

THE  
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

THE SECOND BOOK.

**MARY**, queen of Scots, the daughter of James the fifth, and of Mary of Guise, was born a few days before the death of her father. The situation in which he left the kingdom alarmed all ranks of men with the prospect of a turbulent and disastrous reign. A war against England had been undertaken without necessity, and carried on without success. Many persons of the first rank had fallen into the hands of the English, in the unfortunate rout near the firth of Solway, and were still prisoners at London. Among the rest of the nobles there was little union either in their views or in their affections; and the religious disputes, occasioned by the opinions of the reformers, growing every day more violent, added to the rage of those factions, which are natural to a form of government nearly aristocratical.

The government of a queen was unknown in Scotland, and did not imprint much reverence in the minds of a martial people. The government of an infant queen was still more destitute of real authority; and the prospect of a long and feeble minority invited to faction, by the hope of impunity. James had not even provided the common remedy against the disorders of a minority, by committing to proper persons the care of his daughter's education, and the administration of affairs in her name. Though he saw the clouds gathering, and foretold that they would quickly burst into a storm, he was so little able to disperse them, or to defend his daughter

Birth of  
Mary, De-  
cember 8,  
1542, and  
state of the  
kingdom.

and kingdom against the imminent calamities, that, in mere despair, he abandoned them both to the mercy of fortune, and left open to every pretender the office of regent, which he could not fix to his own satisfaction.

Pretensions  
of cardinal  
Beatoun to  
the regency.

Cardinal Beatoun, who had for many years been considered as prime minister, was the first that claimed that high dignity; and, in support of his pretensions, he produced a testament <sup>a</sup>, which he himself had forged in the name of the late king; and, without any other right, instantly assumed the title of regent. He hoped, by the assistance of the clergy, the countenance of France, the connivance of the queen dowager, and the support of the whole popish faction, to hold by force what he had seized on by fraud. But Beatoun had enjoyed power too long to be a favourite of the nation. Those among the nobles who wished for a reformation in religion dreaded his severity, and others considered the elevation of a churchman to the highest office in the kingdom, as a depression of themselves. At their instigation, James Hamilton, earl of Arran, and next heir to the queen, roused himself from his inactivity, and was prevailed on to aspire to that station, to which proximity of blood gave him a natural title. The nobles, who were assembled for that purpose, unanimously conferred on him the office of regent; and the public voice applauded their choice <sup>b</sup>.

Earl of Ar-  
ran chosen  
regent.

Character of  
Beatoun.

No two men ever differed more widely in disposition and character, than the earl of Arran and cardinal Beatoun. The cardinal was, by nature, of immoderate ambition: by long experience he had acquired address and refinement; and insolence grew upon him from continual success. His high station in the church placed him in the way of great civil employments; his abilities were equal to the greatest of these; nor did he reckon any of them to be above his merit. As his own emi-

<sup>a</sup> Sadler's Lett. 161. Haynes, State Papers, 486.

<sup>b</sup> Epist. Reg. Scot. vol. ii. p. 308.

nence was founded upon the power of the church of Rome, he was a zealous defender of that superstition, and, for the same reason, an avowed enemy to the doctrine of the reformers. Political motives alone determined him to support the one, or to oppose the other. His early application to public business kept him unacquainted with the learning and controversies of the age; he gave judgment, however, upon all points in dispute, with a precipitancy, violence, and rigour, which contemporary historians mention with indignation.

The character of the earl of Arran was, in almost every thing, the reverse of Beatoun's. He was neither infected with ambition, nor inclined to cruelty. The love of ease extinguished the former, the gentleness of his temper preserved him from the latter. Timidity and irresolution were his predominant failings; the one occasioned by his natural constitution, and the other arising from a consciousness that his abilities were not equal to his station. With these dispositions he might have enjoyed and adorned private life; but his public conduct was without courage, or dignity, or consistence; the perpetual slave of his own fears, and, by consequence, the perpetual tool of those who found their advantage in practising upon them. But, as no other person could be set in opposition to the cardinal, with any probability of success, the nation declared in his favour with such general consent, that the artifices of his rival could not withstand its united strength.

The earl of Arran had scarce taken possession of his new dignity, when a negotiation was opened with England, which gave birth to events of the most fatal consequence to himself, and to the kingdom. After the death of James, Henry the eighth was no longer afraid of any interruption from Scotland to his designs against France; and immediately conceived hopes of rendering this security perpetual, by the marriage of Edward, his only son, with the young queen of Scots. He communicated his intentions to the prisoners taken at Solway,

Character of  
Arran.

Schemes of  
Henry the  
eighth, with  
regard to  
Scotland.

and prevailed on them to favour it, by the promise of liberty, as the reward of their success. In the mean time, he permitted them to return into Scotland, that, by their presence in the parliament which the regent had called, they might be the better able to persuade their countrymen to fall in with his proposals. A cause intrusted to such able and zealous advocates, could not well miss of coming to an happy issue. All those who feared the cardinal, or who desired a change in religion, were fond of an alliance, which afforded protection to the doctrine which they had embraced, as well as to their own persons, against the rage of that powerful and haughty prelate.

Ill conducted by himself.

But Henry's rough and impatient temper was incapable of improving this favourable conjuncture. Address and delicacy in managing the fears, and follies, and interests of men, were arts with which he was utterly unacquainted. The designs he had formed upon Scotland were obvious from the marriage which he had proposed, and he had not dexterity enough to disguise or to conceal them. Instead of yielding to the fear or jealousy of the Scots, what time and accidents would soon have enabled him to recover, he, at once, alarmed and irritated the whole nation, by demanding that the queen's person should be immediately committed to his custody, and that the government of the kingdom should be put into his hands during her minority.

Odious to the Scots, though in part accepted by them.

Henry could not have prescribed more ignominious conditions to a conquered people, and it is no wonder they were rejected, with indignation, by men who scorned to purchase an alliance with England at the price of their own liberty. The parliament of Scotland, however, influenced by the nobles who returned from England; desirous of peace with that kingdom; and delivered, by the regent's confining the cardinal as a prisoner, from an opposition to which he might have given rise; consented to a treaty of marriage and of union, but upon terms somewhat more equal. After some dark and unsuccessful

March 12, 1543.

ful intrigues, by which his ambassador endeavoured to carry off the young queen and cardinal Beatoun into England, Henry was obliged to give up his own proposals, and to accept of theirs. On his side, he consented that the queen should continue to reside in Scotland, and himself remain excluded from any share in the government of the kingdom. On the other hand, the Scots agreed to send their sovereign into England, as soon as she attained the full age of ten years, and instantly to deliver six persons of the first rank, to be kept as hostages by Henry till the queen's arrival at his court.

The treaty was still so manifestly of advantage to <sup>Favoured</sup> England, that the regent lost much of the public con- <sup>by the re-</sup> fidence by consenting to it. The cardinal, who had <sup>gent.</sup> now recovered liberty, watched for such an opportunity of regaining credit, and he did not fail to cultivate and improve this to the utmost. He complained loudly that <sup>Opposed by</sup> the regent had betrayed the kingdom to its most invete- <sup>the cardinal.</sup> rate enemies; and sacrificed its honour to his own ambition. He foretold the extinction of the true catholic religion; under the tyranny of an excommunicated heretic; but, above all, he lamented to see an ancient kingdom consenting to its own servitude, descending into the ignominious station of a dependent province; and, in one hour, the weakness or treachery of a single man surrendering every thing for which the Scottish nation had struggled and fought during so many ages. These remonstrances of the cardinal were not without effect. They were addressed to prejudices and passions, which are deeply rooted in the human heart. The same hatred to the ancient enemies of their country, the same jealousy of national honour, and pride of independence, which, at the beginning of the present century, went near to prevent the Scots from consenting to an union with England, upon terms of great advantage, did, at that time; induce the whole nation to declare against the alliance which had been concluded. In the one period,

an hundred and fifty years of peace between the two nations, the habit of being subjected to the same king, and governed by the same maxims, had considerably abated old animosities, and prepared both people for incorporating. In the other, injuries were still fresh, the wounds on both sides were open, and, in the warmth of resentment, it was natural to seek revenge, and to be averse from reconciliation. At the union, in one thousand seven hundred and seven, the wisdom of parliament despised the groundless murmurs occasioned by antiquated prejudices; but in one thousand five hundred and forty-three, the complaints of the nation were better founded, and urged with a zeal and unanimity, which it is neither just nor safe to disregard. A rash measure of the English monarch added greatly to the violence of this national animosity. The Scots, relying on the treaty of marriage and union, fitted out several ships for France, with which their trade had been interrupted for some time. These were driven by stress of weather to take refuge in different ports of England; and Henry, under pretext that they were carrying provisions to a kingdom with which he was at war, ordered them to be seized and condemned as lawful prizes<sup>c</sup>. The Scots, astonished at this proceeding of a prince, whose interest it was manifestly, at that juncture, to court and to sooth them, felt it not only as an injury, but as an insult, and expressed all the resentment natural to an high-spirited people<sup>d</sup>. Their rage rose to such an height, that the English ambassador could hardly be protected from it. One spirit seemed now to animate all orders of men. The clergy offered to contribute a great sum towards preserving the church from the dominion of a prince, whose system of reformation was so fatal to their power. The nobles, after having mortified the cardinal so lately

<sup>c</sup> Keith, 32. 34. Epist. Reg. Scot. ii. App. 311. Hamilton manuscripts, vol. i. p. 389.

<sup>d</sup> In the manuscript collection of papers belonging to the duke of Hamilton, sir Ralph Sadler describes the spirit of the Scots as extremely out-

in such a cruel manner, were now ready to applaud and to second him, as the defender of the honour and liberty of his country.

Argyll, Huntly, Bothwell, and other powerful barons, declared openly against the alliance with England. By their assistance, the cardinal seized on the persons of the young-queen and her mother, and added to his party the splendour and authority of the royal name<sup>e</sup>. He received, at the same time, a more real accession to his strength, by the arrival of Matthew Stewart, earl of Lennox, whose return from France he had earnestly solicited. This young nobleman was the hereditary enemy of the house of Hamilton. He had many claims upon the regent, and pretended a right to exclude him, not only from succeeding to the crown, but to deprive him of the possession of his private fortune. The cardinal flattered his vanity with the prospect of marrying the queen dowager, and affected to treat him with so

He excites almost the whole nation against the English.

rageous. In his letter from Edinburgh, September 1, 1543, he says: "The stay of the ships has brought the people of this town, both men and women, and especially the merchants, into such a rage and fury, that the whole town is commoved against me, and swear great oaths, that if their ships are not restored, that they would have their amends of me and mine, and that they would set my house here on fire over my head, so that one of us should not escape alive; and also it hath much incensed and provoked the people against the governor, saying, that he hath coloured a peace with your majesty only to undo them. This is the unreasonableness of the people, which live here in such a beastly liberty, that they neither regard God nor governor; nor yet justice, or any good policy, doth take place among them; assuring your highness that, unless the ships be delivered, there will be none abiding here for me without danger." Vol. i. 451. In his letter of September 5, he writes that the rage of the people still continued so violent, "that neither I nor any of my folks dare go out of my doors; and the provost of the town, who hath much ado to stay them from assaulting me in my house, and keepeth watch therefore nightly, hath sent to me sundry times, and prayed me to keep myself and my folks within, for it is scaut in his power to repress or resist the fury of the people. They say plainly, I shall never pass out of the town alive, except they have their ships restored. This is the rage and beastliness of this nation, which God keep all honest men from." Ib. 471.

<sup>e</sup> Keith's Hist. of Scotl. 30.

much respect, that the regent became jealous of him, as a rival in power.

This suspicion was artfully heightened by the abbot of Paisley, who returned into Scotland some time before the earl of Lennox, and acted in concert with the cardinal. He was a natural brother of the regent, with whom he had great credit; a warm partisan of France, and a zealous defender of the established religion. He took hold of the regent by the proper handle, and endeavoured to bring about a change in his sentiments, by working upon his fears. The desertion of the nobility, the disaffection of the clergy, and the rage of the people; the resentment of France, the power of the cardinal, and the pretensions of Lennox; were all represented with aggravation, and with their most threatening aspect.

Meanwhile, the day appointed for the ratification of the treaty with England, and the delivery of the hostages, approached, and the regent was still undetermined in his own mind. He acted to the last, with that irresolution and inconsistency which is peculiar to weak men, when they are so unfortunate as to have the chief part in the conduct of difficult affairs. On the twenty-fifth of August, he ratified a treaty with Henry<sup>f</sup>, and proclaimed the cardinal, who still continued to oppose it, an enemy to his country. On the third of September he secretly withdrew from Edinburgh, met with the cardinal at Callendar, renounced the friendship of England, and declared for the interests of France<sup>g</sup>.

Obliges the regent to renounce the friendship with England;

Henry, in order to gain the regent, had not spared the most magnificent promises. He had offered to give the princess Elizabeth in marriage to his eldest son, and to constitute him king of that part of Scotland which lies beyond the river Forth. But, upon finding his interest in the kingdom to be less considerable than

<sup>f</sup> Rymer, Fœd. xv. p. 4.

<sup>g</sup> Sadler, 339. 356. Hamilton manuscripts, i. 470, etc.



he had imagined, the English monarch began to treat him with little respect. The young queen was now in the custody of his enemies, who grew every day more numerous and more popular. They formed a separate court at Stirling, and threatened to elect another regent. The French king was ready to afford them his protection, and the nation, out of hatred to the English, would have united in their defence. In this situation, the regent could not retain his authority, without a sudden change of his measures; and, though he endeavoured, by ratifying the treaty, to preserve the appearances of good faith with England, he was obliged to throw himself into the arms of the party which adhered to France.

Soon after this sudden revolution in his political principles, the regent changed his sentiments concerning religion. The spirit of controversy was then new and warm; books of that kind were eagerly read by men of every rank; the love of novelty, or the conviction of truth, had led the regent to express great esteem for the writings of the reformers; and having been powerfully supported by those who had embraced their opinions, he, in order to gratify them, entertained, in his own family, two of the most noted preachers of the protestant doctrine, and, in his first parliament, consented to an act, by which the laity were permitted to read the scriptures in a language which they understood<sup>h</sup>. Truth needed only a fair hearing to be an over-match for error. Absurdities, which had long imposed on the ignorance and credulity of mankind, were detected and exposed to public ridicule; and, under the countenance of the regent, the reformation made great advances. The cardinal observed its progress with concern, and was at the utmost pains to obstruct it. He represented to the regent his great imprudence in giving encouragement to opinions so favourable to

and to persecute the reformers.

<sup>h</sup> Keith, p. 36, 37.

Lennox's pretensions ; that his own legitimacy depended upon the validity of a sentence of divorce, founded on the pope's authority ; and that, by suffering it to be called in question, he weakened his own title to the succession, and furnished his rival with the only argument by which it could be rendered doubtful<sup>1</sup>. These insinuations made a deep impression on the regent's timorous spirit, who, at the prospect of such imaginary danger, was as much startled as the cardinal could have wished ; and his zeal for the protestant religion was not long proof against his fear. He publicly abjured the doctrine of the reformers in the Franciscan church at Stirling, and declared not only for the political, but the religious opinions of his new confidants.

The protestant doctrine did not suffer much by his apostacy. It had already taken so deep root in the kingdom, that no discouragement or severity could extirpate it. The regent, indeed, consented to every thing that the zeal of the cardinal thought necessary for the preservation of the established religion. The reformers were persecuted with all the cruelty which superstition inspires into a barbarous people. Many were condemned to that dreadful death, which the church has appointed for the punishment of its enemies ; but they suffered with a spirit so nearly resembling the patience and fortitude of the primitive martyrs, that more were converted than terrified by such spectacles.

Beatoun  
engrosses

The cardinal, however, was now in possession of every

<sup>1</sup> The pretensions of the earl of Lennox to the succession were thus founded : Mary, the daughter of James the second, was married to James lord Hamilton, whom James the third created earl of Arran, on that account. Elizabeth, a daughter of that marriage, was the wife of Matthew, earl of Lennox, and the present earl was her grandson. The regent was likewise the grandson of the princess Mary. But his father having married Janet Beatoun, the regent's mother, after he had obtained a divorce from Elizabeth Home, his former wife, Lennox pretended that the sentence of divorce was unjust, and that the regent, being born while Elizabeth Home was still alive, ought to be considered as illegitimate. *Crawf. Peer.* 192.

thing his ambition could desire; and exercised all the authority of a regent, without the envy of the name. He had nothing to fear from the earl of Arran, who, having, by his inconsistency, forfeited the public esteem, was contemned by one half of the nation, and little trusted by the other. The pretensions of the earl of Lennox were the only thing which remained to embarrass him. He had very successfully made use of that nobleman to work upon the regent's jealousy and fear; but, as he no longer stood in need of such an instrument, he was willing to get rid of him with decency. Lennox soon began to suspect his intention; promises, flattery, and respect, were the only returns he had hitherto received for substantial services: but, at last, the cardinal's artifices could no longer be concealed, and Lennox, instead of attaining power and dignity himself, saw that he had been employed only to procure these for another. Resentment and disappointed ambition urged him to seek revenge on that cunning prelate, who, by sacrificing his interest, had so ungenerously purchased the earl of Arran's friendship. He withdrew, for that reason, from court, and declared for the party at enmity with the cardinal, which, with open arms, received a convert who added so much lustre to their cause.

The two factions, which divided the kingdom, were still the same, without any alterations in their views or principles; but, by one of those strange revolutions, which were frequent in that age, they had, in the course of a few weeks, changed their leaders. The regent was at the head of the partisans of France and the defenders of popery, and Lennox in the same station with the advocates for the English alliance, and a reformation in religion. The one laboured to pull down his own work, which the other upheld with the same hand that had hitherto endeavoured to destroy it.

Lennox's impatience for revenge got the start of the cardinal's activity. He surprised both him and the regent, by a sudden march to Edinburgh with a numerous

army; and might easily have crushed them, before they could prepare for their defence. But he was weak enough to listen to proposals for an accommodation; and the cardinal amused him so artfully, and spun out the treaty to such a length, that the greater part of the earl's troops, who served, as is usual wherever the feudal institutions prevailed, at their own expense, deserted him; and in concluding a peace, instead of giving the law, he was obliged to receive it. A second attempt to retrieve his affairs ended yet more unfortunately. One body of his troops was cut to pieces, and the rest dispersed; and, with the poor remains of a ruined party, he must either have submitted to the conqueror, or have fled out of the kingdom, if the approach of an English army had not brought him a short relief.

Henry in-  
vades Scot-  
land.

Henry was not of a temper to bear tamely the indignity with which he had been treated, both by the regent and parliament of Scotland, who, at the time when they renounced their alliance with him, had entered into a new and stricter confederacy with France. The rigour of the season retarded, for some time, the execution of his vengeance. But, in the spring, a considerable body of infantry, which was destined for France, received orders to sail for Scotland, and a proper number of cavalry was appointed to join it by land. The regent and cardinal little expected such a visit. They had trusted that the French war would find employment for all Henry's forces, and, from an unaccountable security, were wholly unprovided for the defence of the kingdom. The earl of Hertford, a leader fatal to the Scots in that age, commanded this army, and landed it, without opposition, a few miles from Leith. He was quickly master of that place; and, marching directly to Edinburgh, entered it with the same ease. After plundering the adjacent country, the richest and most open in Scotland, he set on fire both these towns, and, upon the approach of some troops gathered together by the regent, put his booty on board the fleet,

May 3,  
1544.

and, with his land forces, retired safely to the English borders; delivering the kingdom, in a few days, from the terrour of an invasion, concerted with little policy, carried on at great expense, and attended with no advantage. If Henry aimed at the conquest of Scotland, he gained nothing by this expedition; if the marriage he had proposed was still in his view, he lost a great deal. Such a rough courtship, as the earl of Huntly humorously called it, disgusted the whole nation; their aversion for the match grew into abhorrence; and, exasperated by so many indignities, the Scots were never at any period more attached to France, or more alienated from England<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> The violence of national hatred between the English and Scots, in the sixteenth century, was such as can hardly be conceived by their posterity. A proof of the fierce resentment of the Scots is contained in the note on pages 82 and 83. The instructions of the privy council of England to the earl of Hertford, who commanded the fleet and army which invaded Scotland, a. d. 1544, are dictated by a national animosity no less excessive. I found them in the collection of papers belonging to the duke of Hamilton, and they merit publication, as they exhibit a striking picture of the spirit of that period.

*The lords of the council to the earl of Hertford, lieutenant in Scotland,  
April 10, 1544.*

The instruction begins with observing, that the king had originally intended to fortify Leith and keep possession of it; but, after mature deliberation, he had finally determined not to make any settlement in Scotland at present, and, therefore, he is directed not to make any fortification at Leith, or any other place:

“But only for that journey to put all to fire and sword, burn Edinburgh town, so used and defaced, that when you have gotten what you can of it, it may remain for ever a perpetual memory of the vengeance of God lightened upon it, for their falsehood and disloyalty. Do what you can out of hand, and without long tarrying to beat down or overthrow the castle; sack . . . houses and as many towns and villages about Edinburgh as ye may conveniently. Sack Leith, and subvert it, and all the rest, putting man, woman, and child, to fire and sword, without exception, when any resistance shall be made against you; and, this done, pass over to the Fifeland, and extend like extremities and destruction to all towns and villages, whereunto you may reach conveniently; not forgetting, amongst all the rest, so to spoil and turn upside down the cardinal's town of St. Andrew's, as the uppersort may be the nether, and not one 'stoke' stand upon another, sparing

The earl of Lennox alone, in spite of the regent and French king, continued a correspondence with England, which ruined his own interest, without promoting Henry's<sup>1</sup>. Many of his own vassals, preferring their duty to their country before their affection to him, refused to concur in any design to favour the public enemy. After a few feeble and unsuccessful attempts to disturb the regent's administration, he was obliged to fly for safety to the court of England, where Henry rewarded services which he had the inclination, but not the power to perform, by giving him in marriage his niece, the lady Margaret Douglas. This unhappy exile, however, was destined to be the father of a race of kings. He saw his son, lord Darnley, mount the throne of Scotland, to the perpetual exclusion of that rival who now triumphed in his ruin. From that time his posterity have held the sceptre in two kingdoms, by one of which he was cast out as a criminal, and by the other received as a fugitive.

A peace  
concluded.

Meanwhile, hostilities were continued by both nations, but with little vigour on either side. The historians of that age relate minutely the circumstances of several skirmishes and inroads, which, as they did not

no creature alive within the same, specially such as either in friendship or blood be allied unto the cardinal ; and, if ye see any likelihood to win the castle, give some stout essay to the same, and, if it be your fortune to get it, raze and destroy it piecemeal ; and after this sort, spending one month there, spoiling and destroying as aforesaid, with the wise foresight, that his majesty doubteth not ye will use, that your enemies take no advantage of you, and that you enterprize nothing but what you shall see may be easily achieved, his majesty thinketh verily, and so all we, ye shall find this *journey* succeedeth this way most to his majesty's honour," etc.

These barbarous orders seem to have been executed with a rigorous and unfeeling exactness, as appears from a series of letters from lord Hertford, in the same collection, giving a full account of all his operations in Scotland. They contain several curious particulars, not mentioned by the writers of that age, and with which both the historians of the city of Edinburgh were unacquainted ; but they are of too great length to be inserted here.

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, xv. p. 22.

produce any considerable effect, at this distance of time, deserve no remembrance<sup>m</sup>. At last, an end was put to this languid and inactive war, by a peace, in which England, France, and Scotland were comprehended. Henry laboured to exclude the Scots from the benefit of this treaty, and to reserve them for that vengeance which his attention to the affairs of the continent had, hitherto, delayed. But, although a peace with England was of the last consequence to Francis

<sup>m</sup> Though this war was distinguished by no important or decisive action, it was, however, extremely ruinous to individuals. There still remain two original papers, which give us some idea of the miseries to which some of the most fertile counties in the kingdom were exposed, by the sudden and destructive incursions of the borderers. The first seems to be the report made to Henry by the English wardens of the marches for the year 1544, and contains their exploits from the 2d of July to the 17th of November. The account it gives of the different inroads, or 'forrays,' as they are called, is very minute; and, in conclusion, the sum total of mischief they did is thus computed:

Towns, towers, stedes, barnekyns, pariahe-churches, bastel-houses, cast down or burnt.....	192
Scots slain.....	403
Prisoners taken.....	816
Nolt, i. e. horned cattle, taken.....	10,386
Sheep.....	12,492
Nags and geldings.....	1,296
Goats.....	200
Bolls of corn.....	850
Insight gear, i. e. household furniture, not reckoned.	

Haynes's State Papers, 43.

The other contains an account of an inroad by the earl of Hertford, between the 8th and 23rd of September, 1545; the narrative is more general, but it appears that he had burnt, razed, and destroyed, in the counties of Berwick and Roxburgh only,

Monasteries and friar houses.....	7
Castles, towers, and piles.....	16
Market-towns.....	5
Villages.....	243
Milns.....	13
Hospitals.....	3

All these were cast down or burnt, Haynes, 52. As the Scots were no less skilful in the practice of irregular war, we may conclude that the damage which they did in England was not inconsiderable; and that their 'raids' were no less wasteful than the 'forrays' of the English.

the first, whom the emperor was preparing to attack with all his forces, he was too generous to abandon allies who had served him with fidelity, and he chose rather to purchase Henry's friendship with disadvantage to himself, than to leave them exposed to danger. By yielding some things to the interest, and more to the vanity of that haughty prince; by submission, flattery, and address, he, at length, prevailed to have the Scots included in the peace agreed upon.

The murder  
of Beatoun.

An event which happened a short time before the conclusion of this peace, rendered it more acceptable to the whole nation. Cardinal Beatoun had not used his power with moderation, equal to the prudence by which he attained it. Notwithstanding his great abilities, he had too many of the passions and prejudices of an angry leader of a faction, to govern a divided people with temper. His resentment against one party of the nobility, his insolence towards the rest, his severity to the reformers, and, above all, the barbarous and illegal execution of the famous George Wishart, a man of honourable birth and of primitive sanctity, wore out the patience of a fierce age; and nothing but a bold hand was wanting to gratify the public wish by his destruction. Private revenge, inflamed and sanctified by a false zeal for religion, quickly supplied this want. Norman Lesly, the eldest son of the earl of Rothes, had been treated by the cardinal with injustice and contempt. It was not the temper of the man, or the spirit of the times, quietly to digest an affront. As the profession of his adversary screened him from the effects of what is called an honourable resentment, he resolved to take that satisfaction which he could not demand. This resolution deserves as much censure, as the singular courage and conduct with which he put it in execution excite wonder. The cardinal, at that time, resided in the castle of St. Andrew's, which he had fortified at great expense, and, in the opinion of the age, had rendered it impregnable. His retinue was nume-



rous, the town at his devotion, and the neighbouring country full of his dependents. In this situation, sixteen persons undertook to surprise his castle, and to assassinate himself; and their success was equal to the boldness of the attempt. Early in the morning they seized on the gate of the castle, which was set open to the workmen who were employed in finishing the fortifications; and, having placed sentries at the door of the cardinal's apartment, they awakened his numerous domestics, one by one, and turning them out of the castle, they, without noise or tumult, or violence to any other person, delivered their country, though by a most unjustifiable action, from an ambitious man, whose pride was insupportable to the nobles; as his cruelty and cunning were great checks to the reformation.

His death was fatal to the catholic religion, and to the French interest in Scotland. The same zeal for both continued among a great party in the nation, but, when deprived of the genius and authority of so skilful a leader, operated with less effect. Nothing can equal the consternation which a blow so unexpected occasioned among such as were attached to him; while the regent secretly enjoyed an event, which removed out of his way a rival, who had not only eclipsed his greatness, but almost extinguished his power. Decency, however, the honour of the church, the importunity of the queen dowager and her adherents, his engagements with France, and, above all these, the desire of recovering his eldest son, whom the cardinal had detained for some time at St. Andrew's, in pledge of his fidelity, and who, together with the castle, had fallen into the hands of the conspirators, induced him to take arms, in order to revenge the death of a man whom he hated.

He threatened vengeance, but was unable to execute it. One part of military science, the art of attacking fortified places, was then imperfectly understood in Scotland. The weapons, the discipline, and impetuosity of the Scots, rendered their armies as unfit for sieges,

May 20,  
1546.

The regent  
attempts in  
vain to  
seize the  
murderers.

virtues of others. His rapaciousness, his profusion, and even his tyranny, by depressing the ancient nobility, and by adding new property and power to the commons, laid or strengthened the foundations of the English liberty. His other passions contributed no less towards the downfall of popery, and the establishment of religious freedom in the nation. His resentment led him to abolish the power, and his covetousness to seize the wealth, of the church; and, by withdrawing these supports, made it easy, in the following reign, to overturn the whole fabric of superstition.

Troops arrive from France.

Force the castle of St. Andrew's to surrender.

Francis the first did not long survive a prince, who had been alternately his rival and his friend; but his successor, Henry the second, was not neglectful of the French interest in Scotland. He sent a considerable body of men, under the command of Leon Strozzi, to the regent's assistance. By their long experience in the Italian and German wars, the French had become as dexterous in the conduct of sieges, as the Scots were ignorant; and as the boldness and despair of the conspirators could not defend them against the superior art of these new assailants, they, after a short resistance, surrendered to Strozzi, who engaged, in the name of the king, his master, for the security of their lives; and, as his prisoners, transported them into France. The castle itself, the monument of Beatoun's power and vanity, was demolished, in obedience to the canon law, which, with admirable policy, denounces its anathemas even against the houses in which the sacred blood of a cardinal happens to be shed, and ordains them to be laid in ruins<sup>a</sup>.

The archbishopric of St. Andrew's was bestowed by the regent upon his natural brother, John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley.

New breach with England.

The delay of a few weeks would have saved the conspirators. Those ministers of Henry the eighth, who

<sup>a</sup> Burn. Hist. Ref. i. 338.

had the chief direction of affairs during the minority of his son, Edward the sixth, conducted themselves, with regard to Scotland, by the maxims of their late master, and resolved to frighten the Scots into a treaty, which they had not abilities or address to bring about by any other method.

But, before we proceed to relate the events which their invasion of Scotland occasioned, we shall stop to take notice of a circumstance unobserved by contemporary historians, but extremely remarkable for the discovery it makes of the sentiments and spirit which then prevailed among the Scots. The conspirators against cardinal Beatoun found the regent's eldest son in the castle of St. Andrew's; and, as they needed the protection of the English, it was to be feared that they might endeavour to purchase it, by delivering to them this important prize. The presumptive heir to the crown in the hands of the avowed enemies of the kingdom, was a dreadful prospect. In order to avoid it, the parliament fell upon a very extraordinary expedient. By an act made on purpose, they excluded "the regent's eldest son from all right of succession, public or private, so long as he should be detained a prisoner, and substituted in his place his other brothers, according to their seniority, and in failure of them, those who were next heirs to the regent." Succession by hereditary right is an idea so obvious and so popular, that a nation seldom ventures to make a breach in it, but in cases of extreme necessity. Such a necessity did the parliament discover in the present situation. Hatred to England, founded on the memory of past hostilities, and heightened by the smart of recent injuries, was the national passion. This dictated that uncommon statute, by which the order of lineal succession was so remarkably broken. The modern theories, which represent this right as divine and unalienable, and that ought not to be vio-

<sup>r</sup> Epist. Reg. Scot. ii. 369.

lated upon any consideration whatsoever, seem to have been then altogether unknown.

Scotland invaded by the English.

In the beginning of September, the earl of Hertford, now duke of Somerset, and protector of England, entered Scotland, at the head of eighteen thousand men; and, at the same time, a fleet of sixty ships appeared on the coast to second his land forces. The Scots had, for some time, observed this storm gathering, and were prepared for it. Their army was almost double to that of the enemy, and posted to the greatest advantage on a rising ground, above Musselburgh, not far from the banks of the river Eske. Both these circumstances alarmed the duke of Somerset, who saw his danger, and would willingly have extricated himself out of it, by a new overture of peace, on conditions extremely reasonable. But this moderation being imputed to fear, his proposals were rejected with the scorn which the confidence of success inspires; and if the conduct of the regent, who commanded the Scottish army, had been, in any degree, equal to his confidence, the destruction of the English must have been inevitable. They were in a situation precisely similar to that of their countrymen under Oliver Cromwell, in the following century. The Scots had chosen their ground so well, that it was impossible to force them to give battle; a few days had exhausted the forage and provision of a narrow country; the fleet could only furnish a scanty and precarious subsistence: a retreat, therefore, was necessary; but disgrace, and, perhaps, ruin, were the consequences of retreating.

Battle of Pinkey, September 10, 1547.

On both these occasions, the national heat and impetuosity of the Scots saved the English, and precipitated their own country into the utmost danger. The undisciplined courage of the private men became impatient at the sight of an enemy. The general was afraid of nothing, but that the English might escape from him by flight; and, leaving his strong camp, he attacked the duke of Somerset near Pinkey, with no better suc-

cess than his rashness deserved. The protector had drawn up his troops on a gentle eminence, and had now the advantage of ground on his side. The Scottish army consisted almost entirely of infantry, whose chief weapon was a long spear, and, for that reason, their files were very deep, and their ranks close. They advanced towards the enemy in three great bodies, and, as they passed the river, were considerably exposed to the fire of the English fleet, which lay in the bay of Musselburgh, and had drawn near the shore. The English cavalry, flushed with an advantage which they had gained in a skirmish, some days before, began the attack with more impetuosity than good conduct. A body so firm and compact as the Scots easily resisted the impression of cavalry, broke them, and drove them off the field. The English infantry, however, advanced; and the Scots were, at once, exposed to a flight of arrows, to a fire in flank from four hundred foreign fusileers, who served the enemy, and to their cannon, which were planted behind the infantry, on the highest part of the eminence. The depth and closeness of their order making it impossible for the Scots to stand long in this situation, the earl of Angus, who commanded the vanguard, endeavoured to change his ground, and to retire towards the main body. But his friends, unhappily, mistook his motion for a flight, and fell into confusion. At that very instant the broken cavalry, having rallied, returned to the charge; the foot pursued the advantage they had gained; the prospect of victory redoubled the ardour of both; and, in a moment, the rout of the Scottish army became universal and irretrievable. The encounter in the field was not long nor bloody; but, in the pursuit, the English discovered all the rage and fierceness which national antipathy, kindled by long emulation, and inflamed by reciprocal injuries, is apt to inspire. The pursuit was continued for five hours, and to a great distance. All the three roads, by which the Scots fled, were strewed with spears, and swords, and

targets, and covered with the bodies of the slain. Above ten thousand men fell on this day, one of the most fatal Scotland had ever seen. A few were taken prisoners, and among these some persons of distinction. The protector had it now in his power to become master of a kingdom, out of which, not many hours before, he was almost obliged to retire with infamy\*.

Their vic-  
tory of little  
benefit to  
the English.

But this victory, however great, was of no real utility, for want of skill or of leisure to improve it. Every new injury rendered the Scots more averse from an union with England; and the protector neglected the only measure which would have made it necessary for them to have given their consent to it. He amused himself

\* The following passage in a curious and rare journal of the protector's expedition into Scotland, written by W. Patten, who was joined in commission with Cecil, as judge martial of the army, and printed in 1548, deserves our notice; as it gives a just idea of the military discipline of the Scots, at that time. "But what after I learned, specially touching their order, their armour, and their manner as well of going to offend, as of standing to defend, I have thought necessary here to utter. Hackbutters have they few or none, and appoint their fight most commonly always afoot. They come to the field well furnished all with jack and skull, dagger and buckler, and swords all broad and thin, of exceeding good temper, and universally so made to alice, that as I never saw none so good, so I think it hard to devise the better. Hereto every man his pike, and a great kercher wrapped twice or thrice about his neck, not for cold, but for cutting. In their array towards joining with the enemy, they cling and thrust so near in the fore rank, shoulder and shoulder together, with their pikes in both their hands straight afore them, and their followers in that order so hard at their backs, laying their pikes over their foregoers' shoulders, that, if they do assail undiscovered, no force can well withstand them. Standing at defence they thrust shoulders likewise so nigh together, the fore ranks well nigh to kneeling, stoop low before, their fellows behind holding their pikes with both hands, and therewith in their left their bucklers, the one end of their pike against their right foot, and the other against the enemy breast-high; their followers crossing their pike points with them forward; and thus each with other so nigh as space and place will suffer, through the whole ward, so thick, that as easily shall a bare finger pierce through the skin of an angry hedgehog, as any encounter the front of their pikes." Other curious particulars are found in this journal, from which sir John Hayward has borrowed his account of this expedition. *Life of Edward the sixth*, 279, etc.

The length of the Scotch pike or spear was appointed by Act 44. Parl. 1471, to be six ells; i. e. eighteen feet six inches.

in wasting the open country, and in taking or building several petty castles; whereas, by fortifying a few places which were accessible by sea, he would have laid the kingdom open to the English, and, in a short time, the Scots must either have accepted of his terms, or have submitted to his power. By such an improvement of it, the victory at Dunbar gave Cromwell the command of Scotland. The battle of Pinkey had no other effect but to precipitate the Scots into new engagements with France. The situation of the English court may, indeed, be pleaded in excuse for the duke of Somerset's conduct. That cabal of his enemies, which occasioned his tragical end, was already formed; and, while he triumphed in Scotland, they secretly undermined his power and credit at home. Self-preservation, therefore, obliged him to prefer his safety before his fame, and to return, without reaping the fruits of his victory. At this time, however, the cloud blew over; the conspiracy, by which he fell, was not yet ripe for execution; and his presence suspended its effects for some time. The supreme power still remaining in his hands, he employed it to recover the opportunity which he had lost. A April, 1548. A body of troops, by his command, seized and fortified Haddingtoun, a place which, on account of its distance from the sea, and from any English garrison, could not be defended without great expense and danger.

Meanwhile, the French gained more by the defeat of Forces the Scots into a closer union with France, their allies, than the English by their victory. After the death of cardinal Beatoun, Mary of Guise, the queen dowager, took a considerable share in the direction of affairs. She was warmly attached by blood, and by inclination, to the French interest; and, in order to promote it, improved with great dexterity every event which occurred. The spirit and strength of the Scots were broken at Pinkey; and in an assembly of nobles which met at Stirling to consult upon the situation of the kingdom, all eyes were turned towards France, no prospect of safety appearing but in assistance from that

quarter. But Henry the second being then at peace with England, the queen represented that they could not expect him to take part in their quarrel, but upon views of personal advantage; and that, without extraordinary concessions in his favour, no assistance, in proportion to their present exigencies, could be obtained. The prejudices of the nation powerfully seconded these representations of the queen. What often happens to individuals, took place among the nobles in this convention; they were swayed entirely by their passions; and in order to gratify them, they deserted their former principles, and disregarded their true interest. In the violence of resentment, they forgot that zeal for the independence of Scotland, which had prompted them to reject the proposals of Henry the eighth; and, by offering, voluntarily, their young queen in marriage to the dauphin, eldest son of Henry the second; and, which was still more, by proposing to send her immediately into France to be educated at his court, they granted, from a thirst of vengeance, what formerly they would not yield upon any consideration of their own safety. To gain at once such a kingdom as Scotland, was a matter of no small consequence to France. Henry, without hesitation, accepted the offers of the Scottish ambassadors, and prepared for the vigorous defence of his new acquisition. Six thousand veteran soldiers, under the command of monsieur Dessé, assisted by some of the best officers, who were formed in the long wars of Francis the first, arrived at Leith. They served two campaigns in Scotland, with a spirit equal to their former fame. But their exploits were not considerable. The Scots, soon becoming jealous of their designs, neglected to support them with proper vigour. The caution of the English, in acting wholly upon the defensive, prevented the French from attempting any enterprise of consequence; and obliged them to exhaust their strength in tedious sieges, undertaken under many disadvantages. Their efforts, however, were not with-

and to offer  
their queen  
in marriage  
to the dau-  
phin.



out some benefit to the Scots, by compelling the English to evacuate Haddingtoun, and to surrender several small forts, which they possessed in different parts of the kingdom.

But the effects of these operations of his troops were still of greater importance to the French king. The diversion which they occasioned enabled him to wrest Boulogne out of the hands of the English; and the influence of his army in Scotland obtained the concurrence of parliament with the overtures which had been made to him, by the assembly of nobles at Stirling, concerning the queen's marriage with the dauphin, and her education at the court of France. In vain did a few patriots remonstrate against such extravagant concessions, by which Scotland was reduced to be a province of France; and Henry, from an ally, raised to be master of the kingdom; by which the friendship of France became more fatal than the enmity of England; and every thing was fondly given up to the one, that had been bravely defended against the other. A point of so much consequence was hastily decided in a parliament assembled in the camp before Haddingtoun. The intrigues of the queen dowager, the zeal of the clergy, and resentment against England, had prepared a great party in the nation for such a step; the French general and ambassador, by their liberality and promises, gained over many more. The regent himself was weak enough to stoop to the offer of a pension from France, together with the title of duke of Chatelherault in that kingdom. A considerable majority declared for the treaty, and the interest of a faction was preferred before the honour of the nation.

Having hurried the Scots into this rash and fatal resolution, the source of many calamities to themselves and to their sovereign, the French allowed them no time for reflection or repentance. The fleet which had brought over their forces was still in Scotland, and, without delay, convoyed the queen into France. Mary

The treaty for that purpose concluded,

June 5, 1548.

Mary sent to be educated in France.

was then six years old, and by her education in that court, one of the politest but most corrupted in Europe, she acquired every accomplishment that could add to her charms, as a woman, and contracted many of those prejudices which occasioned her misfortunes, as a queen.

From the time that Mary was put into their hands, it was the interest of the French to suffer the war in Scotland to languish. The recovery of the Boulonnois was the object which the French king had most at heart; but a slight diversion in Britain was sufficient to divide the attention and strength of the English, whose domestic factions deprived both their arms and councils of their accustomed vigour. The government of England had undergone a great revolution. The duke of Somerset's power had been acquired with too much violence, and was exercised with too little moderation, to be of long continuance. Many good qualities, added to great love of his country, could not atone for his ambition in usurping the sole direction of affairs. Some of the most eminent courtiers combined against him; and the earl of Warwick, their leader, no less ambitious but more artful than Somerset, conducted his measures with so much dexterity as to raise himself upon the ruins of his rival. Without the invidious name of protector, he succeeded to all the power and influence of which Somerset was deprived, and he quickly found peace to be necessary for the establishment of his new authority, and the execution of the vast designs he had conceived.

Peace  
concluded,

March 24,  
1550.

Henry was no stranger to Warwick's situation, and improved his knowledge of it to good purpose, in conducting the negotiations for a general peace. He prescribed what terms he pleased to the English minister, who scrupled at nothing, however advantageous to that monarch and his allies. England consented to restore Boulogne and its dependencies to France, and gave up all pretensions to a treaty of marriage with the queen of Scots, or to the conquest of her country. A few small forts, of which the English troops had hitherto kept

possession, were razed; and peace between the two kingdoms was established on its ancient foundation.

Both the British nations lost power, as well as reputation, by this unhappy quarrel. It was, on both sides, a war of emulation and resentment, rather than of interest; and was carried on under the influence of national animosities, which were blind to all advantages. The French, who entered into it with greater coolness, conducted it with more skill; and, by dexterously availing themselves of every circumstance which occurred, recovered possession of an important territory which they had lost, and added to their monarchy a new kingdom. The ambition of the English minister betrayed to them the former; the inconsiderate rage of the Scots against their ancient enemies bestowed on them the latter; their own address and good policy merited both.

Immediately after the conclusion of the peace, the French forces left Scotland, as much to their own satisfaction, as to that of the nation. The Scots soon found, that the calling to their assistance a people more powerful than themselves was a dangerous expedient. They beheld, with the utmost impatience, those who had come over to protect the kingdom, taking upon them to command in it; and, on many occasions, they repented the rash invitation which they had given. The peculiar genius of the French nation heightened this disgust, and prepared the Scots to throw off the yoke, before they had well begun to feel it. The French were, in that age, what they are in the present, one of the most polished nations in Europe. But it is to be observed, in all their expeditions into foreign countries, whether towards the south or north, that their manners have been remarkably incompatible with the manners of every other people. Barbarians are tenacious of their own customs, because they want knowledge and taste to discover the reasonableness and propriety of customs which differ from them. Nations, which hold the first rank in politeness, are frequently no less tenacious, out of

The Scots  
become jea-  
lous of the  
French.

pride. The Greeks were so in the ancient world; and the French are the same in the modern. Full of themselves; flattered by the imitation of their neighbours; and accustomed to consider their own modes as the standards of elegance; they scorn to disguise, or to lay aside, the distinguishing manners of their own nation, or to make any allowance for what may differ from them among others. For this reason, the behaviour of their armies has, on every occasion, been insupportable to strangers, and has always exposed them to hatred, and often to destruction. In that age, they overran Italy four several times by their valour, and lost it as often by their insolence. The Scots, naturally an irascible and high-spirited people, and who, of all nations, can least bear the most distant insinuation of contempt, were not of a temper to admit all the pretensions of such assuming guests. The symptoms of alienation were soon visible; they seconded the military operations of the French troops with the utmost coldness; their disgust grew insensibly to a degree of indignation that could hardly be restrained; and, on occasion of a very slight accident, broke out with fatal violence. A private French soldier engaging in an idle quarrel with a citizen of Edinburgh, both nations took arms, with equal rage, in defence of their countrymen. The provost of Edinburgh, his son, and several citizens of distinction, were killed in the fray; and the French were obliged to avoid the fury of the inhabitants, by retiring out of the city. Notwithstanding the ancient alliance of France and Scotland, and the long intercourse of good offices between the two nations, an aversion for the French took its rise, at this time, among the Scots, the effects whereof were deeply felt, and operated powerfully through the subsequent period.

Progress of  
the reforma-  
tion.

From the death of cardinal Beatoun, nothing has been said of the state of religion. While the war with England continued, the clergy had no leisure to molest the protestants; and they were not yet considerable

enough to expect any thing more than connivance and impunity. The new doctrines were still in their infancy; but, during this short interval of tranquillity, they acquired strength, and advanced, by large and firm steps, towards a full establishment in the kingdom. The first preachers against popery in Scotland, of whom several had appeared during the reign of James the fifth, were more eminent for zeal and piety, than for learning. Their acquaintance with the principles of the reformation was partial, and at second hand; some of them had been educated in England; all of them had borrowed their notions from the books published there; and, in the first dawn of the new light, they did not venture far before their leaders. But, in a short time, the doctrines and writings of the foreign reformers became generally known; the inquisitive genius of the age pressed forward in quest of truth; the discovery of one error opened the way to others; the downfall of one impostor drew many after it; the whole fabric, which ignorance and superstition had erected in times of darkness, began to totter; and nothing was wanting to complete its ruin, but a daring and active leader to direct the attack. Such was the famous John Knox, who, with better qualifications of learning, and more extensive views, than any of his predecessors in Scotland, possessed a natural intrepidity of mind, which set him above fear. He began his public ministry at St. Andrew's, in the year one thousand five hundred and forty-seven, with that success which always accompanies a bold and popular eloquence. Instead of amusing himself with lopping the branches, he struck directly at the root of popery, and attacked both the doctrine and discipline of the established church, with a vehemence peculiar to himself, but admirably suited to the temper and wishes of the age.

An adversary, so formidable as Knox, would not have easily escaped the rage of the clergy, who observed the tendency and progress of his opinions with the utmost

concern. But, at first, he retired for safety into the castle of St. Andrew's, and, while the conspirators kept possession of it, preached publicly under their protection. The great revolution in England, which followed upon the death of Henry the eighth, contributed no less than the zeal of Knox towards demolishing the popish church in Scotland. Henry had loosened the chains, and lightened the yoke of popery. The ministers of his son, Edward the sixth, cast them off altogether, and established the protestant religion upon almost the same footing whereon it now stands in that kingdom. The influence of this example reached Scotland, and the happy effects of ecclesiastical liberty in one nation, inspired the other with an equal desire of recovering it. The reformers had, hitherto, been obliged to conduct themselves with the utmost caution, and seldom ventured to preach, but in private houses, and at a distance from court; they gained credit, as happens on the first publication of every new religion, chiefly among persons in the lower and middle rank of life. But several noblemen, of the greatest distinction, having, about this time, openly espoused their principles, they were no longer under the necessity of acting with the same reserve; and, with more security and encouragement, they had likewise greater success. The means of acquiring and spreading knowledge became more common, and the spirit of innovation, peculiar to that period, grew every day bolder and more universal.

Happily for the reformation, this spirit was still under some restraint. It had not yet attained firmness and vigour sufficient to overturn a system founded on the deepest policy, and supported by the most formidable power. Under the present circumstances, any attempt towards action must have been fatal to the protestant doctrines; and it is no small proof of the authority, as well as penetration, of the heads of the party, that they were able to restrain the zeal of a fiery and impetuous people, until that critical and mature

junction, when every step they took was decisive and successful.

Meanwhile, their cause received reinforcement from two different quarters, whence they never could have expected it. The ambition of the house of Guise, and the bigotry of Mary of England, hastened the subversion of the papal throne in Scotland; and, by a singular disposition of providence, the persons who opposed the reformation, in every other part of Europe, with the fiercest zeal, were made instruments for advancing it in that kingdom.

Mary of Guise possessed the same bold and aspiring The queen spirit which distinguished her family. But in her it was dowager softened by the female character, and accompanied with aspires to great temper and address. Her brothers, in order to the office attain the high objects at which they aimed, ventured upon such daring measures as suited their great courage. Her designs upon the supreme power were concealed with the utmost care, and advanced by address and refinements more natural to her sex. By a dexterous application of those talents, she had acquired a considerable influence on the councils of a nation, hitherto unacquainted with the government of women; and, without the smallest right to any share in the administration of affairs, had engrossed the chief direction of them into her own hands. But she did not long rest satisfied with the enjoyment of this precarious power, which the fickleness of the regent, or the ambition of those who governed him, might so easily disturb; and she began to set on foot new intrigues, with a design of undermining him, and of opening to herself a way to succeed him in that high dignity. Her brothers entered warmly into this scheme, and supported it, with all their credit, at the court of France. The French king willingly concurred in a measure, by which he hoped to bring Scotland entirely under management, and, in any future broil with England, to turn its whole force against that kingdom.

In order to arrive at the desired elevation, the queen dowager had only one of two ways to choose; either violently to wrest the power out of the hands of the regent, or to obtain it by his consent. Under a minority, and among a warlike and factious people, the former was a very uncertain and dangerous experiment. The latter appeared to be no less impracticable. To persuade a man voluntarily to abdicate the supreme power; to descend to a level with those, above whom he was raised; and to be content with the second place, where he hath held the first, may well pass for a wild and chimerical project. This, however, the queen attempted; and the prudence of the attempt was sufficiently justified by its success.

Courts the  
reformers.

Oct. 1550.

The regent's inconstancy and irresolution, together with the calamities which had befallen the kingdom, under his administration, raised the prejudices both of the nobles and of the people against him, to a great height; and the queen secretly fomented these with much industry. All who wished for a change met with a gracious reception in her court, and their spirit of disaffection was nourished by such hopes and promises, as in every age impose on the credulity of the factious. The favourers of the reformation being the most numerous and spreading body of the regent's enemies, she applied to them with a particular attention; and the gentleness of her disposition, and seeming indifference to the religious points in dispute, made all her promises of protection and indulgence pass upon them for sincere. Finding so great a part of the nation willing to fall in with her measures, the queen set out for France, under pretence of visiting her daughter, and took along with her those noblemen who possessed the greatest power and credit among their countrymen. Softened by the pleasures of an elegant court, flattered by the civilities of the French king, and the caresses of the house of Guise, and influenced by the seasonable distribution of a few favours, and the liberal promise of



many more, they were brought to approve of all the queen's pretensions.

While she advanced, by these slow, but sure; steps, the regent either did not foresee the danger which threatened him, or neglected to provide against it. The first discovery of the train which was laid, came from two of his own confidants, Carnegie of Kinnaird, and Panter, bishop of Ross, whom the queen had gained over to her interest, and then employed, as the most proper instruments for obtaining his consent. The overture was made to him, in the name of the French king, enforced by proper threatenings, in order to work upon his natural timidity, and sweetened by every promise that could reconcile him to a proposal so disagreeable. On the one hand, the confirmation of his French title, together with a considerable pension, the parliamentary acknowledgment of his right of succession to the crown, and a public ratification of his conduct, during his regency, were offered him. On the other hand, the displeasure of the French king, the power and popularity of the queen dowager, the disaffection of the nobles, with the danger of an after-reckoning, were represented in the strongest colours.

It was not possible to agree to a proposal so extraordinary and unexpected, without some previous struggle; and, had the archbishop of St. Andrew's been present to fortify the irresolute and passive spirit of the regent, he, in all probability, would have rejected it with disdain. Happily for the queen, the sagacity and ambition of that prelate could, at this time, be no obstruction to her views. He was lying at the point of death, and, in his absence, the influence of the queen's agents on a flexible temper, counterbalanced several of the strongest passions of the human mind, and obtained his consent to a voluntary surrender of the supreme power.

After gaining a point of such difficulty, with so much Dec. 1551. ease, the queen returned into Scotland, in full expect-

ation of taking immediate possession of her new dignity. But, by this time, the archbishop of St. Andrew's had recovered of that distemper, which the ignorance of the Scottish physicians had pronounced to be incurable. This he owed to the assistance of the famous Cardan, one of those irregular adventurers in philosophy, of whom Italy produced so many, about this period. A bold genius led him to some useful discoveries, which merit the esteem of a more discerning age; a wild imagination engaged him in those chimerical sciences, which drew the admiration of his contemporaries. As a pretender to astrology and magic, he was revered and consulted by all Europe; as a proficient in natural philosophy, he was but little known. The archbishop, it is probable, considered him as a powerful magician, when he applied to him for relief; but it was his knowledge as a philosopher, which enabled him to cure his disease<sup>1</sup>.

Together with his health, the archbishop recovered the entire government of the regent, and quickly persuaded him to recall that dishonourable promise, which he had been seduced by the artifices of the queen to grant. However great her surprise and indignation were, at this fresh instance of his inconstancy, she was obliged to dissemble, that she might have leisure to renew her intrigues with all parties; with the protestants, whom she favoured and courted more than ever; with the nobles, to whom she rendered herself agreeable by various arts; and with the regent himself, in order to gain whom, she employed every argument. But, whatever impressions her emissaries might have made on the regent, it was no easy matter to overreach or to

<sup>1</sup> Cardan himself was more desirous of being considered as an astrologer than a philosopher; in his book, *De Genituris*, we find a calculation of the archbishop's nativity, from which he pretends both to have predicted his disease, and to have effected his cure. He received from the archbishop a reward of eighteen hundred crowns, a great sum in that age. *De Vita sua*, p. 32.

intimidate the archbishop. Under his management, the negotiations were spun out to a great length, and his brother maintained his station with that address and firmness, which its importance so well merited. The universal defection of the nobility, the growing power of the protestants, who all adhered to the queen dowager, the reiterated solicitations of the French king, and, above all, the interposition of the young queen, who was now entering the twelfth year of her age, and claimed a right of nominating whom she pleased to be regent<sup>u</sup>, obliged him, at last, to resign that high office, which he had held many years. He obtained, however, <sup>Prevails on the regent to resign his office.</sup> the same advantageous terms for himself, which had been formerly stipulated.

It was in the parliament which met on the tenth of April, one thousand five hundred and fifty-four, that the earl of Arran executed this extraordinary resignation; and, at the same time, Mary of Guise was raised to that dignity, which had been so long the object of her wishes. Thus, with their own approbation, a woman and a stranger was advanced to the supreme authority over a fierce and turbulent people, who seldom submitted, without reluctance, to the legal and ancient government of their native monarchs. <sup>She obtains the regency.</sup>

While the queen dowager of Scotland contributed so much towards the progress of the reformation, by the protection which she afforded it, from motives of ambition; the English queen, by her indiscreet zeal, filled the kingdom with persons active in promoting the same cause. <sup>Reformation continues to make great progress.</sup> Mary ascended the throne of England on the death of her brother, Edward, and soon after married Philip the second of Spain. <sup>July 6, 1553.</sup> To the persecuting spirit of the Romish superstition, and the fierceness of that age, she added the private resentment of her own and of her mother's sufferings, with which she loaded the reformed religion; and the peevishness and

<sup>u</sup> Lealey, de Reb. Gest. Scot. ap. Jebb. i. 187.

severity of her natural temper carried the acrimony of all these passions to the utmost extreme. The cruelty of her persecution equalled the deeds of those tyrants who have been the greatest reproach to human nature. The bigotry of her clergy could scarce keep pace with the impetuosity of her zeal. Even the unrelenting Philip was obliged, on some occasions, to mitigate the rigour of her proceedings. Many among the most eminent reformers suffered for the doctrines which they had taught; others fled from the storm. To the greater part of these, Switzerland and Germany opened a secure asylum; and not a few, out of choice or necessity, fled into Scotland. What they had seen and felt in England, did not abate the warmth and zeal of their indignation against popery. Their attacks were bolder and more successful than ever; and their doctrines made a rapid progress among all ranks of men.

A view of the political causes which contributed towards that.

These doctrines, calculated to rectify the opinions, and to reform the manners of mankind, had hitherto produced no other effects; but they soon began to operate with greater violence, and proved the occasion, not only of subverting the established religion, but of shaking the throne and endangering the kingdom. The causes which facilitated the introduction of these new opinions into Scotland, and which disseminated them so fast through the nation, merit, on that account, a particular and careful inquiry. The reformation is one of the greatest events in the history of mankind, and, in whatever point of light we view it, is instructive and interesting.

The revival of learning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries roused the world from that lethargy, in which it had been sunk for many ages. The human mind felt its own strength, broke the fetters of authority, by which it had been so long restrained, and, venturing to move in a larger sphere, pushed its inquiries into every subject, with great boldness and surprising success.

No sooner did mankind recover the capacity of exer-

cising their reason, than religion was one of the first objects which drew their attention. Long before Luther published his famous Theses, which shook the papal throne, science and philosophy had laid open, to many of the Italians, the imposture and absurdity of the established superstition. That subtle and refined people, satisfied with enjoying those discoveries in secret, were little disposed to assume the dangerous character of reformers, and concluded the knowledge of truth to be the prerogative of the wise, while vulgar minds must be overawed and governed by popular errors. But, animated with a more noble and disinterested zeal, the German theologian boldly erected the standard of truth, and upheld it with an unconquerable intrepidity, which merits the admiration and gratitude of all succeeding ages.

The occasion of Luther's being first disgusted with the tenets of the Romish church, and how, from a small rupture, the quarrel widened into an irreparable breach, is known to every one who has been the least conversant in history. From the heart of Germany his opinions spread, with astonishing rapidity, all over Europe; and, wherever they came, endangered or overturned the ancient, but ill-founded system. The vigilance and address of the court of Rome, cooperating with the power and bigotry of the Austrian family, suppressed these notions, on their first appearance, in the southern kingdoms of Europe. But the fierce spirit of the north, irritated by multiplied impositions, could neither be mollified by the same arts, nor subdued by the same force; and, encouraged by some princes from piety, and by others out of avarice, it easily bore down the feeble opposition of an illiterate and immoral clergy.

The superstition of popery seems to have grown to the most extravagant height in those countries which are situated towards the different extremities of Europe. The vigour of imagination, and sensibility of frame, peculiar to the inhabitants of southern climates, rendered

them susceptible of the deepest impressions of superstitious terrour and credulity. Ignorance and barbarity were no less favourable to the progress of the same spirit among the northern nations. They knew little, and were disposed to believe every thing. The most glaring absurdities did not shock their gross understandings, and the most improbable fictions were received with implicit assent and admiration.

Accordingly, that form of popery which prevailed in Scotland was of the most bigoted and illiberal kind. Those doctrines which are most apt to shock the human understanding, and those legends which farthest exceed belief, were proposed to the people, without any attempt to palliate or disguise them; nor did they ever call in question the reasonableness of the one, or the truth of the other.

The power and wealth of the church kept pace with the progress of superstition; for it is the nature of that spirit to observe no bounds in its respect and liberality towards those whose character it esteems sacred. The Scottish kings early demonstrated how much they were under its influence, by their vast additions to the immunities and riches of the clergy. The profuse piety of David the first, who acquired on that account the name of saint, transferred almost the whole crown lands, which were, at that time, of great extent, into the hands of ecclesiastics. The example of that virtuous prince was imitated by his successors. The spirit spread among all orders of men, who daily loaded the priesthood with new possessions. The riches of the church all over Europe were exorbitant; but Scotland was one of those countries, wherein they had farthest exceeded the just proportion. The Scottish clergy paid one half of every tax imposed on land; and, as there is no reason to think that, in that age, they would be loaded with any unequal share of the burthen, we may conclude that, by the time of the reformation, little less than one half of the national property had fallen into the hands

of a society, which is always acquiring, and can never lose.

The nature, too, of a considerable part of their property extended the influence of the clergy. Many estates, throughout the kingdom, held of the church; church lands were let in lease at an easy rent, and were possessed by the younger sons and descendants of the best families<sup>1</sup>. The connexion between superior and vassal, between landlord and tenant, created dependencies, and gave rise to an union of great advantage to the church; and, in estimating the influence of the popish ecclesiastics over the nation, these, as well as the real amount of their revenues, must be attended to, and taken into the account.

This extraordinary share in the national property was accompanied with proportionable weight in the supreme council of the kingdom. At a time when the number of the temporal peers was extremely small, and when the lesser barons and representatives of boroughs seldom attended parliaments, the ecclesiastics formed a considerable body there. It appears from the ancient rolls of parliament, and from the manner of choosing the lords of articles, that the proceedings of that high court must have been, in a great measure, under their direction<sup>2</sup>.

The reverence due to their sacred character, which was often carried incredibly far, contributed not a little towards the growth of their power. The dignity, the titles, and precedence of the popish clergy, are remarkable, both as causes and effects of that dominion which they had acquired over the rest of mankind. They were regarded by the credulous laity, as beings of a superior species; they were neither subject to the same laws, nor tried by the same judges<sup>3</sup>. Every guard, that

<sup>1</sup> Keith, 521. Note (b).

<sup>2</sup> Spots. Hist. of the Church of Scotland, 449.

<sup>3</sup> How far this claim of the clergy to exemption from lay jurisdiction extended, appears from a remarkable transaction in the parliament held in

religion could supply, was placed around their power, their possessions, and their persons; and endeavours were used, not without success, to represent them all as equally sacred.

The reputation for learning, which, however inconsiderable, was wholly engrossed by the clergy, added to the reverence which they derived from religion. The principles of sound philosophy, and of a just taste, were altogether unknown; in place of these were substituted studies barbarous and un instructive; but as the ecclesiastics alone were conversant in them, this procured them esteem; and a very slender portion of knowledge drew the admiration of rude ages, which knew little. War was the sole profession of the nobles, and hunting their chief amusement; they divided their time between these: unacquainted with the arts, and unimproved by science, they disdained any employment foreign from military affairs, or which required rather penetration and address, than bodily vigour. Wherever the former were necessary, the clergy were intrusted; because they alone were properly qualified for the trust. Almost all the high offices in civil government devolved, on this account, into their hands. The lord chancellor was the first subject in the kingdom, both in dignity and in power. From the earliest ages of the monarchy, to the death of cardinal Beaton, fifty-four persons had held that high office; and of these, forty-three had been ecclesiastics\*. The lords of session were supreme judges in all matters of civil right; and, by its original constitution, the president and one half of the senators in this court were churchmen.

1546. When that court was proceeding to the forfeiture of the murderers of cardinal Beaton, and were about to include a priest, who was one of the assassins, in the general sentence of condemnation: odious as the crime was to ecclesiastics, a delegate appeared in name of the clerical courts, and 'repledged' or claimed exemption of him from the judgment of parliament, 'as a spiritual man.' This claim was sustained; and his name is not inserted in the act of forfeiture. *Epist. Reg. Scot. ii. 350. 361.*

\* *Crawf. Offic. of State.*



To all this we may add, that the clergy being separated from the rest of mankind by the law of celibacy, and undistracted by those cares, and unincumbered with those burthens, which occupy and oppress other men, the interest of their order became their only object, and they were at full leisure to pursue it.

The nature of their function gave them access to all persons, and at all seasons. They could employ all the motives of fear and of hope, of terrour and of consolation, which operate most powerfully on the human mind. They haunted the weak and the credulous; they besieged the beds of the sick and of the dying; they suffered few to go out of the world, without leaving marks of their liberality to the church, and taught them to compound with the Almighty for their sins, by bestowing riches upon those who called themselves his servants.

When their own industry, or the superstition of mankind, failed of producing this effect, the ecclesiastics had influence enough to call in the aid of law. When a person died 'intestate,' the disposal of his effects was vested in the bishop of the diocese, after paying his funeral charges and debts, and distributing among his kindred the sums to which they were respectively entitled; it being presumed that no christian would have chosen to leave the world, without destining some part of his substance to pious uses<sup>b</sup>. As men are apt to trust to the continuance of life with a fond confidence, and childishly shun every thing that forces them to think of their mortality, many die without settling their affairs by will; and the right of administration, in that event, acquired by the clergy, must have proved a considerable source both of wealth and of power to the church.

At the same time, no matrimonial or testamentary cause could be tried but in the spiritual courts, and by laws which the clergy themselves had framed. The

<sup>b</sup> *Essays on Brit. Antiq.* 174. *Annals of Scotland*, by sir David Dalrymple, vol. i. Append. No. ii.

penalty, too, by which the decisions of these courts were enforced, added to their authority. A sentence of excommunication was no less formidable than a sentence of outlawry. It was pronounced on many occasions, and against various crimes; and, besides excluding those, upon whom it fell, from christian privileges, it deprived them of all their rights, as men, or as citizens; and the aid of the secular power concurred with the superstition of mankind, in rendering the thunders of the church no less destructive than terrible.

To these general causes may be attributed the immense growth both of the wealth and power of the popish church; and, without entering into any more minute detail, this may serve to discover the foundations on which a structure so stupendous was erected.

But though the laity had contributed, by their own superstition and profuseness, to raise the clergy from poverty and obscurity to riches and eminence, they began, by degrees, to feel and to murmur at their encroachments. No wonder haughty and martial barons should view the power and possessions of the church with envy; and regard the lazy and inactive character of churchmen with the utmost contempt; while, at the same time, the indecent and licentious lives of the clergy gave great and just offence to the people, and considerably abated the veneration which they were accustomed to yield to that order of men.

Immense wealth, extreme indolence, gross ignorance, and, above all, the severe injunction of celibacy, had concurred to introduce this corruption of morals among many of the clergy, who, presuming too much upon the submission of the people, were at no pains either to conceal or to disguise their own vices. According to the accounts of the reformers, confirmed by several popish writers, the most open and scandalous dissoluteness of manners prevailed among the Scottish clergy<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Winzet. ap. Keith, Append. 202. 205. Lealey de Reb. Gest. Scot. 232.

Cardinal Beatoun, with the same public pomp which is due to a legitimate child, celebrated the marriage of his natural daughter with the earl of Crawford's son<sup>d</sup>; and, if we may believe Knox, he publicly continued to the end of his days a criminal correspondence with her mother, who was a woman of rank. The other prelates seem not to have been more regular and exemplary than their primate<sup>e</sup>.

Men of such characters ought, in reason, to have been alarmed at the first clamours raised against their own morals, and the doctrines of the church, by the protestant preachers; but the popish ecclesiastics, either out of pride or ignorance, neglected the proper methods for silencing them. Instead of reforming their lives, or disguising their vices, they affected to despise the censures of the people. While the reformers, by their mortifications and austerities, endeavoured to resemble the first propagators of christianity, the popish clergy were compared to all those persons who are most infamous in history, for the enormity and scandal of their crimes.

On the other hand, instead of mitigating the rigour, or colouring over the absurdity, of the established doctrines; instead of attempting to found them upon scripture, or to reconcile them to reason; they left them, without any other support or recommendation, than the authority of the church, and the decrees of councils.

<sup>d</sup> The marriage articles, subscribed with his own hand, in which he calls her 'my daughter,' are still extant. Keith, p. 42.

<sup>e</sup> A remarkable proof of the dissolute manners of the clergy is found in the public records. A greater number of letters of 'legitimation' was granted during the first thirty years after the reformation, than during the whole period that has elapsed since that time. These were obtained by the sons of the popish clergy. The ecclesiastics, who were allowed to retain their benefices, alienated them to their children; who, when they acquired wealth, were desirous that the stain of illegitimacy might no longer remain upon their families. In Keith's catalogue of the Scottish bishops, we find several instances of such alienations of church lands, by the popish incumbents to their natural children.

The fables concerning purgatory, the virtues of pilgrimage, and the merits of the saints, were the topics on which they insisted, in their discourses to the people; and the duty of preaching being left wholly to monks of the lowest and most illiterate orders, their compositions were still more wretched and contemptible, than the subjects on which they insisted. While the reformers were attended by crowded and admiring audiences, the popish preachers were either universally deserted, or listened to with scorn.

The only device, which they employed, in order to recover their declining reputation, or to confirm the wavering faith of the people, was equally imprudent and unsuccessful. As many doctrines of their church had derived their credit, at first, from the authority of false miracles, they now endeavoured to call in these to their aid<sup>f</sup>. But such lying wonders, as were beheld with unsuspecting admiration, or heard with implicit faith, in times of darkness and of ignorance, met with a very different reception in a more enlightened period. The vigilance of the reformers detected these impostures, and exposed not only them, but the cause which needed the aid of such artifices, to ridicule.

As the popish ecclesiastics became more and more the objects of hatred and of contempt, the discourses of the reformers were listened to as so many calls to liberty; and, besides the pious indignation which they excited against those corrupt doctrines which had perverted the nature of true christianity; besides the zeal which they inspired for the knowledge of truth and the purity of religion; they gave rise also, among the Scottish nobles, to other views and passions. They hoped to shake off the yoke of ecclesiastical dominion, which they had long felt to be oppressive, and which they now discovered to be unchristian. They expected to recover possession of the church revenues, which they

<sup>f</sup> Spotswood, 69.

were now taught to consider as alienations made by their ancestors, with a profusion no less undiscerning than unbounded. They flattered themselves, that a check would be given to the pride and luxury of the clergy, who would be obliged, henceforward, to confine themselves within the sphere peculiar to their sacred character. An aversion from the established church, which flowed from so many concurring causes, which was raised by considerations of religion, heightened by motives of policy, and instigated by prospects of private advantage, spread fast through the nation, and excited a spirit, that burst out, at last, with irresistible violence.

Religious considerations alone were sufficient to have roused this spirit. The points in controversy with the church of Rome were of so much importance to the happiness of mankind, and so essential to christianity, that they merited all the zeal with which the reformers contended in order to establish them. But the reformation having been represented, as the effect of some wild and enthusiastic phrensy in the human mind, this attempt to account for the eagerness and zeal, with which our ancestors embraced, and propagated the protestant doctrines, by taking a view of the political motives alone which influenced them, and by showing how naturally these prompted them to act with so much ardour, will not, perhaps, be deemed an unnecessary digression. We now return to the course of the history.

The queen's elevation to the office of regent seems to have transported her, at first, beyond the known prudence and moderation of her character. She began

her administration by conferring upon foreigners several offices of trust and of dignity; a step which, both from the inability of strangers to discharge these offices with propriety, and from the envy which their preference excites among the natives, is never attended with good consequences. Vilmort was made comptroller, and intrusted with the management of the public revenues; Bonot was appointed governor of Orkney;

1554.

The queen regent begins her administration with some unpopular measures.

1554. and Rubay honoured with the custody of the great seal, and the title of vicechancellor<sup>a</sup>. It was with the highest indignation, that the Scots beheld offices of the greatest eminence and authority dealt out among strangers<sup>b</sup>. By these promotions they conceived the queen to have offered an insult both to their understandings and to their courage; to the former, by supposing them unfit for those stations, which their ancestors had filled with so much dignity; to the latter, by imagining that they were tame enough not to complain of an affront, which, in no former age, would have been tolerated with impunity.

While their minds were in this disposition, an incident happened which inflamed their aversion from French councils to the highest degree. Ever since the famous contest between the houses of Valois and Plantagenet, the French had been accustomed to embarrass the English, and to divide their strength by the sudden and formidable incursions of their allies, the Scots. But, as these inroads were seldom attended with any real advantage to Scotland, and exposed it to the dangerous resentment of a powerful neighbour, the Scots began to grow less tractable than formerly, and scrupled any longer to serve an ambitious ally, at the price of their own quiet and security. The change, too, which was daily introducing in the art of war, rendered the assistance of the Scottish forces of less importance to the French monarch. For these reasons, Henry having resolved upon a war with Philip the second, and foreseeing that the queen of England would take part in her husband's quarrel, was extremely solicitous to secure in Scotland the assistance of some troops, which would be more at his command than an undisciplined army, led by chieftains who were almost independent.

<sup>a</sup> Lesley, de Reb. Gest. Scot. 189.

<sup>b</sup> The resentment of the nation against the French rose to such an height, that an act of parliament was passed on purpose to restrain or moderate it. Parl. 6. Q. Mary, c. 60.

In prosecution of this design, but under pretence of relieving the nobles from the expense and danger of defending the borders, the queen regent proposed, in parliament, to register the value of lands throughout the kingdom, to impose on them a small tax, and to apply that revenue towards maintaining a body of regular troops in constant pay. A fixed tax upon land, which the growing expense of government hath introduced into almost every part of Europe, was unknown at that time, and seemed altogether inconsistent with the genius of feudal policy. Nothing could be more shocking to a generous and brave nobility, than the intrusting to mercenary hands the defence of those territories which had been acquired, or preserved, by the blood of their ancestors. They received this proposal with the utmost dissatisfaction. About three hundred of the lesser barons repaired in a body to the queen regent, and represented their sense of the intended innovation, with that manly and determined boldness which is natural to a free people in a martial age. Alarmed at a remonstrance, delivered in so firm a tone, and supported by such formidable numbers, the queen prudently abandoned a scheme, which she found to be universally odious. As the queen herself was known perfectly to understand the circumstances and temper of the nation, this measure was imputed wholly to the suggestions of her foreign counsellors; and the Scots were ready to proceed to the most violent extremities against them.

The French, instead of extinguishing, added fuel to the flame. They had now commenced hostilities against Spain; and Philip had prevailed on the queen of England to reinforce his army with a considerable body of her troops. In order to deprive him of this aid, Henry had recourse, as he projected, to the Scots; and attempted to excite them to invade England. But, as Scotland had nothing to dread from a princess of Mary's character, who, far from any ambitious scheme of dis-

1554.

1555.

Attempts to engage the kingdom in a war with England.

1555. turbing her neighbours, was wholly occupied in endeavouring to reclaim her heretical subjects; the nobles, who were assembled by the queen regent at Newbattle, listened to the solicitations of the French monarch with extreme coldness, and prudently declined engaging the kingdom in an enterprise so dangerous and unnecessary. What she could not obtain by persuasion, the queen regent brought about by a stratagem. Notwithstanding the peace which subsisted between the two kingdoms, she commanded her French soldiers to rebuild a small fort near Berwick, which was appointed, by the last treaty, to be razed. The garrison of Berwick sallied out; interrupted the work; and ravaged the adjacent country. This insult roused the fiery spirit of the Scots, and their promptness to revenge the least appearance of national injury dissipated, in a moment, the wise and pacific resolutions which they had so lately formed. War was determined, and orders instantly given for raising a numerous army. But, before their forces could assemble, the ardour of their indignation had time to cool; and the English having discovered no intention to push the war with vigour, the nobles resumed their pacific system, and resolved to stand altogether upon the defensive. They marched to the banks of the Tweed, they prevented the incursions of the enemy; and having done what they thought sufficient for the safety and honour of their country, the queen could not induce them, either by her entreaties or her artifices, to advance another step.
- 1556.

While the Scots persisted in their inactivity, d'Oysel, the commander of the French troops, who possessed entirely the confidence of the queen regent, endeavoured, with her connivance, to engage the two nations in hostilities. Contrary to the orders of the Scottish general, he marched over the Tweed with his own soldiers, and invested Werk castle, a garrison of the English. The Scots, instead of seconding his attempt, were enraged at his presumption. The queen's partiality



towards France had long been suspected; but it was now visible, that she wantonly sacrificed the peace and safety of Scotland to the interest of that ambitious and assuming ally. Under the feudal governments, it was in camps that subjects were accustomed to address the boldest remonstrances to their sovereigns. While arms were in their hands, they felt their own strength; and, at that time, all their representations of grievances carried the authority of commands. On this occasion, the resentment of the nobles broke out with such violence, that the queen, perceiving all attempts to engage them in action to be vain, abruptly dismissed her army, and retired with the utmost shame and disgust; having discovered the impotence of her own authority, without effecting any thing which could be of advantage to France<sup>1</sup>.

1556.

It is observable, that this first instance of contempt for the regent's authority can, in no degree, be imputed to the influence of the new opinions in religion. As the queen's pretensions to the regency had been principally supported by those who favoured the reformation, and as she still needed them for a counterpoize to the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and the partizans of the house of Hamilton; she continued to treat them with great respect, and admitted them to no inconsiderable share in her favour and confidence. Kirkaldy of Grange, and the other surviving conspirators against cardinal Beatoun, were, about this time, recalled by her from banishment; and, through her connivance, the protestant preachers enjoyed an interval of tranquillity, which was of great advantage to their cause. Soothed by these instances of the queen's moderation and humanity, the protestants left to others the office of remonstrating; and the leaders of the opposite faction set them the first example of disputing the will of their sovereign.

<sup>1</sup> Strype's Memor. iii. Append. 274. Lealey, 196.