towards Scotland from that of the Plantagenets,—seeking alliance rather than war. His own weakness, his love of favourites and of money, his passion for music and art—perhaps inherited from his grandfather, but carried to excess and not counterbalanced by the qualities of a statesman and general—proved his ruin. The rebellions, first that of his brother, then that in the name of his son, were fatal precedents in the reign of Mary Stuart.

James IV. (1488-1513) was already sixteen when crowned at Scone. His reign is an interlude in the record of almost constant battles, murders, and executions with which Scottish history abounds. There were not wanting causes of offence between England and Scotland, but the politic Henry VII. avoided war and effected what previous kings had failed in the marriage between the royal houses. James, a popular monarch, succeeded better than any of his predecessors and successors in keeping on good terms with all classes. His court was one of splendour for a small country; indeed Scotland, almost for the first time, possessed a court which set the fashion of civilization and culture. The death of James III., instead of exciting the horror awakened by the death of James I., was treated with indifference, almost as a relief. The chief offices of state were distributed amongst the supporters of the young king. The first business of the parliament, which met in Edinburgh, was the treason trials. The persons put on their trial were not those who fought against but those who supported the late king. Several were condemned, but prudently treated with great leniency. All were charged with correspondence with England as well as with their presence at the field of Stirling (Sauchie). There followed a curious transaction called in the records "the debate and cause of the field of Stirling,"—the first debate in a Scottish parliament of which we have any account. The result was a unanimous resolution "that the slaughter committed in the field of Stirling, when our sovereign lord's father happened to be slain, was due entirely to the fault of him and his privy council divers times before the said field." There was not a single execution. Heritable officers who had fought against the prince were only suspended, not deposed, and the heirs of those slain were by special grace admitted to their estates. The only person who felt compunction was the young king. His frequent pilgrimages and an iron belt he wore were due to his remorse for his father's death. The leniency of James was rewarded by the loyalty of the nobility, except a few northern barons headed by Lennox and Huntly, and these, after being defeated by James in the following year, were also treated with clemency. The only trace of rebellion during his reign was a secret intrigue between Henry VII. and Angus, who succeeded to the traditionary policy of the Douglases.

A determined effort was made by parliament to put down robbery and theft by special commissions to certain lords who were to be responsible for different districts. It was provided that the king in person should attend the justice air (eyre),—a provision which James acted upon. A new master of the mint was appointed to restore the purity of the coinage. The penalty of treason was to be imposed on those who purchased benefices from Rome. An active spirit of reform, a desire to remedy the evils of the late reign, was displayed by both the king and his advisers. The personal character of James showed itself in a liberality contrasting with his father's avarice, and in a love of chivalrous display encouraging tournaments and martial exercises, as well as in the care of the navy.

From the time of Bruce we hear of ships and shipbuilding, natural in a country with so large a seaboard; Scottish merchantmen now began to make distant voyages, and their ships, half privateers, half traders, were commanded and manned by sailors who were a match for those of any country. The most famous commander, Wood of Largo, with the "Flower" and the "Yellow Carvel," cleared the Forth of English pirates. Stephen Bull, an English captain, promised to take Wood dead or alive, but was captured himself; James sent him back to Henry VIII. with a chivalrous message that the Scots could now fight by sea as well as land. Wood was made one of the king's council. By his advice James built the "Great St Michael" for a crew of 300 and 1000 men-at-arms. It exhausted all the woods in Fife except Falkland, and cost £30,000. The king's policy was not confined to building ships of war: every town was to have vessels of at least 20 tons. The navy was for the protection of trade, to which the national instinct pointed as a source of wealth.

James's marriage to Margaret Tudor.

The marriage of James early attracted the attention of parliament, and embassies were sent to foreign courts to seek a suitable spouse; but James had formed a connexion with Lady Margaret Drummond, and could not be persuaded to a political alliance. The chief events of his reign prior to his marriage to Margaret Tudor were his expeditions to the north-east and the western Highlands. He adopted with the chiefs a similar policy to that which had succeeded with the barons, attaching them to his person by gifts, offices, and favours, and committing to them the suppression of crime. In 1496 the impostor Perkin Warbeck came to Scotland and was recognized by James, who gave him his kinswoman, Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntly, called for her beauty the White Rose, in marriage. Raids were twice made across the border on his behalf, but there was only one engagement of any consequence, at Dunse (1497), and an unsuccessful siege of Melrose. Henry VII., whose talent lay in diplomacy, approached the Scottish king with the tempting offer of the hand of his daughter Margaret. Commissioners met to consider this at Jedburgh, and, though James refused to give up Perkin Warbeck, a truce was arranged, and Perkin left Scotland. The marriage of James and Margaret was soon afterwards agreed to and a peace concluded. The papal dispensation was procured in 1500, but the final treaty was not ratified till two years later (8th August 1502). Some of Henry's counsellors sought to dissuade him from the marriage, for if his son Henry died James would be next in succession to the English throne; but he replied that if so Scotland would be an accession to England and not the reverse, recalling the example of Normandy and England. Margaret, a girl in her fourteenth year, made a triumphal progress to Scotland, where she was received with pomp; but the marriage was one of policy, and the young wife was discontented with her new country and her husband. Their court as it is painted in the poems of Dunbar was merry, but not moral. The licence which prevailed and was tolerated by the church was shown by the elevation of one of the king's bastards by Jane Kennedy to the archbishopric of St Andrews when a youth of eighteen. Others received rich benefices, and Jane Kennedy herself married the earl of Angus. Scottish history during the six years after the king's marriage was uneventful.

Henry VII.'s death (1509) changed the relations between Scotland and England. Henry VIII. had not liked his sister's marriage, and his refusal to deliver to her a legacy of jewels left by his father led to a coolness. The mutual attacks of English and Scottish privateers and border frays increased the bad feeling. Andrew Barton's ship the "Lion," after an obstinate conflict, in which Barton was killed, was seized (1512) in the Downs by the sons of Howard, the English high admiral, and James's request for redress was met with the contemptuous answer that kings should not dispute as to the fate of pirates. But it was Henry's Continental policy which in the end provoked the war. The struggle in Italy between Louis XII. and Pope Julius II. gave him an opportunity, and he allied himself with the latter and invaded France. He attempted before leaving England to secure peace with Scotland by promising to redress its grievances. But James had renewed the old alliance with France, and the only answer given to the first embassy in 1512 was an offer to mediate between France and England. In 1513 the message was, that if Henry passed to France war would not be declared without a herald being sent. The French queen (Anne of Brittany) had given James a ring with a substantial subsidy, and he had already made up his mind for war. Like Henry, he longed to win his spurs. Henry went to France in June, and soon after his arrival at the camp at Térouanne, the Scottish Lord Lyon brought the threatened declaration of war (11th August 1513). The grounds stated were the seizure of Scotsmen on the borders, the refusal of Margaret's legacy, and the death of Barton. No time was lost by James in carrying the declaration into effect; but the war was disliked by the nation. The earl of Arran, sent with the fleet to aid the French, sailed instead, in defiance of orders, to Carrickfergus. James himself called out the whole land force contrary to the advice of his council, mustering at the Boroughmuir 100,000 men according to English accounts—probably exaggerated, but doubtless as large an army as had been seen in Scotland. Crossing the border, he took Norham, Wark, and Ford. At the last of these castles the wife of Heron, the proprietor, then a prisoner in Scotland, beguiled James by her beauty, causing him to waste several days and betraying his movements to the enemy. In the conduct of the battle (9th September 1513) which followed he committed almost every fault a general could commit,—neglecting to engage when the enemy were crossing the Till, allowing himself to be outflanked by Surrey, who got between him and the Scottish border, abandoning his strong position on the hill of Flodden, and finally exposing his own person on foot in the centre of the fight. Some Scottish writers claim that the battle was a divided success and that the total number of English killed was greater; but Hall, an exact chronicler, says 12,000 Scots fell and only 1500 English, as appeared from the book of wages when the soldiers were paid. What made Flodden so great a disaster was the quality of the Scottish loss. The king himself, his son, the archbishop of St Andrews, two bishops, two abbots, twelve earls, and fourteen lords, besides many knights and gentlemen, were left on the field. There was scarcely a noble family which did not mourn some of its members. Surrey did not follow up his victory by invading Scotland, since his object was gained: the diversion by the Scots in favour of France was at an end. Scotland was again left with an infant king, scarcely more than a year old.

Character of James IV.

The character of James IV. was on the surface. An excellent observer, the Spanish ambassador Ayala, notes his good looks and agreeable manners, his knowledge of languages and history, his respect for the service of the church and its priests, his liberality and courage, "even more than a king should have, not taking the least care of himself," his bad generalship, "beginning to fight before he had given his orders," and his wise statesmanship, deciding nothing without counsel, but acting according to his own judgment, which was generally right.

The reign of James fell within the era of the revival of learning, and Scotland, though late, came within the circle of the intellectual which preceded the religious reformation. It was common for Scottish scholars to complete their education and sometimes to remain teaching in the universities of France. One of these, Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen, who founded its university, brought another, Hector Boece, the historian, to be first principal of King's College, Aberdeen. James himself engaged Erasmus as tutor to his son, the future archbishop. Two other Scotsmen passed to Paris in the beginning of the next reign, John Major and his pupil Buchanan, who brought back less of the critical but more of the Reforming spirit. These and other learned men neglected a reform as essential as any,—the use of the mother-tongue in their writings, and the neglect has lessened their fame; but it had its exponents in Dunbar, Henryson, Sir David Lyndsay, and Gavin Douglas. The printing press also found its way to Edinburgh, and Chepman and Myllar published their first broadsheets with works of Dunbar, Douglas, and the remains of the older poetry (see p. 540 *sq.* below).

Regency of Albany.

7. *The Reformation, its Antecedents and Consequences.*—James V. (1513-42), scarcely eighteen months old when he succeeded, was at once crowned at Scone, where a parliament met, chiefly attended by the clergy. The queen dowager was appointed regent,—a secret message, however, being sent to John, duke of Albany, to come from France and assume the regency. The son of the exiled brother of James III., Albany had by his marriage to his cousin, the heiress of De la Tour d'Auvergne, become a great noble in France, where he held the office of high admiral, and neither he nor the French king, Louis XII., was willing that he should quit France. The Sieur de la Bastie came as his representative. The precipitate marriage of the queen, four months after the birth of a posthumous child, to the young earl of Angus, and a dispute as to the see of St Andrews, to which Margaret appointed Gavin Douglas the poet, her husband's kinsman, although Hepburn the prior had been chosen by the chapter, led the Scottish estates to renew their request that Albany should come to Scotland. He arrived at Dumbarton on 18th May 1515 and was at once appointed regent. The queen refused to give up her son, but Albany besieged Stirling and forced her to surrender. Her new husband fled to France, and Margaret first to Dacre, warden of the marches, and then to her brother's court, where she was joined by Angus. At Harbottle in Northumberland, on her journey south, she bore a daughter, Margaret Douglas, afterwards Lady Lennox, Darnley's mother. Henry VIII. asked the Scottish parliament to remove Albany from the regency, but was met with a decided refusal; for, though a party of nobles, especially the border barons Lord Hume, the chamberlain, and his brother, were opposed to him, he was supported by the nation. The young duke of Ross, Margaret's younger son, having died suddenly, Albany procured a declaration from parliament that Ross's elder half-brother was illegitimate and himself next heir to the crown. Hume and his brother were seized and executed at Edinburgh (26th October 1516). These events aroused suspicion that Albany aimed at the crown; but the suspicion appears to have been unfounded. His tastes were French; hence he quickly tired of trying to govern Scotland, and in autumn obtained with difficulty leave of absence for four months. Before leaving he put Dumbarton, Dunbar, and Inchgarvie (in the Forth) in charge of French garrisons under De la Bastie, who held the post of warden of the marches; but an interim regency was appointed. Margaret now returned to Scotland; but she was not permitted to take part in the government. Shortly after his arrival in France Albany negotiated the treaty of Rouen (20th August) by which an alliance between France and Scotland was agreed on against England, and a promise given that the Scottish king should marry a daughter of Francis I., or if that failed another French princess. In September De la Bastie was murdered near Dunbar by Hume of Wedderburn with the connivance of Dacre. The perpetrators were forfeited, but never brought to justice, although

Arran, who succeeded to the office of warden, was sent for that purpose. The absence of a supreme authority gave free scope to the licence of the nobles.

A serious rising in the Highlands to support the claim of Macdonald of Lochalsh to the lordship of the Isles lasted for several years, till the death of the claimant and the vigour of the earl of Argyll, the head of a house now rising into pre-eminence, led to its suppression. The chief disturbances arose from the ambition of Angus: Archibald, his uncle, was chosen provost of Edinburgh; his brother William seized the priory of Coldingham; his uncle Gavin, though he failed to secure the primacy, retained the see of Dunkeld. Angus was supported by the earls of Crawford, Erroll, and Glamis, by Forman, archbishop of St Andrews, and most of the other bishops, except James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow and chancellor. The English warden, Dacre, was also on his side and tried by intrigue and bribery to foment dissension and prevent Albany's return. The opposite faction was headed by Arran, Lennox, Eglinton, Cassilis, Semple, the bishop of Galloway, and the chancellor. Scotland was thus divided between an English party, strongest in the east, and a French party, chiefly in the west. Their disputes reached a crisis in a street fight in Edinburgh, which got the name of "Cleanse the Causeway" (30th April 1520), in which Angus drove Arran out of the town and seized the castle. Sir Patrick Hamilton, a brother of Arran, was slain by Angus,—an injury never forgiven. Meantime Margaret quarrelled with her husband, and, though there was a temporary reconciliation, mutual accusations of infidelity were too well grounded to permit of its being permanent.

Supremacy of Angus.

Next year Albany returned and the queen, who had been in secret correspondence with him, entrusted him with the custody of the young king. Henry VIII. again requested the Scottish parliament to expel Albany; but they again refused, and Angus made terms with Albany on condition that he should himself withdraw to France. War was now declared between England and Scotland (1522); but, although Albany advanced with a large army as far as Carlisle, he was persuaded by Dacre to a month's truce and soon after went back to France, leaving the king in charge of a regency of which Beaton, Arran, Huntly, and Argyll were the leaders. Albany returned in the following year and again with a large force invaded England, but failed to take Wark, while Surrey, the English commander, ravaged the border. This failure lost Albany his credit with the Scots. In 1524 he went to France on condition that if he did not come back before 31st August his regency should end. He never returned, and during his absence Margaret carried off her son from Stirling to Edinburgh, where, although only a boy of twelve, he was declared king. Angus made an agreement with Wolsey to support the English interest; and at a parliament in Edinburgh Albany's regency was declared at an end (12th February 1525), and Angus and Beaton obtained possession of the king's person and governed in his name. The queen, who had now openly broken with her brother, in vain appealed to France and Albany. The French were occupied with the war against the emperor; but she obtained from James Beaton, now archbishop of St Andrews, a divorce from Angus and married Henry Stuart, son of Lord Avondale, creating him Lord Methven.

For three years Angus retained the supreme power and filled all offices with his adherents. Beaton, with whom he quarrelled, was required to resign that of chancellor, and Angus nominated himself as his successor. The indignant nobles made unsuccessful attempts to seize the person of the king, who at last, on 23d May 1528, effected his escape from Falkland, riding at night to Stirling, where he was welcomed by the governor. Before parliament met a proclamation forbade any Douglas to remain in the capital. A new ministry was appointed with Gavin Dunbar, now archbishop of Glasgow, who had been the king's tutor, as chancellor; Cameron, abbot of Holyrood, as treasurer; and the bishop of Dunkeld as privy seal. The Douglases were attainted and their estates divided amongst the nobles of the opposite faction. A truce was made with England for five years. During the minority and duress of James the Scottish nobility became accustomed to bribes either from England or France. The French, to which the higher clergy belonged, were in the ascendant at the court of the young king, who naturally felt ill-will towards the Douglases and leant on Albany, and after a time on Cardinal David Beaton, bishop of Mirepoix in France and nephew of the archbishop of St Andrews, whom he afterwards succeeded. Beaton was the Wolsey of Scotland; but James V. was not Henry VIII., and the ambition of the great prelate was baffled, not by the king, but by the nation. Three months before the king's escape Patrick HAMILTON (*q.v.*), abbot of Ferne, was burnt for heresy at St Andrews.

Assumption of government by James V

James, only seventeen when he gained his independence (1528), showed, like other Stuarts, activity in government, and the fourteen years of his actual rule, while not marked by outstanding events, were a period of renewed order and prosperity. He first turned to the borders, where constant wars with England had bred a race of lawless freebooters. By the severity of his measures he succeeded in doing what Angus and his predecessors had in vain tried to do. The borders continued till the union to trouble the ministers of the law; but the clans who lived by plunder and blackmail were first really broken by the expedition of James V. But it was not only borderers who required to be taught that a king was again on the throne: Argyll, who had sought to make himself independent, was deprived of his lieutenancy and imprisoned; Bothwell, the father of Mary's husband, was beheaded for the favour he showed the borderers; and the estates of the earl of Crawford were forfeited. James made a progress through the Highlands and was sumptuously entertained by the earl of Athole. While criminal justice was strictly enforced, a step was at last taken to organize a central civil court (15th May 1532), which had been a settled plan of the kings since James I. The College of Justice or Court of Session was founded in Edinburgh by the influence of Albany with the pope,—funds being got from the bishops' revenues for the payment of the judges. Of the fifteen judges eight, including the president, were to be clergy, and the barons were conciliated by the anomalous office of extraordinary lords.[1]

The relations between James and Henry VIII. continued hostile and there were mutual raids till peace was concluded in 1534. Henry was then at the critical point of his divorce from Catherine of Aragon and anxious to secure an ally. France and Spain were also competing for the favour of the Scottish monarch, and Charles V. proposed a marriage with Mary of Portugal. But he had already indicated a preference for a French alliance, selecting Mary, daughter of the duc de Vendôme. The pope addressed James as defender of the faith, a title Henry VIII. had forfeited. The clergy by Beaton's advice granted him a large allowance out of their revenues. These inducements and the influence of Beaton and Dunbar, the two archbishops, kept James firm in his attachment to the old church, in spite of the temptation which Henry held out in its endowments and of the satires in which Sir David

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[1] There were already signs of the small beginning of the profession of lay lawyers who were to play an important part in Scottish affairs in the 17th and 18th centuries. The establishment of a settled system of justice, independent alike of the baronial and ecclesiastical courts, was a much needed reform; but the latter still retained their consistorial jurisdiction.

SCOTLAND
16TH CENTURY
indicating old Divisions
and the localities of the Highland Clans

Lyndsay, his old tutor, and Buchanan, the tutor of one of his bastards, exposed its abuses. In 1537 he went to France to see his bride, but, falling in love with Madeleine, daughter of Francis I., obtained her hand instead. After an absence of nine months he returned; but the young queen died within a few weeks after landing. The following year he married Mary, dowager duchess of Longueville, daughter of Claude of Lorraine, duke of Guise. Next year (1539) Henry made another attempt to gain James through his envoy Sir Ralph Sadler, but, though the succession to the English crown in the event of Prince Edward's death was held out as a bait, James remained unmoved. In 1540 the king made a voyage round Scotland,—the first circumnavigation of his dominions by a Scottish sovereign. The Irish are said to have offered him their crown, and the barons of the north of England, whose sympathies were Catholic, were inclined to favour him. The position was perilous for Henry, many of whose subjects still remained Catholics at heart. He made a last attempt to induce James to meet him at York, but the Scottish king would not go so far across the border. Henry now ordered the marches to be put in a state of war, and Sir James Bowes, accompanied by Angus and Sir George Douglas, crossed the border, but was defeated in Teviotdale by Huntly and Home. The duke of Norfolk advanced with a large force, and, efforts to avert war having failed, James assembled the whole Scottish army and marched to Fala on the Lammermuirs, where he was reluctantly obliged to disband his force through the refusal of the nobles to go farther; they even thought of repeating the tragedy of Lauder, but could not agree as to the victims. James raised a smaller force and gave the command of it to Oliver Sinclair, whose promotion was ill received by the barons. Their discord allowed an easy victory to Dacre, who routed them as they were passing over Solway Moss (25th November 1542), taking Sinclair and several of the leaders prisoners. The news, brought to James at Caerlaverock, together with the disaffection of the nobles, broke his heart. A few weeks later at Falkland he heard of the birth of Mary Stuart, but the news brought him no comfort. His saying, "The crown came with a lass and will go with a lass," has passed into history, although the prophecy was not fulfilled. Outwardly his reign had been, with the exception of the closing scene, successful. He had restored order along the borders, and put down all attempts of the nobles against his person. He had maintained the church, supporting the bishops by severe laws against heresy. He had secured by his marriage the alliance of France and was on good terms with other Continental states. His powerful neighbour had not succeeded in wresting any land from Scotland. He was, like his father, a popular king, mingling with the people in their sports, and respected because of his strict administration of justice. But his foreboding was not without cause. The power of the nobles had only been restrained, not destroyed. The aristocracy had too many heads to be cut off by one or several blows. The principles of the Reformation were gradually spreading in spite of the attempts to stifle them, and the infant to whom he left the crown had to encounter rebellion at home and the hostility of England, not the less dangerous that she was heir to the English crown and its rulers veiled their hatred of her by professions of friendship. Knox describes James as "a blinded and most vicious king." Buchanan, who knew him better, is more fair, ascribing his faults to his time and bad education and doing justice to the qualities which made him loved by the people.

Mary Stuart.

Mary Stuart was deemed queen of Scotland from 14th December 1542 till 29th July 1567, when her son James VI. was crowned in her stead. This period of a quarter of a century is more crowded with events than any other part of the Scottish annals, except the War of Independence. It was the epoch of the Reformation, and it became a question of European as well as national importance which side Scotland would take. Closely connected with the religious question was the political, affecting the union of Scotland and England. The life of Mary, who united the personal charm of her race and its evil fortune, adds tragic interest to the national history. It falls into three parts,—from her birth to her return from France as the young widow of Francis II. in 1561; from her arrival in Scotland till her flight in 1568; and from her arrival in England till her execution in 1587; but only the second of these enters into the direct current of Scottish history. During the first Scotland was under the regency, first of Arran, then of Mary of Guise. It was rumoured that Cardinal Beaton forced James V. on his deathbed to sign a will naming him regent, or had forged such a document; but the principal nobles proclaimed the earl of Arran heir-presumptive to the crown, governor of the realm, and tutor to the queen, and this was confirmed by parliament in the following spring. Beaton was thrown into prison, but soon released. The death of James suggested to Henry a new scheme for the annexation of Scotland by the marriage of the infant heiress to his son Edward, and he released the nobles taken at Solway Moss on easy terms under an assurance that they would aid him. Angus and his brother George Douglas also returned to Scotland from their long exile on the same promise. Sir Ralph Sadler, one of the ablest English residents at the Scottish court—half envoys, half spies—was sent to conduct the negotiations. Arran was tempted to favour the marriage by the offer of the princess Elizabeth for his son and the government north of the Forth. But the queen dowager, though she pretended not to be averse to it, and Beaton did all they could to counteract Henry's project. One part of it, the immediate delivery of Mary and the principal castles to the English king, was specially objected to. A mutual alliance between the two kingdoms was agreed to on 1st July 1543, and Mary was to be sent to England when ten years old. Soon after a party of the nobles opposed to the match got possession of the young queen and removed her to Stirling. The English treaty was ratified by parliament; but Beaton and his partisans did not attend, and a few days later the regent, as Sadler expresses it, revolted to the cardinal. It was evident that the assured lords, though in English pay, were not to be relied on, and Henry resolved on war. His first act—the seizure of Scottish merchantmen in English ports—roused the patriotic feeling of Scotland. Before the close of the year the Scottish estates declared the treaty with England null and renewed the old league with France. Lord Lisle was sent with a fleet to the Firth of Forth, along with Hertford (afterwards the protector Somerset) as commander of the army, and Leith was sacked and Edinburgh burnt, though the castle held out. Lisle on his voyage home ravaged the ports of the Forth, while Hertford destroyed the towns and villages of the Lothians, aided by the English wardens, who made a raid across the border. Hertford returned the following year and destroyed the abbeys of Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose, Dryburgh, Roxburgh, and Coldingham, besides many castles, market-towns, and villages. Such barbarous warfare renewed the memory of the War of Independence and the intense hatred of England, which had greatly abated. Lennox and Glencairn alone of the nobles sided with the English, and the Reformers saw with regret the nation driven to a French alliance as at least preferable to English conquest.

Regency of Arran.

War with Henry VIII.

Beaton at this time really governed, imposing his will on the vacillating regent and sternly repressing heresy. George Wishart, the chief preacher of the Reformers, was seized, found guilty of eighteen articles of heresy, mostly taken from Calvin, and burnt at St Andrews. The war of religion, now openly declared, could not be carried on without bloodshed on both sides. Beaton was assassinated less than three months after Wishart's death in his own castle by Norman Leslie and other young men, some with private grievances, all desiring to avenge Wishart. The effect was adverse to the Reformers. Leslie and his associates, joined by a few others, of whom Knox was one, being shut in the castle, held it for a short time against the regent, but were forced to surrender to Strozzi, the French admiral.

The death of Henry VIII. (1547) did not put a stop to the war with England. The protector Somerset proved to be an implacable enemy, and, partly to strengthen his position as regent, determined to strike a more signal blow. Invading Scotland simultaneously with a large fleet and army, he defeated the Scottish regent at Pinkie (18th September 1547), took Edinburgh, and placed garrisons in several castles. Scotland had suffered no such reverse since Flodden. The progress of the capital was thrown back at least a century; scarcely a building remains prior to the date of his savage raids. Somerset was not in a position to follow up his advantage, for he had to return home to counteract intrigues. The young queen was sent from Dumbarton in the following summer (August 1548) to the court of France, where she was brought up with the children of Henry II. by Catherine de' Medici. Before she went a French force had been sent to Scotland, and in the camp at Haddington the estates had, by a majority led by the regent and queen dowager, agreed to Mary's betrothal to the dauphin. The regent was promised the dukedom of Chastelherault in return for his part in the treaty. For two years a fierce intermittent war continued between England and Scotland; but the former country was too much engaged in home affairs and the French war to send a large force, and the Scots recovered the places they had lost except Lauder. The issue of the French war was also adverse to the English, who were forced to agree to the treaty of Boulogne (24th March 1550), in which Scotland was included. In September the queen dowager went to France and obtained the transfer of the regency from Arran to herself. On her return, Arran not being prepared to relinquish his office, she proved herself a skilful diplomatist, gaining over the nobles by promises and the people by abstaining from persecution of the Reformers. A single execution—that of Adam Wallace, "a simple but very zealous man for the new doctrines"—took place in 1550 under the sanction of Archbishop Hamilton, natural brother of Arran, who had succeeded Beaton; but that prelate, whose natural disposition was towards compromise, authorized a *Catechism* in 1552 which minimized the distinctions in doctrine between the church and the Reformers, and was conspicuous for omitting all reference to the supremacy of the pope. At this time a large section of the clergy and people were still wavering, and the necessity of retaining them by moderation and reform was evident. The death of Edward VI. and the accession of Mary in 1553 had an important influence on the progress of the Scottish Reformation. The Scottish Reformers who had taken refuge in England had to escape persecution by returning home or going abroad, and the powerful preaching of Harlaw, Willock, and Knox, who came to Scotland towards the end of 1555, promoted the new doctrines.

In the spring of 1554 the queen dowager at last succeeded in obtaining from the reluctant Arran a surrender of the regency. Mary had now attained her twelfth year and a nomination by her of her mother as tutor gave the form of law to what was really the act of the queen dowager, the French king, and the nobility. The people acquiesced, for all classes were tired of a governor whose chief object was money. His actual investiture in the French dukedom removed any scruples in relinquishing a dangerous dignity. For the next six years the queen dowager was regent and conducted the government with such prudence that her real aims were only seen through by the most penetrating. Knox has been accused of a harsh opinion of her; but the upshot of her policy if successful would have been to subject Scotland to France and to that party in France so soon to be the relentless persecutors of the Reformers. She knew well how to bide her time, to yield when resistance was impolitic, to hide her real object, but this she pursued with great tenacity of purpose. A variety of circumstances favoured her,—the condition of England under Mary Tudor, the ill-will Arran had incurred, the absence of any leading noble who could attempt to seize the supreme power, the safety at the French court of her daughter, in whose name she governed, and the knowledge of her adopted country acquired by long residence. Yet her first step was a mistake so serious as to have well-nigh provoked revolution. In appointments to offices she showed such preference for her own countrymen as created intense jealousy on the part of the Scottish nobility, and would probably have led to open action but for the fact that many Scotsmen got offices and pensions from the French king. The new regent applied herself at once to the perennial work of every Scottish Government, the repression of disorder in the Highlands, and first Huntly, afterwards Argyll and Athole, were sent to Argyll and the Isles; but the presence of royalty was, as had before been found, the best remedy, and she made next year a circuit in person with more success than any of her lieutenants. Under the advice of her French counsellors she now garrisoned Dunbar with French soldiers and built a fort at Eyemouth (1556). She even ventured to propose to levy a tax for the maintenance of a standing army; but the remonstrance of 300 barons, headed by Sir John Sandilands, forced her to abandon a project so fatal in that age to liberty. Next year, at the instigation of the French king, she endeavoured to force the country into an English war. No time could have been worse chosen, for commissioners from England and Scotland had actually met at Carlisle to adjust differences between the two countries. The Scottish barons refused to fight, and from that date, Bishop Lesley notes, the queen regent could never agree with the nobility, and sundry of them sought by all means to raise sedition against her and the French.

Mary's marriage to the dauphin.

In the parliament at the close of the year commissioners were appointed to go to France for the marriage between Mary and the dauphin. Their instructions were to obtain a promise from both to observe the liberties and privileges of Scotland and its laws, and a ratification of the Act passed in 1548, when it was first proposed to send the young queen to France. The contract of marriage provided that their eldest son was to be king of France and Scotland and the eldest daughter (should there be no son) queen of Scotland, to be given in marriage by the joint consent of the king of France and the Scottish estates. In the event of her husband's death Mary was to be free to stay in France or return to Scotland. The marriage was solemnized at Notre Dame on 24th July 1558. But prior to the public contract a secret arrangement had been made, by which Mary, in three several deeds, made over the kingdom of Scotland to the king of France and his heirs if she died childless, assigned to him possession of the kingdom until he was reimbursed in a million pieces of gold for her entertainment in France, and declared that, whatever documents she might afterwards sign by decree of parliament, this arrangement expressed her genuine intention. After the return of the commissioners the crown

matrimonial, with the title of king, was granted by parliament to the dauphin.

While statesmen were occupied with the queen's marriage the Reformation had been steadily advancing. Knox laboured incessantly, preaching in Edinburgh ten days in succession and making rapid visits to the central and western shires. He attracted to his side representatives of the nobility and gentry, and had much support in the towns. The earl of Glencairn, Lord Lorne, Lord James Stuart, the future regent, and the laird of Dun, John Erskine, in Angus were amongst his earliest followers, as well as many of the tradesmen and artisans. Knox now openly denounced attendance at mass as idolatrous and began to administer the Lord's Supper after the manner of the Swiss Reformers. He was summoned to Edinburgh on a charge of heresy; but, though he kept the day, the proceedings were dropped. Shortly after he was again summoned, but meanwhile had accepted a call from Geneva. In his absence he was condemned for heresy and burned in effigy at the market cross of Edinburgh. Though absent, he continued the master-spirit of the Reformation in Scotland, and as the result of his exhortations Argyll, Glencairn, Morton, Lord Lorne, and Erskine of Dun drew up a bond (3d December 1557) to "defend the whole congregation of Christ and every member thereof . . . against Satan and all wicked power," themselves forsaking and renouncing "the congregation of Satan with all the superstition, abomination, and idolatry thereof." This was the first of many bonds or covenants in which, borrowing the old form of league amongst the Scottish nobility, the Lords of Congregation applied it to the purposes of the Reformation. They afterwards passed resolutions that prayers should be read weekly in all parishes by the curates publicly, with lessons from the Old and New Testaments, and that doctrine and the interpretation of the Scriptures should be used privately in quiet houses until God should move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful ministers. Argyll at once acted upon the resolutions and protected John Douglas, formerly a Dominican, his chaplain, who preached at Castle Campbell in spite of the remonstrance of Archbishop Hamilton. That prelate next took a fatal step. Walter Myln, parish priest of Lunan near Montrose, an old man of eighty-two, was burnt for heresy at St Andrews (8th April 1558). He was the last Protestant martyr in Scotland. The total number of deaths was small, it is believed twenty in all; but many people were banished or forced to leave the country and many fined, while none were allowed freedom of worship. Immediately after the death of Myln there began, says Knox, "a new fervencie amongst the whole people." Gathering courage from the popular feeling, the Lords of Congregation presented petitions in rapid succession to the regent. The first laid before her prayed "that it might be lawful to meet in public or in private for common prayer in the vulgar tongue, to interpret at such meetings hard places in Scripture, and to use that tongue in administering baptism and the Lord's Supper"; in reply permission was granted to preach in private and to administer the sacraments in the vulgar tongue. The second presented at the meeting of parliament prayed for a suspension of all Acts against heretics until a general council, that copies of the accusation and depositions should be given to all persons accused of heresy, that the accused should be allowed themselves to interpret any words charged as heretical, and should not be condemned unless found guilty of teaching contrary to Scripture. "The regent," Knox remarks, "spared not amiable looks and good words," but suffered the parliament to be dissolved (2d March 1557) without any answer. In the spring a synod met in Edinburgh and a third petition was laid before it, praying that the canons should be enforced against clergy who led scandalous lives, that there should be preaching on every Lord's day and on holidays, that no priests should be ordained unless able to read the Catechism distinctly, that prayer should be in the vulgar tongue, that the mortuary dues and Easter offerings should be optional, and that the consistorial process should be reformed. Another point was included according to Lesley,—that bishops should be elected with the consent of the laity of the diocese and priests with that of their parishioners. The synod replied that they could not dispense with Latin in public prayer as appointed by the church, and that the canon law must be observed as to elections of bishops and priests. On other matters they were prepared to make concessions, and passed thirty-four canons in the spirit of the council of Trent directed to the due investigation and punishment of immorality of the clergy and the inspection of monasteries, better provision for preaching by bishops and priests, the remission of mortuary dues to the very poor; and the recognition of the sacrament of baptism as administered by the Reformers. A short exposition of the mass was to be published. These concessions proved the necessity for reform; but, as they were silent on the principal points of doctrine, as well as on the more radical reforms in church government, they could not be accepted. The time of compromise, if compromise had ever been practicable between Rome and Geneva, to which the Scottish Reformers adhered, was now past. Two events had occurred before the synod separated which hastened the crisis. On 17th November 1558 the death of Mary Tudor once more placed on the English throne a sovereign inclined to favour the Reformation. In May, during the sittings of the synod, Knox returned to Scotland and the Scottish Reformers once more had a determined leader.

Struggle between Congregation and Mary of Guise.

The regent issued about Easter (1559) a proclamation forbidding any one to preach or administer the sacraments without authority of the bishops. Willock and other leading preachers having disregarded it were summoned to Stirling on 10th May. Their adherents assembled in great numbers, but mostly unarmed, at Perth, a town zealous for the Reformed opinions. Erskine of Dun went from there as a mediator to the regent at Stirling; she promised, but in vague terms, that she would take some better order with the ministers if their supporters did not advance. Notwithstanding they were outlawed for not appearing on the day of trial. Next day, when the news reached Perth, Knox preached his first public sermon (11th May) since his return, inveighing against "idolatry." Hardly had he ended when a priest began mass and opened the tabernacle on the high altar. A young man called out, "This is intolerable that, when God by His Word hath plainly damned idolatry, we shall stand and see it used." The priest struck the youth, who retaliated by throwing a stone, which broke an image. From this spark the fire kindled. The people destroyed the images in the church and then proceeded to sack the monasteries. The example of Perth was followed at many other places. The regent could not remain passive when the Congregation was sanctioning such action. But her position was one of grave difficulty. Her main support was from France, and, though she had adherents amongst the Scottish nobility, Argyll and Lord James, who were still with her at Stirling, were really committed to the Congregation. What course the new queen of England would take was still uncertain. On 11th May the regent advanced towards Perth, but the arrival of Glencairn with 2500 men from the west to aid the Congregation led to a compromise, of which the terms were these: both parties were to disband their troops; Perth was to be left open to the regent, but no French troops were to come within 3 miles; the inhabitants were