clearly that her prosperity demanded peace. He assured Wolsey that he would favour peace "for the sake of his master, now of tender age,"

¹ T. A., v. 114.

² H., ii. 846.

and asserted that Albany had taken every step for its promotion.¹ The Clarencieux herald reported favourably of Beaton; and the archbishop, protesting his willingness to do everything in his power, asked Wolsey to continue his efforts, and prayed God to reward him.² In spite of negotiations, and though there was a renewal of the truce again and again, a permanent peace was not arranged;³ and in June 1517 there were fresh troubles on the Border.⁴ The real difficulty lay in the presence of Albany, who, while he in no way fostered the jealousies and suspicions of the two countries, was a cause of offence to Henry. Albany, however, was to leave Scotland for a time, and his departure in June 1517 was followed by renewed contentions of the factions. Margaret at once proceeded to Scotland from her exile in England; and, when her intrigues were begun, informed Henry that she found Beaton very helpful to her.⁵ It no doubt suited the chancellor to please her, as she might assist him in his endeavour for a permanent peace.

In the years after Flodden, Beaton was engaged in business apart from his duties as archbishop and chancellor. As one of the judges of the Council he spent twenty days

¹ H., ii. 2285.

² *Ibid.*, 2314, 2743, 3010, 3133.

³ Rymer, xiii. 508, 509.

⁴ H., ii. 3393.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 3565.

in Dundee at the "Air," and twenty-four days at Perth.¹ The Chamberlainship of Fife was retained after the resignation of the Treasurer-ship, and the evidence shows that the work was faithfully performed. In 1514 he received a supply of grain, by order of the late king, "pro gratuito et servitio," and a sum of £20 for collecting the rents in the disturbed times.² For the same reason the auditors in 1516 awarded him £10.³ The times were troubled, though the Fife Accounts tell that Margaret, while the days of her mourning still continued, had Italian actors to play in her presence.

"The Account of Fife," says the editor of the published volume, "rendered by Beaton for two years on August 7, 1516, contains some curious entries relative to the Queen, and discloses a fact hitherto unknown in history. Beaton receives payment of £140 'for the expenses of two hundred persons in Falkland who remained along with the chancellor,' Beaton himself, 'to resist the Queen in her violent and unjust actions.' He also fortified the palace, and the price is allowed him of 'two canons called *pas volantis*, and of two others of smaller size, eight hackbuts, five barrels of the powder called gun powder, three culverins, five pounds of culverin powder, four

¹ T. A., v. 83, 113.

² E. R., xiv. 7, 14.

³ *Ibid.*, 161.

crossbows and eight dozen bolts and six strings for these, six Leith axes, eight halberts, sixteen halbrekis, and the same number of steel bonnets.' In another entry the garrison of 200 men is said to have been kept in Falkland for three weeks to prevent the queen from besieging the castle, and the expenses of a reduced force of sixteen men is allowed for forty-six weeks. The sixteen were probably those for whom the armour was provided. The period during which they formed the garrison was from August 9, 1514, to June 28, 1515, and the larger force of 200, the entry with regard to which is undated, probably occupied the castle at the time when Beaton was deprived of the Great Seal by force, and was apprehensive of an attack on Falkland by the Queen or Angus."¹

In 1516, Albany resided on occasions at Falkland, and Beaton as keeper of the palace was responsible for the expenses. The archbishop also served as a commissary for letting lands and as auditor of the Accounts of the Comptroller, the Treasurer, and of the customers and the baillies of burghs.² He in turn received such favours as the lordship of Kells.³

Before his departure, Albany named vice-

¹ E. R., xiv. lxi.

² Ibid., xiii. 244; xiv. 244, 260, &c. T. A., v. 100.

³ R. M. S., ii. 162. See also 106, 122. R. P. S., i. 2685, 2768. Favours were granted to the Beatons, Ibid., 2932, Arbr. R. N., 432.

regents, and any three of them, of whom the chancellor must be one, were to transact business in his name. Among these vice-regents was the Sieur de la Bastie, who was Warden of the Marches, and filled the place which had been occupied by Lord Home. Some of the friends of Home, in revenge for his execution, murdered the Frenchman, and an innocent man was made to suffer for the justice or injustice done to the noble who had been a rebel. Though Scotland was on friendly terms with France, it was necessary to appease the French king; and an official communication, written in the name of Andrew Forman, the Archbishop of St Andrews, and signed by James Beaton, the chancellor, was addressed to him. No occurrence since the death of their late king, they said, had grieved them more. A parliament had declared the murderers to be traitors, had forfeited their lands and goods, and had commissioned the Earl of Arran to apprehend them. Arran had pursued them to England, but only one had been taken, and he had been hung, drawn, and quartered. In his anxiety to conciliate Francis, Beaton dispatched a letter written in his own name.¹

Albany did not return within the stipulated six months, and Scotland was left to the rivalries

¹ Vol. ii. 174. Teulet, *Relations Politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Écosse*, i. 11-14.

of Angus and Arran. For his own purposes Henry supported Angus, and Arran, though not at first inclined, was driven to the side of France. Margaret naturally sided with her husband, and then turned from him on account of his alleged misconduct. In her trouble she demanded aid from her brother, and expected that he would help her to a separation. Henry, however, who saw in Angus the man to advance the English cause, counselled her to settle her domestic quarrel, and spoke of her own "conspicuous living." In the opposition of parties Forman was associated with Angus, and Beaton with Arran; and so sharp was their division that each of the factions had recognised headquarters, the one in Edinburgh and the other in Glasgow. In the words of Lesley, "nother of thay twa parties would concur with uther for the common weill of the realme." The reconciliation of Margaret and Angus, which Henry desired and advised, was not an event which Arran and his friends contemplated with satisfaction. Beaton, though a priest, opposed it; and when the queen indicated that she would follow Henry's advice, the chancellor and his associates intimated that they would be compelled to leave her. A final conference was without effect, and Margaret resolved to join her husband.¹

¹ H., iii. 482.

The relation of the archbishops was far from being friendly. It is true that Forman succeeded in obtaining the primacy for which Beaton was a candidate; but in the affairs of the State they were separated, as was shown in Beaton's characterisation of his opponent as a mischievous person.¹ While a division of factions was only too well known in Scotland, it was awkward as well as dangerous when the vice-regents belonged to parties openly at strife. The difficulties of the political situation were illustrated when ambassadors, though their business related to the peace of France, England and Scotland, were unable to meet the lords as a Council. Unfortunately these men reached Edinburgh when there was a dispute in the city. Arran was provost, and was supported by the chancellor; but the townspeople elected a Douglas, and there was a feud with "divers hurt of both sides." "The chancellor," Dacre informed Wolsey, "takes part with the lieutenant [Arran] because he has put away his wife, and married the chancellor's brother's daughter. In consequence of those feuds, the ambassadors can get no audience of the whole of the Lords. Some would be at Edinburgh, some at Stirling, some at St Johnston's. The Treasurer and others try to make them agree to a place of

¹ H., iii. 111.

meeting.”¹ It was necessary that the ambassadors should be received, and it was the chancellor’s duty to make the arrangements. The Council accordingly were called to meet at Stirling on December 15, 1519, and Angus and his associates intimated that they would not attend.² Though there is no record of the transactions with the French ambassadors, the Council assembled and on the 18th unanimously agreed, on Beaton’s suggestion, to the proposals from England regarding a prorogation of the truce.³

In the following year the pope intervened, exercising authority as of an overlord. Leo was too astute to enter into the political disputes of any country merely for the sake of enforcing his own power; and it may be taken that he acted at the request of Albany, since he issued a Bull to strengthen and establish the Regent, and entrusted the publication of it to the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow and certain other ecclesiastics.⁴ The pope, however, was unable to quench the rivalry of the Scottish factions, and they were still sharply divided in the later part of 1520, the year of the papal Bull, when Albany’s messenger, “Mons.

¹ H., iii. 1091. The bans of marriage were published in November 1516. She died about 1525 (Hist. MSS. R., xi. 6, 52).

² Vol. ii. 190, 191.

³ A. D. C.

⁴ Vol. ii. 191.

Doubeney," appeared in Scotland. In the course of his business he was forced to seek Angus and his associates in Edinburgh, and to pass to "the other party," whose headquarters were described as being in a place twenty miles thence.¹

To this period has been assigned the incident which is known from Pitscottie's narrative as "Cleanse the Causeway." According to Buchanan a parliament was summoned for April 29, 1520, and a meeting of noblemen of the West was held in Beaton's house in Edinburgh to arrange for the seizure of Angus, who was so powerful that freedom of debate was impossible. Angus sent his uncle to the opposing Lords with the offer of satisfaction, if they had a just cause of complaint against him. Douglas, however, failed in his mission, and Angus with eighty of his men attacked his enemies, slaying some and putting others to flight. Not a few took refuge in the Dominican convent. The skirmish, according to Buchanan, happened on April 30.² Lesley, giving the same date, tells how Angus and his followers slew the Master of Montgomery and Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil, and "constranit the Erle of Arrane to leif the town, and pas throw the northe loch, and the chancellor

¹ Vol. ii. 191.

² Hist., xiv. 12.

Archebisshop of Glasgw with him.”¹ In the ‘De Origine’ he shows that some of the supporters of Angus went to Linlithgow and then to Stirling to “comperhend the chancellor of the Realme and all favoureris of Arran, and leid thame captiues to Edinburgh”; but each of the pursued “till a sindrie castill tuke his refuge.”

Lindesay of Pitscottie, who wrongly places the incident in 1515, gives details which are not above suspicion. He narrates that the Earl of Arran and Bishop James Beaton, learning that Angus was in Edinburgh with but few of his followers, thought to take him and put him in prison. Angus, however, prepared for a battle, and Gavin Douglas tried to intervene. “He passit to bischope James Bettone quhair he was in the Blak freiris kirk for the tyme. The said Mr Gawin desyrit the said bischope James Bettone to tak sum panis to labor betuix thir two pairties quhilk was at ane scherp poynt and sum sayis, ‘me lord, ze haue the wit.’ But bischope James Bettone ansuerit him againe with ane aith, schapin on his breist, sayand, ‘me lord, be my conscience I knaw not the matter,’ but quhen Mr Gawin had hard the bischopis purgatioun and how he chappit on his breist and persaiffit the plaittis of his jake

¹ Hist. (Bannatyne Club), 115.

clattering, thocht all was bot vaine that he had spoken, and ansuerit and said into him, 'I persauae, me lord, zour conscience be not good for I heir thame clatter.' Of this the bischope was eschameit and excussit the matter sa far as he could saiffie with his honestie." Gavin Douglas was unable to prevent the fight, which came to be known as "clenze calsay." Lindesay tells, too, how "Bischope James Bettone fled to the Freiris and thair was taine out behind the hie allter and his rokit revin off him, and (he) had bene slaine had (it) nocht bene (that) Mr Gawin Douglas requisitit effectuslie ffor him saying it was sin to put hand in ane consecrat bischope quhair for they saiffit him at that tyme."¹

The record of a parliament held in 1525, gives what must be taken as the actual events of April 30, 1520. It appears that in 1522 "Jhone Somervale of Cambusnethame" was found to be guilty of the cruel and treasonable invasion of the persons of one most reverend father in God, James, Archbishop of Glasgow and Chancellor, and of James, Earl of Arran, two of the regents of the realm, when, on the last day of April, 1520, they were passing from their house in Edinburgh to the Tolbooth. The accused with his accomplices arrayed battle with weapons on the public street, and expelled the regents,

¹ Chronicles of Scotland (Scot. Text Soc.), **xxi.** 1, 2.

“and ye laif of ye lordis furth of the said toun yai beand deput for administratioun of justice.” Sentence of death, with forfeiture of goods, was passed on Somerville in 1522, and in 1525 was revoked. The “clenze calsay” incident of Pitscottie’s narrative could not have taken place in 1515, as in that year Arran and Beaton were not united against Angus; and if it be simply a variety of the story told by Buchanan and Lesley, it must be placed on April 30, 1520. Yet the events of that day, according to the parliamentary record, were very different from those narrated by the historians. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the official statement, and to the famous story of “Cleanse the Causeway” may be given the respect due to a tale that has been told and has served to adorn the page of a chronicler.

Albany, when he left Scotland in 1517, promised, as has been noted, to return within six months; but even the years passed, and his departure from France was again and again delayed. In 1520, while Henry and Francis were meeting on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, the Duke was at Rome, offering the obedience of Scotland and receiving papal recognition as sovereign.¹ Beaton was eager for his return, and Forman,

¹ Vol. ii. 183.

too, perhaps wearied of the contendings of the factions, and hoping for the peace of a strong rule, seems to have desired him to resume the regency. In August, if we may trust the report, servants of the two archbishops, though their masters were of opposing parties, journeyed to the court of Francis with the request that he would no longer hinder Albany's movements.¹ The French king, however, who could not afford to exasperate England by an active interference in Scottish affairs, was compelled to put the Duke under a nominal arrest; and it appears that Leo saw fit to recall him to the Holy See at the beginning of winter.² So far as England and Scotland were concerned, there was the recurring question of the truce, which, sure to arise while a lasting treaty was not arranged, at that time demanded a settlement. D'Aubigny was sent from France as "lieutenant" to assist in the pacification, and to inform the Scots that Albany would be retained. Wolsey's suspicions were naturally aroused, though D'Aubigny's mission was represented to him as the direct result of his own negotiations at the Field.³ The business of the peace was pressing; and as Beaton was chancellor, it was his concern to act for his country. He accordingly proposed that

¹ H., iii. 964.

² Ibid., 1044, 1047.

³ Ibid., 1126.

ambassadors should proceed to England, and Henry agreed to receive them.¹

Margaret had been clamouring for money and complaining of her treatment; and during the year 1519, Albany sought to win her favour, working along with Beaton and Arran. The Archbishop of Glasgow, as has been noted, strongly advised her not to be reconciled with Angus; but she did not listen to him, and in the autumn of the same year Arran's faction received a temporary check. The queen, however, was not satisfied with her allowance, and during 1520 she bethought her of Albany's help. It was part of D'Aubigny's duty, dangerous for the prospects of English diplomacy, to effect a settlement regarding the dowry and to tranquillise the kingdom.²

According to Gavin Douglas a parliament met on January 21, 1521, at which it was decided that Albany should be deprived of his position if he did not return before the beginning of August.³ Whatever were the motives which dictated this resolution, the queen was known to be in correspondence with the Duke, and by the time that Forman's death left the archbishopric of St Andrews vacant, she had already abandoned Angus.⁴ For some reason the Scot-

¹ H., iii. 1086.

² Ibid., 1126-7.

³ Ibid., 1898.

⁴ Ibid., 1190.

tish lords who were named by Beaton declined the mission to England, and the chancellor had to content himself with an appeal to Dacre that he would assist in securing a continuance of the truce.¹ The Englishman was fully aware of Margaret's attachment to the archbishop, as she had declared in one of her letters that while he had many enemies she was most bound to him of any in the country;² but Dacre, who may have hoped to win Beaton to the cause of Henry, and certainly did not desire the influence of the Regent to be strengthened, directed his efforts to prevent a coalition of the queen and Albany. The vacancy, too, in the primatial see offered the prospect of aggravated discord. John Hepburn, who, as Dacre said, "should have been bishop before, and the Duke put him down," promptly resorted to his old policy and possessed himself of the castle of St Andrews; while Arran and Lennox, both members of Albany's faction, were reported to be disputing about the abbey of Dunfermline.³

It was Henry's object to exclude the Duke from any peace which might be arranged; while Beaton, on the other hand, though eager for an agreement between the two countries, fostered the coalition which English diplomacy feared. While negotiations were proceeding, Albany

¹ H., iii. 1196.

² *Ibid.*, 1024.

³ *Ibid.*, 1199.

himself was not inactive. Gonzolles, one of his followers, was sent to attend upon Margaret, and an envoy from Scotland was dispatched to intercede with Francis.¹ In June of 1521, Henry professed to have little anxiety regarding the acceptance of his own proposals, which did not include the continuance of Albany in the regency; but Wolsey was soon afterwards informed from Rome that the Duke would go to Scotland with the *White Rose*.² Leo X. had received Albany with favour in 1520, and had explicitly recognised his authority. Representation was probably made to him that if the Regent did not return, it would be difficult to proceed to an appointment to the vacant archbishopric of St Andrews. Months had passed after the death of Forman when, on October 10, John Clerk, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, informed Wolsey that Albany had a servant in Rome, whose business was to procure Margaret's divorce from Angus;³ and it may be inferred that he was charged to secure an extension of the eight months during which a nomination to St Andrews would be awaited, since it is known that the pope did duplicate the period of grace allowed by the Bull of Innocent VIII.⁴ Leo was anxious to

¹ H., iii. 1897, 1303, 1295-6. ² Ibid., 1358, 1403. ³ Ibid., 1654.

⁴ E. R. S., i. 75: the letter is mistranslated in H., iii. 2025, and the extension wrongly attributed to Adrian.

drive the French out of Italy, and he cannot have desired to involve Henry with Scotland at a time when an English attack on France might prove welcome. The concession, therefore, may have been designed to occupy the Scots with their own domestic quarrels; and he may have hoped that Albany would find difficulty in persuading the lords to become the tools of French policy. Francis, on the other hand, always protested that the Duke had escaped his vigilance; and yet it was not merely a coincidence that Albany's arrival in Scotland, on November 18, occurred only a few days before the conference of Calais broke up and a secret alliance was concluded between Leo, Henry and the Emperor.¹

Shortly after his landing, Albany visited the queen at Stirling, and on December 1, signed a nomination for St Andrews in favour of James Beaton.² The destination of Dunfermline, for which Arran and Lennox had their own recommendations, was also settled; and Beaton apparently promised to resign Kilwinning which he held *in commendam*.³ The troubles of the archbishop, however, were not ended. Only a few hours after the Duke affixed his signature

¹ H., iii. 1851, 1802.

² *Ibid.*, 1897, 1820.

³ *Ibid.*, 1850, 1897: the resignation of Kilwinning was not made (cf. Brady, i. 195).

Leo X. was dead, and months were to elapse before Adrian of Utrecht would make his appearance in Rome to receive the unexpected crown. Events in Scotland, too, impeded a rapid promotion. Angus and his associates were driven from Edinburgh, and the earl sent his uncle, Gavin Douglas, to warn Henry that Albany's presence meant danger to the young sovereign. Affection for his nephew was not a motive with Henry; but the Duke was heir to the throne, and the transformation from regent to king would be fatal to all the English plans. There was probably no real danger to the person of James, yet Henry must be stirred to action, if Angus was not to lose his power in Scotland.

Other affairs, however, affecting his own interests, engaged the attention of Gavin Douglas. St Andrews was a greater benefice than Dunkeld; and though the bishop now emerges suddenly from the obscurity of our records and becomes a prominent actor for the last time, it is unlikely that he had refrained from advancing his own claims during the months which had passed after Forman's death. The charge of "barratry," which had brought him to prison a few years earlier, was one to be levelled before a Scottish tribunal, and not in the Roman court; though in the absence of the Governor, who possessed the right of nomina-

tion, there was not much fear that it would be pressed. Before he left the Continent, however, Albany must have procured a summons to the bishop, to answer at Rome for his conduct, and it was probably handed to him upon the Duke's arrival.¹ If it was true that Albany had been seeking a divorce for Margaret, the case might well involve the presence of so indispensable a witness as the Bishop of Dunkeld; but it is clear that Douglas was to answer an accusation directed against himself. From the commission given to him by the Angus faction on December 14, and from the comments of Dacre thereupon, it appears that the bishop charged the Regent with sinister designs against the person of the young king;² and as the Bull of 1520, which fully acknowledged Albany's authority, condemned resistance, it was doubtless as an offender against this papal declaration that Douglas received the citation.

Any count would serve, if it removed so troublesome an ecclesiastic during this crisis. It was highly inexpedient, however, that he should pass by way of England, and Henry was warned not to harbour a rebel.³ The Abbot of Glenluce, Albany's henchman, was sent to the English court, where both he and Douglas made their appearance before the end of the

¹ H., iii. 1873, 1930.

² *Ibid.*, 1897.

³ *Ibid.*, 1857.

year.¹ The latter, among the plentiful array of charges which he urged against the Governor, did not declare that Beaton favoured his pretensions to the throne. On the contrary, the Archbishop of Glasgow was accused of looking to the sons of Arran, and it was asserted that when he baptised the eldest he was heard to remark, "Quho wayt then I may leyf till I see and put the croune on this childis hede?"² Henry was not likely to be disturbed by the story regarding Arran; but Albany's regency, apart altogether from any plot for the throne, was a constant impediment to the schemes for breaking the alliance of Scotland and France; and Beaton's elevation to the primacy would in no way suit English plans, as it would cement the friendship of the archbishop and the Governor. Beaton, if he gained St Andrews, would owe his promotion to Albany, and gratitude would bind him more closely to the man whom for years he had supported.

The complicity of Francis in the departure of Albany for Scotland could not long remain concealed. The French king had deputed the negotiations to his brother-in-law, the Duke of Alençon, and the English suspicions were justified

H., iii. 1917.

Ibid., 1898: Arran married Janet Beaton in November 1516 (Scots Peerage, iv. 360).

by the confirmation of an offensive and defensive alliance at Edinburgh towards the end of December. Scotland was, in fact, to be used as a means of securing France against Henry.¹ Sir John Duncanson, Beaton's servant, departed with all speed to the south, and took with him letters from the Duke and the Archbishop of Glasgow for France, Flanders and Rome. Gavin Douglas, who was more than willing to remain in England and cultivate the man who might soon be pope, suggested the expediency of withholding a safe-conduct, and even of confiscating these papers. Duncanson's mission to Henry was not likely to please, as it was designed to procure an extension of the truce, with the express comprehension of France. Wolsey had been led to believe, even by Arran, that there was no great enthusiasm for the French alliance, if it meant hostilities with England; and he was now in a difficulty. Either the Duke and the lords had deliberately deceived him in order to secure the dissolution of the English forces, or Albany was acting independently in the interest of France. Preferring the latter solution, he advised Dacre to negotiate for a brief extension of the truce in order to find out how matters really stood; and Henry himself wrote to the Estates to foment the dissatisfaction which he believed to exist, and urged the

¹ H., iii. 1910.

Emperor Charles to aid him by a general exclusion of Scottish merchants.¹

While Francis was entertaining Henry with the promise that he would deprive the offending Regent of his possessions in France, Albany was in communication with Angus; and the Bishop of Dunkeld soon learned to his chagrin that "yon young wytyles fwyll" had been enticed over to the Governor.² Though his nephew's defection filled him with despair, Douglas was still formidable through his candidature for St Andrews; and on February 6, 1522, Beaton and the Estates wrote to Adrian, of whose election they had just heard, urging him to support them against the aggression of England, and to ignore applications for St Andrews, which were not supported by James and Albany.³ Henry, on the other hand, was favourable to Douglas and active in his opposition to Beaton. He refused permission to Duncanson to proceed direct to Antwerp; and a financier, who was to provide the six thousand ducats for the Bulls of St Andrews and Dunfermline, asked Beaton for payment in advance, on the ground that money was very dear owing to the wars in Italy.⁴

In the strained relations of the two countries Henry saw clearly that the despatch of an army

¹ H., iii. 1950, 1962, 1964, 1978.

² Ibid., 2007.

³ E. R. S., i. 75.

⁴ H., iii. 2051.

to Scotland would mean war, and that the strength of England must be maintained unimpaired to meet another antagonist. He accordingly determined to make use of intimidation to help him in his difficulty ; and, as if he were overlord and another Edward I., he urged the Estates, on pain of his displeasure, not to assist the Duke. A dignified reply, dated February 11, 1522, was given by the chancellor and the Estates. If he insisted, they said, on the dismissal of Albany from the regency, it would be made known to all Christian princes that they in Scotland must either deprive the Governor unjustly of the care of their sovereign, or suffer invasion of their country. A strong defence was made for Albany, and Henry was asked not to believe false reports, or to suffer the Bishop of Dunkeld and other rebels to remain in England.¹ The Clarendieux herald, who was present at the Tolbooth of Edinburgh on the day when this reply was drawn up, described, in one of his despatches, what occurred while he delivered Henry's message. He approached Beaton with the request that the communication should be read openly, on the ground that Henry believed that the chancellor and Albany, in their efforts to promote the French cause, were likely to subtract something from the tenor and soften

¹ H., iii. 2039 ; Rymer, xiii. 761.

the threats. He "had many grim looks of the Scots, both high and low," and was desired to withdraw. On being recalled he was told that they had unanimously invited the Duke to Scotland, and would live and die with him "though the King's highness, the French king, and the Emperor should be against him."¹ A few days later Beaton affixed the Great Seal to a decree which declared Gavin Douglas a traitor, sequestrated the fruits of his see, and denounced his candidature for St Andrews; and, that Adrian might entertain no doubts on the subject, the decree itself was ordered to be sent to Rome.²

Though the Scottish lords were determined to stand by Albany, they did not intend to be the tools of France or to repeat the adventure which ended at Flodden.³ It was here indeed that the possibility of cleavage lay, and here English diplomacy sought to drive the wedge. On March 6, Ughtred, the captain of Berwick, informed Wolsey of the Governor's warlike attitude, and stated that the Bishop of Moray, James Hepburn, was high in favour and had been nominated for the primacy.⁴ It is not conceivable that Ughtred should have confused Glasgow and Moray, or announced as news at that date the appointment of Beaton; and the

¹ H., iii. 2054.

² E. R. S., i. 76.

³ H., iii. 2068.

⁴ Ibid., 2085.

conclusion seems irresistible that the chancellor supported Albany mainly in the interests of unity and defence, while the latter desired an aggressive policy. About a week afterwards Dacre advised Wolsey to write in favour of Gavin Douglas, who was said to be postulate. Why the fortunes of the Bishop of Dunkeld had undergone so sudden and happy a change he did not explain. He was aware, indeed, that Angus had sailed in the Duke's ships a few days earlier, and he may have been allowed to suppose that there was some new compact.¹

If there was any difference of opinion or a temporary breach between Albany and Beaton, an incident occurred which compelled them to act in concert. On the very day on which Angus sailed for France, accompanied by Lord Fleming and the secretary Hay, a French gentleman came by way of England with instructions for the recall of Albany. The Duke was not in the least anxious to receive him, but Dacre provided for his journey, and he obtained an interview. According to Wolsey's intention the commission was to be declared openly before the Estates, ostensibly "that the French king's plain dealing might be known," in reality that the lords might understand how little they could expect. Beaton and Albany wisely kept the

¹ H., iii. 2106.

message to themselves, and, in order to prevent accidents, imprisoned Dacre's servant, who accompanied the Frenchman.¹ The Regent professed to believe that the Frenchman's mission was seriously intended, and accordingly he wrote to Francis affirming his loyalty and protesting against "calumnious reports" which must have emanated from the Cardinal of York.²

Henry was deliberately making mischief in Scotland by his persistent interference with the Regent, and the Scots feared an attack, just as the English expected that Albany would retaliate. Dacre, therefore, proceeded to strengthen the defences on the English border, and Henry wrote to the Emperor that the nobles of his kingdom were commissioned to muster the people for the annoyance of the Scots, and for the great expedition against France.³ It was an anxious time for the Scottish chancellor. Not only was Albany's position precarious, but his own prospects of advancement were threatened by the influence which Henry and the Emperor might exercise at Rome on behalf of Gavin Douglas. In his difficulty he wrote on April 8 to Christiern of Denmark, and asked for the support of his ambassadors at the papal court.⁴ Meanwhile, the parliament had reassembled and voted sup-

¹ H., iii. 2122.

³ Ibid., 2075, 2128.

² Ibid., 2113.

⁴ E. R. S., i. 79.

plies for the war;¹ but a final decision for offensive action was postponed till it could be known whether Francis would fulfil his undertaking. "They say here," Albany wrote, "that the war is merely for the advantage of France"; and he added that "unless Francis issue a bold declaration and send good assistance they do not care to stir, as they are weary of fighting for others."²

Another meeting of the Scottish parliament was fixed for May 12; but, if it assembled, Albany did not attend. He "kept his chamber" for a month, visited only by Beaton and a few officials. It was true that "three great French ships" appeared, "to the great comfort of the Duke and his friends";³ but this aid was not sufficient to make the lords eager for war, and fresh negotiations for peace were necessary. Advances could not be disagreeable to the English. On May 29, the Clarencieux herald appeared before Francis at Lyons, and intimated Henry's determination to take part with the Emperor against him. The messenger sent to recall Albany had been intended merely to deceive Henry so as to postpone the hour of his union with the Emperor against France, and

¹ Evidence Univ. Commission, iii. 180: the clerical estate was to pay one-eighth of the annual value of benefices (Mun. Univ. Glasg., ii. 144).

² H., iii. 2184.

³ Ibid., 2271.

the suspicions entertained by the Scottish lords were abundantly justified.¹ Beaton seized an opportunity, the significance of which was at once apparent. Henry might be persuaded to recognise the Regent's authority, if there was a reasonable prospect of quiescence in the north. The chancellor had procured a safe-conduct for his nephew, and on June 10 gave him letters of credence to Wolsey.² Albany, however, gathered a force independently of the lords, and marched slowly southwards, delayed by floods. The Bishop of Carlisle thought that he intended to attack the Homes, or raise some money by depredations, before leaving the country. He certainly did not think that there was danger of an invasion of England, and, he wrote to Wolsey, "there is not in Scotland a man, woman, or child which crieth not a vengeance on him, and would fain have him gone."³ Beaton, who was anxious to prevent acts of war, pending the return of his nephew, begged the Duke to make no forays, while he encouraged him in the belief that Dacre was willing to treat. The correspondence, which at least served the Englishman's purpose of delay, ended with the definite statement that Henry would not consent to an abstinence so long as Albany remained, unless, indeed, the negotiations set on foot by the chancellor

¹ H., iii. 2292.

² *Ibid.*, 2213, 2310.

³ *Ibid.*, 2328.

had a successful issue.¹ Shortly after the middle of July a Scottish parliament assembled, probably to consider the answer brought by David Beaton. The proposals of the chancellor had been taken seriously by the English cardinal, who summoned Dacre to the south in order to confer personally with Henry. The astute Warden, however, found a sufficient excuse for postponement in Albany's forces, as yet "unskaled," and the reply given to the Scottish envoy seems to have inclined the lords to join the Regent in aggressive measures. Almost three weeks were spent in deliberation; and when the parliament rose Dacre received information that the Duke would invade England at the beginning of September. Yet when he transmitted the news to Wolsey, the Warden added a significant postscript that he was not afraid of the invasion.² England was now at war with France, and was finding it hard at that season to procure supplies for even a moderate force, so that the crisis had its temptations for the Scots; but Francis had failed to implement the treaty of Rouen, and was on the eve of sending a weak apology.³ Beaton held steadily on the course which seemed to be for the interest of his country. If it was not he who persuaded the lords to agree at least to

¹ H., iii. 2339, 2347.

² *Ibid.*, 2402, 2363, 2428.

³ *Ibid.*, 2435.

the threat of an invasion, he must have viewed their decision with satisfaction, since it would make England more willing to negotiate and might lead to the recognition of Albany. Dacre was fully aware of Beaton's difficulties with the Duke, and he knew also that England was not prepared to resist a sudden invasion. He therefore wrote to Margaret towards the end of August, suggesting that the chancellor might journey to England to treat with him; but Beaton at once refused, as he did not know what were Dacre's powers. A messenger arrived at Norham asking secretly, on the queen's behalf, whether peace might be secured while Albany remained; and he received the answer that "if it might be studied by the councils of both the realms that the king your son might be in some sure keeping out of all suspicion, my said sovereign lord doth esteem the said Duke's presence in Scotland but as another prince being subject under a king." Though Dacre, fearing, he said, that Margaret would disclose his counsel, urged her to burn the letter, it was written, doubtless, in the belief that Albany and Beaton would learn its contents and might be brought to negotiation.¹ Wolsey and Dacre, however, did not trust to negotiation, and they elaborated a scheme for the Duke's undoing. Albany was to be decoyed to the

¹ H., iii. 2476.

marches in the expectation of a truce, presumably with a weaker force, and Shrewsbury, who was now in chief command, was to attack him at once, or invade Scotland. Yet the preparations south of the Border did not render this plan feasible,¹ and the Regent himself, who still hoped for French aid, did not propose to commit himself to more than a temporary abstinence from war, though before he left Edinburgh he led Margaret to believe that he was setting forth with the full intention of securing a truce.² Historians have not failed to dwell on the Regent's folly in treating with Dacre when he is supposed to have had England at his mercy.³ The Scots were undoubtedly deceived if they thought that Dacre had a royal mandate to deal with them, but in reality the Duke could not cross the Border, almost on the anniversary of Flodden, with Huntly, Argyll and Arran opposed to war. The English warden's hope was that Margaret would send an embassy to England for peace, and would create a division between Albany and the lords;⁴ but he reckoned without the chancellor, who, if he does not appear personally in the diplomatic

¹ H., iii. 2503.

² *Ibid.*, 2501.

³ Dacre's statement that Albany had 80,000 men is a manifest absurdity; and he passes lightly over the fact that he must have had nearly 20,000 himself. Wolsey gave a very different account to the Emperor (*ibid.*, 2538).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2536.

duel, can still be detected. It was of the utmost importance to retain Albany, and, as the English had put the safety of the young sovereign in the forefront, Wolsey was led to understand that the lords would undertake the charge. Writing to Henry, the cardinal said that the Scots really desired peace, and that, as James was now in the custody of the lords, Albany's presence could do little harm.¹

In the negotiations between the two countries the interests of France were at first kept carefully in the background; but Dacre afterwards complained to Wolsey that in letters received from Margaret and Albany the terms accepted by the Scottish lords were changed, and that the Duke was demanding the comprehension of France.² Margaret, writing on September 24, informed her brother that Albany had desisted from war in deference to her appeal, "desiring the good of both realms," and she accordingly requested the comprehension of France in any settlement. Henry, however, would not agree.³ It is evident that Albany was loyal to his master in France, though he found that by himself he was powerless, and that the action of the Scots in the French interest must be bought by France's direct support of Scotland in the quarrel with

¹ H., iii. 2537.

² *Ibid.*, 2621.

³ *Ibid.*, 2564, 2573-4.

England.¹ At a parliament held in Stirling on October 24, the French party showed that they were not willing to lose Albany, even though they would not insist on the comprehension he so strongly desired.² He was anxious to return to France, and the necessary arrangements must be made. Beaton was named first in a commission of regency; and, besides Gonzolles, there were Huntly, Argyll and Arran, the men who had refused to invade England. While these "were sworn to do nothing contrary to the Duke," Albany was frankly informed that if he did not return before August 15, 1523, he would forfeit his authority. Once more, on October 27, the Regent sailed for France.³ Shortly after Albany's departure an offer of truce was made for three months; and at a meeting of the Council, which Beaton attended, Arran, the Lieutenant of Scotland, was advised to accept it, on the ground that it did not interfere with the treaty of Rouen.⁴ The position of the chancellor at this period was indeed a difficult one. Wolsey knew that the attachment to France was a cause of division even among those who were opposed to England,

¹ H., iii. 2619.

² The parliament took steps to supply Margaret with money (A. D. C., November 14).

³ H., iii. 2645.

⁴ A. D. C.

and he stated that if adequate garrisons were placed on the Borders Henry might dictate his own terms.¹ There were two main considerations which regulated Beaton's conduct. English diplomacy was seeking to use the queen for its own purposes, and she must be guided or watched; and, in the second place, Scottish interests would be endangered by too open and uncompromising an adherence to the French cause, when the return of Albany in force was as yet problematical. In December Clarendieux arrived to offer a truce without the comprehension of France, to flatter Margaret, and to enlighten the lords regarding the benevolence of the English king. The queen was lying ill at Stirling, and Beaton arranged a conference there with the French ambassadors and the English herald. The chancellor, with full consent of the lords, accepted the conditions of prorogation offered by Wolsey; and he was able to obtain credit with the cardinal for pacific exertions, while he showed consideration for Margaret's interests.² His policy had the additional advantage of alarming Albany and the French. Reports were industriously circulated that the Duke was about to return in great force, while the Scottish lords announced, in January 1523, that they would leave the

¹ H., iii. 2649.

² *Ibid.*, 2717, 2723, 2725.

French alliance if they had a definite treaty with England and adequate security for its observance.¹ Francis could not afford to despise the warnings, and on February 13 his confirmation of the treaty of Rouen was delivered by Lord Fleming to the Bishop of Aberdeen. Three days later the Lords of the Council assembled at Beaton's house in Edinburgh.² South of the Border the opinion grew that Scotland must be crippled. Henry had governed without a parliament for eight years, and voices, like that of Thomas Cromwell, began to be heard condemning the war with France and the financial ruin which it portended. "The king should devote all his efforts to the subjugation of Scotland, and to join that realm to his, so that both they and we might live under one obeisance, law, and policy for ever."³ Beaton was under no misapprehensions. In April, while preparations for resistance were being made, he had a conference with Gonzolles and the French ambassador, and he wrote to Christiern that England was collecting a stronger force against them.⁴

It was in December 1521 that Beaton received the nomination for St Andrews, and during the

¹ H., iii. 2788.

² A. D. C.

³ Ibid., 2958 : cf. Pol. Hist. of England, v. 242 ff.

⁴ H., iii. 2886 ; T. A., v. 211.

perplexed months which ensued we hear little or nothing of his candidature. With the defection of Angus and his departure for France, Gavin Douglas was not worth the support of England, and he did not long survive. The new pope was crowned at the end of August 1522, and it was perhaps accumulation of business which delayed the provision for St Andrews till October. Two months later, on December 10, the pallium was granted to the archbishop.¹ A sum of sixty ducats was paid for the pall, which was described as "triditum ecclesie sancti Andreæ."² Prior Hepburn, who was not mellowed by age, had been commanded to hand over the castle of St Andrews to Gonzolles on behalf of the Governor;³ but he was not disposed to accept worse terms from Beaton than he had succeeded in extracting from Andrew Forman. Why the actual translation to St Andrews was postponed till June 5, 1523, we are never informed.⁴ It may be conjectured, however, that the prior was no less troublesome than he had been in 1515, and Beaton's diplomatic attitude may have compromised him with some of his colleagues on the commission of regency.

¹ Brady, i. 124, 178: the provision was either on October 10 or on October 3. Eubel, iii.

² Transcripts (Record Office), 62, 138.

³ E. R., xiv. 461.

⁴ Dioc. R. of Glasg., ii. 337.

The controversy with the Prior of St Andrews continued into the year 1524. Shortly before his final departure from Scotland Albany wrote to the pope giving an account of the litigation between Forman and Hepburn, and asking for the restoration of the barony of Kirkliston with revocation of the exemption. The Governor said that he had permitted the sacrifice of Forman's interest through his inexperience of Scottish affairs, and that he made the present request partly to relieve his own conscience, and partly out of regard for Beaton, whose services to the State involved him in great expense.¹ Whatever was the result of this appeal, the archbishop and the prior were soon found in close alliance in the strife of factions.² Hepburn belonged to the French party, and there was not the same inducement to harass Beaton as there had been in the case of Forman, whose relations with England were at least suspicious.

The new primate was overwhelmed with cares. Scarcely had he been translated when he received official tidings that the English were gathering fast; and he had also to write a warning letter to Lennox who was "assegeing" the palace of Glasgow, doubtless with a patron's eye to the vacancy there.³ It may have been

¹ E. R. S., i. 87: cf. vol. ii. 151 ff.

² H., iv. 1030.

³ T. A., v. 214.

a mere coincidence that on the very day of the translation, Dacre, remembering the chancellor's statement that he would do anything to abate the war, proposed an abstinence till Michaelmas.¹ His purpose was to postpone the invasion till the corn was "wonne" and retaliation impossible, even with Albany's help; but he did not succeed in getting the archbishop to commit himself to any agreement which would compromise him in the eyes of the Regent.² It was true that Beaton desired peace; but it was to be a peace which would conserve and not sacrifice the independence of his country. From Dunfermline, where he had been watching the recovery from illness of his nephew David, he passed to Edinburgh to advise the Lords upon the furnishing of the castle and to arrange for a defensive armament of the Borders; and it was no doubt the primate who issued orders for processions to be made for the welfare of the realm, the prosperity of the king, and the sure home-coming of the Governor.³

The Lords had met from time to time during the summer, and had not neglected the preparations for defence. Andrew Dury, in name of Beaton, appeared before them on May 15,

¹ H., iii. 3079.

² Ibid., 3110, 3134, 3127, 3133.

³ T. A., v. 215-6; H., iii. 3179.

and intimated that Albany had given Inchgarvy to the custody of James Glen, on the understanding that Beaton would furnish money. The place, however, had been left desolate, and Beaton offered to provide men for it if the Lords would supply artillery. At the meeting elaborate directions were given for preparations against an attack by England. On June 18 French ambassadors were present, and resistance to a "great army of England" was discussed; while on June 24 it was stated that an invasion which had been expected had not taken place, and it was agreed that the men who had been gathered for defence might return to their homes and hold themselves in readiness. Further meetings were called on July 14 and August 3, and the deliberations regarding the war were continued.¹

The limit fixed for Albany's return was now drawing near, and English diplomacy concentrated itself upon Margaret. Surrey and Dacre placed before her the suggestion that the young king should himself take the reins of government, putting an end to the regency, and that she should be the chief in a council for the control of public business. The "erection" of James would secure her return to power, she naturally thought, and once more she became obedient to the in-

¹ A. D. C.

terests of England. Margaret herself appeared before the Lords, assembled in Beaton's house on September 19, and asserted her desire for peace and her readiness to further it. The Lords, however, did not trust her or doubted her power, and orders were given to muster an army for resistance.¹ On the 22nd it was determined that Argyll should be Lieutenant-General of the army, and that Gonzolles should provide artillery from Dunbar.² Beaton had good cause to fear division, and he endeavoured, in support of Gonzolles and the French ambassador, to procure an extension for the Regent.³ When Dacre wrote to him, the chancellor was careful to conceal his intentions, and merely trusted that all the king's lieges would, like himself, labour for the good of the realm.⁴ The French party succeeded in postponing the proposed "erection" till near the middle of October, on the understanding that thereafter they would unanimously agree to a council and sue for peace;⁵ but this decision was really intended to deceive the English, and, while James seemed to be granted more freedom at Stirling, it was a boyish liberty to hunt, carefully guarded against the machinations of the queen. The conduct of the chancellor was adroit. He was maintaining the 800 French mercenaries,

¹ A. D. C.² Ibid.³ H., iii. 3300.⁴ Ibid., 3303.⁵ Ibid., 3313.

who had already arrived in Scotland, by the revenues of vacant benefices in the dioceses of Glasgow, Dunkeld and Moray; and if it was true that the resources of Dryburgh, Arbroath and Kilwinning were also devoted to this purpose, there could be no question of the archbishop's patriotism, when it was remembered that Arbroath and Kilwinning were his own. "Sic abbayes," said the Abbot of Kelso, "maun susteyn them to be lowns and nyght waikars to play at carts and dyis, and ilk ane uther nyght thre or four of them stikit and gorrit."¹ Yet at the same time Surrey and Dacre were led to believe that the chancellor might be brought over. Margaret thought that "a sober thing of money" would be sufficient to win Beaton, Argyll and the Bishop of Aberdeen; and Surrey advised Dacre, in view of his "great familiarity" with the chancellor, to write urging the policy of "erection."² The queen, it appears, was not working without supervision. On September 22 Surrey wrote to Wolsey, in disgust, that what the Lords had caused her to say had been spoken in order that there might be time for preparation against his invasion; and when Henry received the news from Sir Thomas More, he remarked sarcastically that he "would have been glad if Surrey had perceived this before."³

Meanwhile, on September 20, Albany had

¹ H., iii. 3313.

² Ibid., 3339.

³ Ibid., 3354, 3363.

arrived with a considerable force at Dumbarton, and Beaton hastened from Edinburgh to meet him. He knew that the Duke came with the intention of dealing a signal blow ; but he must have been prepared for a repetition of last year's adventure, and probably thought that a diplomatic advantage might be secured before the English could realise the Regent's weakness. At all events he authorised payment for the convoy of Clarencieux to Dumbarton, where the herald seems to have remained for a day or two.¹ Nor did he omit attention to his own personal affairs. Up to this time he does not seem to have come nearer to his cathedral than Dunfermline, and the letter which Albany dispatched to the insubordinate prior was doubtless couched in terms of command.²

It was said that the Regent had given a written undertaking to invade England before a specified day ;³ but he soon found, if Beaton had not already told him, that the Scots had not altered their attitude. Wolsey firmly believed that he would be compelled to "put water in his wine," and Margaret was writing on his behalf for a peace, with the comprehension of France.⁴ The real facts are still further revealed by a letter of Surrey to Beaton

¹ T. A., v. 224.² Ibid.³ H., iii. 3456.⁴ Ibid., 3447, 3423.

and the leading noblemen of the French faction, contemptuously rejecting the proposal and advising them to "open their ien, and be no longer blinded with the feigned frauds and abusions of the said Duke and Frenchmen." They were warned, further, that the successor of the late Pope Adrian would not in all probability be a man friendly to recalcitrant Scots.¹ Dacre in the previous year had succeeded in magnifying himself by judicious misrepresentation: the more ingenuous Surrey had to confess that there could be no invasion of England, and exposed himself to the sarcastic comments of Wolsey, who bewailed the unnecessary expense.² The English had done much damage on the Borders during the summer, though they had refrained from invasion on a large scale, and Albany's campaign or demonstration of war was therefore not altogether unsatisfactory to Scotland.

Immediately before the Regent's arrival Beaton issued a proclamation that all who could bear arms were to hold themselves in readiness;³ and on October 1 and 2, at meetings held in Glasgow, which Albany and Beaton attended, the Lords agreed on the privileges to be granted to the families of men who might be wounded or slain, and ordered that the white St Andrew's

¹ H., iii. 3449.

² Ibid., 3477.

³ Ibid., 3354.

Cross should be worn by those who carried arms.¹

Albany had French gold which was freely spent, and with him were Frenchmen in arms who were marched for display. The Scots professed enthusiasm, as if glory in the former years had crowned him, and he had been the saviour of their country. Gathering in obedience to the proclamations they joined the Frenchmen, and towards the end of October reached the east border. Whatever their hopes of victory were, they did not contemplate the overthrow of the enemy on English ground, and would not carry battle beyond their own territory. A siege of Wark Castle, occupying two days, was the incident of the war. Neither victory nor defeat had come to the Scots when their army was disbanded; and as Albany turned back to Edinburgh, Surrey wrote to Henry that "undoubtedly there was never man departed with more shame or more fear than the Duke has done to-day." The war, such as it was, was Albany's, and the cost was met with French gold."²

The Regent's conduct now justified the suspicions which Beaton and the Lords entertained,

¹ A. D. C.

² At a meeting of the Lords of Council, held in Beaton's house on November 11, the question of damage done by the army in certain districts of Scotland was considered (A. D. C.).

and he showed that his main object was to secure a diplomatic success for France. He was willing to leave Scotland upon the granting of a comprehension, but he speedily became aware that it was his presence which the Lords regarded as of most importance.¹ Margaret could not in the least understand the position.² "Ther vas newer so fykyl lordyz in the varld, and dwrst do so lytyl for thayr mastar and kyng. I knau non of efekyt but the Chanslar and the erl of Hawntly and the erl of Argyl and the byschope of Abardyn." In this letter to Surrey, November 23, she added that the Duke intended to take the chancellor's office from him. Albany seems to have proposed that some of the king's lands should be sold, and it is certain that Beaton would not approve, and that the anger of the irascible Regent would be kindled. But proceedings at Edinburgh must have smoothed matters over. The treaty of Rouen was again ratified, and Margaret was informed that, as the keeping of the king had been so changed "that na securite is thairintill," the Earl of Moray would attend him, aided in turn by lords whom she at once realised to be in the Governor's interest. The alliance with France was further strengthened, if at this stage, as was reported to Wolsey, David

¹ H., iii. 3626, 3665.

² Ibid., 3552, 3555-7.

Beaton, "the new abbot of Arbroath," was commissioned to arrange a marriage between the young king and a daughter of France.¹

Albany's mission to Scotland was at an end, so far as French interests were concerned, and still he lingered in the country. On January 14 the Lords of the Council assembled in the Governor's palace; and, after arranging that courts should meet for the punishment of "great crimes," and that the chancellor should assist, they unanimously decided that if a truce could be had with the comprehension of France, it should be accepted, and, further, that Albany should be advised by Beaton and the Bishop of Aberdeen and such as he might name. On January 18 the Lords decreed that David Beaton should be granted a commission to France, under the Great Seal, to secure the return of Albany on the Nativity of St John and also support against England, to pursue the marriage between James and the daughter of Francis according to the treaty of Rouen, and generally to act under Albany's advice. Albany himself was empowered to treat with the pope regarding privileges, with Francis about the marriage, and also with Henry VIII. At a meeting on May 26 David Beaton's commission was renewed, and it was stated that by Albany's instruction the chancellor was to

¹ H., iii. 3576.

pay him the sum of £1000, which the Treasurer would refund.¹

Albany, though his campaigns had been inglorious, was required to return by September 1; and, after assurances that his promises would be fulfilled or the regency forfeited, he at length, on May 20, 1524, set sail for France.² The days of his rule were soon to be at an end, and he did not again see the land which he had tried in good faith to govern.

The departure of Albany suited the plans of Henry, and prepared the way for the erection of the king. James, though too young to rule, might be legally recognised; and Margaret pictured herself once more in the place of dominion. Henry, it is true, might propose that the regency be ended, and Margaret might be flattered and agree; but unless one of the great nobles was with her, there could be no revolution in the government. Arran, who after Albany was heir to the crown, united with her; and though it is impossible to discover the arts by which he was gained, he doubtless hoped to secure the chief rule in the realm. Their association, however, did not please Henry, who remembered that Margaret had not been faithful to the English

¹ A. D. C.

² E. R. S., i. 90, 92. For the date, cf. Buchanan and also the evidence in St P., iv. 77, *note*.

cause, and that Arran had opposed it. Angus was the one man among the nobles in whom he placed any confidence; and if through his agency the earl was received in Scotland and the fascination of the Douglas name revived, he would obtain a powerful partisan to whom the erection could be entrusted.

There was another man, however, who was feared, and must be removed or be made the servant of Henry's will. The Archbishop of St Andrews was the possessor of great wealth, the most experienced diplomatist and the ablest statesman in the land. Margaret might cajole, Arran have his vision of power, and Henry plot and intrigue; but Beaton, chancellor of the kingdom and the first prelate in the Church, was still faithful to Albany.

Henry accordingly determined to induce him to his cause or to destroy him. Persuasion was tried, if happily he might be secured. Dacre, the master of many wiles, addressed him. He marvelled, he said, that so great a post of the Church, with so much authority in the realm, should have no regard for peace; and that, instead of persuading the Lords to send an embassy to arrange a treaty, which should endure throughout the king's minority, he was following the behests of France and the colourable devices of Albany, who was acting for the French king and

his own pleasure, as they would soon perceive in Scotland. He advised that ambassadors should proceed to England in order that further trouble might be avoided, and declared that France and her army were going to ruin.¹ In another communication Dacre represented that as the prelate had been a favourite of the late king and was godfather to the young king, he would be acting meritoriously if he arranged a peace.² Beaton's answers have not been preserved, but his conduct implied no treachery. He would not change his policy at the bidding or invitation of Henry; and he remained true to Albany, who had the right to command his allegiance so long as the regency was not forfeited. English intrigue was forced, therefore, to devise a new plan for the silent conquest of Scotland. Henry would not trust Arran, and in any case did not judge him to be strong enough for his purposes. He accordingly resolved to make use of Angus, who had been absent from Scotland in the last years of Albany's rule; and on the 6th of July he intimated to Margaret that the Earl of Angus, whom he found to be her loving and faithful husband and servant, had secretly conveyed first his brother and then himself out of France, and that he intended to be reconciled to her and afterwards to assist in procuring a peace. He

¹ H., iv. 370.

² Ibid., 396.

represented that the earl was desirous that a diet should be arranged between nobles of the two countries, and he told Margaret that he intended to send him to Scotland for the carrying out of his plans, and also Norfolk, as his lieutenant, to meet the chancellor, "who is as mean a person as may be deputed for this purpose."¹ The English schemes were carefully matured, and Dacre received instructions from Wolsey. He was to represent to the chancellor that a diet had been proposed by Angus and was to take place on the Border ; but he also received information, given in secret and not to be disclosed to the chancellor or other person, that if for any reason the diet was not held, Norfolk was to take measures for the erection of the king to his own estate. Dacre was to be careful to spread a bruit of Angus's intercession, and to represent that Henry had given consent to the proposed diet after long sticking.² Angus was a Scotsman and the responsibility for the diet was to be thrown on him, as there might be resentment against a plan emanating from England. Wolsey with all his cleverness was easily deceived, if he believed for a moment that Beaton and his friends would fail to recognise the real source of the proposal.

¹ H., iv. 473. The terms of agreement between Henry and Angus were finally arranged on October 4, 1524 (St P., iv. 68).

² H., iv. 474.

Dacre, obedient to his instructions, sent two of his servants to discover if Beaton, who had always endeavoured to procure peace, and was now the principal person under the king, was as well inclined as Angus for an arrangement between the nations; and these men were instructed to represent that there could be no one more fit to meet Norfolk, the chief temporal lord in England, than the chancellor, the principal person in Scotland.¹ Flattery, however, was expended in vain. Beaton of course acknowledged Dacre's communications, intimating that he had made them known to some of the Lords of the Council. Their advice was, he said, that he should not meet Norfolk in person, though he assured Dacre that for his own part he would have been right glad to proceed to the diet. It was arranged, however, that Arran, Lennox and others should have authority to discuss affairs with Norfolk.²

Dacre's messengers were not dismissed without excuses and explanations, which could be conveyed to their master. Beaton represented that he was unable to attend the diet, since the whole authority rested in his hands; and if at the proposed meeting he did not make a final conclusion, he would be suspected of not being desirous of peace; and, on the other hand, if he did make a final conclusion, the Lords would

¹ H., iv. 498.

² Ibid., 529.

be displeased with him for taking so much in hand. He showed, too, that as James would "come forth" about the time of the meeting, it would be necessary for him to make the preparations; and he added that if he himself was away, the erection might not take place. Dacre did not hesitate to say that the excuses were feigned, and undoubtedly they were dictated by diplomacy. Beaton, it is evident, could have agreed with the Lords regarding the policy to be set forth at the conference; and he certainly did not desire to bring the regency to an end and to assist the king to "come forth." In ordinary circumstances it would have been the duty of the chancellor to arrange for the entrance of the king into official life; but events were to show that he used idle words when he explained that his absence might interfere with the royal plans.

His real motive for refusing to attend the diet was his mistrust of Henry and his ministers; and, whatever may have been the source of his information or the cause of his suspicion, he was convinced that the conference was not intended for peace. He was certainly not mistaken in his judgment, as Wolsey expressly stated to Norfolk that the diet was never intended for any communication of peace, but "was done only to thentent under that colour to have inter-

cepted the said Chaunceler by meanes of the Erll of Angwishe wherbye he with al his adherentes shulde the more facilly have been induced or compelled to condescende to the ereccion of thair king, and the extingting of the Duke of Albanys governement." Wolsey proceeded to say that he was not sending a safe-conduct, "for if the chaunceler woll come, in whiche case the kinges mynde is that ye set forthe the practyse for his interception, it were not convenient he shuld have a saufe conduyt, but to be trayned by other dulce and fair meanes therunto."¹ The cardinal was singularly ignorant of the character of Beaton, a shrewd Scotsman with a hatred of his country's enemies, if he expected that without a safe-conduct he would step on English ground. Wolsey had a simple faith in his own wiles, and Beaton a clear eye for their detection.

Margaret was very specially concerned with the return of her husband, as she had no love for him and no desire to see him the ruler of Scotland. She herself was eager to obtain the chief place in the king's councils, and therefore approved the erection. Henry, on the other hand, wished the regency to be ended, that France might no longer direct Albany; and knowing Margaret's political inconstancy and re-

¹ St P., iv. 49.

membering Arran's association with the Governor he had turned to Angus. Wolsey, it is true, had not the confidence in Angus which his master professed, and yet there was no other man in Scotland to whom they might go for help.¹ They were soon relieved from their difficulty, however, by Margaret, who hurriedly passed with her son from Stirling to Edinburgh. Immediately after their arrival in the city on July 26, James, a boy of twelve years, was proclaimed king; and the revolution which brought the regency to a close was completed, and lacked only the confirmation of the Estates. Arran did not fail to help the queen, and Henry rewarded him with gold.² The English king, though thwarted in his scheme for using Angus, rejoiced that Albany would no longer rule and Francis direct the policies of Scotland.

Beaton took no part in the erection, though before the event his help was sought. Dacre at the instigation of Wolsey represented to him that, if he minded the weal and surety of the king and the good of peace, he should in no wise delay the erection;³ and in a communication of July 17 Dacre informed the cardinal that "the Quene and the Chauncellar met at a place called Alway, being 6 myles frome Striveling where Her Grace lay, and 8

¹ St P., iv. 49, *note*.

² *Ibid.*, 52.

³ *Ibid.*, 49.

myles from Donfermling, where the said Chauncellar laye; and so in conclusion, after long communication had, the Quene shewed unto the Chauncellar the comfortable letters, whiche was sent unto her son frome the kinges said Highnes. And there the said Chauncellar was agreable that he wolde be of consent of taking furth of the said yong king." Dacre added, "if the said Chauncellar entended and mean trewly, then I doubt not but all thinges shall cum and goo forwardes, according to the king our said Soverain pleasure and your Graces, for the suertie of the said yong king."¹ Norfolk, commenting on Dacre's letter, declared that in his mind either James was at liberty, or the chancellor with fair words had blinded the queen, and separating her son from her had placed a stronger guard about him. He made mention of another conjecture, that Beaton had seized the king and sent him away from Edinburgh, but added, "wich I dout right moche, for the seid chansoler is very crafty and sotyll."² There is no doubt that Beaton showed himself "of contrarious mynde to the ereccion," and was to suffer for his constancy to Albany, who, while he had France to aid him, was a check on Henry with his schemes of domination. Churchman though he was, Wolsey had no

¹ St P., iv. 47.

² Ibid., 48.

respect for the person and dignity of the Scottish prelate; and he showed Norfolk that if regard were not had to the chancellor he would probably study some subtle drift or crafty practice, and therefore it would be necessary to put him to silence for a time and suppress his authority and estimation, either by expelling him from his office and taking custody of his body, or by some other sure and politic way.¹

The expulsion from office and also the custody were soon to be accomplished facts. The Council met on August 1, and the king who was present ordered Beaton to give up the Great Seal.² He was not expelled, however, from the Council, as on August 19 he attended a meeting. After the erection and the chancellor's resignation Arran was the most powerful of the Scottish nobles, and Dacre did not fail to flatter him in the hope of binding him to the English cause. He represented that having lost Albany's favour, through the assistance given to the king, he should endeavour to form a strong party with Beaton, Angus and Argyll, and that to them would be entrusted the charge of James and the government of the country.³ The Englishman, however, was creating a party without consent of the lords concerned, though it is

¹ St P., iv. 52.² A. D. C.³ H., iv. 557.

worthy of note that he recognised the political strength of the archbishop. As later events showed, Arran entered into a league with Angus, and this alliance involved political separation from Margaret; but Angus was not in Scotland when Dacre made his proposal, and the chief interest of Henry and his ministers centred in Beaton.

A task of reconciliation was entrusted to Norfolk. His work was to bring Margaret and Angus together, to make concord between Angus and Arran, and to knit the late Chancellor of Scotland and Angus in good love and intelligence. Wolsey, however, was constrained to tell him that his labours therein "might right well have been forborne." There could be no agreement with Angus, he said, on the part of Margaret and Arran, as they feared to lose the chief places in the government; though Beaton, if he remained hostile to the erection and saw Arran in the enjoyment of power, might seek to win Angus to his side. Norfolk was to proceed no further with his attempt to change enemies into friends, but was to represent to Angus that the establishment of James in his own estate might be defeated by the archbishop, a wise and expert man, who was faithful to the Duke of Albany. When the archbishop was removed or made sure, and

the king more firmly established, Angus might safely return to Scotland.¹

A most serious difficulty presented itself to Henry and Wolsey. Was Angus to go to Scotland? If he went, he might with Beaton form a party over which there could be no English control. It seemed necessary, on the other hand, that he should proceed to Scotland, as he alone could be a formidable rival to Beaton, the friend of Albany and the supporter of France. The best way out of the difficulty seemed to be that Beaton should be induced to join an embassy to England, where by good offers he might be drawn to Henry's devotion or else be detained. Writing on August 19 to Norfolk, Wolsey desired that the cause of his tender writing to the chancellor should be understood, "which," he said, "to be playne with you, is not to avaunce his auctorite, or for any love truste or credite that the king or I berith towards hym; but feryng lesse that the Quene, and such as have taken parte with her in the erection of the yong kyng, be not of power and puyssance utterly to subdue the said chaunceler; nor also, whither the Erle of Angwyshe wolde, myght, or wer hable to do the same, is certeynly knowen. Therfor I have written suche kynde letters to

¹ St. P., iv. 53.

hym, to allecte, induce and trayne hym to comme hither in ambassiate for conclusion of peaxe betwene both realmes; which doyng, experience may be made to gete and wyne hym into the kinges devotion; or, that not atteyned, at the lest he may be kept here, wherby he shal do no hurte there." He added that if means could be found to shut up the prelate in some safe custody, and expel him from all authority, it would be more acceptable to Henry to have it done to-day than to-morrow.¹

The child-like innocence of the cardinal as a diplomatist was extraordinary. The invitation to the diet on the Border had not drawn Beaton from his own country; and in spite of the failure of his first effort, Wolsey proposed that the archbishop should proceed as an ambassador to England. There was never the slightest chance of the project being carried out; and yet it was urged, as if the Scotsman was as simple as the Englishman. Margaret, on the other hand, was wise or cunning enough to know that a rougher method was required for the overthrow of Beaton. With the concurrence of Arran she acted on what was the English suggestion, and seized the archbishop, along with the Bishop of Aberdeen, and cast them into prison. The king had "come forth";

¹ St. P., iv. 54.

but her own position was insecure, and she feared a coalition between her husband and the prelate.

In the Diurnal of Occurrents it is noted that the king left Stirling and proceeded to Edinburgh with his mother and certain temporal and spiritual lords, among whom was the Archbishop of St Andrews, Chancellor. The said lords, it is stated, made their homage and oath of fidelity to the king's grace in the palace of Holyrood House. In spite of the statement, however, it is further recorded that "vpoun the xxij day of August, the king maid his solempnit entree with the lordis in the tolbuytht of Edinburghe, with sceptour, crowne, and sword of honour; and that same day, James Betoun, archebischope of Sanctandros, chancellare of this realme, and Gawin Dunbar, bischope of Aberdene, wer wardit in the castell of Edinburghe, because thej wald not renunce the feillis and subscriptioun maid to them of befoir be John duke of Albanie, and the rest of all the lordis renunceand; quhairfoir all the kirkis of thair dyoceis wer interdyted induring thair wairding."

An account which Beaton himself gave of his imprisonment was repeated to Wolsey by Magnus and Ratcliffe, the English ambassadors to the Scottish court. The queen, the archbishop stated,

moved him to put his hand to a book devised for taking forth of the young king, and he in turn moved her not to be hasty therein till September 1, on account of the oath taken by him and other lords to keep part with the Duke of Albany till that day. When the queen showed that she was not pleased, he put to his hand as he was desired, and protested that his act was not to take effect till September 1. Further, as he would not otherwise agree in the parliament, he was placed in ward.¹ The archbishop, it appears, made a formal protest through a notary against his imprisonment; and the document shows that he was seized by Sir James Hamilton of Fynnart in obedience to Margaret and Arran.²

Another version of the incident was furnished to Albany. On August 28, Gonzolles wrote, the king and queen with the lords were at the Tolbooth in Edinburgh, when the traitors were asked if they would take the oath of obedience. Beaton replied that they were already bound to that. On the queen observing that he and others had made an engagement with Albany and that the king desired it to be broken, as well as the Treaty of Rouen, James, following a suggestion which she and Arran made, com-

¹ St. P., iv. 91. Appendix III.

² Cf. Lorimer's 'Patrick Hamilton,' 73, *note*.

manded Beaton and those with him to comply and to deprive Albany of his government. When the archbishop in turn requested the king not to depart from the promise given to Albany, and stated that he would never consent to annul the bonds between Scotland and France, Margaret was very angry. Gonzolles proceeded to say that Albany's friends sought to steal out of the city, and the gates were shut in their faces. The Archbishop of St Andrews and the Bishop of Aberdeen were removed to a prison. There had been talk, he said, of sending Beaton to England, but Margaret dispatched a messenger to Rome to accuse the prelate and to have him stripped of his benefices. Never, Gonzolles added, was Albany so much needed and regretted in Scotland; and he declared that the escape of Angus from France was the cause of the troubles, as Margaret would consent to anything to keep her husband in England.¹

Margaret took a bold step when she seized the Archbishop of St Andrews; and if she required an excuse she could plead that the suggestion came from the Archbishop of York, a Cardinal of the Church. Wolsey in his busy interference in Scottish affairs and his special concern with Beaton, had advised that he should

¹ H., iv. 670.

be sent to England and detained, or be silenced for a time by expulsion from office and imprisonment. Margaret, however, did not know what to do with the prelates she had in ward. In her perplexity she sought her brother's advice, and complained to him that she had done more for Beaton than for any other, and yet could never have his good will.¹ Wolsey, replying for Henry, suggested that they should be kept till they could be sent to Berwick; and declared that if they were held in England Albany, who required their support, would not dare to return to Scotland. He pointed out that their promotions and dignities could be taken from them and conferred on assured persons by the king and queen.² It suited his ministers at a later time to represent that Henry had not consented to the imprisonment;³ and it may be that Beaton, who was not a novice in the school of diplomatists, accepted the assurance.

The archbishop was a prisoner; but, rich though he was, he was not a great territorial lord with retainers to resent the injury done to their chief. For many years he had served the realm as Chancellor, and was the foremost statesman. He was a Churchman, however, and the nobles were ever jealous of the prelates, and would not take offence when they saw them

¹ St P., iv. 56.

² *Ibid.*, 58.

³ *Ibid.*, 91.

dishonoured. If, then, there was to be deliverance, it could only be secured through the intervention of the pope. On September 15, M. Istringi, "Person de Glaistre,"¹ entered into communication with David Beaton, ambassador from Scotland at the Court of France; and, setting before him a narrative of the circumstances of the imprisonment, suggested that the pope should be approached. He stated that on July 29 the king went to Edinburgh and commanded the archbishop to appear before him, who excused himself, and then, after many solicitations, went to the Abbey, where he was commanded to sign the contract made for the good of the realm. The prelate consented through fear, yielding on the understanding that the contract should not take effect before word was received from France through David Beaton. A parliament met on August 19, and on the 22nd the archbishop was again required to sign. He objected, and demanded delay till the expiry of the time fixed for Albany's return; but at the instigation of his enemies he was committed by the king to the prison of the Castle of Edinburgh and was rigorously treated. Istringi suggested that David Beaton should request the King of France and the Duke

¹ Wolsey spoke of "one naming himself Parson of Glaiston" (H., iv. 766).

of Albany to write to the pope for the deliverance of the archbishop, and should inform them that the prelate's enemies were seeking a papal commission for the appointment of judges for his trial. He added that if a certain James Lamb had gone to Rome, he should be instructed to obtain the best advice on behalf of the archbishop.¹

A resolution of certain lords reveals grave charges preferred against Beaton, and indicates that they feared the censures of Holy Church.

The words of the memorandum are :—

Ane supplicatioune be maide to ye Papis Halynes, makand mentioune how James Archbischof of Sanct-ander has committit crymes of tresoune and lese majeste agane the King of Scottis and his realme, and as is surlie informit and understand, ye said Archbischof of Sanct-ander, for acompleting and fulfilling of his perversit tresonable mynd and dewise, intendit and solistit insurrectioun and brek within ye haile realme of Scotland, and to have maid and gevin occasioun of battaile agane ye King and his auctorite, swa yat he, with uyeris his complicis conspiratouris agane ye King and comoune weil of his realme, micht have dominioun and auctorite aboune and aganis ye King, and his trew Barrounis and liegis. And, give ye said Arbischof had failzet in completing of his said perverst cruel and dampnable opinion, he purposit to depart furtht of ye realme accompaniyt with certaine uyeris conspiratouris his complicis, to yat effect yat he micht be his policie

¹ H., iv. 665.

and menys solist sum gret partie in contrair ye King, his realme, and commoun weil yerof, to ye apperand destructioun of ye sammyn. For ye quhilkis causes ye King and Estatis of his realme has causit act, and hald ye said Archbischoep in ane castell surlie, unto ye tyme ye Papis Halynes may be advertist yairof.

Herefor desyring ane legat with speciale commissioun be send in Scotland to proceid agane ye said Archbischoep for ye said crymes, and uyeris of lese majeste committit be him agane ye King and his realme, and in safer as he salbe accusit and convict, to punys him conforme to his demeritis efter ye tenour of ye commoun law: and with power in ye said commissioun to proceid agains all uyeris kyrkmen. . . .

Item to desyr ane declaratour of ye Papis, yat throw takin and haldin of ye said Bischoep, ye king his consaile and part takaris in ye caiss foresaid incurrit na maner of censuris of haly kirk, and yat it suld be na caus of cursing nor interdictioun.¹

If a supplication, in terms of the resolution to which Arran, Lennox and other lords assented, ever reached Rome, it was not answered to the satisfaction of the archbishop's enemies. Pope Clement VII. was not more inclined than any of his great predecessors to take action against a churchman, at the instigation of a crowd of scheming nobles; and if he had the slightest acquaintance with the history of the Scots or knowledge of their existing rivalries, he would rejoice to see the

¹ St P., iv. 56, *note*.

archbishop and primate in a place of high authority. Some of Beaton's opponents, not content with a resolution or supplication, suggested that he should be punished and his power to work mischief weakened by the seizure of his goods. Their spite, however, was not carried beyond the proposal, as there was no one to spoil the prelate. A rumour was spread that he was seeking to use a portion of these goods to secure his release. It was said that he gave 20,000 crowns to Margaret, the purchase-money of land to £20 Scots per annum to her servant, George Shaw, and the promise of £100 Scots weekly to the Earl of Argyll, so long as he remained in Edinburgh.¹

The rumour evidently had a foundation, as Gonzolles wrote to Albany on September 16 that the arrangement with Margaret, by which the archbishop should be liberated on payment of 30,000 crowns, was broken off.² Beaton was not released, and it may be taken that he did not lavish gifts on enemies. Margaret certainly showed no inclination to open the door of the prison, and she told Norfolk that she wondered that there should be a proposal to send the prelate on an embassy to England, as, after gaining his freedom, he would be more contrary to her than ever. She admitted, on the other

¹ H., iv. 613.

² *Ibid.*, 670.

hand, that, if it could be shown that he would be true to her, she would rather have him than any other.¹ Wolsey once more advised her not to release the two prelates till Beaton could be sent on the embassy, and Margaret did not refuse to hear, as she knew, she said, that if they were liberated, they, especially the archbishop, would do to her all the evil in their power. She was able to tell Norfolk that an embassy to England had been arranged, and at the same time was compelled to say that the Scottish Lords would not agree to send Beaton on the understanding that he might be detained in England, as they thought their own country might well hold him.² Norfolk, however, in spite of Margaret's warning, was instructed to urge that Beaton be sent, and he took care to alarm her with the rumour that the archbishop was inviting Albany to return.³ He had to report to Wolsey, however, that Margaret would not dare to remove the two bishops to Berwick, as the Lords had declared that they would not consent to the removal of a Scot to England for offence done to their king. The queen informed him, he said, that Beaton was willing to give pledges to Henry that he would be true to James; and he himself asserted that if Henry would help him out

¹ St P., iv. 59.² Ibid., 60.³ Ibid., 63. H., iv. 668.

of durance, Beaton offered to find surety by the bankers for these pledges. Henry Stewart, the queen's favourite, he continued, who held the Great and the Privy Seals, had promised the archbishop to seek his release, if he would trust him and sue to no other. The information was given, too, that there was a universal grudge against Margaret for taking so much upon herself and consulting no one save Arran and Henry Stewart; and Norfolk added that if Angus were in Scotland, half of the realm would take his part.¹

Margaret's need of a stronger man than Arran or Stewart, if she was to retain her power, must have induced her to think of Beaton's release. Stewart was of no importance in the country, and when he made his offer to the archbishop he must have acted with Margaret's approval; and neither certainly desired the return of Angus. The excuse given to Henry, when he again urged the removal of the two prelates to Berwick, showed that Margaret was once more considering a political alliance with the archbishop. She declared that Beaton was the friend of Arran, and that if he was delivered to Henry, without an assurance that Angus would be placed in captivity, Arran would have occasion to say that she was intriguing against him.² Her real intentions were

¹ St P., iv. 64.

² H., iv. 674.

detected; and Wolsey heard from Norfolk that if Angus proceeded to Scotland, Margaret and Arran would combine with Beaton, and, further, that Arran had long desired to take the archbishop out of prison.¹ Henry and his ministers saw clearly that the release of the prelates would soon be accomplished, and very astutely sought to turn it to their own advantage. Arran could not have approved the favour shown by Margaret to Stewart, but he also was not prepared to welcome Angus, and Beaton as the price of his liberty might give his support. An alliance of Margaret, Arran and Beaton would be fatal to the English policy, and on September 28 Wolsey sent important instructions to Norfolk. Angus was to be permitted to seek him, but not to enter Scotland, if his return was likely to lead to the deliverance of the archbishop and the coalition with the queen and Arran. Strict orders were given that Angus, if prevented from going to Scotland, was not to be told that Henry and Wolsey were privy to the arrangement. Norfolk was to take care, too, that Beaton, if not sent to Berwick, was somehow to be released by Henry's aid, and was not to be kept longer in prison, where evil things might be done. Conditions were to be imposed on Beaton. He was to give pledges into Henry's

¹ St P., iv. 71.

hands, and was to agree to exclude Albany from Scotland, to conserve the young king in his government, to countenance the authority of Margaret, to maintain peace between the two countries, and to keep James from any bands or treaties with France.¹ While Margaret's actions were still uncertain, Norfolk's servant was sent to her, in the last resort, to show that many in Scotland feared that the man in whom she most confided was acting under the advice of the archbishop.² She was not likely, however, to be moved by any taunt regarding the treachery or weakness of Arran, since her fixed purpose was to keep Angus out of Scotland and, with that in view, to prevent Beaton from passing to the side of England.

During the period of the archbishop's imprisonment the three months expired which had been sanctioned for Albany's absence, and his friends were ignorant of his intentions. "Diverse persons," Wolsey was told, "have been sent into France to Albany by the Chancellor, desiring his return."³ The Duke's replies have not been preserved; but as he did not propose to proceed to Scotland in order to secure the freedom of his staunchest supporter, and, further, as there was no prospect of the immediate renewal of the French influence through his presence, Margaret had no need to

¹ St P., iv. 65.

² Ibid., 75.

³ H., iv. 754.

detain the archbishop in prison. Before the actual release it was reported that the prelate was making good cheer with his friends.¹ At length on October 24 George Douglas was able to inform Norfolk that on the previous Friday, at the pleasure of Margaret and Arran, the archbishop had been set at liberty; and the immediate return of Angus was urged on the ground that all the lords would take his part, though, if there was delay, they would turn to Albany.²

Beaton passed from a prison to a palace. Nothing is known of the terms on which he obtained his freedom, and there is no picture of the first interview of the outraged prelate with the queen, who had done despite to him. On November 2, Magnus and Ratcliffe announced to Wolsey that they had presented themselves to the king and queen, with whom were the Archbishop of St Andrews and the Bishop of Aberdeen. They reported Margaret's declaration that though she could not be familiar with Angus she desired a reconciliation between him and Arran; and they told that while they were talking with her in her private chamber, some one knocked at the door and said that he must speak with Her Grace in all haste. The tidings were, as afterwards appeared from her counten-

¹ H., iv. 754.² Ibid, 768. Douglas Book, iv. 89.

ance, that the Earl of Angus had arrived in Scotland. Continuing the interview with the ambassador, she said, "Here is the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, late Chaunceler, being a great wise man, and of high experience, having gret substaunce of gooddes and many friendes, whom if it were possible I wolde fayn wyne, trusting if I soe couth doe, it shulde be right beneficiall unto me." The Englishmen expressed astonishment that after committing him to ward for high causes and trespasses, seeking advice as to what order should be taken with him, and moving Henry to ask the pope to send some solemn personage to deprive him, she had suddenly liberated him, without the consent of Henry or Wolsey. She replied that complaint had been made that, if the archbishop was continued in confinement, it would cost him his life, by reason that he was continually a sickly man. The Earl of Arran, she said, had made a special plea for him, in such manner that, had she not consented, he would have been liberated contrary to her mind. One of her statements had special significance, as it bore on the high dignity of the cardinalate. "The Quenes saide Grace saith," Magnus and Ratcliffe wrote, "that the saide Archebusshop is soe desirous of honour, that if we geve hym faire and pleasaunt woordes, puttyng hym in

comfort, that the king our Master woll doe hym to be avauuced to be a Cardynall, hit shal be the mooste redieste meanes to trayne hym frome the Frenshe faction, and to induce hym to the king our Maisters devotion; and if thus it mought be, the good Quene wolde remitte all his trespasses afore passed.”¹

On the day after the interview the ambassadors reported that Henry Stewart had received “£40 land Scottish” for his part in the liberation; and, further, that Margaret had disclosed to him their conclusions, and he had then gone to the archbishop and other lords “and made gret sewtes.” They told, too, that the archbishop, who was to meet with them, had intimated privately that he dared not to meddle much with them, unless by the queen’s command. No explanation of the change of intention had been offered, but they admitted in regard to Stewart’s “sewtes,” that as yet they did not know the secrets thereof.²

The short duration of the imprisonment afforded the pope no opportunity to intervene on behalf of his servants; and the only communication which Beaton received from the Roman court, during his captivity, was a command to publish certain Bulls against persons contracting matrimony within forbidden degrees.³

¹ St P., iv. 81.² *Ibid.*, 82.³ H., iv. 641.

Clement, however, was not heedless of the injuries done to the prelates. He wrote to the king that he was grieved to hear that he had imprisoned James, Archbishop of St Andrews, and Gavin, Bishop of Aberdeen. He did not know the cause of the king's action. Yet such violence should not have been used, and an accusation should have been made in his presence. He intended not to be indulgent towards the crimes of priests, who ought to be punished with greater severity, but to preserve the papal authority intact. He desired that appearances and examinations should be made before him, and promised to do justice.¹

In due time, John Clerk, Wolsey's correspondent at Rome, furnished details of his interviews with Clement. The pope informed him that Albany's factor had complained of the imprisonment of the Archbishop of St Andrews and the Bishop of Aberdeen, and that he himself had exhorted James to refer the case to the Court of Rome. Clerk was permitted to see the papal letter, and not approving the terms, returned with it to the pope. While admitting that Clement was the vicar of Christ and the high judge of all Christian princes, he said that the kings of England and Scotland had always observed the Church's liberties, and

¹ H., iv. 784.

His Holiness would allow that a king is not bound to suffer a prelate, reasonably suspected of treason, to be at large till word could be sent to Rome, seeing that meantime mischief might be wrought beyond remedy. Clerk begged the pope to consider James's position and to take note of the resistance and conspiracies of Albany's faction, in which the archbishop was the chief. He asserted that Beaton was in difficulties, as he had used to his own profit the king's revenues through the minority, and had done what he could to set up the Duke. James was justified in his action, and the pope could not send with honour the proposed brief, which, "though hortarie," was "powderyd with sore words," as if that action was an injury to the Apostolic See. The archbishop was not kept in strict ward, as was pretended, but was at large in Edinburgh Castle, having his walks and the access of his friends, so far as could be allowed with the king's safety, for which provision must be made. Clerk protested that the imprisonment of a prelate was not a novelty, and that the French king and the Emperor were doing at that hour what James had done. He instanced the case of a French bishop whose death had just taken place, and whose benefice had been given to the Datary; and he did not suppose that Clement had written to Francis,

as he had to James. They were not, he said, so cruel beyond the mountains as men were in Italy. The archbishop, had he been of that country and the possessor of ten lives, would have lost all of them, as there they acted on the principle that the dead cannot fight. Clerk begged the pope to pause and he would see that his letter should not have been written, that he should not have desired the matter to be referred to Rome, and that James should not be asked to give the prelates more liberty than his own safety would permit. The pope, it appeared, had not read the letter written in his name, and he gave assurance that no communication would be sent, which would disturb the existing amity between England and Scotland or interfere with Henry's plans.¹

While he was in prison Beaton's private interests did not suffer. On September 16, Gonzolles, in a letter to his patron, said that the archbishop had requested him several times to urge Albany to provide at once for his return or for his stay, and to nominate "le petit maistre Endrot" for Melrose.² The abbot, Robert Beaton, who was Commissary General of the Cistercians in Scotland,³ was in precarious health, and the archbishop and he had planned to secure the benefice for their nephew Dury, the "little

¹ H., iv. 916.

² Ibid., 670.

³ F. 46.

master Andrew." The nomination of David Beaton to Arbroath was secured in April; and it was probably about the same date that the Abbot of Melrose completed a resignation *in favorem* which, with Albany's license, would carry weight at Rome.¹

The dealings with Arbroath reflect the course of politics in Scotland. Beaton received the abbey in 1517, by the resignation of the Earl of Moray and at the hands of Albany.² During the Regent's absence Beaton and Arran were drawn together, and there is evidence of a transaction, which, however, was not completed. The chancellor desired to resign the abbey to George Beaton, his nephew; but apostolic letters were not expedited, and a writ of Leo X. in favour of Alexander Hamilton was presented to Archbishop Forman.³ Though *litere conformes* were granted, James Beaton was still in possession of Arbroath when he succeeded to St Andrews, and he proposed with Albany's aid to secure the benefice for David Beaton, with retention of half the fruits and right of regress. The provision for Glasgow also required the Regent's intervention, if the primacy of St Andrews was to be secured; and there were the two Hepburns, the Prior of St Andrews and the Bishop of Moray, whose

¹ Theiner, 541; H., iv. 1004. ² Vol. ii. 170. ³ *Ibid.*, 241.

claims for exemption had to be fought.¹ Albany undoubtedly showed favour to the chancellor. Writing to Clement VII. in April 1524, he dwelt on the wise counsels of Beaton, and the expenses incurred by him and his nephew; and as these were in furtherance of his interests, he determined to pay the costs of Arbroath.² In connection, too, with David Beaton's appointment as ambassador to France, he arranged that James Beaton should advance £1000, which would be refunded by the Treasurer.³

Arbroath was transferred before the archbishop's imprisonment;⁴ but in his seclusion he began to wonder whether he had acted wisely in the promise of the £1000, and in a letter to his nephew asked to be relieved of the obligation. In his present condition, he said, it was doubtful whether he could recover the money, and he was accused, as it was, of having done too much for the duke.⁵ The letter was intended most probably as a stimulus to Albany to act resolutely in his representations at Rome.

Immediately after the archbishop's release Angus returned to Scotland. Terms had been arranged in England by which he engaged to follow Henry's advice as to sending the Archbishop of St Andrews to England, enticing

¹ E. R. S.; H., iv. 33.

² Theiner, 541.

³ A. D. C.

⁴ Brady, i. 165.

⁵ H., iv. 665. Appendix iv.

him from devotion to France, and appointing a commission for a final peace.¹ In spite of terms, however, Angus could not control the archbishop; and Wolsey instructed Magnus and Ratcliffe to show Margaret that Beaton should be named for the commission to England, as he might succeed in gaining the nobles for Albany. The ambassadors represented that Beaton was displeased with her for the imprisonment, and depicted him as "soe subtile and clooce a man, that harde it shalbe to come to the knowlege of his intended purpoos, if he mynde and intende any privea crafte under clooked dissimulation." Margaret, unable to give assurances regarding the archbishop, advised that a loving letter should be written, showing that "in so myche as he is an honourable persounage and a gret wise man of the grettest and mooste high experience of any other withynne the realme of Scotlande, necessary and right requesite it were, that he, therefore sufficiently autorised, shulde be sent and shulde come into Einglande."²

Wolsey did not fail to send a good letter, and acted as if blandishments would secure the Scottish churchman. He instructed Magnus and Ratcliffe to offer the comfort that great honour and profit were likely to ensue, and

¹ St P., iv. 68.

² Ibid., 93.

perhaps greater than any archbishop in Scotland ever had.¹

In the meantime there was no prospect of Albany's return, as Francis had need of him in Italy. On October 26 Pavia was besieged, and from the camp on November 14 the duke wrote to Clement, saying that the Cardinal of Ancona was instructed to inform him on Scottish affairs, and, in particular, of the violence done to the archbishop.² A fortnight later the pope, replying to a royal communication regarding privileges, intimated that he would do *quod erit rectum et debitum*, so as to make James fully sensible of his fatherly interest.³

A parliament was held on November 14 at which the archbishop was present. Albany was solemnly deposed from the office of Governor, on the ground that he had not fulfilled his promise to return by September 1. Beaton had been faithful to him and had suffered, but the Duke's failure to return freed him from allegiance, and it was useless to continue with one who was compelled to act altogether as the servant of France. Amidst the changes of parties, and in spite of the temptations which England offered, Beaton never wavered in his

¹ St P., iv. 95.

² Transcripts (Record Office), 63, 16.

³ Theiner, 547.

conviction that Scotland's safety lay in the French alliance. No man had been more loyal to his country, which but for him would have been subjected to Henry. The close of the regency, however, forced him to consider the changed circumstances of the realm. While he owed no gratitude to Henry, having accepted none of his favours, he saw clearly that France would no longer render help, and that a lasting peace must be arranged with England. Scotland, he knew, was powerless, if Henry used his resources to crush the ancient enemy. He accordingly adopted a policy of friendly relationship; and while he was eager for the prize of the red hat of a cardinal, to which the English king might help him, there is no reason to doubt his sincerity, and to judge that the coveted honour dictated that policy. From first to last there was no surrender of his country's liberty, and Scotland's independence was never sacrificed to his ambitions.

Shortly after the parliament Magnus and Ratcliffe reported that while they had good help from Beaton he was not minded to go to England.¹ He offered the excuse of illness, and Margaret spoke of his health as a reason for his release from prison, while he himself asked Wolsey for facilities to obtain medicine from

¹ H., iv. 844, 889.

France.¹ Magnus, however, tried to persuade him, saying that Henry would get him made a cardinal for his pains, and though it was too late for him to be of the embassy for peace, he might proceed as "a high councillor and great supplement to be joined with my lord legate."² The communication regarding the cardinalate was not treated as private. "Her Grace," Magnus wrote to Wolsey, "saith that Groselles reapoorteth that the saide Archebusshop saith, that I, in the name of the King my Maister and of your Grace, have putte hym in comferte to be Cardinall, and that the saide Groselles saith the Frenshe king may sooner doe that thenne any other Cristen Prince."³ More than ever after his release the archbishop was exciting the deepest anxiety in Henry, who found that cajolery no more than threat or punishment could secure him for the English cause. It was patent that he had no longer Albany to aid him; but it was not certain that he would forgive Margaret, or forget the wily invitations to England and the frustrated plans to kidnap him. His attitude, too, to Angus remained unrevealed, though the earl had forced his way with Lennox and others into the Council when he was present.⁴

Robert Beaton died in November, and the

¹ H., iv. 932. St P., iv. ci., *note*. H., iv. 844.

² H., iv. 932. ³ St P., iv. 107. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 96.

interest in Melrose revived. Lord Maxwell, who had been one of the agents in Beaton's arrest,¹ offered Margaret a pension of £1000 on behalf of his brother, the Abbot of Dundrennan, if the nomination to Melrose went in his favour. A letter on behalf of James was sent to the pope, requesting that he would recognise the royal privileges and be deaf to the voice of Albany; while Henry also wrote in favour of Maxwell and in support of the king's claim.² As early as January the Council empowered the governor to negotiate with Clement regarding these privileges, and Beaton, with authority from the duke to superintend the advowson of benefices *sede vacante*, acted for him during the vacancy created by his own promotion to St Andrews.³ It lay with the pope who had just ascended the throne to confirm the right of nomination to prelacies; and when the erection of James was intimated, Clement was asked to note that letters from James alone were authoritative.⁴ For the presentation to Melrose the duke supported Beaton's candidate; and Margaret, who was anxious for the pension of £1000 and for the royal prerogative, sent John Lauder to Rome, and petitioned Henry to give £400 for the expedition of the Bulls.⁵

¹ H., iv. 665. ² Theiner, 546. ³ F., 120., A. D. C.

⁴ Theiner, 542.

⁵ H., iv. 1026.

While Henry and Wolsey were still doubtful regarding Beaton's relations with France, two of Albany's galleys reached Dunbar, carrying three of his principal servants, and with them David Beaton.¹ It was duly reported to Wolsey that David Beaton, without presenting himself to James and Margaret, passed to his uncle at St Andrews, and that Gonzolles had joined them, and Angus and Lennox were to follow.² Magnus for some reason was invited to St Andrews, and when excusing himself he asked the archbishop regarding the arrival of the Frenchmen, and begged him as the greatest personage in the realm to consider that it would be more honourable to rule under James, with the assistance of Henry, than under a stranger, "albeit of good honour," who had been often "right strait and sore" to him. The story told in reply was too simple to deceive any one. After referring to David Beaton's return the archbishop said, "and as for the Frenchemennis being heir in Sainctandrous, ze sall understand that ane part of thame come yis last Sainct Stephanis day, and uyeris sen syne. I nevir knawand of thair coming, unto ye tyme thai knokit at ye zet (I beand at my denner) in company with ye remanent of my Lordis being in this toune for the tyme; and leit yame in, and tretit yame as accordit, because

¹ St P., iv. 103.² Ibid., 104.

thai had writingis furth of France to me and uyeris my Lordis being heir. Bot yai was generall, and of auld datis.”¹

David Beaton, after his visit to St Andrews, proceeded to the Court. From Margaret’s talk it appeared that Francis had offered his younger daughter in marriage to James, and the queen represented that Gonzolles was recommending the archbishop to her favour, and that her suspicions were roused. Magnus, too, began to doubt the prelate on account of the visit of the Frenchmen, and the fact that servants and counsellors of Angus, Lennox and Argyle, had been to St Andrews.² Wolsey also was disturbed, and sent word to the archbishop to pay heed to the education of James, and appealed to the love and kindness shown to him on his promotion by the king’s father. If he would unite with Margaret for the king’s welfare, Wolsey promised that he would cause Henry to intercede with the Pope to make him legate in Scotland with power to confirm all the abbeys in the country.³

Angus, Lennox and Argyle went in January to St Andrews, and according to Magnus, such a house had not been kept on many days in Scotland. The archbishop “gave livery nightly to 21 score of horses.”⁴

Margaret, when the nobles visited St Andrews,

¹ St P., iv. 105. ² Ibid., 107. ³ Ibid., 111, *note*. ⁴ Ibid.

summoned the archbishop, with the Bishop of Aberdeen and the Prior of St Andrews, to a consultation regarding terms of peace communicated by Henry through Lord Cassillis. The prelates represented that the business demanded the presence of a larger number of the Council, and sought a written obligation that no one who obeyed should be made a prisoner. Margaret stated in a reply that the Archbishop of St Andrews and the Bishop of Aberdeen had been placed in ward by the Council for refusing to recognise the king's authority, and not out of any private dislike; and she intimated that when they were loyal to her son she would follow their advice.¹

From St Andrews the prelates and nobles who were with Beaton sent a representation to Henry that the young king was under the charge of unworthy persons, that crimes were committed in the country without punishment, and that Margaret had refused security to those who were called to the meeting with Lord Cassillis. They asked Henry not to assist Margaret but to help them, as they intended the welfare of the king and the realm.² Margaret had a different story, and it was told in a royal proclamation. The king announced that assurances had been offered, and that, while the nobles had accepted them,

¹ H., iv. 1035.

² St P., iv. 112.

they had been rejected by the churchmen, who would not present themselves in Edinburgh. Orders were given through the sheriffs that the lieges were not to consort with these churchmen.¹

The proclamation, however, was futile; and letters were issued by Beaton and his associates for a convention at Stirling on February 6, to redress disorders and to release James from the control of certain private persons who were keeping him in an unwholesome and unpleasant place.² The convention did not assemble, but in February the archbishop with Lennox and other lords entered Edinburgh and communicated with Margaret. She offered to take Angus into favour if her authority remained undisturbed; and expressed her willingness to have Councils for attendance on James and the government of the realm, provided she had the chief place in each. The archbishop, with the Bishop of Aberdeen and the Earl of Argyle, agreed in reply to her proposals that the Council for the king should be appointed by the estates, and that he should have freedom to move from place to place, as should be approved.³ A parliament met in February 1525, and Beaton was named after the queen among those who were chosen to attend the king.⁴ No reason is assigned in any

¹ St P., iv. 113, *note*.

³ *Ibid.*, 115, *notes*.

² *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 117.

of our documents for the reconciliation of Margaret and Beaton; and the most plausible conjecture is that the queen feared the ascendancy of Angus and preferred the archbishop. In consequence of the reconciliation, the Great Seal was restored; and in the record of the Acts of Council, dated March 6, Beaton was named Chancellor, and two days later, at a meeting attended by the king and queen, it was decided that he should have the Seal.¹ Beaton sent an account of the proceedings at the parliament to Wolsey, and asked a safe-conduct for himself and a hundred persons.² At the same time he stated that if the cardinal cared to decorate his "simpilness with offices and faculteis" it would give him great occasion to render true service to the king's highness; and in another letter he said that in the matter of peace he would be so diligent and faithful, that His Grace would labour with the pope and Henry for his promotion to the authority, dignity and privileges promised to him plainly and at length in His Grace's letters.³ Shortly afterwards he asked an extension of the safe-conduct, that he might pass through England to Rome, and explained that the object of the journey was a conference with the pope, regard-

¹ A. D. C.

² He had already obtained leave of absence for eight months (Ibid.)

³ H., iv. 1171; St P., iv. 118.

ing the homage of James and the welfare of the realm.¹ He did not make mention of Melrose, the exemption of Glasgow, or the cardinal's hat. The safe-conduct was duly forwarded; and when Magnus urged that it should be used, Beaton replied that he was chancellor and a meeting of the parliament would delay him till August in Scotland.² He did not say that on March 6 all Scottish subjects were warned to prepare for defence,³ and that the old danger was revived.

The return of Angus introduced a new candidate for Melrose; but Wolsey could not be persuaded to make the earl's brother his favourite.⁴ Arran had to be considered, and when Robert Shaw, "a man of worship," had been recommended for Moray, and the boy John Hamilton for Paisley, something must be left with which to entice Beaton.⁵ The archbishop, however, was more disturbed over the exemption of Glasgow from the jurisdiction of St Andrews than over the prospects of Andrew Dury; and he found that Margaret and Dunbar were appealing to Wolsey and were sending a Maxwell to Rome.⁶ Yet fortune seemed to be favouring Beaton. Before their envoy was able to see him the Cardinal had written to Rome on behalf of St Andrews, and

¹ St P., iv. 121, 123.

² Ibid., 123. ³ A. D. C.

⁴ H., iv. 878, 1222.

⁵ Theiner, 538, 548. H., iv. 1043.

⁶ H., iv. 1103-4.

had sent word to the Scottish prelate that the exemption was not due to England.¹ When, however, Wolsey's letter reached Rome the battle of Pavia had been fought. Albany had been asked "what he would do now that the world was so turned," and had replied that he would get honourable entertainment in France, or would go to Scotland, where the archbishop was his chief friend. John Clerk, the English agent, evidently thought Wolsey's change of attitude precipitate, and by April 6 he had not made representations to the pope in favour of Beaton, whom rumour accused of a new conspiracy.²

The correspondence which passed in May and June was no secret, and Wolsey was perfectly aware that Beaton was in negotiation with France. The Scottish lords were in a position to choose their course, as neither England nor France neglected to bribe them.³ Louise, the queen-regent of France, displayed before Beaton a cardinal's hat, the settlement of the controversy regarding the exemption of Glasgow, and a great benefice in France for David Beaton. She offered, too, to send Albany to Scotland, if necessary; but as her favours were conditioned by the agreement of Scotland to aid France, it

¹ H., iv. 1171, 1197.

² *Ibid.*, 1197, 1245.

³ *Ibid.*, 1446, 1463.

was evident that the proposal regarding the duke was a diplomatic device to delay Scottish negotiations with England.¹

Beaton was not compelled by the decisions of the parliament which met in July to renounce the French alliance, but he had no scruples in soliciting favours from Henry or Wolsey. There was, however, an inconvenient report from Rome, circulated by John Lauder, Margaret's agent, that the archbishop was the chief opponent of peace; and Wolsey was asked to represent the facts to Clerk, the English agent.² Beaton at the same time requested the Cardinal to delay for twenty days, after the despatches to Clerk, letters under the signet of the Scottish King, which were being sent to Rome through England; and he explained that the royal secretary "for mede, favour and pleasure of his frendes" would sometimes suffer the signet to pass without his knowledge, "as well into Fraunce, as to Roome and other places."³ Melrose, which Margaret desired for Maxwell, had not been given, and on September 13 the Cardinal, at Beaton's request, instructed Clerk to press the cause of Andrew Dury on the consistory.

The English agent wrote an account of what

¹ H., iv. 1461. Teulet, *Relations Politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse*, i. 57.

² H., iv. 1552-3.

³ St P., iv. 137.

happened.¹ As Wolsey had formerly supported Maxwell's candidature, Clerk sought an interview with the pope in order to explain the change of attitude. He pointed out that the archbishop had behaved well at the last parliament in establishing peace between the two kingdoms, and that opposition was therefore withdrawn. The Cardinal of Ancona opposed the suit, and charged both the King of Scotland and Wolsey with inconstancy. A letter had arrived signed by James, which aroused suspicion, both because "the signature was very different from his usual writings" and because it favoured Beaton. Clement did not entertain the suggestion of forgery, and added that, as the king had changed his mind, he was bound to accede. The point was carried with difficulty, Clerk said; the opposite party represented Beaton as dangerous to papal influence, very independent, and caring nothing for Bulls or briefs coming from Rome. The English bishop did not fail, afterwards, to impress upon the Scottish primate's agent the importance of inducing his master to follow Wolsey's suggestions in domestic affairs, and to state that in so doing the prelate might attain what he had never thought of, "meaning thereby that if the said arch-

¹ H., iii. 1642. Brewer places his letter in 1521 instead of 1525.

bishop would be cardinal, it would be no mastery to the king's highness and your grace easily to help thereunto." "His said solicitor," Clerk added, "was a glad man when he heard me speak the word."

It is certain that there was no forgery. On October 6 a provision was made, recorded in the vague terms "de persona Andreae," but undoubtedly in favour of Dury.¹ Writing about the matter in December, James did not say more than that his letters had been obtained by Beaton "surreptitiously."² The fact that a revocation was thought of and an appeal sent to Wolsey is to be explained by the archbishop's attitude over the peace negotiations. On September 25 a treaty was made between England and France in which Scotland was comprehended,³ and the Scottish Council insisted on the inclusion of France in their proposed peace with England. Beaton was anxious for a settlement; but he neither would nor could assent to a complete breach with the old ally, and he professed responsibility for a suggested compromise, to the effect that Scotland might lend aid to France only upon French soil.⁴ The controversy dragged on. A meeting of Council

¹ Brady, i. 199. Appendix v.

² H., iv. 907. Placed a year too early.

³ Ibid., 1663.

⁴ Ibid., 1706, 1725, 1726.

on November 21, 1525, was clearly disinclined to accept dictation or to break with France,¹ but as Henry proved willing to withdraw proposals which were considered humiliating to the Scottish king, the majority, in spite of a sedition raised by Arran in concert with Margaret and the Earl of Moray, agreed to accept the condition whereby Scotland and France were at liberty to assist each other, if there was no attack on England.² Margaret opposed the peace, as she was angry with her brother for a communication regarding her conduct with Henry Stewart. Such a letter was never written to any noble woman,³ she said, and in bitterness of spirit she first suggested the return of Albany, and then turned to Arran and Moray. The chancellor, with Angus, Argyle and Lennox, made preparation to repress the rising, and a civil war was prevented.⁴ No attempt was made to punish her for her intrigues, and she learned that in arranging the terms of peace Henry had demanded a provision for her. She was advised by the chancellor and the Bishop of Aberdeen that if her husband claimed a right to

¹ A. D. C.

² H., iv. 1862, 1878. In March 1526 (A. D. C.) Moray was gratified by an arrangement to redeem his Arbroath pension, which would supply him with ready money.

³ St P., iv. 123.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 151.

that provision she might obtain redress, as she had sufficient cause for a divorce.¹

When the negotiations for peace were nearing an end, Magnus suggested to Wolsey that too much was being done for Beaton, and that it might be politic to gratify Gavin Dunbar in the business of his exemption.² The archbishop himself, however, encouraged by success, wrote to the pope asking to be made cardinal and legate on the ground of his administrative record; but though James signed the request, Angus was not disposed to let so dangerous a letter pass.³ Difficulties had arisen on the borders with regard to redress, and the earl, who was warden of the east and middle marches, was taken to task by the Privy Council for his attitude, and Otterburn recommended Magnus to apply to the chancellor, who was no longer on good terms with Albany and would make a vigorous effort to secure tranquillity in the furtherance of his own ambitions.⁴ The fact that Lord Maxwell as warden on the west borders was of interest to England may perhaps contribute to explain the curious uncertainty about the ultimate destination of Melrose. Magnus was quite convinced that Beaton was the most important

¹ H., iv. 1968.

³ Ibid., 1974.

² Ibid., 1862.

⁴ Ibid., 1978, 1980.

and the most deserving person, and he told Wolsey that if there was to be a cardinalate for him, it must be secured by English influence. He added that Beaton had learned from the Lombards the charges, "both to be cardinal and legate."¹

Beaton, in spite of Angus, did not abandon his design, and he intimated to Wolsey that he had despatched a messenger to Rome, and had instructed him to seek letters from Henry and the Cardinal himself. The messenger, he said, had failed to obtain interviews with them, and he was sending his familiar clerk.² Henry undoubtedly wrote to Clement in April 1526, and without mentioning the cardinalate requested him to look favourably on "all the causes of the Archbishop."³ It was necessary, however, for Ghinucci, Bishop of Worcester, who had succeeded Clerk, to prevent the fulfilment of Beaton's ambition, which might be disastrous for English policy, and at the same time to create an impression of loyal support. Ghinucci intimated to Wolsey that at the request of the agents of the Archbishop of St Andrews he and the Cardinal of Ancona had obtained an interview with the pope and had received assurances in Beaton's favour. The agents, however, were not satisfied, and Ghin-

¹ H., iv. 2004.

² *Ibid.*, 2045.

³ Theiner, 554.

ucci sought another interview, as he did not wish to appear dilatory and feared that the pope might be too yielding. It was arranged with Clement that a rumour should be spread that Francis, as was the case, was soliciting a legation for a French cardinal; and it was to be represented that the pope could not favour Scotland and neglect France.¹

The English interference with the Archbishop's schemes is explained by the fact that Angus was securing the position in Scotland which would serve Henry's plans. Beaton was certainly losing ground, as was shown when the parliament on June 14 declared that letters for Dury were null, and that John Maxwell was the official candidate for Melrose. A few days later the act against "impetrators" was reaffirmed, and it was resolved that no legate should be received without the assent of the king and the estates.

Angus had returned to Scotland, in accordance with the English plan, for the purpose of ruling the councils of the king. Great noble though he was, he could not march into the country like a conqueror, or establish his authority like a monarch returning to the homage of a loyal people. He might hope, however,

¹ H., iv. 2199.

that his illustrious name would secure him power if he did not openly betray the interests of the nation. Gradually he found a place in the government of the realm, and when he had overthrown Beaton—his strongest rival—he became the chief minister and adviser of the king. In October 1525 they “did breke in maner, mooste specially by cause noone execution was doon upon the Armestrongges.” In the following February the relationship was still further strained when, after representations to the chancellor that Angus was refusing redress to Westmoreland, the Council laid the blame sharply to the earl’s charge.¹ The parliament which met in June declared that James, having reached his majority of fourteen years, was to exercise the royal prerogative with the full authority attaching to his high position; and the declaration was followed by the advancement of Angus to the chief position under the king. A council was named, and the Archbishop of St Andrews was not included. In July the Great Seal was taken from him; and Angus probably retained it, though he was not elevated to the chancellorship till August 8, 1527.² Balfour, in his *Annals*, says of Angus, “he extorts

¹ St P., iv. 145; H., iv. 1968, 1978.

² St P., iv. 134, *note*.

the grate seall from the Archbischope of St Andrews their Lord Chancellor, and plays Rex in all the schemes off that comedey.”

The political changes, which involved the exercise of the royal authority by James and the overthrow of Beaton as Chancellor, were of grave importance, and were undoubtedly inspired by Angus. Though there was no one to check the advancing power of the earl, there were those who sought to thwart him; and Margaret, his wife, was first in her hatred among his enemies. She declared to Wolsey that Angus, who was keeping James in thralldom, had caused him to write to the pope and the English king that the Archbishop of St Andrews had usurped the royal authority.¹ James certainly did represent that he had been controlled by Beaton, and it suited Angus, who was directing his young master, to discredit the prelate. In a paper of instructions to Patrick Sinclair, to be shown to Henry and Wolsey, James wrote that “the said Patrike shal shewe our derest uncle towching the writing sent by us to him in favour of Master Andrewe Dury, which writinges procedit not of our mynde, wherin we were circumvented by the Archebishop of Saynt Andrews, our Chauncelour for the tyme; which,

¹ St P., iv. 159.

if they had proceeded of our mynde and knowlege, had been to our dishonour, considering our other letters given by us before to Dene John Maxwel." ¹ Margaret, who naturally did not wish to be separated from her son and to lose control of him, set herself to frustrate the plans of the man who was her husband. In the communication to Wolsey, in which she spoke of James being in thralldom, she asserted that the young king had written to her, and also to Beaton and Lennox, and they were determined to find a remedy for his troubles. Their intentions were not hidden, and on September 1 Lord Dacre was informed that Margaret, Lennox and Beaton were resolved to have the king out of the hands of Angus. ² James, who must have had friends by his side, wrote to Henry on August 24 that his message regarding the conspiracy of the archbishop and his partisans had not proceeded from his own mind, but through the solicitation of Angus. Beaton, he said, was now helping him to obtain freedom at the instance of the queen; and he asked Henry to communicate with the pope in favour of Margaret and Beaton, notwithstanding any writings in his name to the contrary. ³ The king's letter was conveyed by one of the archbishop's chap-

¹ St P., iv. 158.

² Ibid., 161.

³ Ibid. H., iv. 2425.

lains; and Magnus, who intimated the fact to Wolsey, told him that "The Quenes Grace is in hoope and truste by the assistence meanes and counsaile of the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, to have the rule and governaunce of the yong king her sonne; and the said Archebusshop in lyke truste to be Chaunceler, as he was afore."¹

Margaret was in earnest when she spoke of a remedy being sought for the king's troubles. She was with the archbishop in Dunfermline,² and shortly afterwards Lennox prepared to rescue James. The plot, however, was revealed, and the king was removed from Holyrood House to Beaton's lodgings, then held by one of the Douglasses.³

Angus was not yet the undisputed master of Scotland, but Arran, recognising his commanding position, forsook Margaret and passed to his side.⁴ The king might die, and as Albany would not obtain the crown, so long as Henry could intervene, Arran allied himself with the man who might raise him to the throne. Lennox, on the other hand, had no selfish aims to pursue; and, though the attempted rescue at Edinburgh had failed, he resolved on more serious action. Young, ardent, and attached to the king, he

¹ St P., iv. 160.

² H., iv. 2414.

³ St P., iv. 161.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 162.

was moved by the prospect of James remaining in the hands of the man who was using him to establish his own position. In September he collected an army at Linlithgow, and Angus met him. Details of the battle have been preserved in a paper which Albany directed to the King of France. It was represented to Francis that James was being tyrannically ruled by Angus and his accomplices, who had put to death several great personages, destroyed churches, and violated women and girls. The king himself was eager to escape, and he sanctioned the departure of Lennox from the court. Lennox collected an army, intending with Margaret, Beaton, Argyll and Moray to attempt the king's rescue; but Angus and Arran, warned of the revolution which was being planned, mustered a company of six or seven thousand men and fell suddenly on Lennox and his host. Many were killed, and among these was Lennox. In a graphic picture Lindesay of Pit-scottie represents the Lord Hamilton standing over the dead body, and saying "The wyssist man, the stoutest man, the hardiest man that ever was brede in Scotland was slaine that day."

Angus in an account of the engagement which he sent to Wolsey spoke of the assistance and cruel counsel of the Archbishop of St Andrews;¹

¹ Douglas Book, iv. 113.

and immediately after the battle, according to Bishop Lesley's narrative, he set out for Stirling to seize Margaret and Beaton. Not finding them, he destroyed the archbishop's property in Dunfermline and St Andrews. Buchanan, in a description of the attack on St Andrews, says that the Douglasses "took and dismantled the bishop's castle, whom they considered the author of all the plans of the Earl of Lennox; and as nobody durst openly afford him an asylum, he himself escaped with difficulty, by often changing his lurking places."¹ Pitscottie narrates that the Douglasses could not find the archbishop, "ffor he was keipand schiep in bogrimmow witht ane schiphirdis claithis upoun him lyke as he had bene ane scheiphird him self." The archbishop, in the phrase of Drummond of Hawthornden, "was turned a true Pastour and in Shepherd's weeds kept sheep on some hill."

Henry VIII. rejoiced when he heard of the victory of Angus, and his pleasure was not lessened by the fact that Beaton's plans had been brought to nought. Through Sir Thomas More he advised that Angus and Arran should so repress the archbishop and his adherents, that he should not be able by crafty practices to deceive them, or by open rebellion to distress them.² James, on the other hand, must have

¹ History, xiv. 30.

² St P., iv. 162, *note*.

been disappointed with the tragic termination of the appeal to arms. His friend was dead, and he himself was continued in subjection to Angus. He had, indeed, no fondness for the archbishop, but the prelate was suffering for his sake, and perhaps he was gratified to confirm a charter by which provision was made for prayers for the souls of James Beaton and others.¹ The failure to crush Angus and the death of Lennox seriously affected the French interests, as Albany was careful to inform Francis, and he suggested that he himself should proceed to Scotland, in order to restore the government to Margaret and reinstate the French faction in power.² Angus in turn made strong efforts to dissociate Margaret and Beaton. He offered to restore Stirling Castle to her if she would dismiss Henry Stewart and break with the archbishop;³ and in the Council, on October 23, her cause against Andrew Dury was taken up. Maxwell had been duly nominated, and even admitted to the temporality of Melrose; while his opponent was decreed to have broken the act of impetration, and was to be subjected to the penalties.⁴ Again, on November 17, the rights of Maxwell were

¹ R. M. S., i. 389. For similar charters, cf. *Colleg. Churches of Midloth.*, 102, 328.

² H., iv. 2539.

³ *Ibid.*, 2575.

⁴ A. D. C.

affirmed.¹ Dury, however, was legally in possession of Melrose as there were Bulls in his favour, and on July 16 there had been paid 1980 florins *auri de camera* in his name.²

Necessity constrained the archbishop to make terms with Angus. The agreement could not be a diplomatic arrangement, and money must be spent. In May he had obtained Kilwinning for a nephew; and when it was given to Alexander Hamilton, Arran was appeased.³ It was needless to trouble with Margaret, when Angus could be bought for 2000 marks. Other payments to Hamiltons and Douglasses had the desired effect;⁴ and though Beaton did not at once proceed to Edinburgh, his nephew of Arbroath watched proceedings on his behalf. At last in November the long delayed Bulls of Melrose were received by Dury, and, as appeared, the archbishop had bought the necessary admission to the temporalities.⁵ Provision was made for another nephew. George Dury was granted Dunfermline, with reservation of fruits, regress and collation of benefices for the archbishop.⁶

An incident connected with Dunfermline illustrates the legal controversies which constantly

¹ A. P.

² Brady, i. 199.

³ *Ibid.*, 195. H., iv. 2292. Appendix vi.

⁴ St P., iv. 163.

⁵ R. P. S., 3584.

⁶ St P., iv. 163.

arose when a great benefice changed hands. Andrew Forman, as commendator, had let certain lands to his brother, the Dean of Glasgow, for a period of nineteen years, and Beaton sought to invalidate the transaction. The case was taken to the Court of Rome, which named two churchmen as arbiters. Hew Spens, the provost of St Salvator's in St Andrews, acting as sub-delegate, cited Robert Forman; and he on his way to the church was roughly handled by one of Beaton's servitors, accompanied by many armed men. An excellent opportunity was afforded for a counter-appeal to Rome, and Forman took instrument that there was no "safe access" to St Andrews, that before the citation Beaton had resigned the commendatorship, and that Spens was not an impartial judge, being an official of the archbishop.¹

Christmas was spent by Beaton at Holyrood in the company of James and Margaret. "I here," wrote Magnus, "the Erle of Anguisshe had a good somme of money to agre and consent to the same."² The English ambassador was anxious to strengthen the friendship of

¹ F. 164. There is also an instrument (May 3, 1525) by Adam Forman, "claustralis prior," and the convent of Dunfermline, appealing in name of Forman against a financial decision in the Court of Rome (MS. Liber Pluscardensis, 203, Bodl. Lib.)

² St P., iv. 163.

Margaret and Beaton, and doubtless hoped they would be a check on Angus. He was anxious, too, that the prelate should help the peace of the realm by bringing the dissensions of the nobles to an end.¹ Patrick Sinclair, however, was not able to tell a tale of friendly concord. He reported to Wolsey, on January 3, 1527, that the Queen, having circumvented Angus, had forced him to agree to the archbishop being with the king; and he asserted, though he was mistaken, that events pointed to a revolution in the court and the overthrow of the earl.² The only change which took place was due to Margaret herself. She demanded that Henry Stewart should be received; and when James refused her requests, she departed in anger from Holyrood. Beaton thereupon was denied the king's presence, and he repaired to Margaret at Stirling.³

One of the documents of 1525 illustrates the fact that the archbishop was a churchman as well as a statesman, and that he possessed municipal authority in the city of St Andrews. The Dominicans, being desirous to enlarge their monastery, applied for permission, as the new building would encroach on a street. In the licence granted by the

¹ St P., iv. 166.

² Douglas Book, iv. 343. H., iv. 2777.

³ St P., 168.

Archbishop, he wrote, "and becaus we and our predecessouris are first and principall fundatouris of the forisaid place of Freiris Predicaturis within our cietie forisaid, quhilk thairfor we hayffe in mynde to promuyffe and extend in all thingis neidfull for the honour of God and his kirk." The magistrates and citizens were charged, under the pains of cursing and all others, whatsoever they might incur, temporal or spiritual, for disobedience, not to molest, trouble, let or inquiet the prior and convent in the peaceable setting forth and building the additions.¹

The year after the issue of the licence to the Dominicans, an Observant Friar, who was disturbing the religious peace of "the Province of Scotland," summoned the Bishop of Moray to the court of the Archbishop of St Andrews. Though admonished to desist, under threat of punishment, he fixed his "pretended appeal" on the doors of the churches of St Andrews. Beaton, however, was not required to act as a judge, though letters regarding the case were written by Clement VII. to James V. and the provincial of the Friars Observants in Scotland.²

An instance of local and benevolent adminis-

¹ Cf. Hay Fleming's 'The Reformation in Scotland,' 625-627.

² H., iv. 3019-3021.

tration in 1527 is recorded. The archbishop, with consent of the Prior of St Andrews and the magistrates, applied the fruits of the altar of the Holy Rood in the town church towards the increase of the salaries of the ten chaplains, who in some instances were underpaid, and the foundation of a choir to sing psalms daily at 5 A.M. in summer and 6 A.M. in winter, and also mass at 1 P.M., for the welfare of the king, the kingdom, the archbishop, and the city.¹

In the Lenten season of 1527 Beaton gave decisive proof that he was a churchman, and almost for the first time in his long career showed that there was a special sphere, within or beyond the State, which demanded his spiritual care. It was the year which witnessed the political ascendancy of Angus; and it seems as if the prelate, deprived of the Great Seal and excluded from the councils of the king, turned in his forced leisure to the neglected Church which gave him the primatial dignity. He had managed the secular affairs of the two great dioceses and the rich abbeys committed to his charge; but in all that is recorded of his career, down to the close of his chancellorship, there is seldom a suggestion that he was a father in Christ with a religion to teach, and a new departure was made when he

¹ St Andrews City Documents.

showed himself a guardian of the Church's faith. By his order, though probably against his inclination, a faithful inquisition was established in connection with one who was favouring the teaching of Martin Luther. From the fifteenth century Scotland, which witnessed the condemnation and death of John Resby and Paul Craw, was not seriously disturbed by any heretic. Patrick Hamilton was not indeed the first Lutheran who discoursed in Scotland, but he was the first Scotsman who died for his creed in the age of the Reformation. In October 1527 Monsieur de la Tour, who had been of Albany's company, was put to death in a market-place near Paris. He was charged with spreading the Lutheran doctrines while he was serving with the Regent; and according to the record in the 'Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris sous le Règne de François Premier' was burnt in the year 1525.¹ "L'an 1525," the statement is, "un gentilhomme nommé monsieur de la Tour, Poictevin, qui estoit un des gens d'armes du duc de Albanye en Escosse, quand iceluy seigneur duc y estoit pour le Roy du dict pays régent, fut bruslé au marché aux pourceaulx lez Paris, par arrest de la cour de Parlement. Ceste exécution

¹ Journal (Société de l'Histoire de France), 326, 327. For the date, cf. Hay Fleming's 'Reformation in Scotland,' 173.

du dict de la Tour fut faicte le samedy vingt-sixiesme octobre, pour ce qu'estant en Escosse, il y avoit semé plusieurs erreurs luthériennes. Et avant, en sa présence, fut batter de verges le sien serviteur au cul de la charrette et eut la langue couppée pour avoir tenu la secte de Luther, dont il se repentit, parquoy n'en mourut."

No Scottish writer, unfortunately, has transmitted an account of de la Tour as a teacher or preacher, and there is nothing, therefore, to indicate the extent of his influence. Apart from any missioner, however, the Lutheran doctrines were being spread in Scotland through books and pamphlets; and in July 1525 a Parliament prohibited the introduction of Lutheran literature into the country. "It is statut and ordanit," the Act says, "that forsamikle as ye dampnable opunzeouns of heresy ar spred in diuerss cuntreis be ye heretik Luther and his discipillis, And yis realm and liegis has fermelie persistit in ye halifaith sen ye samin was first ressaut be yaim and neuer as zit admittit ony opunzeouns contrar ye Cristin faith bot euer has bene clene of all sic filth and vice, Therfor yat na maner of persoun strangear yat hapnis to arrife with yar schippis within ony port of yis realme bring with yaim ony bukis or werkis of ye said Lutheris

his disciplis or seruandis desputt or reherss his heresyis or opunzeouns bot geif it be to ye confusioun yarof (and yat be clerkis in ye sculis alanerlie) under ye pane of escheting of yar schippis and gudis and putting of yar persouns in presoun, And yat yis act be publist and proclamit out throw yis realme at all portis and burrowis of ye samin sa yat yai may allege na ignorance yarof. (And all vyer ye kingis liegis assistaris to sic opunzeouns be pvnist in semeible wise. And ye effect of ye said act to strik apoun yaim.)” A note on the margin of the MS. indicates that the words within the brackets were added in 1527 by the chancellor and the Lords of Council; and, though Hamilton was not named, they probably referred to him and were certainly applicable. He does not seem to have been in priestly orders,¹ and it may have been thought desirable to obtain legal sanction for dealing with laymen. Shortly after the passing of the Act, James sent a communication to the Sheriff of Aberdeen and his deputies to the effect that Gavin, Bishop of Aberdeen, had made known to him that there were strangers and others within his diocese who had in their possession books of the heretic Luther,

¹ There is no evidence, apart from the statement of the English reformer Frith, that he was a priest.

and favoured his errors and false opinions. The king directed that inquisition be made for such persons and their goods confiscated.¹

In spite of the act of 1525 copies of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament were brought to Edinburgh and St Andrews. John Hackett, English ambassador at Antwerp, writing to Cardinal Wolsey, February 20, 1527, regarding copies of the New Testament, informed him that "there were divers merchants of Scotland that bought many of such like books, and took them to Scotland; a part to Edinburgh, and most part to the town of St Andrews."² The Scottish Parliament made no enactment regarding the importation of copies of the New Testament, but the additions to the act of 1525 were probably inspired by alarm over the circulation of the New Testament as well as of Lutheran books.

It may be conjectured that Patrick Hamilton, since he was in St Andrews in the early months of 1527, used Tyndale's translation, and, indeed, it may have been he who was responsible for the purchase at Antwerp. Certainly in Lent, as has been noted, an inquisition was made. In the sentence which was ultimately pronounced Archbishop Beaton declared that Hamilton had

¹ Council Reg. of Aberdeen (Spalding Club), 110, 111.

² Anderson's 'Annals of the English Bible,' ii. 409.

been called before him and other judges, and had been accused, "the merits of the cause being ripely weighed, discussed, and understood by faithful inquisition in Lent last past." The archbishop narrated that after that inquisition Hamilton was again summoned, but he being "of evil mind, as may be presumed, passed to other parts forth of the realm, suspected and noted of heresy."

Patrick Hamilton, who was born probably in 1504, was the son of Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavel, himself the son of the first Lord Hamilton, and Catherine Stewart, the daughter of Alexander, Duke of Albany. He entered the university of Paris, and in 1520 took the master's degree. During the first years of his residence at Paris he would have the opportunity of hearing John Major, whom James Beaton invited to the University of Glasgow and later to that of St Andrews. Leaving Paris, Hamilton proceeded to Louvain, and afterwards returned to Scotland. In 1523 he was in St Andrews, and was incorporated into the university along with John Major and Robert Laudar. The entry in the university register is: "Die nono mensis Junii anno domini Im Ve xxij incorporatus erat venerabilis vir Magister noster Magister Johannes Major doctor theologus Parisiensis et thesaurarius capelle regis. Eodem

die incorporati sunt Magister Patricius Hamilton et Magister Robertus Laudar in nostra universitate." In the following year, according to a minute of the Faculty of Arts, dated October 3, "Magister Patricius Hamiltone abbas de ferne Rossensis diocesis in facultatem est receptus"; and as he thus obtained recognition as a master it is not improbable that he continued in the university till the faithful inquisition.

In 1527 the archbishop, by his own narrative, summoned Hamilton to appear before him and was not obeyed, as the suspect fled. It is evident, however, that if the prelate had been zealous to make a prisoner he could have seized Hamilton, and very probably he simply desired him to leave the city and abstain from teaching. Spottiswoode describes the archbishop as "neither violently set, nor much solicitous (as it was thought) how matters went in the Church." Beaton had been eager for honours which the pope alone could bestow, and the vision of the cardinalate or the legateship would inspire him to extinguish heresy in Scotland, that Clement might be pleased. Even the flight of a heretic would suffice to show that the guardians of the church were active.

Hamilton departed from St Andrews, intending to visit Wittenberg. Luther, however, was not destined to exercise a personal influence

over the young Scotsman, as in 1527 Wittenberg was visited by a plague, and Hamilton passed to Marburg, where the Landgrave of Hesse had founded a university. The first list of students of that university contains the name of Patrick Hamilton. In Marburg he met Francis Lambert and others who deeply affected his religious life. Lambert had been called in 1526 by the Landgrave to organise the Reformation within its territories, and had acted on the principle that "all that is deformed ought to be reformed." Hamilton, ardent though he was, received fresh inspiration from this man, and his example incited him to attempt in Scotland what was being accomplished in Hesse. "His learning," Lambert wrote, "was of no common kind for his years, and his judgment in divine truth was eminently clear and solid. His object in visiting the university was to confirm himself more abundantly in the truth; and I can truly say that I have seldom met with anyone who conversed on the Word of God with greater spirituality and earnestness of feeling. He was often in conversation with me on these subjects."¹ To Lambert also we are indebted for the statement that he was the first "after the erection of the university who put forth a series of theses to be publicly

¹ Cf. Lorimer's 'Patrick Hamilton,' pp. 92, 93.

defended. These theses were conceived in the most evangelical spirit, and were maintained with the greatest learning. It was by my advice that he published them.”¹ John Frith translated the theses, and in their English form they were printed in Foxe’s ‘Martyrs.’ “The little treatise,” to quote Frith’s words, “which if ye list ye may call ‘Patrick’s Places,’ teacheth exactly of certain commonplaces, which known, ye have the pith of all divinity.”²

Hamilton returned to Scotland in the autumn of 1527, the year in which he had left St Andrews, and shortly after his arrival married a lady whose name has not come down to us. It is possible that he took orders before his final visit to Germany; but on the other hand he was not indicted for breaking the law or custom of celibacy, and it certainly cannot be shown that, following Luther, he married in order that his example might aid the clergy in a quest for freedom.

James Beaton was in Dunfermline in November, and information would easily reach his monastery of the work which Hamilton was doing in the Kincavel district. Hamilton, however, was not arrested by any officer of the archiepiscopal court, and no formal summons compelled his presence in St Andrews. According to Knox’s

¹ Cf. Lorimer’s ‘Patrick Hamilton,’ p. 96.

² Ibid.

narrative the fame of Hamilton's "reasonis and doctrin troubled the clargye, and came to the earis of Bischope James Beatoun, . . . who being ane conjurid ennemye to Christ Jesus, and one that long had had the whole regiment of this realme, bare impatientlie that any truble should be maid to that kingdome of darknes, whair of within this realme he was the head. And, thairfoir, he so travailled with the said Maister Patrik, that he gat him to Sanctandrosse."

A copy of a citation, issued by Beaton in connection with Hamilton's case, has been preserved in the St Andrews *Formulare*. It was directed to one of his rural deans and other clergy in the province, and ran as follows:—

Whereas it was established by careful inquisition in due form under our mandate that a certain Master Patrick Hamilton was in many ways suspect for heresy, and whereas we decreed that he should be cited and accused thereanent, but in the meantime he left Scotland and betook himself to other parts abroad; and whereas nevertheless it is commonly reported and has come unmistakably to our ears that he returned home very recently and has at once, without proper commission or the necessary powers and privileges, on his own authority and in presumptuous daring, ventured to undertake the office of preaching, in a heresy, moreover, already condemned, and to propound his own false doctrines as well as the foreign opinions of Martin Luther, a heretic condemned by the Church, and of his followers, to teach, disseminate, and obstinately affirm the same, and is not

ashamed to instruct Christian folk in them; while the simple and unlettered people of Christ in this realm, who, in their own persons and those of their ancestors, for these thirteen hundred years and more have constantly served in God's Church, he strives with all his power and seeks to seduce from our true and orthodox faith and from the Church Catholic and to pervert them, saying, preaching, and daring to affirm in all publicity, among other things, that no obedience is due to laws, canons, ordinances of the Fathers and decrees, or any regulations of men: that the keys and censures of the Church are of no account, nor should trust be reposed in its sacraments: that people should not go to the Churches or worship images: that prayers should not be offered for the souls of the dead, or tithes paid to God and the Church: that for good works there will be no reward of salvation or torment for evil: that our ancestors in the Church of God and those who put their trust in its sacraments died in an evil and imperfect faith and are buried in hell, and preaches, teaches, and affirms other abominable doctrines, which the Christian and the faithful should dread to utter, in contempt of the living God, the keys of the Church, and our orthodox faith, to the damage and scandal of the common weal of Scotland, to her downfall by the merited vengeance of God, if she once favours such teaching, and to the grievous danger of the culprit's soul, unless a remedy be found; and whereas in these things, all and sundry, by the common voice arising from his public and notorious preaching, the said Master Patrick is held in repute and reported as suspect for heresy, after counsel taken thereanent we have decreed that he should be cited and tried in the premisses. Wherefore we direct and authorise you and each of you to cite in due form the said Master Patrick Hamilton the first time, the second time, the third time, and peremptorily, to compear before us

and our assessors, bishops, abbots, priors, doctors in Theology, regulars, and others, assisting us for the time in our metropolitan church of St Andrews, primatial of Scotland, on the day of next to come, at ten o'clock forenoon or thereby, to answer to us in view of our office concerning all his doctrines obstinately uttered, published, and maintained against our orthodox faith and the holy Catholic Church, and to see and hear himself declared heretic therefor, and found worthy of the condign punishment provided by the Canons, and to answer for his adherence and favour shown to the foreign opinions and errors of the said Martin Luther, a heretic condemned by the Church, and of his followers, as well as on other questions, and to be accused and found guilty of maintaining heresy and of false tenets concerning the faith, witness and proof whereof, if necessary, being received, sworn, and admitted; and that in the premisses, all and sundry, summary proceedings will and should be taken, as may be rightful; or to allege reasonable cause why the aforesaid should not be carried out: with due intimation, as is wont, to the said Master Patrick that whether he compares at the prescribed time and place or not, we are minded nevertheless to proceed in the premisses, all and sundry, with mediation of justice, notwithstanding his absence or contumacy in any point; and lest there be danger in delay and that, in the meantime, such heresies may not arise or be heard by faithful Christians in the Kingdom of Scotland, untainted by heretical contagion for so many years till now, and kept inviolate since the faith of the Saviour was received, we direct and authorise you all and sundry the aforesaid, in manner and form as above, to inhibit by our authority all faithful Christians, of whatsoever dignity, estate, degree, order, or condition, from offering to the said Master Patrick, suspect as in the premisses concerning heresy, any favour, assistance, fellow-

ship, converse, or ready ear, and from meeting or appearing personally on any pretext whatever in public or in secret at his daring and insolent preachings, disputations, or conventicles, and to bid them resist with zeal the said Master Patrick and any that support him in the premisses, and cause resistance to be offered; to make them hold aloof from him in eating and drinking or holding communication in the premisses, until he be purged of heresy and the disrepute thereof, and shun him under penalty of the greater excommunication, the which we do will and decree that those acting in the contrary should *ipso facto* incur.¹

Hamilton might have escaped the martyrdom which awaited him had he chosen not to appear before the archbishop. Yet his return from Germany and his journey to St Andrews proved beyond doubt that he was devoting his life, and was even willing to give it in sacrifice, to the work of reformation. "Dicebat se," Alesius wrote, "ad hoc ingressum esse urbem ut pios in vera doctrina confirmaret sua morte. Prædixit etiam se brevi moriturum, cum adhuc apud suos esset." In St Andrews the proceedings against Hamilton began with a discussion in presence of the archbishop and "his bloody bucheouris, called Doctouris," who, seeming to approve the doctrines of the accused, granted that many things craved reformation in the ecclesiastical government. The conference con-

¹ Appendix VII. : an accurate copy of the Latin has not hitherto been printed.

tinued for several days, and at its conclusion Hamilton was allowed full liberty to move about, and might even have left the city. Yet Beaton, whether of his own will or not, was soon to deal vigorously with him; and Knox declares that the clergy, afraid of his interference on behalf of Hamilton, persuaded the young king to depart to the shrine of St Duthac, near Tain.¹

Alesius affirmed in one of his tracts that Beaton desired Hamilton to escape, and explained that the two men were related. "Fuit ei etiam indicatum," he said, "quid theologi definivissent, cum adhuc fugere potuisset, et quidem cupiebat archiepiscopus eum aufugere, quia affinitate ei conjunctus fuit."² If Beaton afforded opportunity for escape Hamilton did not make use of it, though he must have foreseen his tragic fate. He remained in St Andrews while his answers given at the discussion were under review by a council of theologians. When the learned men had concluded their labours they presented a report to the archbishop in the cathedral, and Hamilton was pronounced a heretic and condemned. He had been seized, however, before judgment was passed. Knox

¹ Cf. 'Knox's History,' i., appendix iv.; Lorimer's 'Patrick Hamilton,' 141, and appendix vi.

² Cf. Lorimer's 'Patrick Hamilton,' 237.

narrates that he was intercepted in his chamber and carried by the bishop's servants to the castle, where he was kept for the night. In the morning, being produced for judgment, he was condemned to die by fire for the testimony of God's truth. According to Spottiswoode's account, Hamilton engaged in sundry conferences; and, while he did not suspect that violence would be used, "under night he was apprehended, being in bed, and carried prisoner to the castle. The next day he was presented before the bishop." Spottiswoode further declares that Hamilton had been accused, in presence of the archbishop, for maintaining certain articles, which were remitted for judgment to the theologians. "These men," he says, "within a day or two presented their censure of the articles, judging them all hereticall, and contrary to the faith of the Church. This subscribed with all their hands, and delivered to the Bishop in a solemne meeting, kept in the Cathedral Church the first of March 1527, sentence was pronounced against the young gentleman, declaring him an heretick: and giving him over in the hands of the secular power to suffer punishment due to heresie." Lindesay of Pitscottie gives details of a debate between Hamilton and a Dominican named Campbell, and represents the friar saying to

the archbishop and the clerical judges, "My lordis ze heir he denyis the institutiouns of hollie kirk and the autorietie of our hollie father the pape. I neid nocht to accuse him no more."

Whatever may have been the circumstances of the trial, judgment was given by the archbishop, and, as recorded by Foxe, the sentence was—

Christi Nomine inuocato—We, James, by the mercy of God, Archbishop of S. Andrew, Primate of Scotland, wyth the counsaile, decree and authoritie of the most reuerend fathers in God, and lordes, abbotts, . . . sitting in judgement within our metropolitane church of S. Andrew, in the cause of hereticall prauitie against M. Patricke Hamelton, Abbot or pensionaire of Ferme, being summoned to appeare before vs to aunswere to certaine Articles, affirmed, taught and preached by hym; and so appearyng before vs and accused, the merits of the cause beyng ripely weyde, discussed and understood by faythful inquisition made in Lent last passed; we haue founde the same M. Patrike many wayes infamed wyth heresie, disputing, holding and maintayning diuers heresies of Martin Luther and hys followers, repugnant to our fayth, and which are already condemned by generall counceils and most famous vniuersities. And he being vnder the same infaime, we decernyng before hym to be summoned and accused vpon the premises, he of euill mynd (as may be presumed) passed to other partes, forth of the Realme, suspected and noted of heresie. And beyng lately returned, not beyng admitted, but of his cune head, without licence or priuiledge, hath pre-

sumed to preach wicked heresie. We haue found also that he hath affirmed, published and taught diueris opinions of Luther and wicked heresies, after that he was summoned to appeare before vs and our councell; that man hath no free wyll; that man is in sinne so long as he lyueth, . . . with diuers other heresies and detestable opinions; and hath persisted so obstinate in the same, that by no counsaile or perswasion he may be drawn therefrom to the way of our right fayth. All these premisses being considered, we, hauing God and the integritie of our fayth before our eyes, and following the counsaile and aduise of the professours of the holy Scripture, men of law, and others assistyng vs for the tyme, do pronounce, determine and declare the sayd M. Patrike Hamelton for his affirmyng, confessyng and maintainyng the foresayd heresies, and his pertinacitie (they beyng condamed already by the Church, general councels, and most famous vniuersities) to be an hereticke, and to have an euil opinion of the fayth, and therefore to be condemned and punished; like as we condemne and define hym to be punished, by this our sentence definitiue, depriuyng and sentencyng hym to be deprived of all dignities, honours, orders, offices and benefices of the Church, and therefore do iudge and pronounce hym to be deliuered ouer to the secular power to be punished, and his goodes to be confiscate. This our sentence definitiue was geuen and read at our metropolitan Church of S. Andrewes, the last day of the month of February, an. 1527,¹ beyng present the most reuerend Fathers in Christ, &c.

The intervention of the secular power is not described in any record, but Patrick Hamilton was led to execution on the day on which the

¹ 1528, according to the new reckoning.

judgment was pronounced in the cathedral. No time was given to prepare for the death he was ready to meet; and it seemed as if his judges feared a rescue. The young laird of Airdrie in Fife collected a score of men, hoping to carry off his friend, but was easily overwhelmed.¹ A more serious interruption was expected from Sir James Hamilton, the brother of the condemned man, who, it was believed, would not suffer him to perish without a blow for his liberty; and it is probable that terror of Sir James incited Beaton to his indecent haste. In front of the gate of St Salvator's College, Patrick Hamilton was burnt, the first martyr of the Scottish Reformation.

Angus, who was the political master of Scotland, did not interfere with the inquisition; and while it might be said that he recognised the limits of the civil authority, it could not be alleged that he was zealous for the church's doctrine. Yet his action or inaction may be understood, when it is remembered that Patrick Hamilton was allied to Arran; and it may be taken that Angus was not unwilling that it should be seen that his former ally was too weak to protect his own kinsman. Whatever motives may have impelled him, and whatever may have been his opinions regarding civil and ecclesiastical

¹ M'Crie's 'Melville,' note D.

authority, it is plain that but for his direct permission or intentional inactivity Beaton and the churchmen would not have dared to strike one of the Hamiltons.

After Hamilton's death, the University of Louvain addressed congratulations to Beaton. The letter, which Foxe has preserved, is styled "A letter congratatorie, sent from the doctours of Louane to the Archbyshop of S. Andrewes and Doctours of Scotland, commendyng them for the death of M. Patrike Hamilton."

John Major, too, had words of praise for Beaton. In dedicating his exposition of St Matthew's gospel in 1518, he addressed Beaton, then Archbishop of Glasgow, in Latin which was as flattering as it was affected and involved. Beaton was described as an "unfailing stay of the Church" and a "store-house of learning": he was the defender of the poor, while his varied clemency adapted itself to every occasion; and he more than realised the character which the Apostle Paul expected of men in his position. In 1529 Major published an exposition of the four gospels, which contained "numerous disputations against the heretics," and in June he wrote at Montagu College a dedication of that portion of the work which dealt with St Matthew. It was his object, he informed Beaton, to exhibit the harmony of the evangelists, and to defend orthodox opinion

against the followers of Wiclif, Huss and Luther. The archbishop had done much to further the writer's studies, and the present work was fittingly inscribed to an ecclesiastic of his high position and character. James meant "supplanter," and Beaton had laid the Lutheran heresy by the heels so that it was not likely to arise in Scotland again: the *herba Betonia* had been applied to the poison-bite. Major's earlier work on St Matthew, imperfect as it was, had been constantly in the archbishop's hands, and this proved his interest in sacred letters. The present dedication was appropriate to the character of a man who had "courageously removed, not without considerable unpopularity, a noble and ill-fated follower of the Lutheran error"; yet he must remember the words "si adhuc hominibus placerem, Christi servus non essem."¹

The year which saw the tragedy of Hamilton's trial and death witnessed also the fall of Angus. For a time the earl enjoyed political supremacy; but as his power was due to his control of the king and not to wise statesmanship it was destroyed, when James succeeded in freeing himself. Lindesay of Pitscottie has furnished a description of the flight of the king, which, however, is discredited by the evidence of the Ex-

¹ Major's 'Greater Britain' (Scot. Hist. Soc.), 410, 435, 447.

chequer Rolls.¹ One of the active agents in the plot, according to Lindsay, was the archbishop; and it may well be conjectured that he assisted, if opportunity occurred, the overthrow of his rival in the political strife. "James Bettoun," Lindsay says, "callit the king and the Douglasses to the pasche to Sanctandrois and thair made thame great cheir and blythnes and gave them great giftis of gold and silluer with fair haiknays and wther gift's of lax and steidingis that they would desyre of him that he might paciefie thair wraith thairwitht and obtain thair fawouris." The archbishop and the earl were reconciled after the fray at Linlithgow; and if the Douglasses were entertained at St Andrews, there was no need for Beaton to make his peace with them. It is known, however, that in June 1528 James escaped from the guard of the Douglasses and passed to Stirling.² With the advice of the queen, the Archbishop of St Andrews, Arran, Argyll and others, he issued a proclamation that neither the Earl of Angus nor any of the Douglasses was to come within seven miles of him, and, further, that the nobles should assemble for judgment of Angus.³ A parliament which met in September passed a decree of forfeiture against the Douglasses; but the tradition of their great house did not incline them to yield

¹ E. R., xv. 54.² A. P., ii. 325b.³ H., iv. 4457.

without a blow, and it was not till November that the earl, after some petty successes, found safety in England. Though Beaton did not attend the parliament, a procurator protested on his behalf that the forfeiture should not prejudice the archbishop or the church, and that any escheat in the regality of St Andrews and Dunfermline should pertain to him.

Immediately after the proclamation issued at Stirling, James proceeded to Edinburgh, and for two days occupied the archbishop's house.¹ Whatever may have been his share in the deliverance of the king, Beaton profited by the fall of his rival. Exasperated by the bondage to which one faction after another had subjected him, the king determined to rule by his own authority, and to suffer the control of neither France nor England. In the distribution of offices the chancellorship was given to the Archbishop of Glasgow, who had been the king's preceptor and was trusted. James, however, received Beaton to his favour, and, as Wolsey was informed, he was at the Court for council in discords and variances, and also for the arrangement of the king's marriage.² English courtesy was once more extended to him, as he might be of use to Henry. Magnus professed to be pleased that the archbishop had been recalled to the court, where his advice had long

¹ H., iv. 4531.

² St P., iv. 201.

been for the weal of the realm and the maintenance of justice ; and he assured him that Henry and Wolsey, but for the troubles with the pope, the Emperor and the King of France, would have had more communication with him.¹ Beaton replied that after the departure of Magnus from Scotland he had not haunted the court, and had confined himself to his spiritual cure. He was in Edinburgh, he said, at the desire of the king ; and so far as the good of the two kingdoms was concerned, he was of the same mind as formerly.²

The fall of Angus, however annoying it was to Henry, did not lead to an open breach of the peace between the two countries ; and on December 14, 1528, a treaty was ratified for five years.³ Henry had sent the earl to Scotland, and it was fitting that he should solicit a mitigation of the punishment of the man who had served him. Representations were made to the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow ; but James would yield nothing. Henry had to console himself, therefore, with the assurance of Margaret and Beaton that his advice would be sought in any arrangement for the king's marriage.⁴

In 1528 the divorce of Margaret and Angus was pronounced, after years of estrangement.

¹ H., iv. 4994.

² *Ibid.*, 5006.

³ Rymer, xii. 286.

⁴ H., iv. 5289.

As early as October 21, 1526, Wolsey was informed that Angus had agreed with Margaret for a divorce, on condition that she would "not labour nor solicit for" the Archbishop of St Andrews and others who were named.¹ In his 'Historie of Scotland,' Lesley narrates that "the Quene causit summoun the Erle of Angus her husband befor the bischop of St Androis, quhair thair was ane proceis of divorce led betwix thame, and sentence pronouneit thairintill; the caus thair of being, for that the Erle wes first mariet with the Lorde Hwmeis sister, and was nevir lawchfullie divorceit from hir, quhairby the mariage with the Quene was found null and onlawchfull." Lesley further states in his 'De Origine,' that in pronouncing the divorce the archbishop set forth that the offspring of the marriage would suffer no injury, as Margaret had been ignorant of the impediment which rendered the marriage null. If proceedings were begun in the archbishop's court an appeal must have been carried to Rome, as the sentence of divorce was published on March 11, 1528, by the Cardinal of Ancona.²

The records of the University suggest that Beaton was thought to be entering once more the field of political activity. At a meeting of

¹ Douglas Book, iv. 341. H., iv. 2575.

² St P., iv. 130, note; 179, note.

the Faculty of Arts in March, 1529, it was represented that the archbishop, "propter varia regni et sua negotia," would be unable to exercise in person his duties as chancellor, and that he had consented to appoint a competent deputy, who should be present at examinations, settle disputes as to the order of merit, grant the licence, and impose the magisterial *birretum*.¹ The Faculty addressed Beaton as one who had duties rather than prerogatives; and this independent tone was adopted when the authority of the Church seemed to have been vindicated in matters of doctrine. In Forman's time direct appeals to the archbishop, when university men had complaints against one another, were forbidden; and the rector was declared to be judge in the last resort.² The demand for a satisfactory vice-chancellor was a fresh indication of a corporate vitality which cannot have escaped Beaton's notice, though its significance must have remained hidden.

Beaton accounted for his absence from the court in the last year of the rule of Angus on the ground that he was attending to the things of the Church. In spite of his vigilance, however, the burning of Patrick Hamilton did not check the free spirit of inquiry. Knox tells us that

¹ Hannay, St And. Univ. Publications, No. vii., 54, 110.

² *Ibid.*, 109.

“within schort space many begane to call in dowbtt that which befor thei held for a certane veritie, in so much that the universitie of Sanct-androse, and Sanct Leonardis Colledge principallie, by the labouris of Maister Gawin Logy, and the novises of the abbay, by the suppriour, begane to smell somewhat of the veritie, and to espy the vanitie of the receaved superstitioun.”

If the death of Hamilton helped to spread the new doctrines, the official guardians of the Church's faith were not likely to cease from coercive action, when only one victim had been secured. It is recorded that one of Beaton's intimates said to him, “My lord, yf ye will burne thame, except ye follow my counsall, ye will utterlye destroy your selves. Iff ye will burne thame, lett thame be brunt in low sellaires; for the reik of Maister Patrik Hammyltoun hes infected as many as it blew upoun.”¹ We do not read that Beaton was moved by his friend's advice; and yet, though the fires of martyrdom were again to be kindled, their ghastly light was not often to be seen in Scotland. One of the first men to rouse suspicion, after Hamilton's death, was Alexander Alane, or Alesius, as he is generally styled. Before that event he had gained a reputation for an attack on Luther's doctrines, and was chosen to argue with Hamilton

¹ Knox, i. 42. Cf. Spottiswoode's 'History,' 65.

in the days before the trial and condemnation. Alesius, however, did not silence the heretic; on the contrary he began to show that he was attracted by the faith of his opponent, and refused to approve the martyr's death. Patrick Hepburn, the prior of the Augustinian monastery, of which Alesius was a canon, observed him; and it was probably he who induced the archbishop to select the young canon as the preacher on a special occasion. Alesius could not refuse to obey, even if he desired, and at the Synod of 1529 he preached. The discourse was delivered in Latin, and though many of his hearers would not understand him, there were some who did not fail to know what his words meant, when he called on them to practise piety, observe good morals, study Christian doctrine, and teach in their churches. He openly denounced the immoral priest; and Hepburn, as with a guilty conscience, took the sermon as an affront to himself, and subjected the preacher to a cruel and degrading imprisonment. So severe were his sufferings that his life was in danger, and at last in their pity the kindly canons compassed his escape from the monastery. The king himself had ordered the release of the prisoner, but Hepburn had paid no heed.¹ Alesius afterwards

¹ *Responsio ad Cochlaei Calumnias.* Cf. Anderson's 'Annals of the English Bible,' ii. 447.

referred to the prior's offence, and narrated that it was not "a new thing for him to contend for the basest of characters, seeing that he formerly made war even against the archbishop, by whom he was admonished, that he should put away his unlawful companion; and collecting their forces they would have fought, had not the Earl of Rothes and the Abbot of Arbroath placed themselves between the parties, before they came to action, and so far settled the matter." He told, too, that when he complained to the archbishop of cruel treatment, he was informed by Hepburn that there was no protection from Beaton, who had heard his sermon and had decided that he should be punished.¹ From France, to which he passed from Scotland, Alesius proceeded to Germany, and in Wittenberg studied under Melanchthon. With the famous theologian's help he published an epistle, 'Contra decretum quoddam Episcoporum in Scotia, quod prohibet legere Novi Testamenti libros lingua vernacula.' Cochlaeus, a well-known disputant, prepared a reply, which Alesius in turn answered. The Scotsman, however, was not allowed to have the last word, and Cochlaeus dedicated to King James a tract, 'Pro Scotiae Regno Apologia Johannis Cochlei adversus personatum Alexandrum Alesium Scotum.' James did not fail

¹ Alesius, *Epistola contra decretum, &c.*

to act as became a patron of orthodoxy and bestowed a financial reward on the tractarian, who received also a substantial gift from the Archbishop of St Andrews. In one of his writings, 'Of the Auctorite of the Word of God,' Alesius said, "I was at Antwerp whan a countryman of myne, whose name was John Foster, did send a somme of mony unto Cochleus by a merchant from the Bisshop of S. Andrews, which geveth him yerely so long as he liveth a certain stipend."

He narrated further that Cochlaeus "beggeth a yerely stipend of the bisshops of Pole, saing that he hath bene nobly rewarded of the King of Scottys and of the Archbisshop of S. Andrews and the Bisshop of Glasgwo." The King of Scotland, probably jealous for his reputation among the nations, and the Archbishop of St Andrews, rejoicing to be justified in the Church, patronised Cochlaeus as their champion; but it is worthy of note that they found no one in their own country with the skill to be their apologist. There were many of the churchmen, doubtless, who applauded the burning of Patrick Hamilton, but there was not one man with the knowledge and scholarship to attempt an answer to Alesius which might be read beyond the realm.

Among those who were summoned at this

period to answer for their faith before the Archbishop of St Andrews was Thomas Forret, vicar of Dollar. It was to him, according to Foxe's story, that the Bishop of Dunkeld confessed, "I thanke God, that I never knew what the Old and the New Testament was." A simple and charming picture of Forret has been given by Calderwood the historian. "He taught his flock the Tenne Commandements, and shew them the way of their salvatioun to be onlie by the blood of Jesus Christ. He penned a little Catechisme, which he caused a poore childe answer him, when anie faithfull brother came to him, to allure the hearts of the hearers to embrace the truthe, which, indeed, converted many in the countrie about. He rose at six of the morning, and studied till twelve, and after dinner till supper, in summer. In winter he burned candle till bed time. When he visited onie sicke persoun in the parish that was poore, he would carie bread and cheese in his gown sleeve to the sicke persoun, and give him silver out of his purse, and feed his soule with the bread of life. He was verie diligent in reading the Epistle to the Romans in the Latin tongue, whereby he might be able to dispute against the adversareis. He would get three chapters *par cœur* in one day, and at evening gave the book to his servaunt, Andrew Kirkie, to marke when he went wrong in the

rehearsing ; and then he held up his hands to the heavens, and thanked God that he was not idle that day." Calderwood records that Forret was frequently called before the Archbishop of St Andrews and the Bishop of Dunkeld to give an account of his doctrine, and that he offered such reasons and answers that he escaped, till the Cardinal David Beaton got the upper hand. In the days of David Beaton he was burnt ; and at the end, when advised to recant, said, " Before I denie a word which I have spokin, yee sall see this bodie of myne blow away first with the wind, in ashes." ¹

In St Andrews, though it was the archbishop's city, a bold assailant of the clergy appeared. Prior Alexander Seaton of the Black Friars taught during a Lenten season the commandments of God, and them only, and beat into the ears of his hearers that for many years the law of God had not been truly set forth. At the end of the Lenten season, when he was absent from the city, "ane hired for that purpose damned the hole doctrin that befor he had tawght." Seaton returned to St Andrews and announced that he would preach. He repeated the substance of his former teaching, and added that there were in Scotland no true bishops, if bishops were to be known by such notes and virtues as St Paul

¹ Calderwood's 'History,' i. 127-129.

required in them. Willing reporters communicated the words of the audacious preacher ; and Beaton, though dealing with a member of a great order of friars, over whom he had no episcopal jurisdiction, sent for him, and sharply accused him of the slander “ that it behoved a bischop to be a preachear, or ellis he was but a dume dogg, and fed not the flock, but fed his awin bellye.” Seaton dared to reply that those who imputed such words to him were manifest liars ; and Beaton rejoicing declared, “ Your ansour pleasses me weall : I never could think of yow, that ye wold be so foolische as to affirme such thingis. Whare are thei knaiffis that have brought me this tale ? ” The knaves being summoned repeated their accusation, and the Dominican turning to the archbishop said, “ My lord, ye may see and considder what earis these asses have, who cane not discerne betuix Paull, Isai, Zacharie, and Malachie and Frear Alexander Setoun. In verray deid, my Lord, I said that Paule sayis, ‘ It behoveth a bischop to be ane teichear.’ Isai sayith, ‘ That thei that feid nott the flock ar dum doggis.’ And Zacharie sayeth, ‘ Thei are idoll pastouris.’ I of my awin head affirmed nothing, butt declared what the spreitt of God had befor pronounced ; at whome, my Lord, yf ye be not offended, justly ye cane nott be offended at me. And so yit agane, my Lord, I say, that thei ar manifest

leyaris that reported unto yow, that I said, ‘That ye and utheris that preach nott ar no Bischoppis, but belly goddis.’” Knox, from whose History the account is taken, tells how the archbishop was highly offended, but dared not execute his malice, as Seaton was the king’s confessor. Slander, however, was used to turn James from the Dominican, and eventually the prior “departed the realm.” While in Berwick, in which he found a temporary refuge, he wrote to James concerning the authority of the bishops, declaring that they behaved as kings and would not permit any man, after sentence passed on him, to speak on his own behalf. The king should see, he said, that every subject in danger of his life should be allowed to make lawful defences; and on his own behalf he urged that James should use the authority committed to him by God so as to prevent the tyrants from proceeding against him, before he made his answer.¹ The prior in this fashion appealed to Cæsar, but Cæsar did not condescend to hear.

Knox, as has been shown, declares that after Hamilton’s death a change took place in the University of St Andrews, and in particular in St Leonard’s College, which witnessed the labours of Gavin Logie. Beaton, though chancellor of the university, was unable to control it, and

¹ Keith’s ‘History,’ i., appendix iii.

to exclude the new doctrines. St Leonard's was a college within the pale of the university, and was directly connected with the great monastery of Augustinian canons. Many of these men, with the intellectual traditions of their order and their training in the college, were attracted to doctrines which claimed other authority than that of the Church, and were ready for the opportunity to teach them. St Leonard's with its Augustinians showed, indeed, that the university was being roused from dogmatic slumbers, and Knox and Calderwood have both named Gavin Logie with honour. Yet their statements present difficulties.

In 1529 Gavin Logie certainly enjoyed the royal patronage. James wrote to the pope asking for a pension from the personage of Methlik in order that Logie, who was a regent in St Leonard's, might be enabled to prosecute learning; and on February 23 a licence for the impetration was granted under the Privy Seal.¹

Calderwood relates that in 1533 Logie was forced to flee out of the country, but it is known that he was in St Andrews in 1534, while in a charter of 1537 he was mentioned with praise which would not have been given to a heretic.

¹ R. P. S., i. 4087. Cf. Herkless and Hannay, 'The College of St Leonard,' 55.

Logie's seal was appended to the charter which related to the altar of St John the Evangelist and St Mary Magdalene in the Church of St Leonard. The narrative bore that the chaplain to be appointed was to train the youths of the college in good manners, virtues and liberal arts, to the honour of the university and of the whole realm, and to the advantage of the commonwealth, "*quem admodum fecerat modernus possessor Magister Gavinus Logye dum ei corporis vigor suppeditabat et nunc per alium facit cum (ut constat) morbo et egritudine correptus per seipsum facere non possit.*" These words, written in 1537, do not point to any suspicion of heresy; and as a successor in the chaplaincy was appointed in 1539, it may be inferred that in that year Logie was dead.¹ Our records do not show that he fled from St Andrews, or even that he roused the suspicions of the archbishop and his doctors; and yet Knox and Calderwood have named him as one who suffered while he prepared the way for the Reformers.

If St Leonard's did not furnish in Gavin Logie a confessor for the reformed doctrines, it probably nurtured Henry Forrest, who was added to the roll of the martyrs who died at St Andrews. Among the students incorporated in Glasgow University in 1518 there was one

¹ Cf. 'The College of St Leonard,' 55.

named Henricus Forrus; while, on the other hand, Henricus Forrest, who could not have been the same person, was included in 1526 among the determinants in St Leonard's College. Knox describes the man who suffered death as Forres of Linlithgow, and his connection with Beaton's diocese suggests that he was the former student of St Andrews. After the death of Patrick Hamilton, Knox says, there "was one Forres of Lynlythgw tacken, who, after long empreasonment in the sea toure of Sanctandross, was adjudgeit to the fyre by the said Bischop James Betoun, and his doctouris, for non uther cryme but becaus he had ane New Testament in Engliss. Farther of that history we have nott, except that he deid constantlie, and with great patience, at Sanctandross." Foxe, in a more detailed account, says that Forrest, who had received the "orders of Benet and Colet," affirmed that Patrick Hamilton was a martyr, and that his articles were true. For this statement he was imprisoned by the archbishop, who caused a friar to hear his confession. Forrest admitted in confession that he believed that Hamilton was wrongfully put to death; and when the friar had reported to the archbishop a trial was ordered. After the trial Forrest was declared to be a heretic equal in iniquity to Patrick Hamilton, and was given

over to secular magistrates. On the day of his death he cried out against false friars as revealers of confession, contemners of God's word and deceivers of men. Foxe concludes his account by saying that he suffered "for his faythfull testimony of the truth of Christ, and of hys Gospell, at the Northchurch stile of Abbey Church of S. Andrew, to the entent that all the people of Anguise might see the fire, and so might be the more feared from falling into the like doctrine, which they terme by the name of heresie."

The date of Forrest's death is not given by any contemporary or in any document; but Knox speaks of his long imprisonment, and in the Treasurer's Accounts, under May 17, 1532, there is a reference to letters sent on that day to the Bishop of St Andrews to advertise him of the change of the diet for the accusation of the Lutherans.¹ It may be that Forrest was one of these Lutherans of 1532, though there is no suggestion in Foxe's words that he was tried with others.

The Diurnal of Occurrents records under 1532 that there "was ane greit objuration of the faouraris of Mertene Lutar in the abbay of Halyrudhous." The spread of the Lutheran doctrines evidently alarmed the guardians of the

¹ T. A., vi. 58.

Church's faith, and it is probable that in addition to instituting a search for and trial of heretics they passed the decree against the reading of the New Testament in the vernacular, which Alesius mentioned in his tract of 1533.¹ In that writing there was a warning to the king against a nefarious and impious edict, that no one should read in his native language the books of the New Testament, which the bishops had published in his kingdom without his authority. At a meeting of the Estates in 1532, at which the Archbishop of St Andrews was present, James with the consent of the Estates ordained that he should keep, observe, maintain and defend the authority, liberty and freedom of the seat of Rome and holy kirk, and should never make or statute any acts, or do, attempt or suffer to be done anything contrary thereto. This declaration of the Scottish king was inspired by gratitude to Pope Clement, and also doubtless by the events of the Reformation which had occurred in Germany; and though from the statement of Alesius the decree against the use of the New Testament in the vernacular was the work of the bishops, and had not received the royal assent, it is evident that the king and the prelates alike were trying to keep back the tides of reform, and that James would not see

¹ *Epistola contra decretum quoddam Episcoporum in Scotia, &c.*

in the issue of the decree an offence against his prerogative.

Of the trial of the Lutherans at Holyrood in 1532 we have no details; but on June 11 of that year Carlo Capello, writing of Scottish affairs to the Signory of Venice, said, "The King was to quit Edinburgh and to go to St Andrews to hold another Parliament at the request of the Pope for the Lutheran affairs. . . . Seventy Lutherans in the neighbourhood of St Andrews, where they are in very great numbers and plunder the country, have been captured."¹ The seventy Lutherans did not exist save in the rumour which the Venetian repeated, and slander alone knew anything of the plundering by Lutherans. The story told to the Signory, however, though unsupported by evidence, indicates that there was in Scotland a religious excitement which was preparing victims for the tribunal of the inquisitor.

The reference in the Treasurer's Accounts undoubtedly shows that in 1532 a diet for the accusation of Lutherans was intended, and the Diurnal of Occurrents mentions, as has been noted, "ane greit objuration"; but no details of circumstance have been preserved, and the names of the accused have not been handed down. In 1534, however, a court for the trial

¹ Cal. Venetian Papers, iv. 778.

of heretics was instituted. In Knox's graphic phrase, "No soonare gatt the Bischoppis oportunitie (which alwyse thei sought), but so sone renewed thei the battell against Jesus Christ." He narrates that Beaton, whom he calls a "leprouse Bischop," summoned certain men to the Abbey kirk of Holyrood House, where on August 26, 1534, according to the Diurnal of Occurrents, they were tried "befoir the Bishop of Ross, be ane commission of the Bischope of Sanctandros." The king, we are told by Foxe, attended, and was dressed in a scarlet robe. "All cled in redd" is Knox's description. Of those summoned several recanted; while others, who did not appear, were exiled. "Butt in judgement," Knox says, "war produced two, to wit, David Stratoun, a gentilman, and Maister Normound Gowrlay, a man of reassonable eruditioun. . . . In Maister Normound appeared knowledge, albeit joyned with weakness. But in David Stratoun, could onlye be espyed, for the first, a haterent against the pride and avaritiousnes of the preastis; for the cause of his delatioun was, he had maid to himself ane fische boit to go to the sea. The Bischop of Murray (then being Priour of Sanctandross) and his factouris, urgeid him for the teind thairof. His ansuer was, Yf thei wald haif teynd of that which his servandis wane in

the sea, it war but reassoun, that thei should come and receave it whare he gatt the stock; and so, as was constantlye affirmed, he caused his servandis cast the tenth fische in the sea agane." Stratoun and Gourlay were condemned, and on August 27, were led to a place beside the Rood of Greenside; "and thair thei two war boyth hanged and brunt, according to the mercy of the Papisticall Kirk."¹

James and Catherine Hamilton, brother and sister of the martyr, were both summoned to Holyrood; but James, by the advice of the king, fled, and Catherine, who appeared for trial, saved herself by her clever answers.²

The St Andrews *Formulare* furnishes the record of a heresy case which illustrates the charges preferred against accused persons. Alexander, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, John Major, George Lockhart and Peter Chaplain, *theologie professores*, with Martin Balfour, *in theologia bachelarius*, commissaries of Archbishop Beaton, related that an inquisition was held by the late prior of the Dominicans in Edinburgh, *inquisitor in partibus illis*, deputed by the

¹ Knox, i. 60.

² James Hamilton was declared a heretic in presence of James, Archbishop of St Andrews (R. M. S., i. 2725). On July 28, 1535, the king gave the Bishop of Aberdeen a tenement in Edinburgh, belonging to William Johnson, who had not answered the summons of the Archbishop of St Andrews and his commissaries, accusers of heresy (*ibid.*, 1495).

archbishop, and that R. B. of W. was accused of certain heresies and "foreign opinions" of Martin Luther. The heresies were stated to be, that religious houses and other ecclesiastical places are but nets to catch the goods of laymen, and that the prayers of the members are worthless; that the "benedictiones" by the churches "in aqua pane cereis palmis cineribus et similibus" are without efficacy; and that ecclesiastical censures are of no moment, and are calculated to frighten simple persons and to extort the goods of laymen.

The commissaries reported that R. B. had a book, thought to be heretical, called *Querela pauperum*. When he asked for it he said, "da mihi librum orationum mearum." They declared also that he said it would be a good thing if the king took from the Church and the churchmen the temporal lands mortified to them.

According to the narrative in the *Formulare* the archbishop summoned R. B. to hear himself declared a heretic and punished according to the Canon Law or cleared of the charge, and on the advice of many of the prelates he committed the termination of the case to the commissaries. The commissaries met in the nave of Holyrood Abbey at 10 A.M., "super scalam propter hoc factam et elevatam tan-

quam locum iudicii ad hoc pro hereticis accusandis puniendis et iudicandis deputatum." The various charges were denied by R. B. on his oath, and were not proved against him. The hour of 4 P.M. was fixed for the judicial ceremony of *purgatio* in the chapter-house of the Observantines. R. B. appearing with his *compurgatores*, twelve priests and seventeen secular persons, swore that he was innocent, and was then fully cleared by the *compurgatores*, who were unanimous.

In the last year of James Beaton's life five men were given to the flames, but David Beaton, the old man's nephew and coadjutor, had ordered the trial for heresy, and it was he who caused the fire to be kindled.

The relation of the two metropolitan sees under James Beaton and Gavin Dunbar gave rise to a prolonged controversy; and it is easy to understand that, after guiding the affairs of the realm during the critical years of the king's minority, Beaton resented the promotion of his younger rival to the chancellor's place, and the restriction of his primatial rights which had been laboriously vindicated.

Before a provision was made for Glasgow, as has been stated, Beaton wrote asking for the express reservation of his primatial and legatine rights as Archbishop of St Andrews. Exemp-

tion had been granted to individual holders of the western archbishopric, and, as Beaton had enjoyed it personally at the expense of Forman or any successor, it could not be urged that a prelate of Glasgow had a claim *ex officio*. The nomination of Dunbar, however, was accompanied by a letter from Albany, in which he expressed a wish that the exemption should be renewed, and Pope Clement VII. was induced to extend its scope even beyond Dunbar's tenure of the office. The decision was not accepted by the Archbishop of St Andrews, and we find Dunbar requesting Wolsey's intervention, early in 1525, to have the exemption made perpetual. On June 25 of the same year, the pope's Bull, completed in July 1524, at the time of the provision, was in the hands of the Archbishop of Glasgow, and was published before clergy and people. Beaton did not acknowledge defeat, and he secured letters signed by James which enlarged upon the injury done to St Andrews. A fresh Bull, modifying the previous terms and reserving the primatial and legatine rights, was issued, probably in 1526, as in April 1527, before Angus became chancellor, we find Beaton writing to Albany to thank him for the representations he had made to the pope and the French king on behalf of the privileges of St Andrews.

Having substantiated his claim to primatial

and legatine authority in Scotland, the archbishop approached James with a request for letters recommending the grant of powers *a latere*; and the matter would have been expedited at Rome, had it not been for the intervention of Albany, who now turned to the side of the man for whom he had originally begged exemption. Foiled at this point, Beaton repeatedly pressed the king for a licence to impetrate powers *a latere*, which should be exercised only within the diocese of St Andrews; and having secured this privilege, made it a pretext to obtain an extension covering the whole province. James was sufficiently irritated to address the pope on November 30, 1530, and to say emphatically that he considered Beaton quite unworthy to enjoy the desired authority even in a limited degree. Another letter, supported by information from Albany, explained that the modification of the original exemption granted to Dunbar had been procured when "Archbishop James governed Scotland at his own sweet will, so that the king, being then in his minority, was forced to comply with the wishes of the prelate and his partisans." It was further asserted that Beaton was threatening Dunbar with litigation on the strength of the modification, which was still operative. In response to this appeal, Clement issued a revocation on September 21, 1531,

which exempted Glasgow again from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of St Andrews as primate and *legatus natus*.¹

Beaton, though restored to royal favour after the fall of Angus, had suffered in ecclesiastical authority, and no longer exercised high powers in the State. His name, however, occurs from time to time in our records. In 1531 he attended the parliament, was a Lord of the Articles and also an Auditor of Accounts; and in the following year he was present in the parliament which established the Court of Session, to take the place of the Daily Council.

Great difficulties had arisen in connection with this Council, mainly from the fact that there were no permanent judges. At a meeting on March 13, 1527, James ordained that the Archbishop of Glasgow should be president of the Session, and in his absence the Bishop of Dunkeld or the Bishop of Galloway. Beaton was not named, and it was intimated that he was absent by licence on his own business. In November, however, it was arranged that he should be continually on the Session. The sight of Gavin Dunbar in the president's chair cannot have been grateful, and during 1529 and 1530 the archbishop attended but rarely. No high affairs of state

¹ Glasg. R., 533 ff. : H., iv. 1104 : Inventaire Chronologique, 76 : A. P. : Robertson's 'Statuta,' i. 247 ff.

demanded his intervention or opposition. The danger of a war with England, arising out of the fall of Angus, seemed to be averted by a peace for five years, which was proclaimed in Council on March 1, 1529, and which was thoroughly consistent with the policy which Beaton had always held. On May 19, 1530, "great matters" were to be discussed, apparently in connection with a proposed visit by the king to the Borders, and the importance of Beaton's advice was recognised by his being named first on the list of counsellors who were to deliberate. Again, in January 1531, he was present when the unity of the realm was at issue, and when the Lords Spiritual granted £5000 for an expedition against the rebels of the Isles. It was stated at the meeting on February 14 of that year that there was confusion in the business of the Session from irregular attendance, and, when Beaton had been named first of those who were to remain, it was arranged that fourteen judges should be associated with the chancellor and should not depart without permission. At the same time regulations for the conduct of the Session were framed and duly entered in the minutes of Council.

Though these important steps had been taken, it was not yet clear how the Lords of Session were to be remunerated for their assiduity. The

crowns had been accustomed to rely upon the churchmen for legal administration, and as its revenues could ill support an additional burden, James boldly approached Clement VII. with the request that 10,000 ducats *auri de camera* should be levied annually from ecclesiastical benefices in Scotland. At a more fortunate stage in the history of the papacy the petition would not have been entertained or even made. Henry had just been extorting money from the Church in the prospect of a Spanish war; but, if James was imitating his uncle and discovering the weakness of Rome, he was a prince whom it was not prudent to slight. Already the Emperor was in negotiation with Scotland, and that country might be used to annoy Henry or create a breach between England and France. On July 9 of this year, 1531, Clement issued a request to the Scottish prelates that they would report whether the proposed charge was in their opinion "useful and necessary."¹ To satisfy James he granted a Bull, on July 18, which the process of execution in the diocese of Lismore shows to have provided for three-tenths of the fruits of ecclesiastical benefices, payable every third year.²

We have no information with regard to the answers which Clement received from the pre-

¹ Theiner, 597.

² Bulls in Reg. House, 53.

lates; but the fact that James had to be content in the end with a much smaller contribution indicates that there was opposition. Though irritated by the revocation granted in this autumn to Gavin Dunbar, Beaton appeared on the Session in November and December. The proposed College of Justice was not yet instituted, and was not founded by an Act of the Parliament till the summer of 1532.¹ Articles were submitted, however, about the middle of May, and the second of these contained the words, "Beaus our sovrane is maist desyrous to have ane permanent Ordour of Justice for the universal weill of all his lieges, and therefor tends to institute ane College of cunning and wise men, baith of spirituale and temporale estate, for the doing and administracioun of justice in all civile actions, and therefore thinks to be chosen certaine persouns maist convenient and qualified therefor to the nowmer of 13 persouns, half spirituale, half temporale, with ane president." Having heard the statement the Parliament proceeded to frame a statute—"The Thre Estatis of the present Parliament think this article weil consavit, and therefore the kingis grace,

¹ It is in May that the new series of minutes begins, the "Acts of the Lords of Council" becoming the "Acts of the Lords of Council and Session."

with advice and consent of the Thre Estatis, ordainis the samin to have effect in all points, and now ratifyis and confirms the samin, and has chosen thir persouns underwritten to the effect forsaid, quhais processes, sentences, and decretis sall have the samin strenth, force and effect as the decretis of the Lords of Sessioun had in all tymes bigane: Providing alwayis that my Lord Chancelar being present in this toun or uther place he sall have voit and be principale of the said Counsell, and sic uther lordis as sall pleis the kingis grace to enjone to thaim of his gret Counsell to have voit siclik to the nomer of thre or four." The first members of the Court were named, and in November Beaton, with the Lords Rothes and Erskine, was added to the number, "becaus thair is diverse deide, sume seeke, and sume away of the said Lordes of Sessione, quhairthrow there is no sufficient nomer conforme to the acte maid thereupone of before to decyde one all materis, and to minister justice to all his leigis."¹

In the meantime a papal nuncio, Silvester Darius, was doing his utmost to arouse James against Lutheran heresy and to obtain assistance against the Turk. The imperial ambassador had also been in Scotland throughout May, and his

¹ A. D. C. Cf. Brunton and Haig's 'Senators of the College of Justice,' 37.

visit was concerned with the question of Henry's divorce. It appears that immediately after the parliament which established the Session the king was to go to St Andrews to hold another meeting, at the request of the pope, "for the Lutheran affairs, and to obtain assistance against the Turk." It was reported to the Venetian resident in London, as has been shown, that seventy Lutherans had been captured in the neighbourhood of St Andrews, where they had done much mischief.¹ We are not informed, however, what connection the meeting at St Andrews had with the controversy over the tax, or whether, as is probable, the papal nuncio and the imperial envoy were working for an agreement between James and the body of his prelates with a view to making Scotland a pawn in the game of European politics. Beaton certainly led a large majority in opposition to the ecclesiastical contribution which the king sought to impose, and we hear that on June 15 a messenger passed with a mass of letters to my Lord of St Andrews touching the tax.² On September 3 Northumberland indicated to Henry VIII. the troubles which had arisen over its imposition. "And, as for the spiritualite of Scotland," Northumberland wrote, "standith in this case, that never one of theym hath ther

¹ Cal. Venet. Papers, iv. 778.

² T. A., vi. 59.

hartes and favours to the king, but only the Bisshop of Glasco, the Bisshope of Abyrdyne, and the Bisshop of Donkell. And also, wher the Scottes king shuld have had of the spiritualitie of Scotland ten thousand crounes a yer; the Archebisshop of Sainct Andrew, with all the spiritualitie of Scotland savyng the afore named thre Bisshoppes, hath optayned a new bill from the pope under such fourme, that the said Scottes king now is content, for the said annuall rent, to take four thowsand pound sterling, to be paid in four yeres, and hath clerely renounced for ever the said pension of ten thowsand crounes unto the spiritualitie.”¹

A letter of Clement VII. to his nuncio, dated September 30 of this year, indicates that James had found it necessary to appease the prelates. We learn from documents in the St Andrews *Formulare* that this pope had reserved for his disposition benefices falling vacant in the course of eight specified months of the year. The ordinaries resented the curtailment of their rights, and nothing is more remarkable than the systematic persistence with which we find them making their own appointments without reference to papal provision. As a consequence there was in this period a vast number of appeals to Rome, endless litigation, constant

¹ St P., iv. 231.

dismemberment of benefices by compromises which left one combatant with the title and the other with half the fruits, and frequent trouble with the clerks who visited or resided in the papal city to prosecute business.¹ Beaton's desire for powers *a latere* was possibly prompted by no mere selfish ambition; and there was little wonder if he found a majority of prelates to resent the king's sweeping demand for the support of the Session, when their own powers had been so seriously restricted from Rome. To James himself as king the papal reservation can scarcely have proved welcome, and he could not be unaware of the efforts which his ancestors had put forth to check a system which was objectionable economically and dangerous to the unity of the realm.

Albany had been commissioned to put the matter before Clement in person, and the pope now wrote to Darius ordaining that no case falling under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, even though it related to a benefice, should be called to Rome in the first instance, but that churchmen should be deputed by the king, during his life and obedience, to sit in judgment. The privilege could not be revoked except on six months' notice, but it was stipulated that the right of appeal to the Curia must be free.² This arrangement would not fail to gratify James,

¹ Cf. Add. Appendix.

² Theiner, 601.

while the ordinaries no doubt were expected to see in it a mitigation of their grievances.

When James chose Beaton in November to be a Lord of Session, it was evident that the strain had been relieved. The Accounts of 1533 show that a tax of £441, 13s. 4d. was paid by the archbishop, and it is recorded in the Diurnal of Occurrents that in 1532 "was tane the tent penny of all the benefices of this realme abone xxli. to be payit to the Kingis grace for thrie zeiris following." The question of the tax, therefore, had received a temporary settlement, and it was from another source that troubles arose between Beaton and his king.

Under the influence of the Emperor and Clement VII. James had been brought almost to the point of war with England. In October 1532 the Venetian ambassador in London heard that the King of Scots had demanded the body of his father, and had ordered a levy of all able-bodied men.¹ A meeting between Henry and the French king at Calais during the same month resulted in the despatch of an ambassador to Scotland, who was to offer the French marriage desired by the Scots, on condition that James entered into league with England and France.² It became evident to diplomatists that the attitude of Scotland was a serious menace to the understanding between Henry and

¹ Cal. Venet. Papers, iv. 811.

² Ibid., 832.

Francis; and a French envoy who had been in the north stated that his king, in the event of war, must break either with England or Scotland, while, on the other hand, if he remained neutral, James would throw himself into the arms of the Emperor.¹ To a man like Beaton, who had consistently followed the policy of a French alliance, and who at the same time dreaded that James might imitate his father in a quixotic tilt against Henry, there might well be cause for disquiet. Aggression, in obedience to the call of Charles V., would alienate France, and when England sought revenge, the Emperor would leave Scotland to her fate. Clement VII., too, scheming to create a breach between Henry and Francis, had not thought it necessary to lay Beaton under a deep debt of gratitude, while the business of the taxation, though for the time in abeyance, left at least the memory of a grievance. The most experienced statesman in Scotland, thrust aside, might view the situation with alarm; and personal feelings would combine with patriotic, in a man of subtlety, to suggest dangerous courses.

On April 10, 1533, the Lords of Council were engaged in considering military preparations, and on April 19, according to the Diurnal of Occurrents, the Archbishop of St Andrews,

¹ Cal. Venet. Papers, iv. 861.

“suspect of the cryme of leismaiestie, was committed in keeping to the erle of Rothes and to the bischope of Galloway.” The indult of Clement VII., granted a few months before, would seem to have empowered James to appoint ecclesiastical judges in the first instance; but as a Catholic prince he hesitated to arraign the leading churchman without reference to the pope.¹ A letter from the king to the Cardinal of Ravenna is preserved:—

We have written to his Holiness [he said] to inform him that we are attacked by England, and to make it clear that our part is that of a Christian King forced to stand on the defensive; but our main object in writing was that his Holiness should understand that we would not proceed to punish the Archbishop of St Andrews, who has conspired against our commonweal—the last thing in the world for a man in his position—before we were empowered, and the hearing of the case was formally entrusted to the Archbishop of Glasgow, with the Bishops of Dunkeld, Aberdeen and Whithorn, who, it is intended, should inquire into the charge of treason and give a just judgment thereupon. Accordingly we most urgently desire of you at this juncture to exercise the loyalty and diligence which you have always shown in our affairs, and to secure the necessary commission for us at the earliest possible date. You yourself will be able to appreciate the evils of delay, especially at a time when interests of state are involved.²

¹ Cf. Span. St. P., iv. pt. ii. 1107.

² Hamilton Papers, i. 8 (April 1533): the letter, written in Latin, is incorrectly punctuated in the print.

The imprisonment was not a trifling incident to pass unnoticed ; and Thomas Cromwell learned from a correspondent that the archbishop was committed to ward in his own castle, and that while some said he would not lend money, others declared that he had written letters contrary to the king's mind.¹ Northumberland, on the other hand, informed Henry that James had shut up Beaton and the Earl of Bothwell in Edinburgh Castle.² Even the emperor, Charles V., received word of the imprisonment. Chapuys, his ambassador to England, intimated on July 30 that correspondence between the archbishop and the English had been discovered, but James as a good Catholic had made a request to Rome that the case be tried by the Scottish bishops or by papal legates.³ He wrote again to say that a Scottish gentleman had been taken upon the sea, as he was proceeding to Rome to set forth the case against Beaton, who was attainted of treason.⁴ Chapuys declared that the prelate was not sorry for the capture, as the man was his accuser, and, further, that the pope had refused the king's request. He added that it

¹ H., vi. 450 : at a meeting of Council (June 17) it was stated that some prelates still owed money for footmen on the Borders (A. D. C.).

² Ibid., 895 : it is known that Bothwell was disloyal (ibid., v. 1531). In 1531-2 he and Beaton were litigating (cf. the 'Liber Officialis' of Lothian).

³ Ibid., 918.

⁴ Ibid., 1069.

was right that the commission should not be granted, as the accusation was that the archbishop had invited Albany to Scotland to counteract the evil influences of those about the king.¹

It is difficult to believe that Albany was involved, since James, in sending an ambassador to him, asked credence in regard to the archbishop.² A letter from Clement VII. has been preserved, and even it does not reveal the alleged crimes. The pope acknowledged the receipt by the hand of John Lauder of letters dated from Stirling on June 10, which contained a copy of the process raised by the Bishop of Galloway and the Abbot of Holyrood.³ Clement, after stating that he had committed the case to Cardinal Campeggio, intimated that he would send a nuncio, and that he consented to the custody of the archbishop, but without prejudice to his spiritual jurisdiction.⁴ Serious political difficulties were confronting the pope, and prudence dictated that he should not alienate the King of Scotland, even though an archbishop should suffer discomfort.

An undated letter to John Lauder exists, in which James directed information to be given

¹ H., vii. 114.

² Ibid., 234.

³ Cf. Dunkeld document in Add. Appendix.

⁴ H., vi., appendix viii. Eubel, iii.

to the pope regarding the character and conduct of Beaton :—

The king [James wrote]¹ has for a long time complained in his letters to Rome of the Archbishop of St Andrews, who, during the king's minority, enriched himself and his friends by means of the king's authority, to his great damage. He married his niece, the daughter of his second brother, to James, Earl of Arran, whose issue, the present Earl of Arran, is next heir to the throne, after the Duke of Albany, who is not married. He is of such low family that no one of his position has ever had any interest in the crown (*et ledict archevesque est de ce povre commencement et petit mason que jemès unge teul a eu intéresse à coron et royalm d'Escosse*).

When the king was old enough to govern, the archbishop, being impatient at losing his authority, formed a party and besieged the king at Edinburgh till he was compelled to place himself and his government in the hands of him and his colleagues, of whom the Earl of Angus, his brother and uncle, were the chief; who are and have long been rebels allied with England, and are the chief cause of the damage which the kingdom has sustained from England. It is notorious that this was done entirely by the advice of England. James bore with him, partly from his respect for the Church, and partly because he thought he would desist from his ill-will. Shortly afterwards by his means the battle of Linlithgow was fought, at which he was present in person, and in which the Earl of Lennox and many others were slain, and the king himself was

¹ The editor of H., viii., following Teulet, places the letter in 1535: but Lauder was going to Rome in April 1534 (H., vii. 488).

in great danger. After James arrived at full age he continued to foment troubles in the kingdom in various ways, as will be shown in the process about to be made. The wars with England have been produced by his intelligence, as will be seen by the evidence collected by the two prelates, the executors of the pope's brief, in the king's favour. He thinks that he can do nothing less than ask for the execution of the brief, considering the danger to which his person and throne are exposed in this time of war. He is sure that the archbishop is seeking his destruction, for he has said that he does not expect to die until he has put the crown of Scotland on the head of his niece's son.

The archbishop does not seem to be well guarded by the prelates named by the king in accordance with the brief. Since his arrest he has sent out of the kingdom many letters of credence to the king's prejudice, as is proved by the confession of a servant who destroyed a quantity of his letters when he was going to be taken. They must have contained matters to the injury of the kingdom, for he has never been prevented from sending to Rome or elsewhere to defend or prosecute his just actions. All his officers have access to him, and the king is surely informed that, on pretext of exercising his jurisdiction, and attending to his lawful affairs, he is making secret practices to the great injury of the king and the kingdom.

Another of his servants was taken with more letters, one being directed to Silvester Darius, containing false statements to procure the revocation of the brief and his liberation, and making him great presents; and suggesting also that the process should be completed in Rome and not here. The king caused the executors of the brief to arrest the archbishop so suddenly in consequence of information that he had arranged with

the captain of Berwick to receive him. He could go thither from his castle at St Andrews secretly in six hours. Lauder is to desire the pope that the process may be conducted here by commission to certain prelates, Gavin, Archbishop of Glasgow, George, Bishop of Dunkeld, William, Bishop of Aberdeen, or others; so that he may not have occasion, in default of justice, to use other means which may prejudice the liberty of the Church.

Lauder is to present the king's letters and show his credence to the Cardinal of Ravenna and the Duke of Albany, asking them to procure speedy justice and the appointment of some good prelate as the archbishop's coadjutor. The king reminds Lauder of the erection of the College of Justice, the dispensation and other affairs.¹

The undignified mention of Beaton's mean estate was but a display of petulance, and the reference to Linlithgow betrayed a forgetfulness of benefits or a wilful perversion of motives. Gavin Douglas was the first to tell the story of the crown for the Hamiltons, but he was eager in his candidature for St Andrews to prejudice a rival in the eyes of the English king, whose nephew was the reigning sovereign. Arran and Beaton, if they plotted together, gave no signs of the existence of any secret bond; and it seems that James, in repeating the story, was simply using idle gossip for his own ends. The communication to Lauder shows,

¹ The original is printed in Teulet, i. 81-93. The abstract is in H., viii. 144.

however, that the king's anger with Beaton was more than a sudden outburst of temper, and that the imprisonment was a deliberate act. Forty years after Beaton's death his memory was attacked by an enemy of the Hamiltons, who did not hesitate to involve him in one of their alleged conspiracies.¹

It is certain that James received a papal brief, and that the executors collected evidence.

Though we are not expressly informed regarding the exact duration of Beaton's imprisonment² or of the circumstances of his release, two letters of James, unfortunately mutilated, indicate with sufficient clearness that the gravamen of the charge against him was treasonable dealings with England. No doubt his attitude over the College of Justice, and other matters, contributed to arouse the royal indignation; but, if they did so, the archbishop could pose before Clement as a zealous defender of the Church against a prince whose dealings presented a dangerous likeness to those of his uncle.

When war threatened, James wrote, charges were preferred against the primate which were so serious that the brief was used. He referred

¹ *Faction contre les Hamiltons* (1574), Teulet, ii. 333. A document in the *Formulare* (Appendix VIII.) indicates some earlier compact between Beaton and Arran.

² The Dunfermline R. (383-6) shows that Beaton was free to transact business.

the business to members of his Council, and by their advice executors were chosen, who, after taking evidence, restrained Beaton in his castle at St Andrews. When negotiations had been begun with Henry and the archbishop had frequently bewailed his condition, a measure of liberty was granted. Ultimately he cleared himself, and, as he had been in high honour with James IV. and promised good conduct, he was received into the king's full favour.¹

In September 1532 David Beaton had been forced to proceed against his uncle before the Lords for payment of the half fruits of Arbroath, and in February of the next year the king gave orders that litigation should be suspended till David's return from a mission abroad, and that he should receive the fruits due to him, in order to defray expenses.² The king's intervention took place shortly before Beaton's imprisonment, but we have no express statement that it brought matters to a head. The archbishop seems to have become somewhat quarrelsome and litigious with advancing years. In May 1535 James learned that he was trying to get back Arbroath, and this persistent attack upon the resources of his nephew, who was a useful servant, cannot have improved the archbishop's reputation at Court.³

¹ H., ix. 538-9.

² A. D. C.

³ H., viii. 647.

The letter of Clement VII. asking for a report from the Scottish prelates indicates that the money was to be a permanent addition to the revenues of the crown, and was to be used for objects which were vaguely called the administration and protection of the realm. Beaton approved neither the contribution nor the enterprises on which it was likely to be spent, and it might well be asked why the churchmen should maintain a civil court of which half the members were temporal persons. According to the Diurnal of Occurrents the exaction of the tenth penny lasted for three years, and when we come to the spring of 1535 we find that James had modified his demands. Paul III., who was already on the papal throne, granted to the crown the temporalities of churches and monasteries for a whole year after vacancy, so that the king could send in his nominations with dispatch and lose nothing of the casualty; and this Bull, dated March 7, was published in the middle of April. On March 10 came the Bull for the College of Justice, which related that the 10,000 ducats had been reduced to the modest sum of £1400 Scots, or £350 sterling.¹

A parliament assembled on June 12, and dealt with the calling of a Council. "Anentis the article," it is recorded, "for ane Generale Pro-

¹ Bulls in Reg. House, 55-57: Keith, i. 461-4.

uinciale Counsale of Scotland to be haldin, it is thoct expedient be the Lordis thre Estatis of Parliament that ane Generale Prouinciale Consale of this realme be sett and haldin in the Blak Freris of Edinburghe, and to begyne the first day of Merche nixtocum; and that the Archibishop of Sanctandris be requirit be the Kingis Grace to sett and halde the said Counsale at the said day, the hale clergy beande lauchfullie warnit therto as efferis; and gif my Lord of Sanctandris refusis to sett and halde the said Counsale, or that vther impediment be that he may nocht do the samyn, that the Kingis Grace send to our haly Fader the Paip for ane breve to ony two bischopis of this realme that his Grace thinkis conuenient for setting and holding of the said Counsale."

The Archbishop of Glasgow approved the calling of the Council and at the same time was mindful of the interests of his see. The record of the parliament shows that "my Lord Archibishop of Glasgw, Chancellor, askit instrumentis that forsamekle as thare is ane article deuisit and concludit that ane Generale Prouinciale Counsale be haldin, . . . and that my Lord of Sanctandris be warnit and requirit be the Kingis Grace to halde the samyn, that my said Lorde Chancellor for the commoune wele of this realme consentis that the said

Archibishop of Sanctandris hald the samyn, without preiudice off his Archibishoprie of Glasgw, priuelege and jurisdictione grantit to him and his successouris."

When the time came to issue a summons to the Council, the Archbishop of St Andrews addressed his rival in terms which must have proved irritating, and referred to "consoling" letters received from James. He asked Dunbar or his vicar-general to appear at the church of the Dominicans in Edinburgh and to convene his suffragans, inferior prelates, and such clergy as he saw fit. In the citation of the Council Beaton, after mentioning the decree of the parliament, the request of the king and the agreement of the Archbishop of Glasgow, asserted that the calling of a Council pertained to the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Primate of all Scotland. Dunbar, in turn, when notifying the Bishop of Argyle, made no mention of Beaton's writ, and merely announced the purpose of the king to have a council, and stated that he had consented without prejudice to himself and his Church.

There is no official record of the meeting of the Council, but it is noticed in the Diurnal of Occurrents: "Vpoun the ellevint day of Merch, thair was ane Provinciall Counsall of the hail Prelatis of this realme haldin in the Blak

Freris of Edinburgh, quhair thej ratifyit the actis and statutis maid befor, be ane commissioun, of the Papis honour, with sum additionis. The said Counsall lestit quhill the xvij. of the said monethe." Some years after the meeting proceedings were taken against Cardinal David Beaton for non-payment of a contribution, and in the narrative, as given in the Acts of the Lords of Council and Session, there is a reference to the Council. "It was granted," the statement is, "be oure Haly Fader the Pape and the Sege of Rome, to oure Souerane Lord, to the sustentatioune of ane College of Justice be his Grace for dalie administratioun of justice to all our Souerane Lordis liegis, the sovme of x^m pundis yerlie, to be wptakin of the frutis of the Prelatis of this realme; and tharefter oure said Souerane Lord, at the speciale request and dissire of the saidis Prelatis, and for the weill and zele his Grace bure to the Kirk of Scotland, transactit with the saidis Prelatis for the sovme yerlie of jm iiij^c xxv. pundis xvij. schillingis to be pait be assignatioun of benefecis and vthir wayis for the said yerlie sustentatioun; and tharfor, and for vthiris causis concerning the vniuersale wele of this realme, his Grace gart certane convine ane Generale Consale of Clargy of this realme, in the quhilk it was grantit be the Prelatis beand present and haifand power

tharto, that all the said Prelatis sald content and pay, to the collectour to be chosin, ilk man eftir the raitt and quantite of the benefece assignit be tham, and vthir wayis as thai war oblist."¹

Even before the Council met the prelates had agreed to carry out their part of the arrangement, and there was no fear of obstruction. On January 17, 1536, they presented mandates consenting to the College of Justice and assigning benefices. For some reason Beaton was lightly taxed. He paid £70 Scots, no more than the Prior of St Andrews and the Abbot of Dunfermline, while David Beaton gave £84. On March 18, the day after the Church Council dissolved, Myln asked the Conservators of the College of Justice, under the papal Bull, to accept office.²

In 1535, when it was proposed to hold the Provincial Council, the quarrels of the archbishops threatened to deprive both of precedence. At a discussion in the parliament James seems to have insisted that Beaton should convene the clergy as prelate of the Church which was admittedly the chief in Scotland, and associated with the patron saint. If he refused, or

¹ A. D. C. Printed in Robertson's 'Statuta,' i. cxxxvi. The sum is given as £1423, 18s. in the list of contributions printed in the Bannatyne Miscellany, ii. 51. In that list the contribution of the Archbishop of St Andrews is £70.

² A. D. C.

if there was any other impediment, the king was to send to Rome for permission to nominate two bishops who should call the Council. Possibly the rivals had already come to some understanding, as Dunbar said that he would not stand in the way, provided his consent was not held to prejudice the privileges of his see. Yet he did not trust Beaton. In November the Archbishop of St Andrews had occasion to visit Dumfries, and bore his cross. The Rector of Annan, Dunbar's official in that region, was instructed to protest on behalf of his master. "Reverend, my lord," he said, "you publicly elevate and bear your cross and bless the populace in this town of Dumfries, within the diocese of Glasgow, in sign of pre-eminent authority, though you have none here; and therein you contravene the apostolic indult and privilege granted to my lord archbishop and his metropolitan church of Glasgow." "I am primate of Scotland," said Beaton, "and *legatus natus*, and there is a compact between my lord of Glasgow and me: I intend to raise and carry my cross even were your master present in person." Whereupon the rector took instrument that the occurrence should not prejudice the interests of Dunbar.¹

¹ Glasg. R., 533 ff. H., iv. 1104. Inventaire Chronologique, 76. A. P. Robertson's 'Statuta,' i. 247 ff. Cf. *supra*, 212 ff.

Among Henry's numerous schemes connected with Scotland there was one for the marriage of his daughter with the king. James, however, had reason to suspect any suggestion of the kind which was made or approved in England, and he turned, therefore, to the ancient ally and sought a daughter of France. Not content that arrangements should be concluded by commissioners, he set sail in 1536 for the land where in his vision a bride was awaiting him. It was necessary of course that he should commit the government of the realm to tried men, and one of these was the archbishop.¹ A tax for the king's expenses was imposed on the clergy, and a sum of £344, 8s. 10d. was paid in Beaton's name.²

In the year in which James departed for France Paul III., under pressure of Charles V., intimated his intention to call a General Council of the Church; and Dionysius Laurerius, the General of the Order of the Carmelites, was commissioned to convey to the Archbishop of St Andrews a notice that on May 23, 1537, a Council would be held at Mantua. The Carmelite was to confer with the two archbishops, and was to assure the king of the pope's thankfulness that Scotland remained steady amidst the disturbance in the Church.³ The Council ulti-

¹ R. M. S., i. 1618, 1640. St. P., v. 306.

² T. A., vi. 360.

³ H., xi. 685, 862.

mately met at Trent, but when it assembled James Beaton was dead.

Beaton's career as a statesman was really closed, as has been noted, when he was deprived of the Great Seal,¹ and in his freedom he paid heed to spiritual things. An era of persecution was inaugurated; and though the flames secured their victims, the spirit of reform was not quenched. Sentence after sentence was passed, and ever the Church was deaf to the cry for change. The Reformation in Germany was an indictment of the Roman Church, but Beaton and the Scottish prelates, in spite of the warning, would not set their house in order. No charge of corruption was admitted, no purification was attempted, and coercion alone was used for the safety of the Church. James Beaton, however, though in part responsible for the evil, was not a zealot in persecution; but he had no change in doctrine or worship to propose, and was altogether unfit to quicken the religion of the nation. Yet he was not satisfied merely to dream of a peace that might never come. He certainly did not repudiate the methods of martyrdom, but seeking less tragic means to strengthen the Church, he added to the University of St Andrews a new college under the name of the Blessed Mary of the Assumption. There is no writing from

¹ Cf. Lyndsay, *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*.

his hand showing that he was a scholar or man of letters, though he gave evidence of an interest in a philosopher and theologian when he invited John Major to Glasgow and St Andrews. Even if he did desire the honourable name of a patron of learning, none the less he proved by the foundation of the college that he was eager, in the words of the charter, "*ut militans Dei ecclesia viris litterarum scientia præditis indies abundet.*"

The university of which Beaton was chancellor was founded by Bishop Wardlaw, a predecessor in the see, who presented a site for a *pædagogium*. That school of arts was not a college of the university, and it suffered in attendance and dignity when St Salvator's College was erected by Bishop Kennedy. Archbishop Alexander Stewart, who with Prior John Hepburn instituted St Leonard's College, proposed to help the fortunes of the *pædagogium* before Flodden ended his purposes. Nothing, however, was done for the school till James Beaton submitted proposals to Paul III., which were approved; and on February 12, 1537, the pope issued a Bull for the erection of a college on the site gifted by Wardlaw, and annexed to it the churches of Tannadice and Tynninghame.¹ A royal sanction was also sought, and ultimately, on March 7, 1539, after Beaton's death, James V. confirmed

¹ Evid. Univ. Com., iii. 357.

the foundation.¹ Cardinal David Beaton and Archbishop John Hamilton are remembered as patrons of St Mary's, but to Archbishop James Beaton is assigned the honour due to the founder. Alexander Stewart hoped that St Leonard's would steady the tossing bark of St Peter, and yet, before a generation passed, men talked in other language of drinking of St Leonard's well, from which the water of the new doctrine was flowing. James Beaton beheld in the university a college directed by the Augustinian Canons, who were known by their works and suspected; and he added to the university the College of St Mary, desirous that learned men should be sent forth to preserve the Church of God from evil.

James Beaton was an old man, as years were reckoned, when he obtained the Bull from Pope Paul, and the foundation of St Mary's was his last notable action. Towards the close of his life, he was no longer able to discharge the duties of the archbishopric, and he obtained the assistance of David Beaton, who on December 5, 1538, was appointed his coadjutor. He lived, too, to see the coadjutor raised, on December 20 of the same year, to the exalted dignity of the cardinalate; and the aged prelate could remember his own disappointed hopes, and see the red hat as a vision that had passed.²

¹ R. M. S., i. 1930.

² St P., v. 358. Eubel, iii.

For some years there had been financial alterations between the two prelates in connection with Arbroath. On his accession to St Andrews, the archbishop consented to the transference of the abbey to his nephew, on condition that a provision be secured for him, even though there was already the burden of a pension to the Earl of Moray. In 1526 an arrangement was made that David Beaton should redeem that pension, and that James Beaton, in view of the expense, should content himself for three years with the fruits of certain churches attached to the abbey. Whatever the circumstances were, David Beaton sued the archbishop in 1532 for half the fruits of Arbroath, and represented to the Council that he was acting in just defence of his convent. The Lords decreed that the Arbroath tenants should pay half the rents to James Beaton. Further proceedings were taken on February 13 of the following year, when David Beaton, who was going abroad, intimated to the Council that eight years earlier the archbishop as chancellor had obtained letters against the poor tenants of Arbroath "without any cognition in ze cause." It was decided by the Lords that the effect of these should cease, and further, that pleas between the two litigants should be postponed till David Beaton's return, though he was assured of the fruits of the abbey, less those of the churches

assigned to the archbishop. The case was reopened in 1535, when David Beaton received papal authority to withhold 100 ducats from the first payment to James Beaton. He explained to the Council that he had contributed the promised annate of 200 ducats when the pension ceased on Moray's marriage, and that the pope had agreed that James Beaton should be responsible for the half of the annate.¹

Another case, which had remained unsettled for many years, appeared once more in 1538, when the archbishop sued the Lord High Treasurer for £860 Scots which had been advanced in 1525 to furnish ambassadors to France.² At the same period it was stated in the Council that the Abbot of Dunfermline was owing large sums to the archbishop, and that there was litigation in the courts. It is not easy to determine Beaton's exact position in Dunfermline during his last years. George Dury contemplated a resignation in 1533, though it is not shown that it was in favour of the archbishop, for whom regress had been reserved. The proxy which he gave, however, was soon withdrawn, and in 1534 he and Beaton were associated in confirming a charter, while in the following year the archbishop was styled administrator-general of the abbey.³ Relations

¹ A. D. C.² Ibid.³ H., vi. 273. Dunferml. R., 384.

became strained to litigation, as has been seen, but in 1539, shortly before Beaton's death, the suits against Dury in the Roman courts were withdrawn.¹

One of the duties discharged by Beaton illustrates a phase of the pre-Reformation land system. It is recorded that in 1535 James, Archbishop of St Andrews, primate, *legatus natus*, and general administrator of the monastery of Dunfermline, with George, Abbot of Dunfermline, appointed "customars and justiciars general" to hold itinerary courts in the regality of Dunfermline within the dominion of Urquhart in Moray.² The priory of Pluscardine in Moray, belonging originally to the Order of Vallis Caulium, was acquired by the Benedictine Order in 1454, and became a cell of Dunfermline.

James Beaton died on February 14, 1539;³ and according to Lesley was buried in St Andrews. His rank in life entitled him in death to rest before the high altar of his cathedral church.

In St Andrews, as in Glasgow, Beaton's career afforded a vivid illustration of the secularisation of clerical offices which was counted in the reckoning of the Reformation. However wise he was as a king's counsellor, and devoted to his country's political prosperity, he was a

¹ H., xiv. 197.

² Dunferml. R., 385.

³ F., 464.

churchman ; but none the less he gave to civil concerns the heed he should have paid to spiritual things. He did not neglect the secular business of his churches ; and the revenues of Glasgow witnessed to his financial tact, and the castle and bridges of the city profited by his charge. In St Andrews, too, there was the same story of watchful care. It was only in his last years, when he held no office under the king, that he turned from the affairs of the State. Mindful of the Faith, he added victims to the martyr's roll, and gave a college to St Andrews. That college testified to its founder's zeal for the Church's preservation. Yet Beaton was not of the children of the new age, and the charter of St Mary's gave no sign that a renaissance had begun. He was, indeed, the friend and patron of John Major, almost the last surviving schoolman ; and looking back we see the two men standing in the light of a setting sun.

In Scottish history James Beaton's name will be for ever associated with the tragic work of the inquisition. To the credit of his heart it may be alleged that he was not a fierce oppressor, and it might be argued that he persecuted unto death, only because he knew no other way to crush a spiritual revolt. Still, though charity be kind to the man who was not a wanton

destroyer, many will say that he slew the prophets. The primate of the Scottish Church, while he could not have dared to recast its doctrine or fashion its worship anew, might have quickened the piety of the nation by word and deed. He did not darken the age by immoralities, and could censure the unclean prior of St Andrews; but he is not numbered among the good and godly prelates who comforted the people, and when there were men eager for religion he killed the evangelists.

Beaton's statesmanship did not rouse the admiration of his generation, and yet he saved his country. Henry could not tempt him, and Francis did not purchase his allegiance. As Scotland needed, he trusted France or sought for peace with England. Against him, more than against any man in the land, Henry directed his machinations; and he was made a prisoner when he would not yield to an intriguer's schemes. He was not, indeed, the hero of the people, and his service never found a reward of praise; but in the years after Flodden, when her independence was in the greatest danger, Beaton protected Scotland with steadfast purpose and incorruptible devotion.

APPENDIX.

I.

THE editors of the Register, without reference to any authority, give July 25, 1508, as the date of Blackader's death (i. 404). On November 13 the see was described as vacant (*ibid.*, ii. 232). On December 9 James heard of the death from the Cardinal of St Mark's (E. R. S., i. 93). Laing ('Knox,' vi. 664), referring to a diary of Maria Sanuto, says that a vessel returning from Jaffa to Venice in 1508 brought word that out of thirty-six pilgrims from Jerusalem the "rich bishop," evidently Blackader, was one of twenty-seven who died during the voyage.

II.

On August 4, 1513, by advice of Beaton, Archbishop and also Chancellor of the University, a chaplain was appointed to the chapel of the Blessed Virgin within the metropolitan church (Mun. Univ. Glasg., ii. 126). On March 30, 1514, an appeal was made to the archbishop by the provost of the church of Hamilton against the Dean of Glasgow on a question of jurisdiction (*Hist. MSS. R.*, xi. 6). Beaton confirmed the will of Sir William Douglas on June 8, 1515, and on July 16 entered into a bond of maintenance with David Wemyss (*ibid.*, xv. 8, 4, 'Family of Wemyss,' ii. 141). During his absence from Scotland Albany gave Beaton authority to advise the royal presentations, and a record of September 18, 1517, shows that the power was

exercised (R. P. S., 2936, 2936, 3031, 3067 : Chart. of Cambuskenneth, 241). On February 16, 1520, in an indenture between Lennox and Eglinton for a marriage and bond of kindness, the Archbishop of Glasgow was nominated as agent for Lennox (Hist. MSS. R., x. 1, 23).

III.

Pinkerton ('History of Scotland,' ii. 238) says that on July 30 many of the Lords, spiritual and temporal, entered into an engagement to support the king's assumption of power. The original bond, which is extant, was not signed by Beaton, but a notarial copy of August 1 bears the signature *J. Chancellor*,—"an important name," Pinkerton says, "which I cannot discern in the original; the former has Johannes Cantaily Archidiaconus St And., which occurs not in the copy." The editor of St P., iv. (cf. 56, note) says, "The Archbishop of St Andrews signed the bond of allegiance, the Bishop of Aberdeen did not. They were both put in custody, according to the 'Diurnal' on the 22nd of August. A suspicion may be entertained, from what is here stated, and from the position of Betoun's signature, that it was added afterwards."

IV.

In the Exchequer Rolls, under 1525, there is the entry, "Et eidem per solutionem factam domino reverendissimo Jacobo Sanctiandree archiepiscopo in quingentis libris quas dictus reverendissimus una cum aliis quingentis libris solvendis per thesaurarium deliberaverat magistro David Betoun, abbati de Arbroth, tempore quo iverat ultima vice cum domino gubernatore in ambassata ad Christianissimum regem Francie de mandato regis, regine, et dominorum regni in generali consilio congregato, et idem dominus rex et regina et domini regni mandarunt dictos rotulatorem et thesaurarium dictam summam mille librarum dicto reverendissimo solvere, prout per decretum

dictorum dominorum manu clerici consilii subscriptum aperte constabat auditoribus super comptum, v^c li.”

In the Acts of the Lords of Council, May 19, 1525, it is stated that Beaton had advanced £860 Scots to the ambassadors in France.

V.

In a document under the Privy Seal (*Formulare*, 151) James informs Clement VII. that in November 1524, on the death of Robert Beaton, he presented John Maxwell of Dundrennan. Other letters were extorted from him in his minority, in favour of Andrew Dury; Lord Maxwell now presents papal letters on his brother's behalf, asking which candidate James desires to favour. The king is now *extra tutelam*, and he chooses Maxwell, rescinding all letters for Dury.

During the infancy of the king, the pope, Leo X., seized every advantage, while Albany's position and interest prompted him to fight for the crown privileges. The Duke's prolonged absence from Scotland after 1517 weakened him in the controversy, and Leo sought to gain him by rewards. The handling of casualties by an absentee regent would excite more than remark in Scotland. If he received papal authority to collect the temporalities during vacancy he might be led to moderate his demands, and the papacy would profit by a breach between him and the Scottish Council. At the beginning of 1519, more than a year before Leo received obedience, Albany was empowered by him to uplift temporalities in the vacancy of a bishopric or monastery, till the Bulls were presented (Transcripts, Record Office, 62, 127, cf. vol. ii. 175). The arrangement was of benefit to the Governor; but it did not meet with approval in Scotland, where the right was regarded as inherent in the crown by use and wont, and he found it necessary to fight the question of privilege to a finish. An interesting case is recorded in which the Abbot of Melrose violated the royal privileges.

On the death of William, Abbot of Cupar, the chapter

proceeded without the permission of the king and Albany to elect a monk, and the choice was approved by Robert (Beaton) of Melrose, commissary general of the Cistercian order in Scotland. When taken to task the Abbot of Melrose pled ignorance of the royal privilege, and dispatched three members of the order to command an election in favour of the person nominated by the king and the Governor. The appointment of an *yconomus* would be made by the Archbishop of St Andrews. The Abbot of Melrose also covered his retreat by describing the monk elected as *pro regimine minus utilem* (F., 46). The *Formulare* records the names of two candidates who were in the field, Thomas Hay, Canon of Aberdeen, the royal secretary, and Donald Campbell, clerk of Lismore diocese. They were both in negotiation with J. S., clerk of St Andrews diocese. Hay promised a pension of £100 Scots, while Campbell agreed to one of 100 marks (or about £16, 13s. 4d. sterling). In both cases the pension was to be transferable (F., 28, 31). From a letter of May 25, 1525 (H., iv. 1355), it appears that J. S. must have been a son of Sir William Scott, and that the monks of Cupar saw fit to avail themselves of the political unrest and vindicate the right of chapter election.

VI.

The entry regarding Dury's provision on October 6 is curious in two respects. He had an indult for three months not to wear the habit, and he was taxed *pro hac vice* 800 ducats, though the abbey was entered at 1980 florins. On January 6, 1526, just three months later, the Bulls were dated, and on July 16 the 1980 florins were duly paid. John Lauder, who was at Rome in 1525, watching Margaret's interest, has prefixed to his *Formulare* a table of the taxes payable for the Scottish prelaties. It is noticeable (1) that he always speaks of "ducats," whereas the entries in Brady are in "florins," though the figures are identical; (2) that he puts Melrose at 1980 ducats, but adds that "it is being reduced" to 800. It looks as if he wrote this table in the winter of 1525-6.

VII.

CITATIO SUPER SUSPECTO DE HERESI AD FACIENDUM PURGATIONEM
ALIAS AD VIDENDUM HERETICUM DECLARARI.¹

Jacobus etc., decano Christianitatis nostre de L. universisque et singulis aliis dominis rectoribus vicariis perpetuis capellanis curatis et non curatis per provinciam nostram S[anctiandree] ubilibet constitutis illique vel illis ad quem vel ad quos presentes litere pervenerint salutem cum benedictione divina: Quia per fidelem inquisitionem aliter de mandato nostro legitime receptam compertum extitit quendam Magistrum P[atricium] H[amilton] de heresi multipliciter suspectum, quem citandum et desuper accusandum antea decrevimus, sed medio tempore relicta patria ad alia et extera se transtulit loca, nuper tamen vagante fama ad aures nostras clamorosa insinuatione pervenit ipsum nuperrime in patriam reversum et quod primo statim adventu non debite missus nec prerogativis aut privilegiis debitis munitus, sed propria auctoritate et temeraria presumptione, predicationis officium in heresi etiam dampnata acceptare ausus est, et suas hereticas pravitates et peregrinas Martini Lutheri heretici alias ab ecclesia damnati et suorum fautorum ac sequacium opiniones promulgare, docere seminare et pertinaciter affirmare ac populum Christianum in eisdem instruere non erubescit, inter que simplices et illiteratos hujus regni Christifideles qui in se et progenitoribus per tanta temporum curricula, spatio viz. mille et trecentorum annorum et ultra in ecclesia Dei constantissime militaverunt, a vera nostra orthodoxa fide et catholica ecclesia seducere, et quantum in eo est pervertere nititur et proponit dicendo predicando et temerario ausu inter alia palam et publice affirmando legibus canonibus patrum sanctionibus et decretis humanis quoque constitutionibus non esse obtemperandum: claves et censuras ecclesie contempnendas nec sacramentis ejusdem fidendum: templa non esse frequentanda nec ymagines adorandas: pro

¹ *Formulare*, 145.

defunctorum animabus non esse exorandum nec decimas Deo et ecclesie solvendas: pro bonis operibus nullum fore salutis premium nec pro malis cruciatum: nostros progenitores in ecclesia Dei et ejusdem sacramentis fidentes in mala et iniqua fide esse mortuos et in inferno sepultos; aliaque dictu et recitatu saltem inter Christianos et fideles horrenda et nephanda predicat docet et affirmat in Dei viventis claviumque ecclesie ac nostre fidei orthodoxe contemptum, regni et reipublicae ejusdem damnum scandalum et digna Dei ultione, si premissis favere incipiat, sperandam ruinam, animeque perpetrantis gravissimum periculum nisi remedio succurratur opportuno: in quibus omnibus et singulis idem Magister P. communi voce et fama e publica et notoria ejusdem predicatione orta de heresi suspectus reputatur habetur et divulgatur: consilio igitur desuper recepto ipsum citandum et in premissis experendum decrevimus. Quare vobis et vestrum cuilibet etc. precipimus et mandamus quatenus citetis legitime dictum Magistrum P. H. primo, secundo, tertio et peremptorie etc. quod compareat personaliter coram [nobis] nostrisque consulibus dominis episcopis abbatibus prioribus sacrarum literarum professoribus et religiosis, aliisque nobis pro tempore assistentibus, in ecclesia nostra Metropolitana S[anctiandree] regni Scotie primatiali, die *N* mensis *N* proxime futuris, hora decima ante meridiem vel eocirca, ad respondendum nobis ex officio de et super suis pertinaciter dictis, affirmatis, predicatis, divulgatis, tentis et disputatis contra nostram orthodoxam fidem et sanctam ecclesiam catholicam; et propterea ad videndum et audiendum ipsum hereticum declarari, et pena condigna a canonibus propterea lata et imposita puniendum fore et puniri debere; superque adherentia et favoribus prestitis peregrinis opinionibus et pravitatibus dicti Martini Lutheri, heretici ab ecclesia damnati, et suorum sequacium ac aliis interrogandis similiter respondendum, et tanquam heretice pravitatis fautorem et male de fide sentientem accusandum fore et accusari ac condempnari debere, testimonia quoque et probationes, si necesse fuerit, desuper recipi, jurari, et admitti, ac in premissis omnibus et singulis summarie et de plano sine strepitu et figura iudicii

prout juris fuerit procedendum fore et procedi debere; vel ad allegandum causam rationabilem quare premissa fieri non deberent; cum intimatione debita, ut moris est, intimando eidem quod sive dictis die et loco comparere curaverit sive non comparuerit nos nihilominus in premissis omnibus et singulis procedere volumus et intendimus justitia mediante ipsius absentia seu contumacia in aliquo non obstante; et ne periculum sit in mora, et ut interim hujusmodi hereses in hoc regno hucusque ab omni tali labe et heretica peste per tanta temporum spatia sano, et post Christi Salvatoris susceptam fidem inviolabiliter preservato, non oriantur nec per Christifideles audiantur, vobis omnibus et singulis supradictis, modo et forma premissis precipimus et mandamus, quatenus auctoritate nostra inhibeatis omnibus et singulis Christifidelibus cujuscunque dignitatis status gradus ordinis aut conditionis existant, ne dicto Magistro P. sic ut premittitur, de heresi suspecto, favorem assistentiam societatem colloquium seu gratam audientiam prebeant; nec in suis temerariis et insolentibus predicationibus disputationibus seu conventiculis publice vel occulte quovis quesito colore vel ingenio convenient seu presentiam exhibeant; sed sibi et suis saltem in premissis fautoribus resistere studeant, resistentiamque faciant et procurent; ab illoque edendo, bibendo aut communicando in premissis absteineant, donec de heresi et infamia desuper orta purgetur et eundem vitent sub pena excommunicationis majoris quam contrarium facientes incurrere volumus et decernimus ipso facto et quos vos etc.

VIII.

Alexander Hamilton, the Abbot of Kilwinning, had made a promise to the son and heir of the Earl of Arran and to Sir J. Hamilton of Finnart, that their nominee should succeed him in the abbacy, when they required it. This promise was registered in the book of obligations and contracts of the Official of Lothian, the abbot being bound under pain of excommunication and other censures. Apparently after the death of Arran

(1529) and the succession of his son, the abbot desired to recall his promise; but, though *pacta et promissiones in beneficialibus* did not subsist *de jure*, he had promised on oath. Resort was had to the pope, who decided that an oath ought not to be the bond of iniquity. Robert, Bishop of Lismore, with two other ecclesiastics, was commissioned to deal with the case. After salutary penance and absolution for taking his rash oath, Hamilton was to be freed from obligation. In the church of Glasgow the promise (in Scots) and the act of the Official of Lothian (in Latin) were produced and declared null. A document narrating the execution of the apostolic letters was addressed to the Archbishop of St Andrews, to Arran, and to Hamilton of Finnart (F., 345).

ADDITIONAL APPENDIX.

I.

FORMULARE DOCUMENTS RELATING TO CHURCHES,
MONASTERIES, RESIGNATIONS, ETC.

JOHN LAUDER.

NOT long after Forman's death we find Lauder applying to the Official of St Andrews for a transumpt of the various dispensations which he had received. His master had empowered him to hold no less than three incompatible benefices (F., 314, 315). Relations with James Beaton were not so satisfactory as they had been with Forman; and this explains why the great proportion of the documents entered in the *Formulare* during this period refer to the diocese of Glasgow. Lauder has included a group of writs which show him appealing from Beaton to Rome. The vicarate of Kilrenny in Fife was held by a canon of Dryburgh, and, when the benefice became vacant by death, the chapter (the monastery being without an abbot) presented one of their number to Beaton, who gave collation. The new vicar was inducted by the *curatus*, who delivered cup, missal, and *ornamenta*, and "introduced" him into the manse, closing the door after him (*ibid.*, 160). Lauder contested the legality of the proceeding. It appears that Clement VII. in 1524 reserved all benefices falling vacant in January, February, April, May, June, August, October, or November, for his own disposal. It was by virtue of this reservation that Lauder

laid claim to the vicarate, and appealed from Beaton's decision (F., 157). The date of the vacancy was an essential point. We have a writ in which witnesses testified that the late vicar died on a certain day, in a specified village and house, and within the *parochia* of a certain church, and that his body was laid before the high altar at Dryburgh, on the north side of the choir, for burial (*ibid.*, 159). Lauder, who describes himself as commendator of the vicarate, won his case. His opponent was cited to St Andrews, and upon the evidence of six parishioners had to pay £100 Scots for fruits levied since the beginning of the suit (*ibid.*, 283-84). Lauder attributes the judgment to Forman; but it must have been given in Beaton's time.

In 1534 Lauder resigned the rectory of M. (St Andrews diocese), obtaining the right of regress. It appears that the church was served by a vicar pensioner (*ibid.*, 634). Towards the close of Beaton's career Lauder became Archdeacon of Teviotdale in the diocese of Glasgow, but his claim was contested. On January 17, 1537, Lauder appeared with papal letters at the house of a canon of Glasgow, named as executor. The latter cited the dean and chapter, with others, to produce muniments mentioned in the letters for transumpt at Lauder's expense, also Master T. T., his opponent, with all interested. In the chapter-house, on February 23, a notary took oath that on a certain Sunday he went, according to custom, *ad fontes ecclesie Glasguensis tempore summe misse*, and made the citation. Master T. was at Rome, and no procurators could be found. The notary then went to the archdeacon's stall in presence of the dean, some canons, and the vicars of the choir, and affixed a copy above it. Upon proof of execution, Lauder produced his collection of testimonials and dispensations (vol. ii. p. 227), their authenticity was certified by various witnesses summoned for the purpose, and after transumpt had been made, an instrument was completed to which the executor affixed his seal (*ibid.*, 372-75). Evidently Lauder had to forward the copies to Rome in order to make good his case.

DUNKELD.

George, Bishop of Dunkeld, on the ground of ill-health, commissioned Henry, Bishop of Whithorn and the Chapel-Royal, to hear the case of P. A., priest of Dunkeld diocese, who was in conspiracy with rebels in England and elsewhere against the life of James V. The Bishop of Whithorn was empowered to give sentence even of deposition and degradation (F., 359). Exercising the ordinary jurisdiction of Dunkeld, and having the special license of the Archbishop of St Andrews, he cited the offender, who had frequently communicated with the conspirators in writing, to the church of the Dominicans in Edinburgh, to answer before him or the procurator-fiscal of Dunkeld. Sir A. O. of R., the king's advocate, and T. S. of P., clerk of justiciary, were cited to prosecute (*ibid.*, 360). With consent of Gavin, Archbishop of Glasgow, George of Dunkeld, William of Aberdeen, Alexander of Moray, William of Dunblane, and Robert of Orkney, the Bishop of Whithorn gave sentence of deposition (*ibid.*, 362). He then formally deprived and deposed P. A., *realiter et actualiter secundum traditionem canonum* (*ibid.*). The bishops involved in this case show that it cannot be dated earlier than the end of 1532.

DRYBURGH AND KILWINNING.

On the death of David, Bishop of Lismore, who was commendator of Dryburgh, John, prior of St Andrews and vicar-general, *sede vacante*, appointed *yconomi* for the abbey. The Archbishop of St Andrews now appoints others, on the ground that the former did little or nothing (*ibid.*, 1). The *Formulare* attributes the document to Forman instead of to Beaton. For other documents on this subject see vol. ii., App. IX. The Dean of Glasgow appointed *yconomi* for Kilwinning, on the ground of Beaton's translation to St Andrews and resignation of the abbey (*ibid.*, 1); but the resignation did not take effect.

HOLYROOD.

On the death of Robert Cockburn, Bishop of Dunkeld, the Abbot of Holyrood was nominated to succeed, and Master William Douglas, clerk of St Andrews diocese, was destined for Holyrood. In an instrument, completed before the king, Douglas promised not to ask for the retention of his prebend in the collegiate church of D., James being patron thereof; and a certain J. S. of Glasgow diocese received the royal presentation, and collation from the Archbishop of St Andrews. Douglas broke his promise, and James now writes to Clement VII. and to the Cardinal of Ancona, asking that the grant of retention be cancelled (F., 153-54).

INCHMAHOME.

The prior of Inchmahome, in view of the services of J. T., a canon, and perpetual cure of the church of L. belonging to the prior's table, grants J. T., with consent of the convent, all emoluments of the vicariate, with manse and *tribus ibertis terrarum* pertaining, and the great teinds of the 24-mark lands of L. in the *parochia*, also fishings and tithes thereof in the parish. The prior and convent bind themselves *in ampliori obligationis etiam camere apostolice forma* (ibid., 334).

CHAPTER ELECTION.

(1) On the death of Edward Shewill, abbot of Newbattle, the chapter immediately proceeded to elect one of their number; but a royal command came ordering the chapter to annul the election, to summon a new meeting, and to choose James Haswal, the king's almoner, on the strength of indults granted by Innocent VIII. and Leo X. (ibid., 260). After this second meeting a letter was written to Clement VII. to say that the chapter, ignorant of the royal privilege, had proceeded without allowing any interval to elapse and without a majority; but that at a new meeting the late abbot was solemnly buried

before the high altar, and that the choice fell upon Haswal, for whom they now sought the pope's confirmation (F., 261).

(2) The sub-prioress and three nuns of Haddington inform Clement VII. that their chapter has elected M. H., one of their number, to succeed the late J. H., and seek his confirmation (*ibid.*, 259).

PITTENWEEM.

John Roul, prior of Pittenweem, Patrick Forman, sub-prior, with other canons, also Master Alexander R., rector of M., were accused of having art and part in the killing and wounding of several persons committed on the priory lands, and of having contracted irregularity by celebrating mass thereafter. Archbishop Beaton commissioned James S., the official of St Andrews, to cite all interested to the chapel of St Anne for inquisition. Master T. K., his procurator-fiscal, failed to prove the charge, and the accused asked for *purgatio*, for which a day was appointed. They declared their innocence upon oath, and fourteen *compurgatores*, including the Bishops of Dunkeld, Moray, and Ross, with three abbots, swore that they believed the declaration. The official then issued a writ relating the facts and pronouncing them innocent (*ibid.*, 327). For this case see 'Liber Officialis S. Andree,' 129.

VISITATION OF MONASTERIES.

Andrew Forman had occasion to vindicate his right of visiting the Cistercian houses in his diocese (vol. ii. p. 192), and James Beaton was involved in controversy with the Abbot of Glenluce, who in 1531 was not able, before the Lords of Council, to obtain recognition for a commission received from the head of the order (A. D. C., vol. xlii., January 31, July 23). The possible conflict of authorities is illustrated by a document preserved in the *Formulare*. James, doctor of theology and superior of the Premonstratensians, had apparently designated John Maxwell, abbot of Holywood, as visitor of the order in Scotland; but when Maxwell was transferred to the Cistercian

abbey of Dundrennan, James Stewart, abbot of Dryburgh, received the office. Stewart was to take with him a prelate or canon of the order: he was to see that the three essential vows were kept, that there was *habitus decens cum rasura*, and that *curiositates* and varied colours were avoided in dress. Prelates ought to appear at the general chapter of the order yearly, or at least every three years; and they must at all events send procurators to represent them. Abbots were bound, on pain of deprivation from temporal administration, to give annual account to their respective priors and chapters. The visitor was empowered to hear confessions, absolve, and restore: to dispense with two years for ordination to the priesthood, provided the persons concerned were in the twenty-third year of their age and the fifteenth of their profession: also to dispense *super anticipatione anni probationis* so as to be admitted to profession. Prelates were to be compelled to send scholars to schools and provide for their maintenance. The visitor was empowered not only to arrest fugitives, but to receive and admit the resignation and translation of prelates, even compelling resignation where necessary, and to confirm elections. The commission was granted for a period of three years (F., 246).

Another document relates that a canon of Whithorn was summoned for an alleged delict before the coadjutor of Soulseat, acting as vicar-general or sub-prior for Ninian, the prior or commendator, and was expelled. James, Abbot of Dryburgh, ordered his reinstatement, but the command was ignored. The king intervened, and the abbot, as commissary-general of the order, absolves the canon anew, reserving consideration of the delict till his next visit (*ibid.*, 248).

ROSLIN: ERECTION INTO A COLLEGIATE CHURCH.

Sir William Sinclair of Roslin proposed the erection of the *ecclesia* of St Matthew (built *miro et insigni lapideo tabulatu*) into a "perpetual college" for a provost and four prebendaries.

Hitherto the church had been under a *preses*. For this purpose a petition was directed to the Archbishop of St Andrews, who was asked to incorporate the fruits of the church of Pentland, leaving twenty marks Scots for the annual stipend of a vicar-pensioner and twenty marks annually for the fabric. The rectory is to become the provostry of Roslin. The archbishop, with the consent of the prior and chapter of St Andrews, and of John Dickson, rector of Pentland, complied with the request, providing for amplification on condition that each prebendary should receive a minimum of twenty marks Scots and each boy £4 Scots (F., 275). The erection of Roslin into a collegiate church is attributed in the *Formulare* to Andrew Forman; but Dickson seems to have obtained Pentland after Forman's death (Laing Charters, 329).

INHIBITION OF SHERIFF.

Beaton learns from his official principal that a case is pending between Master J. S., rector of F., and A. S. of L. and others, about the *terra ecclesiastica* of the chapel of St M. within the *parochia* of F., pertaining to J. S., and *super communi pastura usu focalium et aliorum necessariorum super bondis et limitibus terrarum de A. et D.*, belonging to A. S. The sheriff of K., having royal letters based on false information given by A. S., cited J. S. and his tenants of the said land to the prejudice of ecclesiastical liberty. Beaton orders the Dean of M. and others to notify inhibition to the sheriff (F., 445).

RESIGNATION IN FAVOREM.

(1) James V., with the authority of Albany, presented G. R., priest of St Andrews diocese, to the vicarate of E. (Glasgow diocese); but Robert Forman, vicar-general *sede vacante*, refused to confer. A. L., the previous holder of the vicarate, two days before death, had appointed a procurator to resign in Forman's hands in favour of Master N., who concealed A. L.'s condition and got a presentation from the king, thus violating a rule of

the papal chancery which required an interval of twenty days between resignation and death. Forman had therefore no right to confer it on N., and G. R., who contends that he was cited to Glasgow Cathedral and found no judge there, appeals to Clement VII. (F., 170).

(2) James, King of Scots, gives license to the abbot of a Cistercian monastery in St Andrews diocese to resign in the Roman court in favour of his nephew, with reservation of fruits for life and to procure Bulls without penalty arising from statutes of the realm (*ibid.*, 89). (This is probably Culross; cf. Brady, i. 171.) For a similar document, see vol. ii., App. VIII.

(3) Master J. B., archdeacon of Lothian, appoints procurators to resign the benefice in favour of N., clerk of St Andrews diocese, reserving the fruits (less £20 Scots annually for C. W., clerk of St Andrews diocese), full jurisdiction *in subditos archidiaconatus*, the gift of the vicarate of the parish church of C., united to the archdeaconry, leasing of lands and teinds of the archdeaconry, confirmation of wills, visitation of churches within the archdeaconry, *procuraciones* and *synodalia*, and right of regress (F., 28).

(4) Notarial instruments of 1523—(1) A. B., Canon of Dunkeld, appoints procurators in the Roman court to resign his prebend in favour of W. P., reserving fruits and right of regress. (2) W. P. appoints procurators to consent. (3) A. B. appoints procurators *ad obligandum pro annata in eventum regressus*. (4) W. P. appoints procurators with power *in eventum cessationis perceptionis omnium fructuum magistro A. B. reservatorum ipsum constituentem pro annata fructuum obligandi* (*ibid.*, 26).

JOHN THORNTON.

(1) Master John T., clerk of St Andrews diocese, has a pension of forty marks Scots (or £6, 10s. sterling), granted by the late J. D., Archdeacon of Caithness, with the authority of Adrian VI. (September 8, 1522), and payable at Aberdeen. J. T. appoints procurators to transfer the pension to Master

C. A., priest of St Andrews diocese, with consent of the present archdeacon, making it payable at St Andrews at the same dates (December 25 and June 24), with access in default of payment (F., 386).

(2) John T., after narrating that Adrian VI. and Clement VII. reserved benefices falling vacant *apud sedem*, and that Clement reserved certain months, states that Adam S. obtained the prebend of A. in Moray from Adrian: that G. H., who succeeded on the death of A. S., resigned in the hands of Clement: that Anselm R., intruded by ordinary authority, died in January, and that he himself obtained it. The late Robert, Bishop of Moray, made another disposition of the prebend, and J. T. appeals to Rome against it (*ibid.*, 161).

(3) John, Bishop of Brechin, in a suit against John T., canon of Glasgow, about the sub-deanery of Ross, received two adverse verdicts. The case is now before the *Auditor causarum*, and as J. T. remits the expenses in which the bishop was condemned, the latter appoints procurators to resign any rights in the benefice (*ibid.*, 393).

(4) Master John T., sub-dean of Ross, and canon of Glasgow and St Salvator's (St Andrews), appoints procurators in the Roman court to resign his benefices to John T., *junior*, James T., and John T., *natu minimus*, who are *fratres germani ipsiusque ex fratre germano nepotes*, reserving all fruits for life and regress. A pension of £100 Scots from each benefice is provided for H. T., *de constituyente et soluta genitus*, payable at J. T.'s death (*ibid.*, 484).

John Thornton affords an admirable specimen of the current abuses. He did a good deal of Scottish business in Rome (Brady, *passim*), and carried on a brisk trade in benefices. On September 25, 1527, he was declared by the Lords of Council to have incurred the statutory penalties for "purchasing" a benefice; and, as the ordinary had conferred it on George Dury, Thornton must have come into contact with Beaton (A. D. C.).

APPEALS, PENSIONS, ETC.

(1) Appeal by a priest of St Andrews diocese to Beaton from Gavin of Aberdeen, who ignored a presentation to a vicarate in Aberdeen diocese by George Dundas, Preceptor of Torphichen, the patron thereof (F., 165).

(2) Extrajudicial appeal of a rector who has obtained the benefice *vigore gratie expectative*. The following is an abbreviation of the form used in such cases: *Causam devolve et ad sanctissimum patrem appello, ac apostolos semel bis ter et quater instantanter instantius et instantissime dari debere peto, et protestor quod appellacione pendente nihil innovetur; intrusum necnon alios interesse putantes (moneo) quatenus infra sexagesimam diem comparere debeant per se vel procuratorem cum omnibus munimentis coram dominis sacri palatii causarum auditoribus, si dies juridica fuerit, alioquin proxima die juridica; eisque inhibeo ne aliquid innovare audeant, cum intimatione quod, sive appellati comparuerint sive non nihilominus procedam* (ibid., 166, 157).

(3) *Appellatio seu reclamatio per modum supplicationis sive querele*. Arbiters chosen by the parties dealt with matters not referred to them, and one party appeals to the archbishop (ibid., 167).

(4) The Bishop of D. regards the allegation that R. S. was intruded into a prebend by a *facta resignatio* of B., himself *intrusus*, as frivolous; but "out of reverence for the Apostolic See" he grants *apostoli reverentiales*, allowing 101 days for extrajudicial appeal to the pope (ibid., 168).

(5) Appeal by a prior of Inchmahome from a canon of Dunblane, sub-delegate of the bishop as papal delegate. John C., canon of Scone, claimed the priory, and had obtained a verdict in his favour (ibid., 167).

(6) Appeal by a prior of Inchmahome (not the same person as above), from a canon of Dunblane as sub-delegate, who in his case with John C. repeatedly refused to allow appeal (ibid., 169).

(7) A sub-delegate of the Bishop of Dunblane (in connection

with the above) answers a frivolous appeal by John C., by affirming the justice of his verdict given in the cathedral church, and holds this answer to have the effect of *apostoli refutatorii* (F., 168).

(8) George Hepburn, dean of Dunkeld and vicar-general *sede vacante*, gives *apostoli refutatorii* disallowing the appeal to Rome of Master J. P., *senior chorista aptiorque chori ecclesie*, whom a few canons by a snatch vote presented to the prebend of F. It has been conferred upon the nominee of the crown, which has the right *sede vacante* (*ibid.*, 171).

(9) Clement VII. had decreed that all benefices vacant *apud sedem* should be reserved for his disposition, and he granted a vicarate in the diocese of Dunkeld which was resigned by a Master M. G. in his hands. Apart from the reservation the benefice was at the disposal of the bishop, who gave it to a certain R. S.; and this man, through his brother G. S., who was in favour with the king, caused the papal nominee to be summoned before the Council in Edinburgh and to be accused in a lay court. The Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow and four bishops were sitting with the Council. Owing to their *ineffrenata cupido* they suffered the accused to be pronounced a rebel and to be outlawed. He betook himself to Holyrood, where ecclesiastical immunity was wont to be observed, and from there he appealed to the pope, narrating the facts (*ibid.*, 280).

(10) D. F., canon of St Andrews, prior of Monymusk, and commendator of the vicarate of D., which is enjoyed by the canons of St Andrews and which D. F. has held for twenty-four years, appeals to Rome against the intrusion of another canon. D. F. obtained the priory from Adrian VI. with the right to retain the vicarate *in commendam* (*ibid.*, 162).

(11) James B., clerk of St Andrews diocese, obtained a verdict against Robert Forman, Dean of Glasgow, in a suit for the prebend of F. in St Mary's on the Rock (St Andrews), with fruits and expenses *a tempore mote litis*. By the intervention of friends, Gavin of Aberdeen and G. S., canon of Aberdeen,

were accepted as *amicabiles compositores*. J. B. resigns his right by apostolic provision and consents *relaxationi sequestri* (the sequestration having been granted by Martin de Spinoso, auditor of causes, June 25, 1523); while Forman grants a pension of 100 marks Scots (£16, 13s. 4d. sterling, and not exceeding half the fruits) payable at Edinburgh, with regress for J. B., and will also pay 200 marks as a composition for the fruits due, according to the above verdict, with 50 marks for expenses, binding himself for this payment in the books of the Official of Lothian (F., 33).

Robert Forman died in 1530 (*ibid.*, 263). The agreement provided for immediate regress by J. B., just as if he had held the benefice for three years and more and had never made the *cessio*; and the Apostolic See granted the indult. Beaton apparently gave it to John Lauder, who forcibly intruded himself, and J. B. appeals to Rome (*ibid.*, 324).

(12) W. H., priest of Glasgow diocese, and executor under the will of Robert Forman, appeals to Rome against the Official of Lothian. Beaton took W. H. into that court for debts, falsely alleged to be owing by Forman to the archbishop. This was contrary to the exemption enjoyed by Glasgow (*ibid.*, 283).

Another document illustrates the difficulties between St Andrews and Glasgow. R. B. of W., sole executor of E. P., had a case against Beaton, M. B., relict of E. P., and N. P., their son. Commissaries apostolic were appointed, including Adam C., Official-general of Glasgow; but the Official of St Andrews issued letters warning R. B. to satisfy M. B. within thirty days. The commissaries declared these letters null, and threatened greater excommunication if further letters were granted (*ibid.*, 336).

(13) W. R., precentor of Dunkeld, had the benefice by ordinary authority, and had a suit with J. S., who received it by apostolic authority, as it was vacant in a reserved month. If J. S. will resign any rights in the hands of the pope, W. R. will consent to a pension of 80 marks Scots (not exceeding half the fruits and free of burdens) payable in Edinburgh at the

usual terms, December 25 and June 24, beginning in June, 1538, till J. S. receives a prebend in Dunkeld worth £40 Scots, subtracting burdens, by means of W. R., by *procuratio* of R. C., canon of the church, or from George, the bishop. A prebend worth £20 Scots will reduce the pension to 40 marks, and it will be extinguished, generally, in proportion to the value of the benefice obtained. J. S. will have access in default of payment (F., 368).

(14) Masters G. S. and J. B., canons of Moray and proto-notaries, come to an agreement regarding the chancellorship of Ross, claimed by each. G. S. renounces the benefice with the vicarate of the church of A. (in Moray) in favour of J. B., who holds the vicarate; while J. B. will renounce the vicarate in favour of G. S. and his right in the chancellorship in favour of Master W. T., clerk of St Andrews diocese (*ibid.*, 29).

(15) Notarial instrument by Gavin Dunbar, dean of Moray and commendator of Whithorn, consenting to the pension of 400 marks Scots from the fruits of Glasgow on behalf of Thomas Hay, canon of Aberdeen and chief secretary, imposed by the pope at Albany's request when Dunbar was provided for Glasgow (*ibid.*, 32).

(16) Thomas Hay and John S., canon of Moray, agree regarding the prebend of E. in the church of Glasgow. Hay renounces his right by apostolic reservation and ordinary provision on the resignation of J. M., and J. S. grants to Hay the right of regress (F., 32). In another document we find Hay absolved and restored, by consent of J. S., from excommunication incurred through disobedience to papal letters executorial (*ibid.*, 88).

(17) A. S., Countess of B., having in conjunct fee the patronage of churches in the barony of D. (St Andrews diocese), informs Paul III. that with consent of her husband, R., Lord M., she presents A. C. for the provostry of D. (St Andrews diocese), which is vacant by the resignation of John C. in the pope's hands in favour of A. C., and asks for a reservation of 120 marks or about £16 sterling, pay-

able annually to J. C. for his life, with regress in default of payment. The pension is more than £5 sterling short of half the fruits; but only a sum amounting to one-third of the fruits will be paid free of burdens ordinary, extraordinary, papal, or royal. She appoints procurators in the Roman court (F., 363). This document seems to have been the result of an agreement between J. C. and A. C., who was a canon of the church. The Countess presented J. C., in virtue of her right of patronage, for life; but he was prepared to resign in favour of A. C., presented by G., Lord H. and D., who claimed to exercise the right. In the event of war and the destruction of the fruits on the Borders, A. C. will not be bound to pay till peace is made, so that the lands may be occupied and their revenues secured. Procurators are appointed to agree to the reservation (*ibid.*, 364).

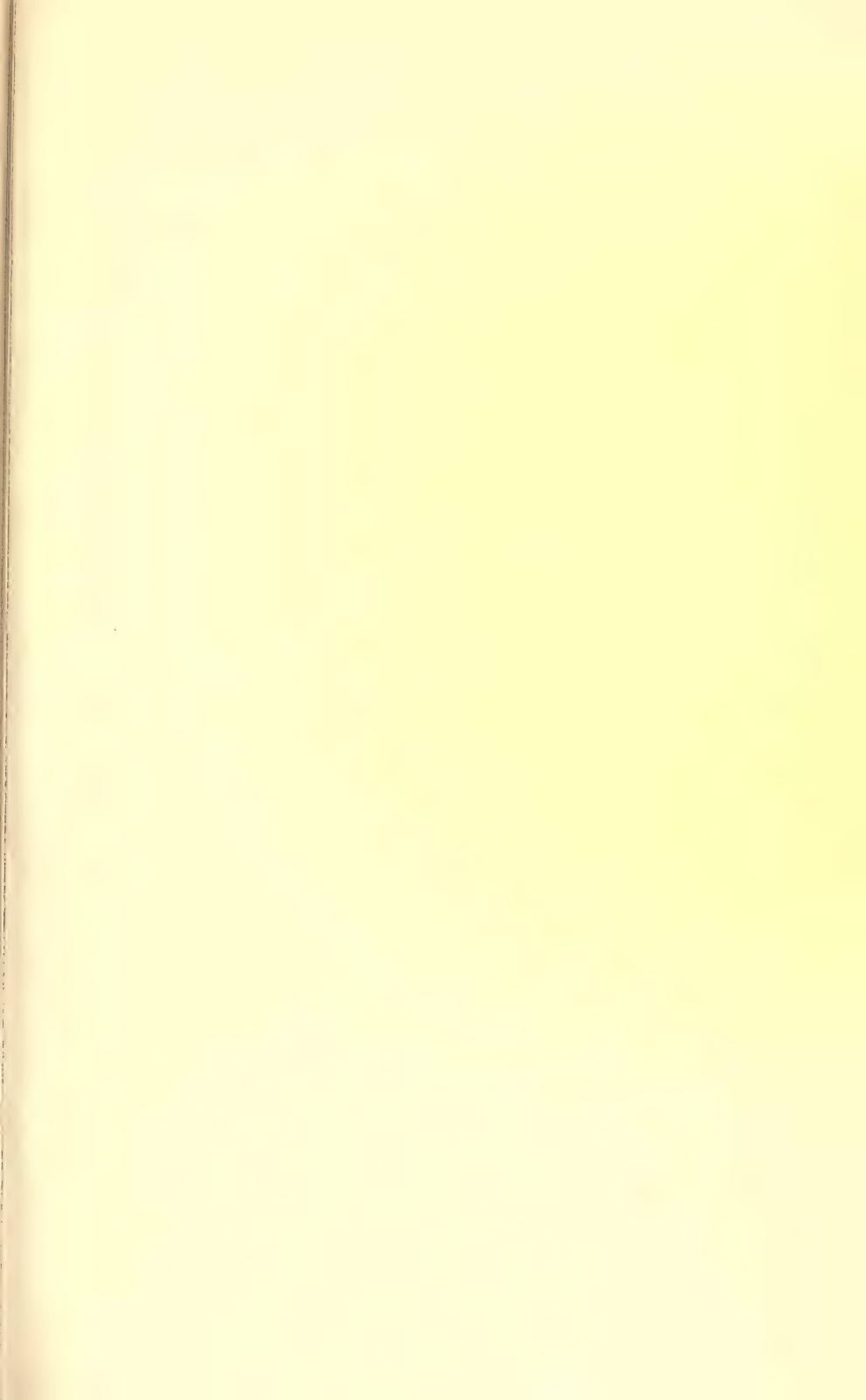
(18) Patrick, prior of St Andrews, having been nominated for the bishopric of Moray, with Scone *in commendam*, appoints procurators to consent to a pension which is asked for in the royal letters to Rome. James Leirmonth, clerk of St Andrews city, is to receive £200 Scots annually from the fruits of Scone, free of all burdens, till he is of legitimate age and obtains a benefice of that value after burdens are deducted. If the benefice obtained be worth £100 or 100 marks, the pension will be reduced by that amount. Leirmonth will have power to transfer the pension, which would be extinguished under the same conditions (*ibid.*, 387).

(19) Master R. B., prebendary of F. in St Mary's on the Rock (St Andrews), appoints procurators who, if James D. cedes any rights to that benefice in his favour, will consent to a pension of 100 marks Scots (about £17 sterling, and not exceeding one-third of the fruits), with right of regress (*ibid.*, 30).

(20) A. C., provincial minister of the Observantines, in name of the order appeals to Rome against his citation by the Official of St Andrews, pretended conservator-apostolic of the privileges of a friar, to hear sentence of excommunication. The friar,

obtained papal letters *per surreptionem*: also in the pretended commission, translating him to the Friars Conventual, there is a *rasura* at a suspected place (*sc. in derogatione bulle concordie*). All this was proved before the Official in presence of Beaton and many theologians and lawyers. On that occasion the opponents entered into an agreement with the Official's mediation, who has no jurisdiction in consequence (F., 162).

END OF VOL. III.





Catalogue
of
Messrs Blackwood & Sons^s
Publications

PERIODS OF EUROPEAN LITERATURE: A Complete and CONTINUOUS HISTORY OF THE SUBJECT. Edited by PROFESSOR SAINTSBURY. In 12 crown 8vo vols., each 5s. net.

- I. THE DARK AGES. By Professor W. P. KER.
- II. THE FLOURISHING OF ROMANCE AND THE RISE OF ALLEGORY. (12TH AND 13TH CENTURIES.) By GEORGE SAINTSBURY, M.A., Hon. LL.D., Aberdeen, Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in Edinburgh University.
- III. THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY. By F. J. SNELL.
- IV. THE TRANSITION PERIOD. By Prof. G. GREGORY SMITH.
- V. THE EARLIER RENAISSANCE. By THE EDITOR.
- VI. THE LATER RENAISSANCE. By DAVID HANNAY.
- VII. THE FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By Prof. H. J. C. GRIERSON.
- VIII. THE AUGUSTAN AGES. By OLIVER ELTON.
- IX. THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By J. H. MILLAR.
- X. THE ROMANTIC REVOLT. By Prof. C. E. VAUGHAN.
- XI. THE ROMANTIC TRIUMPH. By T. S. OMOND.
- XII. THE LATER NINETEENTH CENTURY. By THE EDITOR.

PHILOSOPHICAL CLASSICS FOR ENGLISH READERS.

Edited by WILLIAM KNIGHT, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of St Andrews. *Re-issue in Shilling Volumes net.*

DESCARTES, Prof. M. HASTY.	VICO, Prof. Flint.
BUTLER, Rev. W. L. O. UINS.	HOBBS, Prof. Croom Robertson.
BERKELEY, Prof. Campbell F. SER.	HUME, Prof. Knight.
FICHTE, Prof. Adamson.	SPINOZA, Principal Caird.
KANT, Prof. Wallace.	BACON: Part I., Prof. Nichol.
HAMILTON, Prof. Veitch.	BACON: Part II., Prof. Nichol.
HEGEL, The Master of Balliol.	LOCKE, Prof. Campbell Fraser.
LEIBNIZ, John Theodore Metz.	

FOREIGN CLASSICS FOR ENGLISH READERS. Edited by

Mrs OLIPHANT. CHEAP RE-ISSUE. In limp cloth, fcap. 8vo, price 1s. each net.

DANTE, by the Editor. — VOLTAIRE, by General Sir E. B. Hamley, K.C.B. — PASCAL, by Principal Tulloch. — PETRARCH, by Henry Reeve, C.B. — GOETHE, by A. Hayward, Q.C. — MOLIÈRE, by the Editor and F. Tarver, M.A. — MONTAIGNE, by Rev. W. L. Collins. — RABELAIS, by Sir Walter Besant. — CALDERON, by E. J. Hasell. — SAINT SIMON, by C. W. Collins.	ORVANTES, by the Editor. — CORNEILLE AND RACINE, by Henry M. Trollope. — MADAME DE SÉVIGNÉ, by Miss Thackeray. — LA FONTAINE, AND OTHER FRENCH FABULISTS, by Rev. W. Lucas Collins, M.A. — SCHILLER, by James Sims, M.A. — TASSO, by E. J. Hasell. — ROUSSEAU, by Henry Grey Graham. — ALFRED DE MUSSET, by C. W. Oliphant.
---	---

ANCIENT CLASSICS FOR ENGLISH READERS. Edited by

the REV. W. LUCAS COLLINS, M.A. CHEAP RE-ISSUE. In limp cloth, fcap. 8vo, price 1s. each net.

Contents of the Series. — HOMER: ILIAD, by the Editor. — HOMER: ODYSSEY, by the Editor. — HERODOTUS, by G. C. SWAYNE. — CESAR, by Anthony Trollope. — VIRGIL, by the Editor. — HORACE, by Sir Theodore Martin. — ÆSCHYLUS, by Bishop Copleston. — XENOPHON, by Sir Alex. Grant. — CICERO, by the Editor. — SOPHOCLES, by C. W. COLLINS. — PLINY, by Rev. A. Church and W. J. Brodrick. — EURIPIDES, by W. E. DONNE. — JUVENAL, by E. Walford. — ARISTOPHANES, by the Editor. — HESIOD AND THEOGNIS, by	J. DAVIES. — PLAUTUS AND TERENCE, by the Editor. — TACITUS, by W. B. DONNE. — LUCIAN, by the Editor. — PLATO, by C. W. COLLINS. — GREEK ANTHOLOGY, by Lord Neaves. — LIVY, by the Editor. — OVID, by Rev. A. Church. — CATULLUS, TIBULLUS, AND PROPERTIUS, by J. DAVIES. — DEMOSTHENES, by W. J. Brodrick. — ARISTOTLE, by Sir Alex. Grant. — THUCYDIDES, by the Editor. — LUCRETIUS, by W. E. Mallock. — PINDAR, by Rev. P. B. Merz.
--	---

CATALOGUE
OF
MESSRS BLACKWOOD & SONS'
PUBLICATIONS

ACTA SANCTORUM HIBERNIÆ; Ex Codice Salmanticensi
Nunc primum integre edita opera CAROLI DE SMEDT et JOSEPHI DE BACKER, e
Soc. Jesu, Hagiographorum Bollandianorum; Auctore et Sumptus Largiente
JOANNE PATRICIO MARCHIONE BOTHAË. In One handsome 4to Volume, bound in
half roxburgh, £2, 2s.; in paper cover, 31s. 6d.

ADAMSON.

The Development of Modern Philosophy. With other Lec-
tures and Essays. By ROBERT ADAMSON, LL.D., late Professor of Logic in
the University of Glasgow. Edited by Professor W. R. SORLEY, University of
Cambridge. In 2 vols. demy 8vo, 18s. net.

The Development of Modern Philosophy. Edited by Professor
W. R. SORLEY, University of Cambridge. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

The Development of Greek Philosophy. Edited by Professor
SORLEY and R. P. HARDIE, M.A. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

AIKMAN

Manures and the Principles of Manuring. By C. M. AIKMAN,
D.Sc., F.R.S.E., &c., formerly Professor of Chemistry, Glasgow Veterinary
College, and Examiner in Chemistry, University of Glasgow. &c Second
Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s. 6d.

Farmyard Manure: Its Nature, Composition, and Treatment.
Crown 8vo, 1s. 6d.

ALISON.

History of Europe. By Sir ARCHIBALD ALISON, Bart., D.C.L.

1. **From the Commencement of the French Revolution to
the Battle of Waterloo.**

LIBRARY EDITION, 14 vols., with Portraits. Demy 8vo, £16, 10s.

ANOTHER EDITION, in 20 vols. crown 8vo, £6.

PEOPLE'S EDITION, 13 vols. crown 8vo, £2, 11s.

2. **Continuation to the Accession of Louis Napoleon.**

LIBRARY EDITION, 8 vols. 8vo, £6, 7s. 6d.

PEOPLE'S EDITION, 8 vols. crown 8vo 34s.

Epitome of Alison's History of Europe. Thirtieth Thou-
sand, 7s. 6d.

Atlas to Alison's History of Europe. By A. Keith Johnston.

LIBRARY EDITION, demy 4to, £3, 3s.

PEOPLE'S EDITION, 31s. 6d.

ALLEN. **The Place of History in Education.** By J. W. ALLEN.
Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

ANCIENT CLASSICS FOR ENGLISH READERS. Edited
by Rev. W. LUCAS COLLINS, M.A. Price 1s. each net. *For List of Vols. see p. 2.*

ANDERSON. **The Lighter Side of my Official Life.** By Sir
ROBERT ANDERSON, K.C.B. Demy 8vo. *[In the press.]*

ARMYTAGE. **Maid of Honour.** By A. J. GREEN-ARMYTAGE.
Crown 8vo, 5s.

ATKINSON. Local Government in Scotland. By MABEL ATKINSON, M.A. In 1 vol. demy 8vo, 5s. net.

AYTOUN.

Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers, and other Poems. By W. EDMONSTOUNE AYTOUN, D.C.L., Professor of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres in the University of Edinburgh. New Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 8s. 6d.
CHEAP EDITION. 1s. Cloth, 1s. 3d.

An Illustrated Edition of the Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers
FROM designs by SIR NOEL PATON. Cheaper Edition. Small 4to, 10s. 6d.

BADEN-POWELL. Ballooning as a Sport. By Major B. BADEN-POWELL. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

BARBOUR. Thoughts from the Writings of R. W. BARBOUR. Pott 8vo, limp leather, 2s. 6d. net.

"**BARFLEUR.**" Naval Policy. A Plea for the Study of War. By "Barfleur." Demy 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.

BARRINGTON.

The King's Fool. By MICHAEL BARRINGTON. Crown 8vo, 6s.
The Reminiscences of Sir Barrington Beaumont, Bart. A Novel. Crown 8vo, 6s.

BARTLETT.

Richard Langhorne: The Story of a Socialist. Crown 8vo, 6s.
The Passing of the Shereefian Empire. Illustrated. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

BELLESHEIM History of the Catholic Church of Scotland. FROM the Introduction of Christianity to the Present Day. By ALPHONS BELLESHEIM, D.D., Canon of Aix-la-Chapelle. Translated, with Notes and Additions, by D. OSWALD HUNTER BLAIR, O.S.B., Monk of Fort Augustus. Cheap Edition. Complete in 4 vols. demy 8vo, with Maps. Price 21s. net.

BLACK. The Scots Churches in England. By KENNETH MACLEOD BLACK. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

BLACKBURN.

A Burgher Quixote. By DOUGLAS BLACKBURN, Author of 'Prinsloo of Prinsloosdorp.' Second Impression. With Frontispiece. Crown 8vo, 6s.

Richard Hartley: Prospector. Crown 8vo, 6s.

BLACKWOOD.

Annals of a Publishing House. William Blackwood and his Sons; Their Magazine and Friends. By Mrs OLIPHANT. With Four Portraits. Third Edition. Demy 8vo. Vols. I. and II. £2. 2s.

Annals of a Publishing House. Vol. III. John Blackwood. By his Daughter MRS BLACKWOOD PORTER. With 2 Portraits and View of Strathclyde. Demy 8vo, 21s.

Blackwood's Magazine, from Commencement in 1817 to December 1909. Nos. 1 to 1180, forming 186 Volumes.

Tales from Blackwood. First Series. Price One Shilling each in Paper Cover. Sold separately at all Railway Bookstalls.

They may also be had bound in 12 vols., cloth, 18s. Half calf, richly gilt, 80s.
Or the 12 vols. in 6, roxburghs, 21s. Half red morocco, 28s.

Tales from Blackwood. Second Series. Complete in Twenty-four Shilling Parts. Handsomely bound in 12 vols., cloth, 30s. In leather back roxburgh style, 37s. 6d. Half calf, gilt, 52s. 6d. Half morocco, 55s.

BLACKWOOD.

Tales from Blackwood. Third Series. Complete in Twelve Shilling Parts. Handsomely bound in 6 vols., cloth, 15s.; and in 12 vols. cloth, 18s. The 6 vols. in roxburghs 21s. Half calf, 25s. Half morocco, 28s.

Travel, Adventure, and Sport. From Blackwood's Magazine. Uniform with 'Tales from Blackwood.' In Twelve Parts, each price 1s. Handsomely bound in 6 vols. cloth, 15s. and in half calf, 21s.

New Educational Series. See separate Educational Catalogue.

New Uniform Series of Novels (Copyright).

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>Crown 8vo, cloth. Price 3s. 6d. each. Now ready:—</p> <p>WENDERHOLME. By P. G. Hamerton.</p> <p>THE STORY OF MARGRÉDEL. By D. Storratt Meldrum.</p> <p>MISS MARGORIBANKS. By Mrs Oliphant.</p> <p>THE PERPETUAL CURATE, and THE RECTOR. By the Same.</p> <p>SALEM CHAPEL, and THE DOCTOR'S FAMILY. By the Same.</p> <p>A SENSITIVE PLANT. By E. D. Gerard.</p> <p>LADY LEE'S WIDOWHOOD. By General Sir E. B. Hamley.</p> <p>KATIE STEWART, and other Stories. By Mrs Oliphant.</p> <p>VALENTINE AND HIS BROTHERS. By the Same.</p> <p>SONS AND DAUGHTERS. By the Same.</p> | <p>MARMORNE. By P. G. Hamerton.</p> <p>REATA. By E. D. Gerard.</p> <p>BEGGAR MY NEIGHBOUR. By the Same.</p> <p>THE WATERS OF HERCULES. By the Same.</p> <p>FAIR TO SEE. By L. W. M. Lockhart.</p> <p>MINE IS THINE. By the Same.</p> <p>DOUBLES AND QUITS. By the Same.</p> <p>ALTONA FROG. By Laurence Oliphant.</p> <p>PICCADILLY. By the Same. With Illustrations.</p> <p>LADY BABY. By D. Gerard.</p> <p>THE BLACKSMITH OF VOE. By Isabel Crookall.</p> <p>MY TRIVIAL LIFE AND MISFORTUNE. By A Plain Woman.</p> <p>POOR NEELIE. By the Same.</p> |
|---|---|

Standard Novels. Uniform in size and binding. Each complete in one Volume.

FLORIN SERIES, Illustrated Boards. Bound in Cloth, 2s. 6d.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>TOM CRINGLE'S LOG. By Michael Scott.</p> <p>THE CRUISE OF THE MIDGE. By the Same.</p> <p>CYRIL THORNTON. By Captain Hamilton.</p> <p>ANNALS OF THE PARISH. By John Galt.</p> <p>THE PROVOST, &c. By the Same.</p> <p>SIR ANDREW WYLIE. By the Same.</p> <p>THE ENTAIL. By the Same.</p> <p>MISS MOLLY. By Beatrice May Butt.</p> <p>REGINALD DALTON. By J. G. Lockhart.</p> | <p>PEN OWEN. By Dean Hook.</p> <p>ADAM BLAIR. By J. G. Lockhart.</p> <p>LADY LEE'S WIDOWHOOD. By General Sir E. B. Hamley.</p> <p>SALEM CHAPEL. By Mrs Oliphant.</p> <p>THE PERPETUAL CURATE. By the Same.</p> <p>MISS MARGORIBANKS. By the Same.</p> <p>JOHN! A LOVE STORY. By the Same.</p> |
|--|---|

SHILLING SERIES, Illustrated Cover. Bound in Cloth, 1s. 6d.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>THE RECTOR, and THE DOCTOR'S FAMILY. By Mrs Oliphant.</p> <p>THE LIFE OF MANNIE WAUGH. By D. M. Moir.</p> <p>PENINSULAR SCENES AND SKETCHES. By F. Hardman.</p> | <p>SIR FRIZZLE PUMPKIN, NIGHTS AT MESS &c.</p> <p>THE SUBALTERN.</p> <p>LIFE IN THE FAR WEST. By G. F. Ruxton.</p> <p>VALERIUS: A Roman Story. By J. G. Lockhart.</p> |
|--|---|

BON GAULTIER'S BOOK OF BALLADS. Eighteenth Edition, with Autobiographical Introduction by Sir THEODORE MARTIN, K.C.B. With Illustrations by Doyle, Leech, and Crowquill. Small quarto, 5s. net.

BOWHILL. Questions and Answers in the Theory and Practice of Military Topography. By Major J. H. BOWHILL. Crown 8vo, 4s. 6d. net. Portfolio containing 34 working plans and diagrams, 3s. 6d. net.

BRACKENBURY. Some Memories of My Spare Time, 1856-1885. By General the Right Hon. Sir HENRY BRACKENBURY, G.C.B. With Portrait. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

BREADALBANE. The High Tops of Black Mount. By THE MARCHIONESS OF BREADALBANE. Second Impression. With Illustrations from Photographs by Olive Mackenzie. Short demy, 6s. net.

BRUCE. In the Footsteps of Marco Polo. Being the Account of a Journey Overland from Simla to Peking. By Major CLARENCE DALRYMPLE BRUCE. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 21s. net.

BUCHAN.

The Watcher by the Threshold, and other Tales. By JOHN BUCHAN. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

A Lodge in the Wilderness. Second Impression. Short demy 8vo, 6s.

Some Eighteenth Century By-Ways, and other Essays. Demy 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

BURBIDGE.

Domestic Floriculture, Window Gardening, and Floral Decorations. Being Practical Directions for the Propagation, Culture, and Arrangement of Plants and Flowers as Domestic Ornaments. By F. W. BURBIDGE. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, with numerous Illustrations, 7s. 6d.

BURTON.

The History of Scotland From Agricola's Invasion to the Extinction of the last Jacobite Insurrection. By JOHN HILL BURTON, D.C.L., Historiographer-Royal for Scotland. Cheaper Edition. In 8 vols. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. net each.

The Book-Hunter. A New Edition, with specially designed Title-page and Cover by JOSEPH BROWN. Printed on antique laid paper. Post 8vo, 3s. 6d.

BUTE.

The Roman Breviary: Reformed by Order of the Holy Œcumenical Council of Trent; Published by Order of Pope St Pius V.; and Revised by Clement VIII. and Urban VIII.; together with the Offices since granted. Translated out of Latin into English by JOHN, MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T. New Edition, Revised and Enlarged. In 4 vols. crown 8vo, 42s. net. In 1 vol. crown 4to, 63s. net.

The Altus of St Columba. With a Prose Paraphrase and Notes. By JOHN, MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T. 16 paper cover, 2s. 6d.

Sermones, Fratris Adæ, Ordinis Præmonstratensis, &c. Twenty-eight Discourses of Adam Scotus of Whithorn, hitherto unpublished; to which is added a Collection of Notes by the same, illustrative of the rule of St Augustine. Edited, at the desire of the late MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., LL.D., &c., by WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A., of the British Museum, &c. Royal 8vo, 25s. net.

Catalogue of a Collection of Original MSS. formerly belonging to the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the Canary Islands. Prepared under the direction of the late MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., LL.D., by WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A. 2 vols. royal 8vo, £3, 5s. net.

BUTE, MACPHAIL, AND LONSDALE. The Arms of the Royal and Parliamentary Burghs of Scotland. By JOHN, MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., J. R. N. MACPHAIL, and H. W. LONSDALE. With 131 Engravings on wood, and 11 other Illustrations. Crown 4to, £2, 2s. net.

BUTE, STEVENSON, AND LONSDALE. The Arms of the Baronial and Police Burghs of Scotland. By JOHN, MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., J. H. STEVENSON, and H. W. LONSDALE. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 4to, £2, 2s. net.

CAIRD. Sermons. By JOHN CAIRD, D.D., Principal of the University of Glasgow. Seventeenth Thousand. Fcap. 8vo, 5s.

CALDWELL. Schopenhauer's System, in its Philosophical Significance (the Shaw Fellowship Lectures, 1893). By Professor WILLIAM CALDWELL, D.Sc., McGill University, Montreal. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

CALLWELL.

The Effect of Maritime Command on Land Campaigns since Waterloo. By Col. C. E. CALLWELL, C.B. With Plans. Post 8vo, 6s. net.

Tactics of To-day. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.

Military Operations and Maritime Preponderance: Their Relations and Interdependence. Demy 8vo, 15s. net.

The Tactics of Home Defence. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

CANDLER. The Mantle of the East. By EDMUND CANDLER. Illustrated. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

CAREY.

Monsieur Martin: A Romance of the Great Northern War. By WYMGND CAREY. Crown 8vo, 6s.

"No. 101." Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s. Cheap Edition, royal 8vo, paper covers, 6d.

CARLYLE. A History of Mediæval Political Theory in the West. By R. W. CARLYLE, C.I.E., Balliol College, Oxford; and A. J. CARLYLE, M.A., Chaplain and Lecturer (late Fellow) of University College, Oxford. In 3 vols. demy 8vo. Vol. I.—A History of Political Theory from the Roman Lawyers of the Second Century to the Political Writers of the Ninth. By A. J. CARLYLE. 15s. net. Vol. II.—Demy 8vo, 15s. net.

CHESNEY. The Dilemma. By General Sir GEORGE CHESNEY, K.C.B. A New Edition. Crown 8vo, 2s.

CHRISTIE. The Influence of Letters on the Scottish Reformation. By Rev. GEORGE CHRISTIE, B.D. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

CHURCH SERVICE SOCIETY.

A Book of Common Order, being Forms of Worship issued by the Church Service Society. Seventh Edition, carefully revised. In 1 vol. crown 8vo, cloth, 3s. 6d.; French morocco, 5s. Also in 2 vols. crown 8vo, cloth, 4s.; French morocco, 6s. 6d.

Daily Offices for Morning and Evening Prayer throughout the Week. Crown 8vo, 3s. 9d.

Order of Divine Service for Children. Issued by the Church Service Society. With Scottish Hymnal. Cloth, 8d.

CLIFFORD.

Sally: A Study; and other Tales of the Outskirts. By Sir HUGH CLIFFORD, K.C.M.G. Crown 8vo, 6s.

Bush-whacking, and other Sketches. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

Saleh: A Sequel. Crown 8vo, 6s.

CLODD. Thomas Henry Huxley. "Modern English Writers." By EDWARD CLODD. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

CLOUSTON.

The Lunatic at Large. By J. STORER CLOUSTON. Ninth Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s. CHEAP EDITION, 1s. net. PEOPLE'S EDITION, paper covers, 6d.

Count Bunker: Being a Sequel to 'The Lunatic at Large.' Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s. CHEAP EDITION, royal 8vo, paper covers, 6d.

The Adventures of M. D'Haricot. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s. CHEAP EDITION, royal 8vo paper cover, 6d.

Our Lady's Inn. Crown 8vo, 6s.

Garmiscath. Crown 8vo, 6s.

COLEBROOKE. *Winged Dreams.* By HELEN COLEBROOKE. Crown 8vo, 6s.

COLLINS. *Leaves from the Diary of a Country Cricketer.* By W. E. W. COLLINS. Crown 8vo, 6s.

COMBE. *Celia Kirkham's Son.* By Mrs KENNETH COMBE. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

CONRAD.

Lord Jim. A Tale. By JOSEPH CONRAD, Author of 'The Nigger of the Narcissus,' 'An Outcast of the Islands,' 'Tales of Unrest,' &c. Fourth Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

Youth: A Narrative; and Two other Stories. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

COOPER. *Liturgy of 1637, commonly called Laud's Liturgy.* Edited by the Rev. Professor COOPER, D.D., Glasgow. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

CORNFORD. R. L. Stevenson. "Modern English Writers." By L. COPE CORNFORD. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

COUNTY HISTORIES OF SCOTLAND. In demy 8vo volumes of about 350 pp. each. With Maps. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Fife and Kinross. By ÆNEAS J. G. MACKAY, LL.D., Sheriff of these Counties.

Dumfries and Galloway. By Sir HERBERT MAXWELL, Bart., M.P. Second Edition.

Moray and Nairn. By CHARLES RAMPINI, LL.D., Sheriff of Dumfries and Galloway.

Inverness. By J. CAMERON LEES, D.D.

Roxburgh, Selkirk, and Peebles. By Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS, Bart.

Aberdeen and Banff. By WILLIAM WATT, Editor of Aberdeen 'Daily Free Press.'

COUTTS. *Famous Duels of the Fleet.* By H. B. MONEY COUTTS. With Coloured Frontispiece and Illustrations by N. WILKINSON. Crown 8vo, 6s.

CRAIK. *A Century of Scottish History. From the Days before the '45 to those within living Memory.* By Sir HENRY CRAIK, K.C.B., M.A. (Oxon.), Hon. LL.D. (Glasgow). 2 vols. demy 8vo, 30s. net.

CRAWFORD. *Sarcinesca.* By F. MARION CRAWFORD, Author of 'Mr Isaacs,' &c., &c. Crown 8vo, 5s. 6d. CHEAP EDITION, 1s. net. PEOPLE'S EDITION, paper covers, 6d.

CROSS.

- Impressions of Dante and of the New World. By J. W. CROSS.
Post 8vo, 6s.
The Rake's Progress in Finance. Crown 8vo, 2s. net.

CUMMING.

- Memories. By C. F. GORDON CUMMING. Demy 8vo. Illustrated, 20s net.
At Home in Fiji. Post 8vo. Illustrated. Cheap Edition, 6s.
A Lady's Cruise in a French Man-of-War. Post 8vo. Illustrated. Cheap Edition. 6s.
Fire-Fountains. 2 vols. post 8vo. Illustrated, 25s.
Granite Crags. Post 8vo. Illustrated. Cheap Edition. 6s.
Wanderings in China. Small post 8vo. Cheap Edition. 6s.

CURTIS.

- The Bias. By MARGUERITE CURTIS. Crown 8vo, 6s.
Marcia: A Transcript from Life. Crown 8vo, 6s.

- DAVIS. "When Half-Gods Go." By JESSIE AINSWORTH DAVIS.
Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

- DE HAVEN. The Scarlet Cloak. By AUDREY DE HAVEN.
Crown 8vo, 6s.

- DESCARTES. The Method, Meditations, and Principles of Philosophy of Descartes. Translated from the original French and Latin. With a new Introductory Essay, Historical and Critical, on the Cartesian Philosophy. By Professor VEITCH, LL.D. Fourteenth Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s. 6d.

DIVER.

- Captain Desmond, V.C. By MAUD DIVER. Ninth Impression.
Crown 8vo, 6s. Cheap edition, 1s. net.
The Great Amulet. Sixth Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.
Cheap Edition, 1s. net.
Candles in the Wind. Fourth Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.
The Englishwoman in India. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

- DODDS AND MACPHERSON. The Licensing Acts (Scotland) Consolidation and Amendment Act, 1903. Annotated by Mr J. M. DODDS, C.B., of the Scottish Office; Joint-Editor of the 'Parish Council Guide for Scotland,' and Mr EWAN MACPHERSON, Advocate, Legal Secretary to the Lord Advocate. In 1 vol. crown 8vo, 5s. net.

DOUGLAS.

- The Ethics of John Stuart Mill. By CHARLES DOUGLAS, M.A., D.Sc., late Lecturer in Moral Philosophy, and Assistant to the Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Post 8vo, 6s. net.
John Stuart Mill: A Study of his Philosophy. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.

ECCOTT.

- Fortune's Castaway. By W. J. ECCOTT. Crown 8vo, 6s.
His Indolence of Arras. Crown 8vo, 6s.
Hearth of Hutton. Crown 8vo, 6s.
The Red Neighbour. Crown 8vo, 6s.
The Background. Crown 8vo, 6s.

ELIOT.

The New Popular Edition of George Eliot's Works, with Photogravure Frontispiece to each Volume, from Drawings by William Hatherell, R.I., Edgar Bundy, R.I., Byam Shaw, R.I., A. A. Van Anrooy, Maurice Greiffenhagen, Claude A. Shepperson, R.I., E. J. Sullivan, and Max Cowper. Each Work complete in One Volume. Handsomely bound, gilt top. 3s. 6d. net. Ten Volumes in all.

ADAM BEDE.
SCENES OF CLERICAL LIFE.
THE MILL ON THE FLOSS.
FELIX HOLT, THE RADICAL.
MIDDLEMARCH.

SILAS MARNER; BROTHER JACOB; THE
LIFTED VEIL.
ROMOLA.
DANIEL DERONDA.
THE SPANISH GYPSY; JUBAL.

ESSAYS; THEOPHRASTUS SUCH.

George Eliot's Life. With Portrait and other Illustrations. New Edition, in one volume. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d.

Life and Works of George Eliot (Warwick Edition). 14 volumes, cloth, limp, gilt top, 2s. net per volume; leather, limp, gilt top, 2s. 6d. net per volume; leather gilt top, with book-marker. 3s. net per volume.

ADAM BEDE. 326 pp.
THE MILL ON THE FLOSS. 828 pp.
FELIX HOLT, THE RADICAL. 718 pp.
ROMOLA. 900 pp.
SCENES OF CLERICAL LIFE. 624 pp.
SILAS MARNER; BROTHER JACOB; THE
LIFTED VEIL. 560 pp.

MIDDLEMARCH. 2 vols. 664 and 650 pp.
DANIEL DERONDA. 2 vols. 616 and
636 pp.
THE SPANISH GYPSY; JUBAL
ESSAYS; THEOPHRASTUS SUCH.
LIFE. 2 vols., 626 and 580 pp.

Works of George Eliot (Standard Edition). 21 volumes, crown 8vo. In buckram cloth, gilt top, 2s. 6d. per vol.; or in roxburgh binding, 3s. 6d. per vol.

ADAM BEDE. 2 vols.—THE MILL ON THE FLOSS. 2 vols.—FELIX HOLT, THE RADICAL. 2 vols.—ROMOLA. 2 vols.—SCENES OF CLERICAL LIFE. 2 vols.—MIDDLEMARCH. 3 vols.—DANIEL DERONDA. 3 vols.—SILAS MARNER. 1 vol.—JUBAL. 1 vol.—THE SPANISH GYPSY. 1 vol.—ESSAYS. 1 vol.—THEOPHRASTUS SUCH. 1 vol.

Life and Works of George Eliot (Cabinet Edition). 24 volumes, crown 8vo, price £6. Also to be had handsomely bound in half and full calf. The Volumes are sold separately, bound in cloth, price 5s. each.

Novels by George Eliot. Popular Copyright Edition. In new uniform binding, price 3s. 6d. each.

ADAM BEDE.
THE MILL ON THE FLOSS.
SCENES OF CLERICAL LIFE.
ROMOLA.
FELIX HOLT, THE RADICAL.

SILAS MARNER; THE LIFTED VEIL;
BROTHER JACOB.
MIDDLEMARCH.
DANIEL DERONDA.

Essays. New Edition. Crown 8vo, 5s.

Impressions of Theophrastus Such. New Edition. Crown 8vo, 5s.

The Spanish Gypsy. New Edition. Crown 8vo, 5s.

The Legend of Jubal, and other Poems, Old and New. New Edition. Crown 8vo, 5s.

Silas Marner. New Edition, with Illustrations by Reginald Birch. Crown 8vo, 1s. 6d. net. Cheap Edition, 2s. 6d. Cheap Edition, royal 8vo, paper cover, price 6d.

Scenes of Clerical Life. Cheap Edition, 3s. Illustrated Edition, with 20 Illustrations by H. R. Millar, crown 8vo, 2s.; paper covers, 1s. Cheap Edition, royal 8vo, in paper cover, price 6d.

Felix Holt. Cheap Edition. Royal 8vo, in paper cover, 6d.

ELIOT.

Adam Bede. Cheap Edition, royal 8vo, in paper cover, price 6d. New Edition, crown 8vo, paper cover, 1s.; crown 8vo, with Illustrations, cloth, 2s.

The Mill on the Floss. Cheap Edition, royal 8vo, in paper cover, price 6d. New Edition, paper covers, 1s.; cloth, 2s.

Wise, Witty, and Tender Sayings, in Prose and Verse. Selected from the Works of GEORGE ELIOT. New Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 3s. 6d.

ELLIS.

Barbara Winslow, Rebel. By BETH ELLIS. Crown 8vo, 6s.

Madame, Will You Walk? Crown 8vo, 6s.

Blind Mouths. Crown 8vo, 6s.

The Moon of Bath. Fourth Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.
Cheap Edition, 1s. net.

The King's Spy. Crown 8vo, 6s.

ELTON. The Augustan Age. "Periods of European Literature." By OLIVER ELTON, M.A., Professor of English Literature, University College, Liverpool. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

EVERARD. History of the Royal and Ancient Golf Club, St Andrews. By H. S. C. EVERARD. With Eight Coloured Portraits, and many other Unique Illustrations. Crown 4to, 21s. net.

F. Stories of the English. Told to a Child. By F. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

FAHIE. A History of Wireless Telegraphy. Including some Bare-wire Proposals for Subaqueous Telegraphs. By J. J. FAHIE, Member of the Institution of Electrical Engineers, London, and of the Société Internationale des Electriciens, Paris; Author of 'A History of Electric Telegraphy to the Year 1887,' &c. With Illustrations. Third Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo, 6s.

FERRIER. Philosophical Remains. Crown 8vo, 14s.

FLINT.

Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum. A History of Classifications of the Sciences. By ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D., Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, Hon. Member of the Royal Society of Palermo. Professor in the University of Edinburgh, &c. 12s. 6d. net.

Studies on Theological, Biblical, and other Subjects. 7s. 6d. net.
Historical Philosophy in France and French Belgium and Switzerland. 8vo, 21s.

Theism. Being the Baird Lecture for 1876. Tenth Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d.

Anti-Theistic Theories. Being the Baird Lecture for 1877. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo, 10s. 6d.

Sermons and Addresses. Demy 8vo, 7s. 6d.

FOREIGN CLASSICS FOR ENGLISH READERS. Edited by MRS OLIPHANT. Price 1s. each net. For List of Volumes, see page 2.

FORREST.

History of the Indian Mutiny. By G. W. FORREST, C.I.E. Ex-Director of Records, Government of India. 2 vols. demy 8vo, 35s. net.

Life of Field-Marshal Sir Neville B. Chamberlain, G.C.B., G.C.S.I. With two Photogravure Portraits. Demy 8vo, 18s. net.

FORSTER.

Where Angels Fear to Tread. By E. M. FORSTER. Crown 8vo, 6s.

The Longest Journey. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

FOULIS.

Earchie: My Droll Friend. By HUGH FOULIS. Cloth 1s. 6d. net.

The Vital Spark. Illustrated. 1s. net.

FRANKLIN. Some Everyday Folk and Dawn. By MILES FRANKLIN. Crown 8vo, 6s.

FRASER.

Philosophy of Theism. Being the Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Edinburgh in 1894-96. By ALEXANDER CAMPBELL FRASER, D.C.L. Oxford; Emeritus Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Second Edition, Revised. Post 8vo, 6s. 6d. net.

Biographia Philosophica. In 1 vol. demy 8vo, 6s. net.

FRASER.

The Marches of Hindustan: The Record of a Journey in Thibet, Trans-Himalayan India, Chinese Turkestan, Russian Turkestan, and Persia. By DAVID FRASER. With Illustrations, Maps, and Sketches. Demy 8vo, £1, 1s. net.

The Short Cut to India. The Record of a Journey along the Route of the Baghdad Railway. With 83 Illustrations. Second Impression. Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.

FRENCH COOKERY FOR ENGLISH HOMES. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, limp cloth, 2s. 6d. Also in limp leather, 3s.

FULTON. The Sovereignty of the Sea. An Historical Account of the Claims to the exclusive Dominion of the British Seas and of the Evolution of the Territorial Waters, with special reference to the Rights of Fishing. By T. WEMYSS FULTON, M.D., F.R.S.E. With numerous Illustrations and Maps. Demy 8vo. *[In the press.]*

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

Scottish Hymnal, With Appendix Incorporated. Published for use in Churches by Authority of the General Assembly. 1. Large type, cloth, red edges, 2s. 6d.; French morocco, 4s. 2. Bourgeois type, limp cloth, 1s.; French morocco, 2s. 3. Nonpareil type, cloth, red edges, 6d.; French morocco, 1s. 4d. 4. Paper covers, 3d. 5. Sunday-School Edition, paper covers, 1d., cloth, 2d. No. 1, bound with the Psalms and Paraphrases, French morocco, 8s. No. 2, bound with the Psalms and Paraphrases, cloth, 2s.; French morocco, 5s.

Services of Prayer for Social and Family Worship. Prepared by a Special Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. New Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Fcap. 8vo, red edges, 1s. 6d. net.

Prayers for Family Worship. A Selection of Four Weeks' Prayers. New Edition. Authorised by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Fcap. 8vo, red edges, 1s. net.

One Hundred Prayers. Prepared by the Committee on Aids to Devotion. 16mo, cloth limp, 6d.

Morning and Evening Prayers for Affixing to Bibles. Prepared by the Committee on Aids to Devotion. 1d. for 6, or 1s. per 100.

Prayers for Soldiers. Prepared by the Committee on Aids to Devotion. Seventieth Thousand. 16mo, cloth limp. 2d. net.

Prayers for Sailors and Fisher-Folk. Prepared and Published by Instruction of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

GERARD.

- Reata: What's in a Name. By E. D. GERARD. Cheap Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.
 Beggar my Neighbour. Cheap Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.
 The Waters of Hercules. Cheap Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.
 A Sensitive Plant. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

GERARD.

- Honour's Glassy Bubble. By E. GERARD. Crown 8vo, 6s.
 A Foreigner. An Anglo-German Study. Crown 8vo, 6s.

GERARD.

- One Year. By DOROTHEA GERARD (Madame Longard de Longgarde). Crown 8vo, 6s.
 The Impediment. Crown 8vo, 6s.
 A Spotless Reputation. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s.
 The Wrong Man. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s.
 Lady Baby. Cheap Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.
 Recha. Crown 8vo, 6s.
 A Forgotten Sin. Crown 8vo, 6s.

GIBBON.

- Souls in Bondage. By PERCEVAL GIBBON. Crown 8vo, 6s.
 The Vrouw Grobelaar's Leading Cases. Crown 8vo, 6s.
 Salvator. Crown 8vo, 6s.

GILL. The CHCl_3 -Problem. By RICHARD GILL. 2 vols. crown 8vo, 5s. net each.

GILLANDERS. Forest Entomology. By A. T. GILLANDERS, F.E.S. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 15s. net.

GLASGOW BALLAD CLUB. Ballads and Poems. By MEMBERS OF THE GLASGOW BALLAD CLUB. Third Series. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.

GLEIG. The Subaltern. By Rev. G. R. GLEIG. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

GRAHAM.

- Manual of the Elections (Scot.) (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act, 1890. With Analysis, Relative Act of Sederunt, Appendix containing the Corrupt Practices Acts of 1883 and 1895, and Complete Index. By J. EDWARD GRAHAM, Advocate. 8vo, 4s. 6d.

- A Manual of the Acts relating to Education in Scotland. (Founded on that of the late Mr Craig Sellar.) Demy 8vo, 18s.

- The New Education (Scotland) Act. With Notes. Demy 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

GRAHAM AND PATERSON. True Romances of Scotland. By E. MAXTONE GRAHAM and E. PATERSON. Illustrations. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

GRAND.

- A Domestic Experiment. By SARAH GRAND, Author of 'The Heavenly Twins,' 'Ideals: A Study from Life.' Crown 8vo, 6s.

- Singularly Deluded. Crown 8vo, 6s.

GREY. Poems. By DULCIBELLA ETHEL GREY. With a Prefatory Note by H. Cholmondeley Pennell. Demy 8vo. Vellum, 12s. 6d. net; half vellum, 7s. 6d. net.

GRIER.

In Furthest Ind. The Narrative of Mr. EDWARD CARLYON of Ellswether, in the County of Northampton, and late of the Honourable East India Company's Service, Gentleman. Wrote by his own hand in the year of grace 1697 Edited, with a few Explanatory Notes. By SYDNEY C. GRIER. Second Impression. Post 8vo, 6s.

His Excellency's English Governesse. Third Impression. Cr. 8vo, 6s.

An Uncrowned King: A Romance of High Politics. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

Peace with Honour. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

A Crowned Queen: The Romance of a Minister of State. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

Like Another Helen. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

The Kings of the East: A Romance of the near Future. Fourth Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

The Warden of the Marches. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s. Cheap Edition, paper cover, 6d.

The Prince of the Captivity. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

The Advanced-Guard. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

The Great Proconsul: The Memoirs of Mrs Hester Ward, formerly in the family of the Hon. Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor-General of India. Crown 8vo, 6s.

The Heir. Crown 8vo, 6s.

The Power of the Keys. With Illustrations by A. PEARCE. Fourth Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

The Heritage. Fourth Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

The Path to Honour. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife. Demy 8vo, 6s. net.

GRIERSON. The First Half of the Seventeenth Century. (Periods of European Literature.) By Professor H. J. C. GRIERSON. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

GRIERSON. Records of the Scottish Volunteer Force 1859-1908. By Major-General J. M. GRIERSON, C.V.O., C.B., C.M.G. With 47 Coloured Plates. Crown 4to, 25s. net.

GRIFFIN.

Lady Sarah's Deed of Gift. By E. ACEITUNA GRIFFIN. Crown 8vo, 6s.

A Servant of the King. Crown 8vo, 6s.

GROOT. The Affair on the Bridge. By J. MORGAN DE GROOT. Crown 8vo, 6s.

HAMLEY.

The Operations of War Explained and Illustrated. By General Sir EDWARD BRUCE HAMLEY, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. Second Edition of Fifth Edition. With Maps and Plans. 4to, 30s. Also in 2 parts: Part I., 10s. 6d.; Part II., 21s.

A New Edition, brought up to the latest requirements. By Brigadier-General L. E. KIGGELL, C.B. 4to, with Maps and Plans, 30s.

Thomas Carlyle: An Essay. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

On Outposts. Second Edition. 8vo, 2s.

Lady Lee's Widowhood. New Edition. Crown 8vo, 2s.

Our Poor Relations. A Philozoic Essay. With Illustrations, chiefly by Ernest Grisct. Crown 8vo, cloth gilt, 3s. 6d.

HANNAY. *The Later Renaissance. "Periods of European Literature."* By DAVID HANNAY. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

HARRADEN.

Ships that Pass in the Night. By BEATRICE HARRADEN. Illustrated Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

The Fowler. Illustrated Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. Cheap Edition, paper cover, 6d.

Untold Tales of the Past. With 40 Illustrations by H. R. Millar. Square crown 8vo, gilt top, 5s. net.

Katharine Frensham. Crown 8vo, 6s.

HARTLEY. *Wild Sport with Gun, Rifle, and Salmon-Rod.* By GILFIRD W. HARTLEY. With numerous Illustrations in photogravure and half-tone from drawings by G. E. LODGE and others. Demy 8vo, 6s. net.

HAY.

"Pip." By IAN HAY. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

"The Right Stuff." Some Episodes in the Career of a North Briton. Fourth Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

A Man's Man. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

HAYLLAR. *Nepenthes.* By FLORENCE HAYLLAR. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

HEMANS.

Select Poems of Mrs Hemans. Fcap., cloth, gilt edges, 3s

HENDERSON. *The Young Estate Manager's Guide.* By RICHARD HENDERSON, Member (by Examination) of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, and the Surveyors' Institution. With an Introduction by R. Patrick Wright, F.R.S.E., Professor of Agriculture, Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College. With Plans and Diagrams. Crown 8vo, 5s.

HERFORD. *Browning (Modern English Writers).* By Professor HERFORD. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

HERKLESS AND HANNAY.

The College of St Leonard's. By Professor HERKLESS and ROBERT KERR HANNAY. Post 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

The Archbishops of St Andrews. Vols. I. and II. Demy 8vo, each 7s. 6d. net.

HINTS ON HOCKEY. With Plans and Rules. New Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 1s.

HOME PRAYERS. By Ministers of the Church of Scotland and Members of the Church Service Society. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo, 3s.

HOPE. *A History of the 1900 Parliament.* By JAMES F. HOPE. In two volumes. Vol. I. ready. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

HUME. *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion.* By DAVID HUME. Reprinted, with an Introduction by BRUCE M'EWEN, D.Phil. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

HUTCHINSON. Hints on the Game of Golf. By HORACE G. HUTCHINSON. Twelfth Edition, Revised. Fcap. 8vo, cloth, 1s.

HUTTON. Italy and the Italians. By EDWARD HUTTON. With Illustrations. Second Edition. Large crown 8vo, 6s.

INNES.

Free Church Union Case. Judgment of the House of Lords. With Introduction by A. TAYLOR INNES, LL.D. Demy 8vo, 1s. net.

The Law of Creeds in Scotland. A Treatise on the Relations of Churches in Scotland, Established and not Established, to the Civil Law. Demy 8vo, 10s. net.

INTELLIGENCE OFFICER.

On the Heels of De Wet. By THE INTELLIGENCE OFFICER. Sixth Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s. Cheap Edition, royal 8vo, paper cover, 6d.

The Boy Galloper. With Illustrations. In 1 vol. cr. 8vo, 6s.

The Yellow War. Crown 8vo, 6s.

A Subaltern of Horse. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

IRONS. The Psychology of Ethics. By DAVID IRONS, M.A., Ph.D. Professor of Philosophy in Bryn Mawr College, Penn. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

JAMES. William Wetmore Story and his Friends. From Letters, Diaries, and Recollections. By HENRY JAMES. With 2 Portraits. In two vols. post 8vo, 24s. net.

JAMES.

Modern Strategy. By Lieut.-Col. WALTER H. JAMES, P.S.C., late R.E. With 6 Maps. Third Edition, thoroughly revised and brought up to date. Royal 8vo, 16s. net.

The Campaign of 1815, chiefly in Flanders. With Maps and Plans. Demy 8vo, 16s. net.

The Development of Tactics from 1740 to the Present Day. *[In the press.]*

JAMES. Side-Tracks and Bridal-Paths. By LIONEL JAMES (Intelligence Officer). Crown 8vo, 6s.

JOHNSTON.

Elements of Agricultural Chemistry. An entirely New Edition from the Edition by Sir CHARLES A. CAMERON, M.D. Revised and in great part rewritten by C. M. AIKMAN, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.E., F.I.C., Professor of Chemistry, Glasgow Veterinary College. 20th Edition. Crown 8vo, 4s. 6d.

Catechism of Agricultural Chemistry. An entirely New Edition from the Edition by Sir CHARLES A. CAMERON. Revised and Enlarged by C. M. AIKMAN, M.A., &c. 25th Thousand. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 1s.

JOHNSTON.

Agricultural Holdings (Scotland) Acts, 1883 to 1900; and the Ground Game Act, 1886. With Notes, and Summary of Procedure, &c. By CHRISTOPHER N. JOHNSTON, K.C., LL.D. Sixth Edition. Demy 8vo, 6s. net.

Major Owen, and other Tales. Crown 8vo, 6s.

JOKAI. *Timar's Two Worlds.* By MAURUS JOKAI. Authorised Translation by MRS HEGAN KENNARD. Cheap Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s.

KENNION. *Sport and Life in the Further Himalaya.* By Major R. L. KENNION. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.

KER. *The Dark Ages. "Periods of European Literature."* By Professor W. P. KER. In 1 vol. crown 8vo, 5s. net.

KERR.

Memories: Grave and Gay. By JOHN KERR, LL.D. With Portrait and other Illustrations. Cheaper Edition, Enlarged. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.

Other Memories: Old and New. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

KINGLAKE.

History of the Invasion of the Crimea. By A. W. KINGLAKE. Complete in 9 vols., crown 8vo. Cheap reissue at 3s. 6d. each.

— Abridged Edition for Military Students. Revised by Lieut.-Col. Sir GEORGE SYDENHAM CLARKE, K.C.M.G., R.E. Demy 8vo, 15s. net.

— Atlas to accompany above. Folio, 9s. net.

Rothen. A New Edition, uniform with the Cabinet Edition of the 'History of the Invasion of the Crimea.' 6s.

CHEAPER EDITION. With Portrait and Biographical Sketch of the Author. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.

KINGSBURGH. *Fifty Years of It: The Experiences and Struggles of a Volunteer of 1859.* By The Right Hon. LORD KINGSBURGH K.C.B. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

KNEIPP. *My Water-Cure. As Tested through more than Thirty Years, and Described for the Healing of Diseases and the Preservation of Health.* By SEBASTIAN KNEIPP. With a Portrait and other Illustrations. Authorised English Translation from the Thirtieth German Edition, by A. de F. With an Appendix, containing the Latest Developments of Pfarrer Kneipp's System, and a Preface by E. Gerard. Crown 8vo, 8s. 6d.

LANCE. *The Crowning Hour.* By RUPERT LANCE. Crown 8vo, 6s.

LANG.

A History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation. By ANDREW LANG. Complete in Four Volumes. Demy 8vo, £3, 3s. net.

Vol. I. With a Photogravure Frontispiece. 15s. net.

Vol. II. With a Photogravure Frontispiece. 15s. net.

Vol. III. With a Photogravure Frontispiece. 15s. net.

Vol. IV. With a Photogravure Frontispiece. 20s. net.

Tennyson. "Modern English Writers." 2nd Ed. Cr. 8vo, 2s. 6d.

LAWSON.

British Economics. By W. R. LAWSON. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

American Finance. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

John Bull and His Schools. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

LEHMANN.

Crumbs of Pity, and other Verses; to which are added Six Lives of Great Men. By R. O. LEHMANN, author of 'Anni Fugaces,' &c. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

Light and Shade: And other Poems. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

LEIGHTON. *The Life History of British Serpents, and their Local Distribution in the British Isles.* By **GERALD R. LEIGHTON, M.D.** With 50 Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

LEISHMAN. *The Westminster Directory.* Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by the Very Rev. **T. LEISHMAN, D.D.** Crown 8vo, 4s. net.

LINDSAY.

Recent Advances in Theistic Philosophy of Religion. By Rev. **JAMES LINDSAY, M.A., D.D., B.Sc., F.R.S.E., F.G.S.,** Minister of the Parish of St Andrew's, Kilmarnock. Demy 8vo, 12s 6d. net.

The Progressiveness of Modern Christian Thought. Crown 8vo, 6s.

Essays, Literary and Philosophical. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

The Significance of the Old Testament for Modern Theology. Crown 8vo, 1s. net.

The Teaching Function of the Modern Pulpit. Crown 8vo, 1s. net.

Studies in European Philosophy. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

LITURGIES AND ORDERS OF DIVINE SERVICE
(CHURCH SERVICE SOCIETY).

The Second Prayer Book of King Edward the Sixth (1552). With Historical Introduction and Notes by the Rev. **H. J. WOTHERSPOON, M.A.,** of St Oswald's Edinburgh; and *THE LITURGY OF COMPROMISE.* Used in the English Congregation at Frankfurt. From an Unpublished MS. Edited by the Rev. **G. W. SPROTT, D.D.** 4s. net.

Book of Common Order. Commonly called Knox's Liturgy. Edited by Rev. **G. W. SPROTT, D.D.** 4s. 6d. net.

Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI. Edited by Rev. **G. W. SPROTT, D.D.** 4s. net.

Liturgy of 1637. Commonly called Laud's Liturgy. Edited by the Rev. Professor **COOPER, D.D.** 7s. 6d. net.

The Westminster Directory. Edited by Very Rev. **T. LEISHMAN, D.D.** 4s. net.

Euchologion. A Book of Common Order: Being Forms of Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Ordinances of the Church. Edited by the Rev. **G. W. SPROTT, D.D.** 4s. 6d. net.

LOBBAN. *An Anthology of English Verse from Chaucer to the Present Day.* By **J. H. LOBBAN, M.A.** Crown 8vo, gilt top, 5s.

LOCKHART.

Doubles and Quits. By **LAURENCE W. M. LOCKHART.** Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

Fair to See. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

Mine is Thine. New Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

LORIMER. *The Author's Progress: or, The Literary Book of the Road.* By **ADAM LORIMER.** Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

LYNDEN - BELL. A Primer of Tactics, Fortification, Topography, and Military Law. By Lieut.-Colonel C. P. LYNDEN-BELL. With Diagrams. Crown 8vo, 8s. net.

MABIE.

Essays on Nature and Culture. By HAMILTON WRIGHT MABIE. With Portrait. Fcap. 8vo, 8s. 6d.

Books and Culture. Fcap. 8vo, 3s. 6d.

M'AULAY. The Safety of the Honours. By ALLAN M'AULAY. Crown 8vo, 6s.

M'CONACHIE. Close to Nature's Heart. By WILLIAM M'CONACHIE, B.D. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

MACCUNN. Sir Walter Scott's Friends. By FLORENCE MACCUNN. With Portraits. Second Impression. Demy 8vo, 10s. net.

MACDONALD. A Manual of the Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure Act, 1887. By NORMAN DORAN MACDONALD. Revised by the LORD JUSTICE-CLERK. 8vo, 10s. 6d.

M'IVER. An Imperial Adventure. By IVER M'IVER. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 6s.

MACKAY. The Return of the Emigrant. By LYDIA MILLER MACKAY. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

MACKENZIE. Studies in Roman Law. With Comparative Views of the Laws of France, England, and Scotland. By LORD MACKENZIE, one of the Judges of the Court of Session in Scotland. Seventh Edition, Edited by JOHN KIRKPATRICK, M.A., LL.D., Advocate, Professor of History in the University of Edinburgh. 8vo, 21s.

MACKINLAY. Garcia the Centenarian : and his Times. Being a Memoir of Don Manuel Garcia's Life and Labours for the advancement of Music and Science. By M. STERLING MACKINLAY, M.A. OXON. With twenty Portraits. Demy 8vo, 15s. net.

MACNAMARA.

The Trance. By RACHEL SWETE MACNAMARA. Crown 8vo, 6s.

The Sibyl of Venice. Crown 8vo, 6s.

MACPHERSON.

Books to Read and How to Read Them. By HECTOR MACPHERSON. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

A Century's Intellectual Development. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

A Century of Political Development. 3s. 6d. net.

MACPHERSON.

A Century's Progress in Astronomy. By HECTOR MACPHERSON, Jun. Short demy 8vo, 6s. net.

Through the Depths of Space: A Primer of Astronomy. Crown 8vo, 2s. net.

MAIR.

A Digest of Laws and Decisions, Ecclesiastical and Civil, relating to the Constitution, Practice, and Affairs of the Church of Scotland. With Notes and Forms of Procedure. By the Rev. WILLIAM MAIR, D.D., lately Minister of the Parish of Earlstoun. New Edition, Revised. In 1 vol. crown 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.

Speaking ; or, From Voice Production to the Platform and Pulpit. Fourth Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo, 1s. 6d. net.

MARSHMAN. *History of India. From the Earliest Period to the present time.* By JOHN CLARK MARSHMAN, C.S.I. Third and Cheaper Edition. Post 8vo, with Map, 6s.

MARTIN.

Poems of Giacomo Leopardi. Translated by Sir THEODORE MARTIN, K.C.B. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

The *Æneid* of Virgil. Books I.-VI. Translated by Sir THEODORE MARTIN, K.C.B. Post 8vo, 7s. 6d.

Goethe's Faust. Part I. Translated into English Verse. Second Edition, crown 8vo, 6s. Fifth Edition, fcap. 8vo, 8s. 6d.

Goethe's Faust. Part II. Translated into English Verse. Second Edition, Revised. Fcap. 8vo, 6s.

The Works of Horace. Translated into English Verse, with Life and Notes. 2 vols. New Edition. Crown 8vo, 21s.

Poems and Ballads of Heinrich Heine. Done into English Verse. Third Edition. Small crown 8vo, 5s.

The Song of the Bell, and other Translations from Schiller, Goethe, Uhland, and Others. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d.

Madonna Pia: A Tragedy; and Three Other Dramas. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d.

The 'Vita Nuova' of Dante. Translated with an Introduction and Notes. Fourth Edition. Small crown 8vo, 5s.

Aladdin: A Dramatic Poem. By ADAM OEHELENSCHLAEGER. Fcap. 8vo, 5s.

Correggio: A Tragedy. By OEHELENSCHLAEGER. With Notes. Fcap. 8vo, 8s.

Helena Faucit (Lady Martin). By Sir THEODORE MARTIN, K.C.B., K.C.V.O. With Five Photogravure Plates. Second Edition. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

Poems and Ballads of Goethe. By Sir THEODORE MARTIN and Professor AYTOUN. Third Edition. With Introduction by Sir THEODORE MARTIN. Small crown 8vo, 6s. net.

Queen Victoria as I Knew Her. Square crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

MARTIN. *On some of Shakespeare's Female Characters.* By HELENA FAUCIT, Lady MARTIN. Dedicated by permission to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen. With a Portrait by Lehmann. Seventh Edition, with a new Preface. Demy 8vo, 7s. 6d.

MASEFIELD. *Gilbert Hermer.* By CHARLES MASEFIELD. Crown 8vo, 6s.

MASSON. Memories of London in the Forties. By DAVID MASSON. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

MATHESON.

Can the Old Faith Live with the New? or, The Problem of Evolution and Revelation. By the Rev. GEORGE MATHESON, D.D. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d.

The Psalmist and the Scientist; or, Modern Value of the Religious Sentiment. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 5s.

Spiritual Development of St Paul. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo, 5s.

The Distinctive Messages of the Old Religions. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 5s.

Sacred Songs. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

MAXWELL.

Dumfries and Galloway. By Right Hon. Sir HERBERT MAXWELL, Bart. Being one of the Volumes of the County Histories of Scotland. With Four Maps. Second Edition. Demy 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

Holyrood, Abbey Church, Palace, and Environs. Crown 8vo. Paper cover, 6d. net; cloth, 2s. 6d. net.

MAXWELL. The Fear of Life. By GERARD MAXWELL. Crown 8vo, 6s.

MELDRUM.

The Conquest of Charlotte. By DAVID S. MELDRUM. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

The Story of Margrédél: Being a Fireside History of a Fifeshire Family. Cheap Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

Grey Mantle and Gold Fringe. Crown 8vo, 6s.

MELLONE.

Studies in Philosophical Criticism and Construction. By SYDNEY HERBERT MELLONE, M.A. Lond., D.Sc. Edin. Post 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

Leaders of Religious Thought in the Nineteenth Century. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

An Introductory Text-Book of Logic. Third Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo, 5s.

Elements of Psychology. Crown 8vo, 5s.

MERZ. A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century. By JOHN THEODORE MERZ. Vol. I. Third Impression. Post 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.
Vol. II., 15s. net.

MEYNELL. John Ruskin. "Modern English Writers." By Mrs MEYNELL. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

MICKLETHWAIT. The Licensing Act, 1904. By St J. G. MICKLETHWAIT, M.A., B.C.L., Barrister-at-Law. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.

MILL.

- The Colonel Sahib. A Novel. By GARRETT MILL. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.
 Ottawa. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.
 Mr Montgomery : Fool. Crown 8vo, 6s.
 In the Hands of the Czar. Crown 8vo, 6s.
 The Cardinal's Secret. Crown 8vo, 6s.
 Captain Grant's Despatch. Crown 8vo, 6s.

MILLAR. The Mid-Eighteenth Century. "Periods of European Literature." By J. H. MILLAR. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

MITCHELL. The Scottish Reformation. Being the Baird Lecture for 1899. By the late ALEXANDER F. MITCHELL, D.D., LL.D. Edited by D. HAY FLEMING, LL.D. With a Biographical Sketch of the Author, by James Christie, D.D. Crown 8vo, 6s.

MITCHELL. Significant Etymology. By Rev. JAMES MITCHELL, D.D. Short demy 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

MODERN ENGLISH WRITERS. In handy crown 8vo volumes, tastefully bound, price 2s. 6d. each.

- Matthew Arnold. By FESSenden SAINTSBURY. Second Impression.
 R. L. Stevenson. By L. COPE CORNFORD. Second Impression.
 John Ruskin. By Mrs MEYNELL. Third Impression.
 Tennyson. By ANDREW LANG. Second Edition.
 Huxley. By EDWARD CLODD.
 Thackeray. By CHARLES WHIBLEY.
 Browning. By Prof. C. H. HERFORD.

MOIR. Life of Mansie Wauch, Tailor in Dalkeith. By D. M. MOIR. With CRUIKSHANK'S Illustrations. Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

MOMERIE.

- Dr Alfred Momerie. His Life and Work. By Mrs MOMERIE. Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.
 The Origin of Evil, and other Sermons. By Rev. ALFRED WILLIAMS MOMERIE, M.A., D.Sc., LL.D. Eighth Edition, Enlarged. Crown 8vo, 5s.
 Personality. The Beginning and End of Metaphysics, and a Necessary Assumption in all Positive Philosophy. Fifth Ed., Revised. Cr. 8vo, 3s.
 Agnosticism. Fourth Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo, 5s.
 Preaching and Hearing; and other Sermons. Fourth Edition, Enlarged. Crown 8vo, 5s.
 Belief in God. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s.
 The Future of Religion, and other Essays. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.
 The English Church and the Romish Schism. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.
 Essays on the Bible. Crown 8vo 3s. 6d. net

MONTAGUE. *Military Topography. Illustrated by Practical Examples of a Practical Subject.* By Major-General W. E. MONTAGUE, C.B., P.S.C., late Garrison Instructor Intelligence Department, Author of 'Campaigning in South Africa.' With Forty-one Diagrams. Crown 8vo, 6s.

MUNRO. *The Daft Days.* Third Impression. By NEIL MUNRO. Crown 8vo, 6s. Cheap Edition, 1s. net.

Uniform Edition Novels.

John Splendid. *The Tale of a Poor Gentleman and the Little Wars of Lorn.* Sixth Impression. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

Children of Tempest: A Tale of the Outer Isles. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

Shoes of Fortune. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

The Lost Pibroch, and other Sheiling Stories. Fourth Impression. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

Doom Castle: A Romance. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

Gilian the Dreamer. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

MUNRO.

Rambles and Studies in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia. By ROBERT MUNRO, M.A., M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. With numerous illustrations. Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.

Prehistoric Problems. With numerous Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 10s. net.

MUNRO. *On Valuation of Property.* By WILLIAM MUNRO, M.A., Her Majesty's Assessor of Railways and Canals for Scotland. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. 8vo, 3s. 6d.

MYRES. *A Manual of Classical Geography.* By JOHN L. MYRES. Crown 8vo. *[In the press.]*

NEWBOLT. *The New June.* By HENRY NEWBOLT. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

NICHOLSON AND LYDEKKER.

A Manual of Palæontology, for the Use of Students. With a General Introduction on the Principles of Palæontology. By Professor H. ALLEVYNE NICHOLSON and RICHARD LYDEKKER, B.A. Third Edition, entirely Rewritten and greatly Enlarged. 2 vols. 8vo, £3, 3s.

NICOL.

Recent Archæology and the Bible. Being the Croall Lectures for 1898. By the Rev. THOMAS NICOL, D.D., Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of Aberdeen; Author of 'Recent Explorations in Bible Lands.' Demy 8vo, 9s. net.

The Four Gospels in the Earliest Church History. Being the Baird Lecture for 1907. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

NISBET. *The Forester: A Practical Treatise on British Forestry and Arboriculture for Landowners, Land Agents, and Foresters.* By JOHN NISBET, D.Sc. In 2 volumes, royal 8vo, with 285 Illustrations, 42s. net.

NOBILI. *A Modern Antique: A Florentine Story.* By RICCARDO NOBILI. Crown 8vo, 6s.

NOBLE.

- The Edge of Circumstance. By EDWARD NOBLE. Crown 8vo, 6s.
 Waves of Fate. Crown 8vo, 6s.
 Fisherman's Gat: A Story of the Thames Estuary. Crown 8vo, 6s.
 The Grain Carriers. Third Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

NOYES.

- Poems by ALFRED NOYES. 7s. 6d. net.
 The Forest of Wild Thyme: A Tale for Children under Ninety. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.
 Drake: An English Epic. Books I.-III. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.
 Drake: An English Epic. Books IV.-XII. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.
 — The Complete Work in 1 vol. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.
 Forty Singing Seamen. Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.
 The Enchanted Island, and other Poems. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.
 Collected Poems. Demy 8vo. 2 vols. *[In the press.]*
- "OLE LUK - OIE." The Green Curve. By "OLE LUK - OIE." Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.

OLIPHANT.

- Piccadilly. With Illustrations by Richard Doyle. New Edition, 2s. 6d. Cheap Edition, boards, 2s. 6d.
 Episodes in a Life of Adventure; or, Moss from a Rolling Stone. Cheaper Edition. Post 8vo, 3s. 6d.

OLIPHANT.

- Annals of a Publishing House. William Blackwood and his Sons; Their Magazine and Friends. By MRS OLIPHANT. With Four Portraits. Third Edition. Demy 8vo. Vols. I. and II. £2, 2s.
 A Widow's Tale, and other Stories. With an Introductory Note by J. M. BARRIE. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s.
 Katie Stewart, and other Stories. New Edition. Crown 8vo, cloth, 3s. 6d.
 Katie Stewart. Illustrated boards, 2s. 6d.
 Valentine and his Brother. New Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.
 Sons and Daughters. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

OMOND. The Romantic Triumph. "Periods of European Literature." By T. S. OMOND. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

O'NEILL. Songs of the Glens of Antrim. By MOIRA O'NEILL. Thirteenth Impression. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

OXENDEN. The Story of Esther. By MAUD OXENDEN. Crown 8vo, 6s.

PAGE.

- Intermediate Text-Book of Geology. By Professor LAPWORTH.
 Founded on Dr Page's 'Introductory Text-Book of Geology.' Crown 8vo, 5s.
 Advanced Text-Book of Geology. New Edition. Revised and
 enlarged by Professor LAPWORTH. Crown 8vo. *[In the press.]*
 Introductory Text-Book of Physical Geography. Crown
 8vo, 2s. 6d.
 Advanced Text-Book of Physical Geography. Crown 8vo, 5s.
 Physical Geography Examiner. Crown 8vo, sewed, 9d.

PARKER. Miss Lomax : Millionaire. By BESSIE PARKER.
 Crown 8vo, 6s.

PATERSON. Peggotts ; or, The Indian Contingent. By MAR-
 GARET PATERSON. Crown 8vo, 6s.
 Reality. Crown 8vo, 6s.

PAUL. History of the Royal Company of Archers, the Queen's
 Body-Guard for Scotland. By Sir JAMES BALFOUR PAUL, Advocate of the Scottish
 Bar. Crown 4to, with Portraits and other Illustrations. £2, 2s.

PEARSE. Memoir of the Life and Military Services of Viscount
 Lake, Baron Lake of Delhi and Laswaree, 1744-1808. With Portraits, &c. Demy
 8vo, 15s. net.

PEILE.

Clanbrae : A Golfing Idyll. By PENTLAND PEILE. Crown
 8vo, 6s.

The Bluffshire Courier. Crown 8vo, 6s.

PERIODS OF EUROPEAN LITERATURE. Edited by Pro-
 fessor SAINTSBURY. *For List of Volumes, see page 2.*

PHILOSOPHICAL CLASSICS FOR ENGLISH READERS.
 Edited by WILLIAM KNIGHT, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy, University
 of St Andrews. Cheap Re-issue in Shilling Volumes net.
[For List of Volumes, see page 2.]

POLLOK. The Course of Time : A Poem. By ROBERT POLLOK,
 A.M. New Edition. With Portrait. Fcap. 8vo, gilt top, 2s. 6d.

PRESTON-THOMAS. The Work and Play of a Government
 Inspector. By HERBERT PRESTON-THOMAS, C.B. With a Preface by The Right
 Hon. JOHN BURNS, M.P. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

PRINGLE-PATTISON.

Scottish Philosophy. A Comparison of the Scottish and
 German Answers to Hume. Balfour Philosophical Lectures, University of
 Edinburgh. By A. SETH PRINGLE-PATTISON, LL.D., D.C.L., Fellow of the
 British Academy, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Edinburgh University.
 Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo, 5s.

Hegelianism and Personality. Balfour Philosophical Lectures.
 Second Series. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 5s.

Man's Place in the Cosmos, and other Essays. Second Edition.
 Enlarged. Post 8vo, 6s. net.

PRINGLE-PATTISON.

- Two Lectures on Theism. Delivered on the occasion of the Sesquicentennial Celebration of Princeton University. Crown 8vo, 2s 6d.
 The Philosophical Radicals and Other Essays, including Chapters reprinted on the Philosophy of Religion in Kant and Hegel. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

PUBLIC GENERAL STATUTES AFFECTING SCOTLAND
 from 1707 to 1847, with Chronological Table and Index. 3 vols. large 8vo, £3, 3s.
 Also Published Annually, with General Index.RANJITSINHJI. The Jubilee Book of Cricket. By PRINCE
 RANJITSINHJI.
 POPULAR EDITION. With 107 full-page Illustrations. Sixth Edition. Large
 Crown 8vo, 6s.
 SIXPENNY EDITION. With a selection of the Illustrations.RIVETT-CARNAC. Many Memories of Life in India, at Home,
 and Abroad. By J. H. RIVETT-CARNAC, C.I.E. With Portraits. Demy 8vo,
 10s. 6d. net.

ROBERTSON.

- Early Religions of Israel. New and Revised Edition. Crown
 8vo. [In the press]
 The Poetry and the Religion of the Psalms. The Croall
 Lectures, 1898-94. By JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D., Professor of Oriental Languages
 in the University of Glasgow. Demy 8vo, 12s.

ROBERTSON.

- A History of German Literature. By JOHN G. ROBERTSON,
 Ph.D., Professor of German, University of London. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.
 Schiller after a Century. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.

RONALDSHAY.

- On the Outskirts of Empire in Asia. By the EARL OF
 RONALDSHAY, M.P. With numerous Illustrations and Maps. Royal 8vo,
 21s. net.
 Sport and Politics under an Eastern Sky. With numerous
 Illustrations and Maps. Royal 8vo, 21s. net.
 A Wandering Student in the Far East. With Maps and 60
 Illustrations. 2 vols. short demy 8vo, 21s. net.

RUTLAND.

- Notes of an Irish Tour in 1846. By the DUKE OF RUTLAND,
 G.C.B. (LORD JOHN MANNERS). New Edition. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.
 The Collected Writings of Janetta, Duchess of Rutland. With
 Portrait and Illustrations. 2 vols. post 8vo, 15s. net.
 Impressions of Bad-Homburg. Comprising a Short Account
 of the Women's Associations of Germany under the Red Cross. By the DUCHESS
 OF RUTLAND (LADY JOHN MANNERS). Crown 8vo, 1s. 6d.
 Some Personal Recollections of the Later Years of the Earl
 of Beaconsfield, K.G. Sixth Edition. 8d.
 Employment of Women in the Public Service. 6d.
 Some of the Advantages of Easily Accessible Reading and
 Recreation Rooms and Free Libraries. With Remarks on Starting and Main-
 taining them. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 1s.

RUTLAND.

A Sequel to Rich Men's Dwellings, and other Occasional Papers. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

Encouraging Experiences of Reading and Recreation Rooms, Aims of Guilds. Nottingham Social Guide. Existing Institutions, &c., &c. Crown 8vo, 1s.

SAINTSBURY.

A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe. From the Earliest Texts to the Present Day. By GEORGE SAINTSBURY, M.A. (Oxon.) Hon. LL.D. (Aberd.), Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh. In 3 vols. demy 8vo. Vol. I.—Classical and Medieval Criticism. 16s. net.

Vol. II.—From the Renaissance to the Decline of Eighteenth Century Orthodoxy. 20s. net.

Vol. III.—Nineteenth Century. 20s. net.

Matthew Arnold. "Modern English Writers." Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

The Flourishing of Romance and the Rise of Allegory (12th and 13th Centuries). "Periods of European Literature." Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

The Earlier Renaissance. "Periods of European Literature." Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

The Later Nineteenth Century. "Periods of European Literature." Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

"SCOLOPAX." A Book of the Snipe. By SCOLOPAX. Illustrated. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

SCOTT. Cursed Luck. By Sir J. GEORGE SCOTT, K.C.I.E. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

SCOTT. An Olive Leaf. By JAMES SCOTT. Crown 8vo, 1s. net.

SCOTT. Tom Cringle's Log. By MICHAEL SCOTT. New Edition. With 19 Full-page Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 8s. 6d.

SCUDAMORE. Belgium and the Belgians. By CYRIL SCUDAMORE. With Illustrations. Square crown 8vo, 6s.

SELLAR. Recollections and Impressions. By E. M. SELLAR. With Eight Portraits. Fourth Impression. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

SELLAR.

Muggins of the Modern Side. By EDMUND SELLAR. Crown 8vo, 6s.

Glentyre. Crown 8vo, 6s.

Where Every Prospect Pleases. Crown 8vo, 6s.

SETH. A Study of Ethical Principles. By JAMES SETH, M.A., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Tenth Edition Revised. Post 8vo, 7s. 6d.

SHARPLEY. Aristophanes—Pax. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by H. SHARPLEY. Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.

SHAW. Securities over Moveables. Four Lectures delivered at the Request of the Society of Accountants in Edinburgh, the Institute of Accountants and Actuaries in Glasgow, and the Institute of Bankers in Scotland in 1902-3. Demy 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

- SHEEPSHANKS.** Hector and Achilles: A Tale of Troy. By J. FINNEMORE. Rendered into English after the Chronicle of Homer. By RICHARD SHEEPSHANKS. Square Crown 8vo, 5s. net.
- SILLERY.** A Curtain of Cloud. By Major C. SILLERY. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- SIMPSON.** Side-Lights on Siberia. Some account of the Great Siberian Iron Road: The Prisons and Exile System. By Professor J. Y. SIMPSON, D.Sc. With numerous Illustrations and a Map. Demy 8vo, 16s.
- SKELTON.** The Handbook of Public Health. A New Edition, Revised by JAMES PATTEN MACDOUGALL, Advocate, Secretary to the Local Government Board for Scotland, Joint-Author of 'The Parish Council Guide for Scotland,' and ABELAH MURRAY, Chief Clerk of the Local Government Board for Scotland. In Two Parts. Crown 8vo. Part I.—The Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1897, with Notes. 3s. 6d. net.
- SKRINE.** Fontenoy, and Great Britain's share in the War of the Austrian Succession. By F. H. SKRINE. With Map, Plans, and Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 21s. net.
- SMITH.**
The Transition Period. "Periods of European Literature."
By G. GREGORY SMITH. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.
Specimens of Middle Scots. Post 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.
- SNELL.** The Fourteenth Century. "Periods of European Literature." By F. J. SNELL. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.
- "SON OF THE MARSHES, A"**
From Spring to Fall; or, When Life Stirs. By "A SON OF THE MARSHES." Cheap Uniform Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.
Within an Hour of London Town: Among Wild Birds and their Haunts. Edited by J. A. OWEN. Cheap Uniform Edition. Cr. 8vo, 3s. 6d.
With the Woodlanders and by the Tide. Cheap Uniform Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.
On Surrey Hills. Cheap Uniform Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.
Annals of a Fishing Village. Cheap Uniform Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.
- SORLEY.**
The Ethics of Naturalism. By W. R. SORLEY, Litt.D., LL.D., Fellow of the British Academy, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Professor of Moral Philosophy, University of Cambridge. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s.
Recent Tendencies in Ethics. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.
- SPROTT.**
The Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland. By GEORGE W. SPROTT, D.D. Crown 8vo, 6s.
The Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland, commonly known as John Knox's Liturgy. With Historical Introduction and Illustrative Notes. Crown 8vo, 4s. 6d. net.
Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes. Crown 8vo, 4s. net.
Euchologion: A Book of Common Order. Crown 8vo, 4s. 6d. net.

STEEVENS.

Things Seen : Impressions of Men, Cities, and Books. By the late G. W. STEEVENS. Edited by G. S. STREET. With a Memoir by W. E. HENLEY, and a Photogravure reproduction of Collier's Portrait. Memorial Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s.

From Capetown to Ladysmith, and Egypt in 1898. Memorial Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s.

In India. With Map. Memorial Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s.

With Kitchener to Khartoum. With 8 Maps and Plans. Memorial Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s.

The Land of the Dollar. Memorial Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s.

Glimpses of Three Nations. Memorial Edition. Cr. 8vo, 6s.

Monologues of the Dead. Memorial Edition. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

With the Conquering Turk With 4 Maps. Ch. Ed. Cr. 8vo, 6s.

STEPHENS.

The Book of the Farm ; detailing the Labours of the Farmer, Farm-Steward, Ploughman, Shepherd, Hedger, Farm-Labourer, Field-Worker, and Cattle-man. Illustrated with numerous Portraits of Animals and Engravings of Implements, and Plans of Farm Buildings. Fifth Edition. Revised, and in great part Re-written, by JAMES MACDONALD, F.R.S.E., Secretary Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland. Complete in Six Divisional Volumes, bound in cloth, each 10s. 6d. net, or handsomely bound, in 3 volumes with leather back and gilt top. 7s. 3s. net.

STEPHENS. The Eddy. By RICCARDO STEPHENS. Crown 8vo, 6s.

STEVENSON. The Silver Spoon. By G. H. STEVENSON. Crown 8vo, 6s.

STEWART. Haud Immemor. Reminiscences of Legal and Social Life in Edinburgh and London, 1850-1900. By CHARLES STEWART. With 10 Photogravure Plates. Royal 8vo, 7s. 6d.

STEWART AND CUFF. Practical Nursing. By ISLA STEWART, Matron of St Bartholomew's Hospital, London; and HERBERT E. CUFF, M.D., F.R.C.S., Medical Superintendent North-Eastern Fever Hospital, Tottenham, London. With Diagrams. In 2 vols. crown 8vo. Vol. I. Second Edition. 3s. 6d. net. Vol. II., 8s. 6d. net.

Also in 1 Volume, 5s. net.

STODDART. Life and Letters of Hannah E. Pipe. By ANNA M. STODDART. With Portraits and Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 15s. net.

STORMONTH.

Dictionary of the English Language, Pronouncing, Etymological, and Explanatory. By the Rev. JAMES STORMONTH. Revised by the Rev. F. H. PHELP. Library Edition. New and Cheaper Edition, with Supplement. Imperial 8vo, handsomely bound in half morocco, 18s. net.

Etymological and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language. Including a very Copious Selection of Scientific Terms. For use in Schools and Colleges, and as a Book of General Reference. The Pronunciation carefully revised by the Rev. P. H. PHELP, M.A. Cantab. Sixteenth Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo, pp. 1000. 5s. net.

Handy Dictionary. New Edition, thoroughly Revised. By WILLIAM BAYNE. 16mo, 1s.

STORY. William Wetmore Story and his Friends. From Letters, Diaries, and Recollections. By HENRY JAMES. With 2 Portraits. In 2 vols. post 8vo, 24s. net.

- STRAIN. A Prophet's Reward. By E. H. STRAIN. Crown 8vo 6s.
- SYNGE. The Story of the World. By M. B. SYNGE. With Coloured Frontispieces and numerous Illustrations by E. M. SYNGE, A.R.E., and Maps. 2 vols, 8s. 6d. each net.
- THEOBALD. A Text-Book of Agricultural Zoology. By FRED. V. THEOBALD. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 8s. 6d.
- THOMSON. Handy Book of the Flower-Garden. By DAVID THOMSON. Crown 8vo, 5s.
- THOMSON. A Practical Treatise on the Cultivation of the Grape Vine. By WILLIAM THOMSON, Tweed Vineyards. Tenth Edition. 8vo, 5s.
- THOMSON. History of the Fife Light Horse. By Colonel ANSTRUTHER THOMSON. With numerous Portraits. Small 4to, 21s. net.
- THORBURN.
The Punjab in Peace and War. By S. S. THORBURN. Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.
India's Saint and the Viceroy. A Novel. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- THURSTON.
The Circle. By KATHERINE CECIL THURSTON. Ninth Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.
John Chilcote, M.P. Fifteenth Impression, crown 8vo, 6s. Cheap Edition, 1s. net. People's Edition, paper cover, 6d.
The Mystics. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.
The Fly on the Wheel. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- TIELE. Elements of the Science of Religion. Part I.—Morphological. Part II.—Ontological. Being the Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Edinburgh in 1896-98. By C. P. TIELE, Theol. D., Litt. D. (Bonon.), Hon. M.R.A.S., &c., Professor of the Science of Religion, in the University of Leiden. In 2 vols. post 8vo, 7s. 6d. net each.
- TRANSACTIONS OF THE HIGHLAND AND AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND. Published annually, price 5s.
- TRAVERS.
The Way of Escape. A Novel. By GRAHAM TRAVERS (Margaret Todd, M.D.) Second Impression. Crown 8vo, 6s.
Windyhaugh. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s.
Fellow Travellers. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo, 6s.

TRUSCOTT. *The Marriage of Aminta.* By L. PARRY TRUSCOTT.
Crown 8vo, 6s.

TULLOCH.

Modern Theories in Philosophy and Religion. By JOHN TULLOCH, D.D., Principal of St Mary's College in the University of St Andrews, and one of her Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary in Scotland.
8vo, 15s.

TURNER. *The History of Local Taxation in Scotland.* By STANLEY HORSEFALL TURNER, M.A. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

TWEEDIE. *The Arabian Horse: His Country and People.* By Major-General W. TWEEDIE, C.S.I., Bengal Staff Corps; for many years H.B.M.'s Consul-General, Baghdad, and Political Resident for the Government of India in Turkish Arabia. In one vol. royal 4to, with Seven Coloured Plates and other Illustrations, and a Map of the Country. Large Paper Edition. Price £6, 6s. net.

VAUGHAN. *The Romantic Revolt.* By Professor C. E. VAUGHAN.
Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

VOYAGE OF THE "SCOTIA," THE. Being the Record of a Voyage of Exploration in Antarctic Seas. By THREE OF THE STAFF. Demy 8vo, 21s. net.

WADDELL.

Christianity as an Ideal. By Rev. P. HATELY WADDELL, B.D.
Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

Essays on Faith. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

Thoughts on Modern Mysticism. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.

WAKE. *Lady Wake's Reminiscences.* By LUCY WAKE. With Portraits and Illustrations. Second Impression. Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.

WALKER. *The Letters of John Stuart Blackie to his Wife.* With a few earlier ones to his parents. Selected and edited by his nephew, A. STODART WALKER. Second Impression. Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.

WARREN'S (SAMUEL) WORKS:—

Diary of a Late Physician. Cloth, 2s. 6d.; boards, 2s.; paper cover, 1s.

Now and Then. The Lily and the Bee. Intellectual and Moral Development of the Present Age. 4s. 6d.

Essays: Critical, Imaginative, and Juridical. 5s.

WATSON. *The Skipper.* By GILBERT WATSON. Crown 8vo, 6s.

WATT. *By Still Waters.* By MACLEAN WATT. 1s. 6d.
Leather, 2s.

WEIGALL.

Travels in the Upper Egyptian Deserts. By ARTHUR E. P. WEIGALL. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

The Life and Times of Akhnaton, Pharaoh of Egypt. Illustrated. Crown 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

WENLEY. Aspects of Pessimism. By R. M. WENLEY, M.A.,
D.Sc., D.Phil., Professor of Philosophy in the University of Michigan, U.S.A.
Crown 8vo, 6s.

WHIBLEY.

Thackeray. "Modern English Writers." By CHARLES
WHIBLEY. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.

William Pitt. With Portraits and Caricatures. Crown 8vo,
6s. net.

American Sketches. Crown 8vo, 6s.

WHISPER. Black Mark. By A. WHISPER. Crown 8vo, 6s.

WILSON. The Prophets and Prophecy to the Close of the Eighth
Century B.C. By the Rev. ALEXANDER WILSON, M.A., Minister of Ythan Wells,
Aberdeenshire. With Introductory Preface by the Rev. ALLAN MENZIES, D.D.,
Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of St Andrews. Fcap. 8vo, 1s.
net.

WILSON.

Works of Professor Wilson. Edited by his Son-in-Law,
Professor FERRIER. 12 vols. crown 8vo, £2, 8s.

Christopher in his Sporting-Jacket. 2 vols., 8s.

Ile of Palms, City of the Plague, and other Poems. 4s.

Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life, and other Tales. 4s.

Essays, Critical and Imaginative. 4 vols., 16s.

The Noctes Ambrosianæ. 4 vols., 16s.

Homer and his Translators, and the Greek Drama. Crown
8vo, 4s.

WINRAM. Violin Playing and Violin Adjustment. By JAMES
WINRAM. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

WORSLEY.

Homer's Odyssey. Translated into English Verse in the
Spenserian Stanza. By PHILIP STANHOPE WORSLEY, M.A. New and Cheaper
Edition. Post 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

Homer's Iliad. Translated by P. S. Worsley and Prof. Con-
ington. 2 vols. crown 8vo, 21s.

WOTHERSPOON.

Kyrie Eleison ("Lord, have Mercy"). A Manual of Private
Prayers. With Notes and Additional Matter. By H. J. WOTHERSPOON, M.A.,
of St Oswald's, Edinburgh. Cloth, red edges, 1s. net; limp leather, 1s. 6d. net.

Before and After. Being Part I. of 'Kyrie Eleison.' Cloth,
limp, 6d. net.

The Second Prayer Book of King Edward the Sixth (1552) along
with the Liturgy of Compromise, edited by Rev. G. W. SPROTT, D.D. Crown
8vo, 4s. net.