

1365-1390. went on till 1365, when a truce for four years was agreed to. Edward and David latterly devised schemes for payment by another process,—the transfer of the crown at David's death to an English prince. At the parliament of Scone David proposed that Lionel, duke of Clarence, should be recognized as his heir; but the estates replied with one voice that no Englishman should rule Scotland, and renewed the settlement of the succession by Bruce on Robert the Steward. Hatred of foreign aggression and the weakness of the king enabled the Scottish barons to play a part similar to that taken by the nobles of England in the reigns of John and Henry III., and obtain guarantees for the constitution by limiting the monarchy. Such was probably the origin of the committees of parliament (at a later date turned to an opposite use) for legislation and for judicial business which first appear in 1367,—the statutes for the more regular administration of justice, purity of the coinage, and the revocation of the grants of royal revenues and estates. It was expressly declared that no attention was to be paid to the royal mandate when contrary to law. About this period David entered into a secret agreement with Edward, promising in return for a remission of the ransom to settle the crown on him failing heirs of his own body, but the public negotiations for its payment went on. In the same year his marriage with his second wife, Margaret Logie, a daughter of Drummond, a lesser baron, led to a revolt. He quelled it and threw the steward and at least one of his sons into prison, making lavish grants to Margaret and her relatives. Her influence did not last long, as she was supplanted in the king's favour by Agnes of Dunbar. Margaret was divorced by the Scottish bishops, for what cause is not known, and, though her appeal to the pope succeeded, David did not survive the decision. He died on 21st February 1370, childless, and the succession opened to Robert, son of Bruce's daughter Marjory, the first of the Stuarts who were to govern Scotland for the next two centuries.

6. *House of Stuart from Robert II. to James IV.*—The descent of the house of Stuart is traced from Walter Fitz-Alan, a Norman, steward of David I. His estates were in Renfrew, to which Alexander, the fourth steward, added Bute by marriage. Walter, the sixth steward, was scarcely one of the chief nobles; but his prowess in the War of Independence gained him the hand of the daughter of Bruce. Robert II. was their only son. Such was the prosperous record of the family before it ascended the throne. Its subsequent history presents a series of tragedies of which that of Mary Stuart is only one, though the most famous. While the fate of kings excites the imagination, history must trace the growth of the nation and the slow changes which transformed the bulk of the Scottish people from loyal subjects to bitter enemies of their native kings and its kings from patriots to tyrants.

Robert II. (1370-90), already fifty-four, continued rather than commenced his government on the death of David II., for he had been twice regent during David's exile and captivity. He did not ascend the throne without opposition, but the memory of Bruce was too fresh to admit of his settlement being put aside. The earl of Douglas, whose great estates on the border made him more formidable as a competitor than his claim by descent from a daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon, was conciliated by the marriage of the king's daughter Isabella to his son and by his own appointment as justiciar south of the Forth and warden of the eastern marches. This impediment removed, the coronation proceeded, and it was followed by a public declaration of the settlement of the crown on Robert's son John, earl of Carrick, at his father's death. A still more explicit settlement was made two years afterwards on the

king's sons by his first marriage with Elizabeth More,—John earl of Carrick, Robert earl of Fife, and Alexander lord of Badenoch; and failing them on those of his second with Euphemia Ross,—David earl of Strathearn and Walter his brother. A question as to the legitimacy of the children by Elizabeth More rendered this declaration necessary. The first fourteen years of Robert's reign passed with scarcely anything worthy of record. The king, whose portrait is drawn by Froissart as a man "not valiant, with red bleared eyes, who would rather lie still than ride," left the cares of government to his sons, especially the second. England, after the death of Edward III. (1377), was occupied with the necessary arrangements for a new reign and with the rising of Wat Tyler (1381). The absence of any movement in Scotland similar to this or the French Jacquerie perhaps indicates a better relation between the peasantry and the upper classes; but a third estate of the commons was as yet unknown in Scotland. John of Gaunt, who had invaded Scotland the year before, now took refuge there and was hospitably received in Edinburgh till the young Richard II., by putting down the rising, made it safe for him to return. This visit led to the first entrance into the northern kingdom of the principles of Wickliffe and the Lollards, whom Gaunt favoured. The French, still anxious to incite the Scots to attack England, sent a small party of free lances, who landed at Montrose and were allowed to make a raid on their own account. They were followed by John de Vienne with 1000 men-at-arms and many followers.¹ The licence of the French knights did not promote good feeling; but the interest of the two countries prevented a rupture. After the French left the Scots made another raid into Northumberland, in retaliation for an expedition in which Richard II. wasted the Lothians. Three years later, under the earl of Douglas, they attacked Newcastle, but were repulsed by Henry Percy, who, true to his name of Hotspur, in order to recover his pennon, pursued them to near Redesdale, about 20 miles from their own border, and fought the battle of Otterburn (1388). Douglas himself fell, but the victory went to the dead man, for young Percy and his brother were taken captive, and the bishop of Durham would not venture to intercept the retreat of the Scots. In 1388, Robert's inactivity increasing and his son the earl of Carrick being disabled by a kick from a horse, the earl of Fife was chosen regent by the estates, under condition of annually accounting to them for his administration. In April 1390 his father died. His prosperous reign rather than any personal quality except an easy disposition gained Robert the praise of Wyntoun, who, writing under his son, prays God to give him grace

"To govern and uphold the land
In na war state nor he it fand,
For quhen his fadyr erdyt was
Of Scotland was na part of land,
Out of Scottys mennys hand,
Outwith Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh

This prayer was only partially fulfilled. The English did not acquire more of Scotland, but the border war was not so successful, and the royal house was the scene of tragic events which threatened to change the order of succession.

Robert III. (1390-1406)—for under that name the earl of Carrick was crowned to avoid the hated name of John,

¹ Froissart gives a vivid account of the poverty of the country and the rudeness of its people. "The people set little upon the distinction of their houses and said shortly how with three or four poles they would make them again. Edinburgh, though the king kept there his chief residence and it is Paris in Scotland, is not like Tournay or Valenciennes, for in all the town there are not 4000 houses." The men Vienne brought with him had to be lodged in Dunfermline, Kelso, Dalkeith, Dunbar. On his return he was asked by the young king Charles VI. how he fared; he said he had rather be count of Savoy or Artois than king of Scotland.

—was even less active than his father. He is briefly but truly described by an historian as a good man but not a good king. He scarcely reigned, for the regency of his brother continued after his accession till it was succeeded for a few years by that of Robert's son, on whose death the earl of Fife again became regent. There was a truce with England for nine years, during which the irresistible love of fighting had to satisfy itself within Scotland. The king's younger brother, Alexander, called the Wolf of Badenoch, who had been created earl of Buchan, quarrelled with the bishop of Elgin and burnt his cathedral. The Wolf and his sons were constantly engaged in private wars. The earl died in 1394, but his son Alexander continued to defy the law, which the Government was too weak to enforce in the northern Highlands. Policy was used to suppress the violence of the clans. Such seems the explanation of the combat between thirty of the Clan Kay and as many of the Clan Chattan before the king on the North Inch of Perth, which ended in the slaughter of nearly all the combatants on both sides. In the council or parliament of 1398 a change was made in the Government due to the general distrust of Fife and the rising spirit of the earl of Carrick, the king's eldest son. The form of it was a compromise. The young prince was made lieutenant for three years, but with the advice of a council, of whom his uncle Fife was one; they were created dukes of Rothesay and Albany respectively, the first of that title in Scotland. Other acts of this council were designed to restrain the monarchy by constitutional laws. Parliament was to meet annually. The king, if accused of misgovernment or breach of law, might, "to excuse his defaults," arraign his officers before the council. No one was to ride through the country with more followers than he could pay for. The grant of £11,000 for the common weal and profit of the kingdom by the three estates—barons, clergy, and burghs—was made under protest that it was not to be a precedent, and the burghs stipulated that in future they were not to pay more than under Robert II. In the following year the revolution took place in England which led to the deposition and death of Richard II. and the accession of Henry IV. An impostor who had assumed the name of Richard took refuge in the Hebrides and was received at the Scottish court. The expedition of Henry to Scotland (1400), partly due to this, was also prompted by the desire to distinguish a new reign and by the invitation of the earl of March, indignant at the preference given to the daughter of Douglas over his own as wife for Rothesay. Reviving the old claim of feudal superiority, which was now supported by the forged charters of Hardyng as well as the fictions of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Henry cited Robert to do homage at Newcastle, and, on his failing to appear, marched to Edinburgh. Rothesay successfully defended the capital, and Henry was suddenly recalled by the rising of Owen Glendower and the Percies. Next year (1401) occurred the death of Rothesay by starvation at Falkland, where he had been committed by his father at Albany's instance on account of his bad government and dissolute conduct. The declaration of the council at Edinburgh, which acquitted Albany of all concern in the death, was enough for the moment, but in after times, like Bothwell's acquittal, a corroboration of guilt. The last years of Robert were clouded by private and public misfortune. His queen, Annabella Drummond, his son-in-law, the earl of Douglas, and Trail, bishop of St Andrews, one of the wisest of his council, died within a short interval. The son of Douglas, though brave, was unequal to the task of holding the border against the Percies and the earl of March, and so constantly lost battles that he was called Archibald Tyne-man. The Scots were signally defeated at Nisbet Muir

(14th September 1402) in Merse and at Homildon Hill near Wooler by Percy, where the slain and prisoners equalled the number at Otterburn. Nor could order be maintained within Scotland itself, of which the forcible marriage of the countess of Mar by Alexander, a bastard of the Wolf of Badenoch, was an example. Afraid of Albany, and warned by the fate of Rothesay, Robert sent his remaining son James to France (1405); but the ship in which he sailed was taken by an English cruiser, and the future king was a prisoner in England for nineteen years. This last blow broke the weak heart of Robert, who died at Dundonald and was buried at Paisley. Though his reign was inglorious, the tradition of the War of Independence still warmed the heart of the nation and produced the earliest writers in Scottish literature,—Barbour, Fordun, and Wyntoun. The *Bruce* of Barbour became the national epic.

The year after Robert's death the first martyr in Scotland, James Resby, an English priest, was burnt at Perth by Albany, who is described by Wyntoun as "a constant Catholic." Resby was condemned at the instance of Laurence of Lindores, called the Inquisitor of Scotland, for forty theses from the books of Wickliffe. The Lollard doctrines continued to be secretly held by a small sect, chiefly in the west. Knox traces the descent of the first Scottish Reformers—the Lollards of Kyle—from Wickliffe and Hus. This religious movement was destined to exercise a profound influence on the history of Scotland. The time when the church was a civilizing and purifying power was passing away. Its enormous wealth, a contrast to its early poverty, its developed so different from its primitive doctrine, celibacy, and the confessional in a lax society, that was no longer moved by the fervour of a new faith, produced a corruption which forced itself on minds of a reforming tendency. Catholicism allowed no place for individual reformers, and their protests, often carried to extremes, were deemed attacks upon the church itself, which became (unwillingly on the part of its best friends) the defender of its worst abuses. From first to last in Scotland the movement was popular, though not at first democratic. It did not at all or only to a slight extent change through political causes as in England.

Though he was a captive, the right of James I. (1406-37), James on his father's death was at once acknowledged by a general council held at Perth; but the appointment of Albany as governor boded ill for his return. He held the office of Albany thirteen years, administering it till his death so as to conciliate all classes and pave the way to his own accession to the throne, which would have been his by right had the young king died. The recovery of Jedburgh (1408), long in the hands of the English, gave the regent an easy opportunity of popularity. It was decided by a general council that its walls should be razed and the expense defrayed by a poll tax, but Albany refused to burden the people and paid it out of the royal customs. Next year Albany and Douglas (now released from captivity in England) entered into a bond of alliance. With the earls of March and Mar and others similar engagements were made; but Douglas, who had acquired the lands of March, which, however, were now restored, had to be conciliated by a grant of Lochmaben and Annandale, the patrimony of the Bruces. The more independent nobles of the north could not be so easily gained, and Donald, lord of the Isles, disappointed in a claim to the earldom of Ross, invaded Aberdeenshire with a great host, whose defeat by the earl of Mar at Harlaw (17th May 1412)—the Otterburn of northern ballads—was followed by the capture of Dingwall, his chief castle on the mainland, and his final defeat at Lochgilphead.

The first Scottish university—St Andrews—was founded by bulls granted a year later at the instance of James and

Bishop Wardlaw, who had been his tutor. The higher education had already been to some extent supplied by cathedral and monastic schools; but Scots who sought a complete curriculum had to resort to Oxford or Paris. One of their number, Major, expresses his wonder that the Scottish prelates had not earlier thought of a national university. That now founded was destined to play an important part in promoting the Reformation and along with the later universities in civilizing Scotland.

Little of note occurred during the remaining years of Albany's regency. His futile siege of Roxburgh (1415), soon abandoned, got the name of the Fool's Raid. Greater credit attended the Scottish arms in France, where the earls of Douglas, Buchan, and Wigtown won battles for the French king, and lands and honour for themselves; but the defeats of Crevant and Verneuil effaced the honours of Beaugé (in Anjou), and, though the remnant of the Scots remained as the king's bodyguard, no considerable number of troops from Scotland afterwards went to France. Albany died at Stirling in his eightieth year (3d September 1419). His son Murdoch assumed the regency as if hereditary; but, himself indolent and with lawless sons, he did not retain the influence of his father. In 1423 ambassadors sent by the Scottish parliament to England at last arranged terms for the return of James from his long exile (12th May 1423).

Exile had its uses, and, except at the beginning and again after the accession of Henry V., his captivity had not been rigorous. Sir John Pelham was his governor, and he was instructed in Latin grammar, oratory, and poetry, as well as in bodily exercises,—wrestling and the use of the spear. Though distinguished for physical strength, his bent was to the Muses, and he became proficient in dancing, music, and poetry. Buchanan blames this taste as carried beyond what became a king, but nothing in his after life showed he was ever led by amusements to neglect graver studies. When thirty he was taken by Henry V. to France with the view of detaching the Scottish allies of the dauphin, but refused to be made a tool of, saying he had as yet no kingdom and they owed him no allegiance. He proved his soldierly spirit by the capture of Dreux. On his return to England he married (11th February 1423) Johanna Beaufort, daughter of the earl of Somerset and grand-daughter of John of Gaunt. In the *Kingis Quhair* he describes his love at first sight in the language of his master Chaucer, but with original genius. The marriage facilitated his release, which was negotiated for a sum of 60,000 marks. He confirmed the treaty at Melrose and was crowned with his bride at Scone (21st May 1423) by Wardlaw.—Albany, as earl of Fife, placing him on the throne.

He lost no time in addressing himself to the task of restoring the royal authority and the obedience to the law which the long regency had weakened. From this time dates the conflict between the king and the nobles,—the latter not maintaining, as in England, constitutional rights, but contending for exorbitant privileges. The experiment of government without a king had been tried too long not to make those who had exercised unrestrained power desire its continuance. The nature of the country—divided by rivers, mountains, and arms of the sea—the absence of great cities and the number of strong castles, the close connexion of the principal nobles by marriage and bonds of alliance, the large jurisdiction within their territories, the clanship not only in the Highlands and on the borders but in some measure throughout the whole country, which made fidelity to the chief a natural duty, strengthened the aristocracy and weakened the crown. The sovereign had to rely on the people and the clergy, on foreign alliances, on the influence due, partly to the virtues of his predecessors, partly

to the magic which in that age encircled the name of king. The first parliament of James at Perth passed quietly, but with indications of a policy long meditated and now to be put into operation. One Act forbade private war; another imposed the penalty of forfeiture of life and goods for rebellion; and a third directed an inquest by the sheriff what lands "pertain to the king or has pertained" in the time of the last three kings and in whose hands they now are. The choice of the privy council was significant. It was headed by Lauder, bishop of Glasgow, who had negotiated the king's release, but none of the greater nobles were included. In their stead appear an unusual number of minor gentry, some holding high offices. The parliament held at Perth in the following year was the scene of a *coup d'état* (12th March). Albany, his younger son Alexander, Alan of Otterburn his secretary, and Sir John Montgomery were seized on one day, and immediately after Isabella, Albany's wife, whose father, the earl of Lennox, had already been arrested. The only one of Albany's kin still at large, his youngest son James, made a short resistance, burnt Dumbarton, and slew the Red Stuart of Dundonald, the king's uncle, but, being hotly pursued, fled to Ireland. Parliament, at an adjourned sitting at Stirling, proceeded to the trial of Albany and his adherents, which was held with feudal solemnity before an assize. Albany, his two sons, and Lennox were condemned and executed on the Heading Hill. Clemency was shown to those who had not been his intimate supporters. Historians are divided as to the policy or necessity for such severity. But it secured its immediate object; it was felt that Scotland had again a king to defend his rights. James for twelve years carried out, not without murmurs, but without successful opposition, his projects of reform.

Foreign states recognized his power. At the request of the Flemish estates Middelburg was restored as the market for Scottish trade; in return the privileges of the Scots were guaranteed and Flemish merchants undertook to raise part of James's ransom. Flemish artisans and manufacturers settled in Scotland. More than one embassy passed to and from Rome with regard to the affairs of the Scottish Church, which James, while strictly repressing heresy (a Bohemian doctor, Crawar, being burnt as a disciple of Hus), showed his intention of reforming. The new pope Martin V. had put an end to the schism. The bitter enemy of the English king on account of the regulations which culminated in the Statute of Præmunire, he welcomed James's advances. James, while showing his attachment to the church by founding a Carthusian monastery at Perth and a Franciscan in Edinburgh, asserted his right to remedy abuses of the ecclesiastical courts, and addressed a letter to the Benedictine and Augustinian monks reproaching them for laxity. To Erik of Norway he sent an embassy and obtained a commutation of the arrears due for the Hebrides under the treaty of Largs. A marriage between the dauphin and Margaret, his infant daughter, previously arranged, was celebrated shortly before his death. He thus established friendly relations with the Continent, and, though his position as regards England could not be the same, the truce was only twice broken towards the end of his reign—by a raid of the English, who were defeated at Peferden (1425) by the earl of Angus, and his own attempt to recover Roxburgh. During the fourteen years of his actual reign James held thirteen parliaments, proving his desire to obtain the support of the nation in his reforms. In 1426 he introduced the session, a royal court for civil causes sitting in the principal towns, to provide the justice too often denied in the baronial courts. Next year he summoned a parliament to Inverness—an unusual

place of meeting—for the purpose of restoring the peace of the Highlands. Its records are lost; but the chief event was the seizure of Alexander, earl of Ross, lord of the Isles, and his mother, along with as many as forty chiefs. Two were beheaded and a third hanged, but most of them, including the lord of the Isles, after a short imprisonment, were released. Ross at once raised the standard of rebellion and burnt Inverness, but was defeated by James at Lochaber, where the clans Chattan and Cameron deserted to the royal side. On the Sunday following the former killed in a church the whole of the latter clan who were present. Another internecine conflict took place in Caithness seven years afterwards. Such private feuds, traditional amongst the Celts, were one cause of the success of James and of the ultimate subjugation of the Highlands. So completely was the power of the lord of the Isles broken that he came as a suppliant and placed his sword in the king's hands at Holyrood. His life was spared, but he was confined to Tantallon castle. In a parliament held later in the same year at Perth an Act was passed for the representation of the shires and the election of a speaker; but this imitation of the English House of Commons was not acted on. The Scottish parliament continued to sit in one chamber of lords, clergy, and commons, and it was only in the reign of James V. that representation of the shires was admitted. The following parliament (1428) provided that an oath of fealty should be taken to the queen by all persons succeeding to lands or dignities, which shows that James knew the danger of his policy. In 1429 an Act was passed for the protection of the tillers of the ground, who were not to be removed for a year, and provision was made for arming all landowners and burgesses. The birth of twins—Alexander, who died young, and James, afterwards king—strengthened the king's position by interposing two lives besides his own against any attempt at revolution. Two years later Donald Balloch, a kinsman of the lord of the Isles, renewed the rebellion; but, though he defeated Mar and Caithness, on the approach of James himself he fled to Ireland.

In 1434 the king applied the statute of his first parliament as to the resumption of lands to which no sufficient title could be shown. The estates of the earl of March were forfeited on the ground that Albany had exceeded his power in restoring them. He was created earl of Buchan with the intention no doubt of removing him from the border and conciliating him for his loss. The death in 1435 of Alexander Stuart, earl of Mar, led to the lapse of that earldom to the crown on account of his bastardy, and the following year the earldom of Strathearn was resumed on the ground that it was a male fee and did not pass to the wife of Patrick Graham, the heir-female. It was bestowed in life-rent on the king's uncle, the earl of Athole, and Malise, the son of Patrick Graham, was made earl of Menteith. This assertion of right on the part of the king to deal with the estates of the nobles though fortified by legal documents and recognized possession was certain to make enemies. It is more surprising that James so long succeeded in maintaining his authority than that he at last perished for doing so; but he had the people on his side. In the summer of 1436 he was obliged to relinquish the siege of Roxburgh owing to the barons' refusal of support. In October when the forfeiture of Strathearn was made in a parliament at Edinburgh, Sir Robert Graham, uncle and tutor of the young heir Malise, denounced the king in the boldest terms and urged the barons to seize his person; but, failing, he was banished from the court. As in other cases, this leniency was not required. In his Highland retreat Graham formed a conspiracy with Athole, the king's uncle, who aimed at the crown, and Sir Robert Stuart, Athole's grandson. James

was to spend Christmas at Perth. Before he crossed the Forth he was warned by an old Highland woman that if he passed he would never return. She tried unsuccessfully to get access to him again at the Dominican monastery at Perth, where he lodged. At midnight, when he was half undressed, Graham with 300 men surrounded the monastery. Their approach was heard; but it was found that the bolts had been removed by treachery. James was hastily concealed in a vault underneath the room. Before the conspirators entered a brave attempt was made by Catherine Douglas, one of the queen's maids, to bar the door with her arm, but the fragile obstacle broke and Graham burst in. The fall of another of the maids into the vault discovered the king, who fought fiercely for his life. The queen was wounded in trying to save him, fulfilling an unconscious prophecy of the *Kingis Quhair*. At last, after killing two of his assailants, he fell, overcome by numbers (February 1437). Vengeance speedily overtook the murderers, who had made no provision to follow up their deed. Within a month they were all executed in a manner exceeding even the barbarous usages of the time. James was buried in the Carthusian monastery, where his doublet was long kept as a relic and seen by the people with veneration. Such was the sad fate of the best of the Stuarts;—a king in advance of his age and too rapid in his reforms.

James II. (1437-60), an infant of six, called "Fiery-face", from a red stain on one cheek, was crowned at Holyrood five weeks after his father's death, and there commenced one of the long minorities which the early deaths of the Stuart kings made common, and during which history is chiefly occupied with the contest for the person of the king. These have been truly represented as weakening the royal authority. The possession of power rendered the nobles impatient of restraint and accustomed to licence; but they had also a reverse effect. When the monarch succeeded he was received with favour by the people as a deliverer from the oppression of the barons, too often petty tyrants. A rule of law allowing him to revoke grants in his minority was often used with great effect. On the whole, monarchy, in spite of the weakness and vices of the kings, was popular in Scotland until the Reformation and the fatal chain of events in which Mary was involved introduced a democratic tendency, which grew under the bad government of her successors. The nobles, though their word was law with their kinsmen and retainers, were seldom favourites of the people. Archibald, fourth earl of Douglas, the greatest of the Scottish nobility and duke of Touraine in France, was lieutenant-general of the kingdom from James's accession till his own death the year after; but Sir William Crichton, master of the household of James I., who was keeper of the castle of Edinburgh, where the young king was detained, appears to have exercised the chief power. Shortly after the death of Douglas James's mother carried off her son, on the pretext of a pilgrimage, to Stirling, of which Sir Alexander Livingstone of Callander was governor. Livingstone laid siege to Edinburgh, but made terms with Crichton, who became chancellor. The alternate struggles and reconciliations of these rivals continued till James was fourteen, when he favoured Douglas (the eighth earl) in order to free himself from their control. This was a time of civil or rather of private wars. The only contemporary-chronicle marks almost every year with the seizure of a castle or a party fight. Douglas brought the earl of Crawford and his retainers from the Highlands, who ravaged the estates of the bishop of St Andrews, and himself besieged Edinburgh castle. The castle surrendered; but Crichton, one of the adroit statesmen who rise after every fall, continued chancellor, and soon after, by negotiating the marriage of James with Mary of Guelders (1448), ensured his favour with the court. Shortly after the cele

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Struggles
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bration of this marriage Livingstone, now chamberlain, with many of his kindred and friends, was suddenly arrested and tried before a parliament at Edinburgh; two were executed, and the others, including the chamberlain, attainted and placed in strict ward in Dumbarton. Douglas and Crichton received part of the forfeited estates. James was chiefly advised at this period by Bishop Kennedy, whose counsel was the old one of "divide et impera." He now determined to do to the more powerful Douglas as he had done to the Livingstones. The earl had shown no moderation in prosperity. His revenue and retainers equalled those of the king: 1000 horsemen were his ordinary train, and he attended the king's marriage with five times that number. His courts on the borders were almost parliaments. In the year of jubilee (1450) he went to Rome with a large suite. On his return he visited the new king of England, Edward IV. At the parliament of Edinburgh (1451) he submitted to the king's mercy, and at the request of the queen and estates received a regrant of his lands and honours. He was already suspected of treason, and had in fact renewed a secret bond with the earls of Crawford and Ross, the most powerful nobles in the north, which threatened the royal authority. James felt a crisis had come and summoned Douglas to Stirling at Shrovetide. There the young king, in violation of hospitality and a safe conduct which he had given the earl, when Douglas refused to break the bond with the other earls, struck him with his knife and killed him (21st February 1452).¹ An appeal to arms necessarily followed. Douglas's brother, James, the ninth earl, came to Stirling and burnt great part of the town. But the clergy and commons and other nobles, some even of Douglas's own kin, not sorry at the fall of one who overtopped them, stood by the king. Parliament sanctioned James's act and declared Douglas had deserved death. At length, after repeated struggles, Crawford was defeated at the Muir of Brechin and Douglas fled to England. His estates were of course forfeited. The lordship of Douglas was granted to Angus. Etrick Forest and Galloway were annexed to the crown. Some years later Douglas made another desperate effort against James, but after wasting Merse was totally defeated by Angus (1458).² The energy of James in visiting all parts of his kingdom was conspicuous during the last period of his reign. The good relations with the French and other Continental courts continued. With England—one brief interruption excepted—peace had been preserved during the reign of Henry VI. Henry even agreed to restore Roxburgh and Berwick to Scotland in return for assistance against the duke of York. When Henry was taken prisoner at Northampton, his queen and her young son fled to Scotland, and James was called on to fulfil his engagements. He laid siege to Roxburgh, which for more than a century had defied his predecessors, and after a stout resistance it was taken; but James did not live to enjoy the triumph. When inspecting the discharge of a new gun it burst, and he was killed (3d August 1460). He had not reached his thirtieth year.

His reign had been singularly fortunate, for he succeeded (where his father failed) in restoring the royal authority and reducing the power of the nobles. This may have been

¹ The origin of two great families dates from the fall of Douglas. Sir James Hamilton of Cadzow deserted his kinsman for the king and received large grants of land and the king's daughter as wife. Sir Walter Scott of Kirkcud and Buccleuch, a border chief, was similarly rewarded. These were the ancestors of the dukes of Hamilton and Buccleuch.

² In the next reign along with the king's banished brother, Albany, he made a daring raid on Lochmaben, but being taken prisoner he ended his days as a monk at Lindores. A saying attributed to him, "If a man cannot better be, he may be a monk," was a sign of the change of times since Celtic kings were proud to assume the cowl.

partly due to the counsels of Kennedy, bishop of St Andrews, and Crichton; but James showed skill in government and vigour in war, though the murder of Douglas has left a stain on his character. The crown was richer at his death than it had been since the time of Alexander III., by many forfeitures secured from alienation by the Act of Annexation (1455, c. 41). The royal prerogative was strengthened by the first statute defining treason (1449, c. 25). Provision was made for the execution of criminal justice by the king, his justiciar, and sheriffs, and of civil justice by the session. Stringent rules were laid down against violent spoliation of lands and goods (1449, c. 30). The coinage was regulated, an attempt made to preserve its standard, and to prohibit export of gold and silver (1451, c. 23). Towards the end of the reign, when war with England was impending, statutes were passed for the defence of the borders, giving the king more direct control, and declaring that the office of warden should not be hereditary. The progress of agriculture was furthered by the famous Act for the encouragement of feu farm, an existing form of tenure becoming more common, and another giving fixity of tenure to leases until the expiry of their terms notwithstanding alienation of the lands. There were also many minor laws which had for their object the welfare of the people. Though the legislation of James II. was not so large, it was perhaps as important as that of James I.

On the Sunday after his father's death James III. (1460-88) was crowned at Kelso. A regency was formed consisting of the queen, Kennedy, and others. A parliament followed at Edinburgh, which was blamed by the nobles for leaving so much power in the hands of a woman; but there was a full appointment to the offices of state, and, though Mary of Guelders aimed at more than the guardianship of her son, it does not appear that she really exercised royal authority. After the defeat of Towton (29th March 1461), Henry VI. and his queen took refuge in Scotland. In return for their reception and in hope of further aid, Henry surrendered Berwick (23d April) to the Scottish king, in whose hands it remained till its final annexation to England at the close of the reign. Edward IV. retaliated by a treaty (13th February 1462) with the banished earl of Douglas, the earl of Ross, lord of the Isles, and Donald Balloch, by which Douglas was to be restored to his estates, and the whole country north of the Forth divided between the two Highland chiefs. George, earl of Angus, who had risen on the ruins of the house of Douglas, made a counter-league with Henry VI., by which he was promised an English dukedom and valuable lands between Trent and Humber, but was to preserve his allegiance to the Scottish king. These were paper promises, and all that came of them were an ineffectual rising in the north and the relief of Alnwick, which had been besieged by the Yorkists. Next year the Lancastrian cause having received a fatal blow by the defeat of Hexham, a singular offer by Edward IV. to marry the queen dowager of Scotland—one of the many schemes of the king-maker, earl of Warwick—was frustrated by her death or perhaps by the discovery of an intrigue with Adam Hepburn of Hales, whose wife was alive. Kennedy, who had the chief control of Scottish affairs, negotiated the release of Alexander, the king's brother, who had been taken by an English cruiser, and secured a truce between England and Scotland for fifteen years. He understood the nature of his countrymen better than any man, and was always ready to give counsel in parliament, while his learning, especially in the civil law, made him respected by foreign powers. When he died the country wept for him as for a parent.

Before his death a plot had been formed which threw the young king into different hands. Amongst the barons

who received office at the commencement of the reign one of the foremost was Robert Boyd of Kilmarnock, the justiciar. Boyd determined to play the part of Livingstone in the last reign, and usurp the supreme power by seizing the person of the king. Bonds with this object were entered into between him, Fleming of Cumbernauld, Lord Kennedy, a brother of the bishop, and others. While holding a court at Linlithgow James was carried off to Edinburgh by Boyd. Kennedy made a feint to save him by seizing his bride, but was overpowered; perhaps the attempt was real, for Kennedy afterwards separated from the Boyds. In parliament Boyd went through the form of asking pardon of the young king in presence of the estates, and was immediately entrusted with the custody of the royal person (October 1466) and that of his brothers Albany and Mar, as well as the fortresses of the kingdom. Next year he was made chamberlain, which gave him control of the revenue. The marriage of his son Thomas, created earl of Arran, with the king's sister Mary, marked the height of his ambition. The fall of Boyd, as sudden as his rise, whom with his brother Alexander James at first favoured, was due to the same cause as that of Livingstone,—the king's marriage and his desire when major to assert his independence. Negotiations for an English match having fallen through, an alliance with a Norwegian princess was determined on, and an embassy sent to Norway by parliament. Christian of Denmark and Norway readily assented. He promised his daughter a dowry of 60,000 florins, besides a surrender of the claim of arrears of the annual payment for the Hebrides. But, as it was inconvenient to pay the dowry, both the Orkneys and the Shetlands were mortgaged to Scotland, and have remained ever since under the Scottish crown. Two years later (July 1469) the princess Margaret arrived in Scotland, when the marriage took place. Arran on his arrival at Leith with the king's bride received a message from his wife warning him that James had conceived a great hatred against him; accordingly he fled to Denmark. In the parliament his father and his uncle, Sir Alexander Boyd, were attainted. The chamberlain saved himself by flight; Sir Alexander was executed. The specific charge made was the seizure of the king's person; but a general clause had reference to the immense estates they had annexed. The king's sister, divorced from Arran, was married to Lord Hamilton, who thus laid the foundation of a family whose head more than once aspired to the crown.

The refusal of parliament in 1473 to sanction the proposed passage of James to France, to aid Louis XI. against Charles the Bold, on the score of the expense and risk, was the first indication of the difference between the king and the nobility which led to the disasters of the close of his reign. The parliament of 1476 took a bolder step. At its adjournment it committed its whole powers to certain members, of whom the duke of Albany and the earl of Mar, the king's brothers, were the principal,—a measure which indicated a want of confidence in the king. He had shown himself, like Louis XI., disposed to govern by new men who owed their elevation to himself,—a policy which alienated the aristocracy. Of these favourites the chief were Robert Cochrane, originally, it was said, a mason, who proved himself a skilful architect; Roger, an English musician; and Andrews, a physician, who dealt in astrology,—all able to gratify tastes of James. There were besides a few young men of birth who gained favour by flattery or other arts. Cochrane became all powerful and disgusted the nobles by sumptuousness and arrogance, and the people by debasing the coin. He succeeded, it was reported, by relating a prophecy that a lion should be devoured by its whelps, in producing in the king's mind an aversion to his brothers, whose characters and knightly

accomplishments made them popular. James seized Mar 1466-1488 and sent him to Craigmillar castle. He soon after died (1479) in Edinburgh under circumstances which gave rise to suspicion of foul play. The gift to Cochrane of the vacant earldom or its revenues strengthened the suspicion of his complicity. Albany, committed to Edinburgh castle (1480), escaped to Dunbar and thence to France. He there married Anne de la Tour d'Auvergne, whose son was the regent Albany in the reign of James V. Failing to induce Louis to do more than urge his restoration, two years afterwards he quitted France and at Fotheringay entered into a treaty (1482) with Edward IV., by which, in return for the empty title of Alexander IV., he owned the subjection of the country to England and made other humiliating promises. Supported by the earl of Gloucester and the exiled earl of Douglas, Albany laid siege to Berwick, while James collected his forces on the Boroughmuir of Edinburgh and advanced to Lauder. There the chief nobles, indignant at the favour shown to Cochrane, mutinied, and, led by Angus, who then acquired his name of "Bell the Cat," seized Cochrane and some of the other favourites of James and hanged them before his eyes. Berwick fell and was never afterwards recovered by the Scots. The nobles, distrusting Angus, who had made secret terms with Albany and the English king, were induced by Schivas, the archbishop of St Andrews, to effect a reconciliation between the king and his brother, who received the vacant earldom of Mar and for a little became chief minister. A parliament in December appointed Albany lieutenant-general, but his continued intrigues with the English king being discovered he was attainted for treason and fled to England (1483), and thence to France. James had now a brief period of peace, during which the revolutions in England freed him from the danger of war in that quarter. New matrimonial projects were tried. It was proposed that the prince of Scotland should marry a niece of Richard III., Anne de la Pole, daughter of the duke of Suffolk, and after Richard's deposition a marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., was suggested. On the death of Queen Margaret James himself made an offer for the hand of the widow of Edward IV. Such proposals, though abortive, were signs of a better understanding between the two countries, or at least between their sovereigns. When the rebellion broke out in the following year the nobles and James accused each other of treasonable correspondence with England, but no assistance was got by either, for England was still scarcely released from its own civil war. In 1487 the greater part of the Scottish barons rose in arms. James had abandoned himself to another favourite, Sir John Ramsay, whose life had been spared at Lauder. The chiefs of the party were the earls of Angus and Argyll, Blackadder, bishop of Glasgow, and the Homes and Hepburns, powerful barons on the border. Having seized the person of the young prince, whom they already designated king, they pretended to act in his name. James retreated to Aberdeenshire, for the northern barons still adhered to him. Father and son, at the head of their respective forces, first met at Blackness (May 1488) on the Forth, where a pacification was agreed to on terms which showed the king's party was the weaker. In the following month the rebellion was renewed and the king was slain at Sauchie (11th June), within sight of Bannockburn. He was buried at Cambuskenneth, being only thirty-five years of age. He did not fall, like his father, through the strength of the nobles, for they were much divided, and he commenced his independent reign master of the situation. The Wars of the Roses gave him an opportunity, which he missed, of strengthening his kingdom in relation to England, whose monarchs adopted a new attitude