

[TG26-1, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 26, p. 1]

(26-1)QUEEN Margaret, who hated her husband Angus,
(26-1)as I have told you, now combined with his enemy
(26-1)Arran, to call James V, her son (though then only
(26-1)twelve years old), to the management of the public
(26-1)affairs; but the Earl of Angus, returning at this
(26-1)crisis from France, speedily obtained a superiority
(26-1)in the Scottish councils, and became the head of
(26-1)those nobles who desired to maintain a friendly
(26-1)alliance with England rather than to continue that
(26-1)league with France, which had so often involved
(26-1)Scotland in quarrels with their powerful neighbour.
(26-1)Margaret might have maintained her authority,
(26-1)for she was personally much beloved; but it was

[TG26-2, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 26, p. 2]

(26-2)the fate or the folly of that Queen to form rash
(26-2)marriages. Like her brother Henry of England,
(26-2)who tired of his wives, Margaret seems to have
(26-2)been addicted to tire of her husbands; but she had
(26-2)not the power of cutting the heads from the spouses
(26-2)whom she desired to be rid of. Having obtained
(26-2)a divorce from Angus, she married a young man of
(26-2)little power and inferior rank, named Henry Stewart,
(26-2)a younger son of Lord Evandale. She lost
(26-2)her influence by that ill-advised measure. Angus,
(26-2)therefore, rose to the supreme authority in Scotland,
(26-2)obtained possession of the person of the King,
(26-2)transacted every thing in the name of James, but
(26-2)by his own authority, and became in all respects
(26-2)the regent of Scotland, though without assuming
(26-2)the name.
(26-2)The talents of the Earl of Angus were equal to
(26-2)the charge he had assumed, and as he reconciled

(26-2)himself to his old rival the Earl of Arran, his power
(26-2)seemed founded on a sure basis. He was able to
(26-2)accomplish a treaty of peace with England, which
(26-2)was of great advantage to the kingdom. But,
(26-2)according to the fashion of the times, Angus was
(26-2)much too desirous to confer all the great offices,

[TG26-3, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 26, p. 3]

(26-3)lands, and other advantages in the disposal of the
(26-3)crown, upon his own friends and adherents, to the
(26-3)exclusion of all the nobles and gentry, who had
(26-3)either taken part against him in the late struggle
(26-3)for power, or were not decidedly his partisans.
(26-3)The course of justice also was shamefully perverted,
(26-3)by the partiality of Angus for his friends, kinsmen,
(26-3)and adherents.

(26-3)An old historian says, "that there dared no man
(26-3)strive at law with a Douglas, or yet with the adherent
(26-3)of a Douglas; for if he did, he was sure to
(26-3)get the worst of his lawsuits. And," he adds,
(26-3)"although Angus travelled through the country
(26-3)under the pretence of punishing thieves, robbers,
(26-3)and murderers, there were no malefactors so great
(26-3)as those which rode in his own company."
(26-3)The King, who was now fourteen years old,
(26-3)became disgusted with the sort of restraint in which
(26-3)Angus detained him, and desirous to free himself
(26-3)from his tutelage. His mother had doubtless a
(26-3)natural influence over him, and that likewise was
(26-3)exerted to the earl's prejudice. The Earl of
(26-3)Lennox, a wise and intelligent nobleman, near in
(26-3)blood to the King, was also active in fostering his

[TG26-4, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 26, p. 4]

(26-4)displeasure against the Douglasses, and schemes
(26-4)began to be agitated for taking the person of the
(26-4)King out of the hands of Angus. But Angus was
(26-4)so well established in the government, that his
(26-4)authority could not be destroyed except by military
(26-4)force; and it was not easy to bring such to bear
(26-4)against a man so powerful, and of such a martial
(26-4)character.

(26-4)At length it seems to have been determined to
(26-4)employ the agency of Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch,
(26-4)a man of great courage and military talent,
(26-4)head of a numerous and powerful clan, and possessed
(26-4)of much influence on the Border. He had
(26-4)been once the friend of Angus, and had even scaled
(26-4)the walls of Edinburgh with a great body of his
(26-4)clan, in order to render the party of the Earl uppermost
(26-4)in that city. But of late he had attached
(26-4)himself to Lennox, by whose counsel he seems to
(26-4)have been guided in the enterprise which I am
(26-4)about to give you an account of.

(26-4)Some excesses had taken place on the Border,
(26-4)probably by the connivance of Buccleuch, which
(26-4)induced Angus to march to Jedburgh, bringing the
(26-4)King in his company, lest he should have made his
(26-4)escape during his absence. He was joined by the
(26-4)clans of Home and Ker, both in league with him,
(26-4)and he had, besides, a considerable body of chosen
(26-4)attendants. Angus was returning from this expedition,
(26-4)and had passed the night at Melrose. The
(26-4)Kers and Homes had taken leave of the Earl, who
(26-4)with the King and his retinue had left Melrose,
(26-4)when a band of a thousand horsemen suddenly

[TG26-5, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 26, p. 5]

(26-5)appeared on the side of an eminence called Halidonhill,

(26-5)and, descending into the valley, interposed
(26-5)between the Earl and the bridge, by which he must
(26-5)pass the Tweed on his return northward.
(26-5)"Sir," said Angus to the King, "yonder comes
(26-5)Buccleuch, with the Border thieves of Teviotdale
(26-5)and Liddesdale, to interrupt your grace's passage.
(26-5)I vow to God they shall either flight or fly. You
(26-5)shall halt upon this knoll with my brother George,
(26-5)while we drive off these banditti, and clear the road
(26-5)for your grace."
(26-5)The King made no answer, for in his heart he
(26-5)desired that Buccleuch's undertaking might be
(26-5)successful; but he dared not say so.
(26-5)Angus, mean time, despatched a herald to charge
(26-5)Buccleuch to withdraw with his forces. Scott replied,
(26-5)"that he was come, according to the custom
(26-5)of the Borders, to show the King his clan and
(26-5)followers, and invite his grace to dine at his house."
(26-5)To which he added, "that he knew the King's
(26-5)mind as well as Angus." The Earl advanced,
(26-5)and the Borderers, shouting their war-cry of
(26-5)Bellenden, immediately joined battle, and fought
(26-5)stoutly; but the Homes and Kers, who were at no
(26-5)great distance, returned on hearing the alarm, and
(26-5)coming through the little village of Darnick, set
(26-5)upon Buccleuch's men, and decided the fate of the
(26-5)day. The Border riders fled, but Buccleuch and
(26-5)his followers fought bravely in their retreat, and
(26-5)turning upon the Kers, slew several of them; in
(26-5)particular, Ker of Cessford, a chief of the name,
(26-5)who was killed by the lance of one of the Elliots, a

[TG26-6, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 26, p. 6]

(26-6)retainer of Buccleuch. His death occasioned a
(26-6)deadly feud between the clans of Scott and Ker,

(26-6)which lasted for a century, and cost much blood.
(26-6)This skirmish took place on the 25th of July, 1526.
(26-6)About eighty Scotts were slain on the field of
(26-6)battle, and a sentence was pronounced against
(26-6)Buccleuch and many of his clan, as guilty of high
(26-6)treason. But after the King had shaken off the
(26-6)yoke of the Douglasses, he went in person to
(26-6)Parliament to obtain the restoration of Buccleuch,
(26-6)who, he declared on his kingly word, had come to
(26-6)Melrose without any purpose of quarrel, but merely
(26-6)to pay his duty to his prince, and show him the
(26-6)number of his followers. In evidence of which the
(26-6)King said that the said Wat was not clad in armour,
(26-6)but in a leathern coat (a buff-coat, I suppose), with
(26-6)a black bonnet on his head. The family were restored
(26-6)to their estates accordingly; but Sir Walter
(26-6)Scott was long afterwards murdered by the Kers,
(26-6)at Edinburgh, in revenge of the death of the Laird
(26-6)of Cessford.
(26-6)The Earl of Lennox, being disappointed in procuring
(26-6)the King's release by means of Buccleuch,
(26-6)now resolved to attempt it in person. He received
(26-6)much encouragement from the Chancellor
(26-6)Beaton (distinguished at the skirmish called
(26-6)Clean-the Causeway), from the Earl of Glencairn, and
(26-6)other noblemen, who saw with displeasure the
(26-6)Earl of Angus confining the young King like a
(26-6)prisoner, and that all the administration of the
(26-6)kingdom centered in the Douglasses. Lennox
(26-6)assembled an army of ten or twelve thousand men,

[TG26-7, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 26, p. 7]

(26-7)and advanced upon Edinburgh from Stirling.
(26-7)Angus and Arran, who were still closely leagued
(26-7)together, encountered Lennox, with an inferior

(26-7)force, near the village of Newliston. The rumour
(26-7)that a battle was about to commence soon reached
(26-7)Edinburgh, when Sir George Douglas hastened to
(26-7)call out the citizens in arms, to support his brother,
(26-7)the Earl of Angus. The city bells were rung,
(26-7)trumpets were sounded, and the King himself was
(26-7)obliged to mount on horseback, to give countenance
(26-7)to the measures of the Douglasses, whom in his
(26-7)soul he detested. James was so sensible of his
(26-7)situation, that he tried, by every means in his
(26-7)power, to delay the march of the forces which were
(26-7)mustered at Edinburgh. When they reached the
(26-7)village of Corstorphine, they heard the thunder of
(26-7)the guns; which inflamed the fierce impatience of
(26-7)George Douglas to reach the field of battle, and
(26-7)also increased the delays of the young King, who
(26-7)was in hopes Angus might be defeated before his
(26-7)brother could come up. Douglas, perceiving this,
(26-7)addressed the King in language which James never
(26-7)forgot nor forgave;--"Your grace need not think
(26-7)to escape us," said this fierce warrior; "if our enemies
(26-7)had hold of you on one side, and we on the
(26-7)other, we would tear you to pieces ere we would
(26-7)let you go."
(26-7)Tidings now came from the field of battle that
(26-7)Lennox had been defeated, and that Angus had
(26-7)gained the victory. The young King, dismayed
(26-7)at the news, now urged his attendants to gallop
(26-7)forward, as much as he had formerly desired them

[TG26-8, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 26, p. 8]

(26-8)to hang back. He charged them to prevent slaughter,
(26-8)and save lives, especially that of Lennox. Sir
(26-8)Andrew Wood, one of the King's cup-bearers,
(26-8)arrived in the field of battle time enough to save

(26-8)the Earl of Glencairn, who was still fighting gallantly
(26-8)by assistance of some strong ground, though
(26-8)he had scarce thirty men left alive; and Wood
(26-8)contrived to convey him safe out of the field. But
(26-8)Lennox, about whose safety the King was so anxious,
(26-8)was already no more. He had been slain, in
(26-8)cold blood, by that bloodthirsty man, Sir James
(26-8)Hamilton of Draphane, who took him from the
(26-8)Laird of Pardivan, to whom he had surrendered
(26-8)himself. This deed seemed to flow from the brutal
(26-8)nature of the perpetrator, who took such a pleasure
(26-8)in shedding blood, that he slashed with his own
(26-8)hand the faces of many of the prisoners. Arran,
(26-8)the father of this ferocious man, bitterly lamented
(26-8)the fate of Lennox, who was his nephew. He was
(26-8)found mourning beside the body, over which he had
(26-8)spread his scarlet cloak. "The hardiest, stoutest,
(26-8)and wisest man that Scotland bore," he said, "lies
(26-8)here slain."
(26-8)After these two victories, the Earl of Angus
(26-8)seemed to be so firmly established in power, that
(26-8)his followers set no bounds to their presumption,
(26-8)and his enemies were obliged to fly and hide themselves.
(26-8)Chancellor Beaton, disguised as a shepherd,
(26-8)fed sheep on Bogrian-knowe, until he made
(26-8)his peace with the Earls of Angus and Arran, by
(26-8)great gifts, both in money and in church lands.
(26-8)Angus established around the King's person a

[TG26-9, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 26, p. 9]

(26-9)guard of a hundred men of his own choice, commanded
(26-9)by Douglas of Parkhead; he made his
(26-9)brother George, whom James detested, Master of
(26-9)the Royal Household; and Archibald of Kilspindie,
(26-9)his uncle, Lord Treasurer of the Realm. But

(26-9)the close restraint in which the King found himself,
(26-9)only increased his eager desire to be rid of all the
(26-9)Douglasses together. Force having failed in two
(26-9)instances, James had recourse to stratagem.

(26-9)He prevailed on his mother, Queen Margaret,
(26-9)to yield up to him the castle of Stirling, which was
(26-9)her jointure-house, and secretly to put in into the
(26-9)hands of a governor whom he could trust. This
(26-9)was done with much caution. Thus prepared with
(26-9)a place of refuge, James watched with anxiety an
(26-9)opportunity of flying to it; and he conducted himself
(26-9)with such apparent confidence towards Angus,
(26-9)that the Douglasses were lulled into security, and
(26-9)concluded that the King was reconciled to his state
(26-9)of bondage, and had despaired of making his
(26-9)escape.

(26-9)James was then residing at Falkland, a royal
(26-9)palace conveniently situated for hunting and hawking,
(26-9)in which he seemed to take great pleasure.

(26-9)The Earl of Angus at this period left the court for
(26-9)Lothian, where he had some urgent business--
(26-9)Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie went to Dundee,
(26-9)to visit a lady to whom he attached -- and
(26-9)George Douglas had gone to St Andrews, to extort
(26-9)some farther advantages from Chancellor
(26-9)Beaton, who was now archbishop of that see, and
(26-9)primate of Scotland. There was thus none of the

[TG26-10, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 26, p. 10]

(26-10)Douglasses left about the King's person, except
(26-10)Parkhead, with his guard of one hundred men, in
(26-10)whose vigilance the others confided.
(26-10)The King thought the time favourable for his
(26-10)escape. To lay all suspicion asleep, he pretended
(26-10)he was to rise next morning at an early hour, for

(26-10)the purpose of hunting the stag. Douglas of Parkhead,
(26-10)suspecting nothing, retired to bed after
(26-10)placing his watch. But the King was no sooner
(26-10)in his private chamber, than he called a trusty page,
(26-10)named John Hart:- "Jockie," said he, "dost thou
(26-10)love me?"

(26-10)"Better than myself," answered the domestic.
(26-10)"And will you risk any thing for me?"
(26-10)"My life, with pleasure," said John Hart.
(26-10)The King then explained his purpose, and dressing
(26-10)himself in the attire of a groom, he went with
(26-10)Hart to the stable, as if for the purpose of getting
(26-10)the horses ready for the next day's hunt. The
(26-10)guards, deceived by their appearance, gave them
(26-10)no interruption. At the stables three good horses
(26-10)were saddled and in readiness, under charge of a
(26-10)yeoman, or groom, whom the King had intrusted
(26-10)with his design.
(26-10)James mounted with his two servants, and galloped,
(26-10)during the whole night, as eager as a bird
(26-10)just escaped from a cage. At daylight
(26-10)he reached the bridge of Stirling, which
(26-10)was the only mode of passing the river
(26-10)Forth, except by boats. It was defended by gates,
(26-10)which the King, after passing through them, ordered
(26-10)to be closed, and directed the passage to be

[TG26-11, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 26, p. 11]

(26-11)watched. He was a weary man when he reached
(26-11)Stirling castle, where he was joyfully received by
(26-11)the governor, whom his mother had placed in that
(26-11)strong fortress. The drawbridges were raised, the
(26-11)portcullises dropt, guards set, and every measure
(26-11)of defence and precaution resorted to. But the
(26-11)King was so much afraid of again falling into the

(26-11)hands of Douglasses, that, tired as he was, he
(26-11)would not go to sleep until the keys of the castle
(26-11)were placed in his own keeping, and laid underneath
(26-11)his pillow.

(26-11)In the morning there was a great alarm at Falkland.

(26-11)Sir George Douglas had returned thither,
(26-11)on the night of the King's departure, about eleven
(26-11)o'clock. On his arrival, he enquired after the
(26-11)King, and was answered by the porter as well as
(26-11)the watchmen upon guard, that he was sleeping in
(26-11)his chamber, as he intended to hunt early in the
(26-11)morning. Sir George therefore retired to rest in
(26-11)full security. But the next morning he learned
(26-11)different tidings. One Peter Carmichael, bailie of
(26-11)Abernethy, knocked at the door of his chamber,
(26-11)and asked him if he knew "what the King was
(26-11)doing that morning?"

(26-11)"He is in his chamber asleep," said Sir George.

(26-11)"You are mistaken," answered Carmichael; "he
(26-11)passed the bridge of Stirling this last night."

(26-11)On hearing this, Douglas started up in haste,
(26-11)went to the King's chamber, and knocked for
(26-11)admittance. When no answer was returned, he
(26-11)caused the door to be forced, and when he found
(26-11)the apartment empty, he cried, "Treason!--The

[TG26-12, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 26, p. 12]

(26-12)King is gone, and none knows whither." Then he
(26-12)sent post to his brother, the Earl of Angus, and
(26-12)despatched messengers in every direction, to seek
(26-12)the King, and to assemble the Douglasses.

(26-12)When the truth became known, the adherents
(26-12)of Angus rode in a body of Stirling; but the King
(26-12)was so far from desiring to receive them, that he
(26-12)threatened, by sound of trumpet, to declare any of

(26-12)the name of Douglas a traitor who should approach
(26-12)within twelve miles of his person, or who should
(26-12)presume to meddle with the administration of
(26-12)government. Some of the Douglasses inclined to
(26-12)resist this proclamation; but the Earl of Angus
(26-12)and his brother resolved to obey it, and withdrew
(26-12)to Linlithgow.

(26-12)Soon afterwards, the King assembled around
(26-12)him the numerous nobility, who envied the power
(26-12)of Angus and Arran, or had suffered injuries at
(26-12)their hands; and, in open parliament, accused them
(26-12)of treason, declaring, that he had never been sure
(26-12)of his life all the while that he was in their power.
(26-12)A sentence of forfeiture was, therefore, passed
(26-12)against the Earl of Angus, and he was driven into
(26-12)exile, with all his friends and kinsmen. And thus
(26-12)the Red Douglasses, of the house of Angus, shared
(26-12)almost the same fate with the Black Douglasses,
(26-12)of the elder branch of that mighty house; with this
(26-12)difference, that as they had never risen so high, so
(26-12)they did not fall so irretrievably; for the Earl of
(26-12)Angus lived to return and enjoy his estates in
(26-12)Scotland, where he again played a distinguished
(26-12)part. But this was not till after the death of

[TG26-13, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 26, p. 13]

(26-13)James V, who retained, during his whole life, an
(26-13)implacable resentment against the Douglasses, and
(26-13)never permitted one of the name to settle in Scotland(26-13).

(26-13)James persevered in this resolution even under
(26-13)circumstances which rendered his unrelenting resentment
(26-13)ungenerous. Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie,
(26-13)the Earl of Angus's uncle, had been a
(26-13)personal favourite of the King before the disgrace
(26-13)of his family. He was so much recommended to

(26-13)James by his great strength, manly appearance,
(26-13)and skill in every kind of warlike exercise, that he
(26-13)was wont to call him his Graysteil, after the name
(26-13)of a champion in a romance then popular. Archibald,
(26-13)becoming rather an old man, and tired of his
(26-13)exile in England, resolved to try the King's mercy.
(26-13)He thought that as they had been so well acquainted
(26-13)formerly, and as he had never offended James
(26-13)personally, he might find favour from their old
(26-13)intimacy. He, therefore, threw himself in the
(26-13)King's way one day as he returned from hunting
(26-13)in the park at Stirling. It was several years since
(26-13)James had seen him, but he knew him at a great
(26-13)distance, by his firm and stately step, and said,
(26-13)"Yonder is my Graysteil, Archibald of Kilspindie."
(26-13)But when they met, he showed no appearance
(26-13)of recognising his old servant. Douglas
(26-13)turned, and still hoping to obtain a glance of
(26-13)favourable recollection, ran along by the King's

[TG26-14, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 26, p. 14]

(26-14)side; and although James trotted his horse hard
(26-14)against the hill, and Douglas wore a heavy shirt of
(26-14)mail under his clothes, for fear of assassination, yet
(26-14)Graysteil was at the castle gate as soon as the
(26-14)King. James passed him, and entered the castle;
(26-14)but Douglas, exhausted with exertion, sat down at
(26-14)the gate, and asked for a cup of wine. The hatred
(26-14)of the King against the name of Douglas was so
(26-14)well known, that no domestic about the court dared
(26-14)procure for the old warrior even this trifling
(26-14)refreshment. The King blamed, indeed, his servants
(26-14)for their discourtesy, and even said, that but
(26-14)for his oath never to employ a Douglas, he would
(26-14)have received Archibald of Kilspindie into his

(26-14)service, as he had formerly known him a man of
(26-14)great ability. Yet he sent his commands to his
(26-14)poor Graysteil to retire to France, where he died
(26-14)heart-broken soon afterwards. Even Henry VIII
(26-14)of England, himself of an unforgiving temper,
(26-14)blamed the implacability of James on this occasion,
(26-14)and quoted an old proverb,
(26-14) " A King's face
(26-14) Should give grace."

[TG27-15, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 27, p. 15]

(27-15)FREED from the stern control of the Douglas
(27-15)family, James V now began to exercise the government
(27-15)in person, and displayed most of the
(27-15)qualities of a wise and good prince. He was a handsome
(27-15)in his person, and resembled his father in
(27-15)the fondness for military exercises, and the spirit
(27-15)of chivalrous honour which James VI loved to
(27-15)display. He also inherited his father's love of
(27-15)justice, and his desire to establish and enforce wise
(27-15)and equal laws, which should protect the weak
(27-15)against the oppression of the great. It was easy
(27-15)enough to make laws, but to put them in vigorous
(27-15)exercise was of much greater difficulty; and in his
(27-15)attempt to accomplish this laudable purpose, James
(27-15)often incurred the ill-will of the more powerful
(27-15)nobles. He was a well-educated and accomplished
(27-15)man; and like his ancestor, James I, was a poet
(27-15)and a musician. He had, however, his defects.
(27-15)He avoided his father's failing of profusion, having

[TG27-16, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 27, p. 16]

(27-16)no hoarded treasures to employ on pomp and show;
(27-16)but he rather fell into the opposite fault, being of

(27-16)a temper too parsimonious; and though he loved
(27-16)state and display, he endeavoured to gratify that
(27-16)taste as economically as possible, so that he has
(27-16)been censured as rather close and covetous. He
(27-16)was also, though the foibles seem inconsistent, fond
(27-16)of pleasure, and disposed to too much indulgence.
(27-16)It must be added, that when provoked, he was
(27-16)unrelenting even to cruelty; for which he had some
(27-16)apology, considering the ferocity of the subjects
(27-16)over whom he reigned. But, on the whole, James
(27-16)V was an amiable man, and a good sovereign.
(27-16)His first care was to bring the Borders of Scotland
(27-16)to some degree of order. These, as you were
(27-16)formerly told, were inhabited by tribes
(27-16)of men, forming each a different clan, as
(27-16)they were called, and obeying no orders, save those
(27-16)which were given by their chiefs. These chiefs
(27-16)were supposed to represent the first founder of the
(27-16)name, or family. The attachment of the clansmen
(27-16)to the chief was very great: indeed, they paid
(27-16)respect to no one else. In this the Borderers
(27-16)agreed with the Highlanders, as also in their love
(27-16)of plunder, and neglect of the general laws of the
(27-16)country. But the Border men wore no tartan
(27-16)dress, and served almost always on horseback,
(27-16)whereas the Highlanders acted always on foot.
(27-16)You will also remember that the Borderers spoke
(27-16)the Scottish language, and not the Gaelic tongue
(27-16)used by the mountaineers.
(27-16)The situation of these clans on the frontiers exposed

[TG27-17, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 27, p. 17]

(27-17)them to constant war; so that they thought
(27-17)of nothing else but of collecting bands of their followers
(27-17)together, and making incursions, without

(27-17)much distinction, on the English, on the Lowland
(27-17) (or inland) Scots, or upon each other. They paid
(27-17)little respect either to times of truce or treaties of
(27-17)peace, but exercised their depredations without
(27-17)regard to either, and often occasioned wars betwixt
(27-17)England and Scotland which would not otherwise
(27-17)have taken place.

(27-17)It is said of a considerable family on the Borders,
(27-17)that when they had consumed all the cattle
(27-17)about the castle, a pair of spurs was placed on the
(27-17)table in a covered dish, as a hint that they must
(27-17)ride out and fetch more. The chiefs and leading
(27-17)men told down their daughters' portions according
(27-17)to the plunder which they were able to collect in
(27-17)the course of a Michaelmas moon, when its prolonged
(27-17)light allowed them opportunity for their
(27-17)freebooting excursions. They were very brave in
(27-17)battle, but in time of peace they were a pest to
(27-17)their Scottish neighbours. As their insolence had
(27-17)risen to a high pitch after the field of Flodden had
(27-17)thrown the country into confusion, James V resolved
(27-17)to take very severe measures against them.
(27-17)His first step was to secure the persons of the
(27-17)principal chieftains by whom these disorders were
(27-17)privately encouraged. The Earl of Bothwell, the
(27-17)Lord Home, Lord Maxwell, Scott of Buccleuch,
(27-17)Ker of Fairniehirst, and other powerful chiefs, who
(27-17)might have opposed the King's purposes, were

[TG27-18, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 27, p. 18]

(27-18)seized, and imprisoned in separate fortresses in the
(27-18)inland country.
(27-18)James then assembled an army, in which warlike
(27-18)purposes were united with those of silvan sport;
(27-18)for he ordered all the gentlemen in

(27-18)the wild districts which he intended to
(27-18)visit, to bring in their best dogs, as if his only
(27-18)purpose had been to hunt the deer in those desolate
(27-18)regions. This was intended to prevent the Borderers
(27-18)from taking the alarm, in which case they
(27-18)would have retreated into their mountains and
(27-18)fastnesses, from whence it would have been difficult
(27-18)to dislodge them.

(27-18)These men had indeed no distinct idea of the
(27-18)offences which they had committed, and consequently
(27-18)no apprehension of the King's displeasure
(27-18)against them. The laws had been so long silent
(27-18)in that remote and disorderly country, that the
(27-18)outrages which were practised by the strong against
(27-18)the weak, seemed to the perpetrators the natural
(27-18)course of society, and to present nothing that was
(27-18)worthy of punishment.

(27-18)Thus, as the King, in the beginning of his
(27-18)expedition, suddenly approached the castle of
(27-18)Piers Cockburn of Henderland, that baron was
(27-18)in the act of providing a great entertainment to
(27-18)welcome him, when James caused him to be suddenly
(27-18)seized on, and executed. Adam Scott of
(27-18)Tushielaw, called the King of the Border, met the
(27-18)same fate. But an event of greater importance,
(27-18)was the fate of John Armstrong of Gilnockie, near
(27-18)Langholm.

[TG27-19, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 27, p. 19]

(27-19)This freebooting chief had risen to great consequence,
(27-19)and the whole neighbouring district of
(27-19)England paid him black mail, that is, a sort of
(27-19)tribute, in consideration of which he forbore plundering
(27-19)them. He had a high idea of his own
(27-19)importance, and seems to have been unconscious of

(27-19)having merited any severe usage at the King's
(27-19)hands. On the contrary, he came to meet his
(27-19)sovereign at a place about ten miles from Hawick,
(27-19)called Carlinrigg chapel, richly dressed, and
(27-19)having with him twenty-four gentlemen, his constant
(27-19)retinue, as well attired as himself. The
(27-19)King, incensed to see a freebooter so gallantly
(27-19)equipped, commanded him instantly to be led to
(27-19)execution, saying, "What wants this knave, save
(27-19)a crown, to be as magnificent as a king?" John
(27-19)Armstrong made great offers for his life, offering
(27-19)to maintain himself, with forty men ready to serve
(27-19)the King at a moment's notice, at his own expense;
(27-19)engaging never to hurt or injure any Scottish
(27-19)subject, as indeed had never been his practice;
(27-19)and undertaking, that there was not a man in
(27-19)England, of whatever degree, duke, earl, lord, or
(27-19)baron, but he would engage, within a short time,
(27-19)to present him to the King, dead or alive. But
(27-19)when the King would listen to none of his offers,
(27-19)the robber-chief said, very proudly, "I am but a
(27-19)fool to ask grace at a graceless face; but had I
(27-19)guessed you would have used me thus, I would
(27-19)have kept the Border-side, in despite of the King
(27-19)of England and you both; for I well know that
(27-19)King Henry would give the weight of my best

[TG27-20, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 27, p. 20]

(27-20)horse in gold to know that I am sentenced to die
(27-20)this day."
(27-20)John Armstrong was led to execution, with all
(27-20)his men, and hanged without mercy. The people
(27-20)of the inland counties were glad to be rid of him;
(27-20)but on the Borders he was both missed and mourned,
(27-20)as a brave warrior, and a stout man-at-arms

(27-20)against England.

(27-20)Such were the effects of the terror struck by
(27-20)these general executions, that James was said to
(27-20)have made "the rush bush keep the cow;" that is
(27-20)to say, that even in this lawless part of the country,
(27-20)men dared no longer make free with property,
(27-20)and cattle might remain on their pastures unwatched.
(27-20)James was also enabled to draw profit
(27-20)from the lands which the crown possessed near the
(27-20)Borders, and is said to have had ten thousands sheep
(27-20)at one time grazing in Ettrick Forest, under the
(27-20)keeping of one Andrew Bell, who gave the King
(27-20)as good an account of the profits of the flock, as if
(27-20)they had been grazing in the bounds of Fife, then
(27-20)the most civilized part of Scotland.
(27-20)On the other hand, the Borders of Scotland were
(27-20)greatly weakened by the destruction of so many
(27-20)brave men, who, notwithstanding their lawless
(27-20)course of life, were true defenders of their country;
(27-20)and there is reason to censure the extent to
(27-20)which James carried his severity, as being to a
(27-20)certain degree impolitic, and beyond doubt cruel
(27-20)and excessive.

(27-20)In the like manner James proceeded against the
(27-20)Highland chiefs; and by executions, forfeitures,

[TG27-21, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 27, p. 21]

(27-21)and other severe measures, he brought the Northern
(27-21)mountaineers, as he had already done those of
(27-21)the South, into comparative subjection. He then
(27-21)set at liberty the Border chiefs, and others whom
(27-21)he had imprisoned, lest they should have offered
(27-21)any hinderance to the course of his justice.

(27-21)As these fiery chieftains, after this severe chastisement,
(27-21)could no longer as formerly attack each

(27-21)other's castles and lands, they were forced to vent
(27-21)their deadly animosities in duels, which were frequently
(27-21)fought in the King's presence, his royal
(27-21)permission being first obtained. Thus, Douglas of
(27-21)Drumlanrig and Charteris of Amisfield did battle
(27-21)together in presence of the King, each having accused
(27-21)the other of high treason. They fought on
(27-21)foot with huge two-handed swords. Drumlanrig
(27-21)was somewhat blind, or shortsighted, and being in
(27-21)great fury, struck about him without seeing where
(27-21)he hit, and the Laird of Amisfield was not more
(27-21)successful, for his sword broke in the encounter;
(27-21)upon this, the King caused the battle to cease, and
(27-21)the combatants were with difficulty separated.
(27-21)Thus the King gratified these unruly barons, by
(27-21)permitting them to fight in his own presence, in
(27-21)order to induce them to remain at peace elsewhere.

(27-21)James V, like his father James IV, had a custom
(27-21)of going about the country disguised as a
(27-21)private person, in order that he might hear complaints
(27-21)which might not otherwise reach his ears,
(27-21)and, perhaps, that he might enjoy amusements
(27-21)which he could not have partaken of in his avowed

[TG27-22, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 27, p. 22]

(27-22)royal character. This is also said to have been a
(27-22)custom of James IV, his father, and several adventures
(27-22)are related of what befell them on such occasions.
(27-22)One or two of these narratives may help
(27-22)to enliven our story.

(27-22)When James V travelled in disguise, he used a
(27-22)name which was known only to some of his principal
(27-22)nobility and attendants. He was called the
(27-22)Goodman (the tenant, that is) of Ballengiech.
(27-22)Ballengiech is a steep pass which leads down behind

(27-22)the castle of Stirling. Once upon a time, when
(27-22)the court was feasting on Stirling, the King sent
(27-22)for some venison from the neighbouring hills. The
(27-22)deer was killed, and put on horses' backs to be
(27-22)transported to Stirling. Unluckily they had to
(27-22)pass the castle gate of Arnpryor, belonging to a
(27-22)chief of the Buchanans, who chanced to have a considerable
(27-22)number of guests with him. It was late,
(27-22)and the company were rather short of victuals,
(27-22)though they had more than enough of liquor. The
(27-22)chief, seeing so much fat venison passing his very
(27-22)door, seized on it; and to the expostulations of the
(27-22)keepers, who told him it belonged to King James,
(27-22)he answered insolently, that if James was King in
(27-22)Scotland, he, Buchanan, was king in Kippen; being
(27-22)the name of the district in which the castle of Arnpryor
(27-22)lay. On hearing what had happened, the
(27-22)King got on horseback, and rode instantly from
(27-22)Stirling to Buchanan's house, where he found a
(27-22)strong fierce-looking Highlander, with an axe on
(27-22)his shoulder, standing sentinel at the door. This
(27-22)grim warder refused the King admittance, saying,

[TG27-23, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 27, p. 23]

(27-23)that the laird of Arnpryor was at dinner, and
(27-23)would not be disturbed. "Yet go up to the company,
(27-23)my good friend," said the King, "and tell
(27-23)him that the Goodman of Ballengiech is come to
(27-23)feast with the King of Kippen." The porter went
(27-23)grumbling into the house, and told his master that
(27-23)there was a fellow with a red beard at the gate,
(27-23)who called himself the Goodman of Ballengiech,
(27-23)who said he was come to dine with the King of
(27-23)Kippen. As soon as Buchanan heard these words,
(27-23)he knew that the King was come in person, and

(27-23)hastened down to kneel at James's feet, and to ask
(27-23)forgiveness for his insolent behaviour. But the
(27-23)King, who only meant to give him a fright, forgave
(27-23)him freely, and, going into the castle, feasted on
(27-23)his venison which Buchanan had intercepted.
(27-23)Buchanan of Arnpryor was ever afterwards called
(27-23)the King of Kippen.
(27-23)Upon another occasion, King James, being alone
(27-23)and in disguise, fell into a quarrel with some gypsies,
(27-23)or other vagrants, and was assaulted by four
(27-23)or five of them. This chanced to be very near the
(27-23)bridge of Cramond; so the King got on the bridge,
(27-23)which, as it was high and narrow, enabled him to
(27-23)defend himself with his sword against the number
(27-23)of persons by whom he was attacked. There was
(27-23)a poor man thrashing corn in a barn near by, who
(27-23)came out on hearing the noise of the scuffle, and
(27-23)seeing one man defending himself against numbers,
(27-23)gallantly took the King's part with his flail, to such
(27-23)good purpose, that the gypsies were obliged to fly.
(27-23)The husbandman then took the King into the barn,

[TG27-24, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 27, p. 24]

(27-24)brought him a towel and water to wash the blood
(27-24)from his face and hands, and finally walked with
(27-24)him a little way towards Edinburgh, in case he
(27-24)should be again attacked. On the way, the King
(27-24)asked his companion what and who he was. The
(27-24)labourer answered, that his name was John Howieson,
(27-24)and that he was a bondsman on the farm of
(27-24)Braehead, near Cramond, which belonged to the
(27-24)King of Scotland. James then asked the poor
(27-24)man, if there was any wish in the world which he
(27-24)would particularly desire should be gratified; and
(27-24)honest John confessed, he should think himself the

(27-24)happiest man in Scotland were he but proprietor
(27-24)of the farm on which he wrought as a labourer.
(27-24)He then asked the King, in turn, who he was; and
(27-24)James replied, as usual, that he was the Goodman
(27-24)of Ballengiech, a poor man who had a small appointment
(27-24)about the palace; but he added, that if John
(27-24)Howieson would come to see him on the next Sunday,
(27-24)he would endeavour to repay his manful assistance,
(27-24)and, at least, give him the pleasure of seeing
(27-24)the royal apartments.
(27-24)John put on his best clothes, as you may
(27-24)suppose, and appearing at a postern gate of the
(27-24)palace, enquired for the Goodman of Ballengiech.
(27-24)The King had given orders that he should be
(27-24)admitted; and John found his friend, the goodman,
(27-24)in the same disguise which he had formerly
(27-24>worn. The King, still preserving the character
(27-24)of an inferior officer of the household, conducted
(27-24)John Howieson from one apartment of the palace
(27-24)to another, and was amused with his wonder and

[TG27-25, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 27, p. 25]

(27-25)his remarks. At length, James asked his visitor
(27-25)if he should like to see the King; to which John
(27-25)replied, nothing would delight him so much, if he
(27-25)could do so without giving offence. The Goodman
(27-25)of Ballengiech, of course, undertook that the
(27-25)King would not be angry. "But," said John,
(27-25)"how am I to know his grace from the nobles who
(27-25)will be all about him?"--"Easily," replied his
(27-25)companion; "all the others will be uncovered-
(27-25)the King alone will wear his hat or bonnet."
(27-25)So speaking, King James introduced the countryman
(27-25)into a great hall, which was filled by the
(27-25)nobility and officers of the crown. John was a

(27-25) little frightened, and drew close to his attendant; but was still unable to distinguish the King. "I (27-25) told you that you should know him by his wearing (27-25) his hat," said the conductor. "Then," said John, (27-25) after he had again looked around the room, "it (27-25) must be either you or me, for all but us two are (27-25) bare-headed."
(27-25) The King laughed at John's fancy; and that the (27-25) good yeoman might have occasion for mirth also, (27-25) he made him a present of the farm of Braehead, (27-25) which he had wished so much to possess, on condition (27-25) that John Howieson, or his successors, should (27-25) be ready to present an ewer and basin for the King (27-25) to wash his hands, when his Majesty should come (27-25) to Holyrood palace, or should pass the bridge of (27-25) Cramond. Accordingly, in the year 1822, when (27-25) George IV came to Scotland, the descendant of (27-25) John Howieson of Braehead, who still possesses (27-25) the estate which was given to his ancestor, appeared

[TG27-26, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 27, p. 26]

(27-26) at a solemn festival, and offered his Majesty water (27-26) from a silver ewer, that he might perform the (27-26) service by which he held his lands.
(27-26) James V was very fond of hunting, and, when (27-26) he pursued that amusement in the Highlands, he (27-26) used to wear the peculiar dress of that country, (27-26) having a long and wide Highland shirt, and a (27-26) jacket of tartan velvet, with plaid hose, and every (27-26) thing else corresponding. The accounts for these (27-26) are in the books of his chamberlain, still preserved.
(27-26) On one occasion, when the King had an ambassador (27-26) of the Pope along with him, with various (27-26) foreigners of distinction, they were splendidly (27-26) entertained by the Earl of Athole

(27-26)in a huge and singular rustic palace. It was built
(27-26)of timber, in the midst of a great meadow, and
(27-26)surrounded by moats, or fosses, full of the most
(27-26)delicate fish. It was enclosed and defended by
(27-26)towers, as if it had been a regular castle, and had
(27-26)within it many apartments, which were decked
(27-26)with flowers and branches, so that in treading them
(27-26)one seemed to be in a garden. Here were all
(27-26)kinds of game, and other provisions in abundance,
(27-26)with many cooks to make them ready, and plenty
(27-26)of the most costly spices and wines. The Italian
(27-26)ambassador was greatly surprised to see, amongst
(27-26)rocks and wildnesses, which seemed to be the
(27-26)very extremity of the world, such good lodging
(27-26)and so magnificent an entertainment. But what
(27-26)surprised him most of all, was to see the Highlanders
(27-26)set fire to the wooden castle as soon as the
(27-26)hunting was over, and the King in the act of

[TG27-27, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 27, p. 27]

(27-26)departing. "Such is the constant practice of our
(27-26)Highlanders," said James to the ambassador;
(27-27)"however well they may be lodged over night,
(27-27)they always burn their lodging before they leave
(27-26)it." By this the King intimated the predatory
(27-27)and lawless habits displayed by these mountaineers.
(27-27).The reign of James V was not alone distinguished
(27-27)by his personal adventures and pastimes,
(27-27)but is honourably remembered on account of wise
(27-27)laws made for the government of his people, and
(27-27)for restraining the crimes and violence which were
(27-27)frequently practised among them; especially those
(27-27)of assassination, burning of houses, and driving of
(27-27)cattle, the usual and ready means by which powerful
(27-27)chiefs avenged themselves of their feudal enemies.

(27-27).For the decision of civil questions, James V invented
(27-27)and instituted what is called the College of
(27-27)Justice, being the Supreme Court of Scotland in
(27-26)civil affairs. It consisted of fourteen judges (half
(27-27)clergy, half laity) and a president, who heard and
(27-26)decided causes. A certain number of learned men,
(27-27)trained to understand laws, were appointed to
(27-27)the task of pleading the causes of such as had lawsuits
(27-27)before these judges, who constituted what is
(27-26)popularly termed the Court of Session. These men
(27-27)were called advocates; and this was the first establishment
(27-27)of a body, regularly educated to the law,
(27-27)which has ever since been regarded in Scotland as
(27-27)an honourable profession, and has produced many
(27-27)great men.

[TG27-28, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 27, p. 28]

(27-28)James V used great diligence in improving
(27-28)his navy, and undertook what was, at the
(27-28)time, rather a perilous task, to sail in
(27-28)person round Scotland, and cause an accurate survey
(27-28)to be made of the various coasts, bays, and
(27-28)islands, harbours, and roadsteads of his kingdom,
(27-28)many of which had been unknown to his predecessors,
(27-28)even by name.
(27-28)This active and patriotic Prince ordered the mineral
(27-28)wealth of Scotland to be also enquired into.
(27-28)He obtained miners from Germany, who extracted
(27-28)both silver and gold from the mines of Leadhills, in
(27-28)the upper part of Clydesdale. The gold was of fine
(27-28)quality, and found in quantity sufficient to supply
(27-28)metal for a very elegant gold coin, which, bearing
(27-28)on one side the head of James V wearing a bonnet,
(27-28)has been thence called the Bonnet-piece. It
(27-28)is said, that upon one occasion the King invited the

(27-28)ambassadors of Spain, France, and other foreign
(27-28)countries, to hunt with him in Crawford Moor, the
(27-28)district in which lie the mines I have just mentioned.
(27-28)They dined in the castle of Crawford, a rude
(27-28)old fortress. The King made some apology for
(27-28)the dinner, which was composed of the game they
(27-28)had killed during the hunting and hawking of the
(27-28)day, but he assured his guests that the dessert
(27-28)would make them some amends, as he had given
(27-28)directions that it should consist of the finest fruits
(27-28)which the country afforded. The foreigners looked
(27-28)at each other in surprise, on hearing the King
(27-28)talk of fruits being produced amidst the black
(27-28)moors and barren mountains around them. But

[TG27-29, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 27, p. 29]

(27-29)the dessert made its appearance in the shape of a
(27-29)number of covered saucers, one of which was
(27-29)placed before each guest, and being examined was
(27-29)found full of gold bonnet-pieces, which they were
(27-29)desired to accept as the fruit produced by the
(27-29)mountains of Crawford Moor. This new sort of
(27-29)dessert was no doubt as acceptable as the most delicate
(27-29)fruits of a southern climate. The mines of
(27-29)the country are now wrought only for leads, of
(27-29)which they produce still a very large quantity.

(27-29)Although, as we have mentioned, James was a
(27-29)good economist, he did not neglect the cultivation
(27-29)of the fine arts. He rebuilt the palace of Linlithgow,
(27-29)which is on a most magnificent plan, and made
(27-29)additions to that of Stirling. He encouraged several
(27-29)excellent poets and learned men, and his usual
(27-29)course of life appears to have been joyous and happy.
(27-29)He was himself a poet of some skill, and he permitted
(27-29)great freedom to the rhymers of his time,

(27-29)in addressing verses to him, some of which conveyed
(27-29)severe censure of his government, and others
(27-29)satires on his foibles.
(27-29)James also encouraged the sciences, but was
(27-29)deceived by a foreigner, who pretended to have
(27-29)knowledge of the art of making gold. This person,
(27-29)however, who was either crack-brained or an
(27-29)impostor, destroyed his own credit by the fabrication

[TG27-30, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 27, p. 30]

(27-30)of a pair of wings, with which he proposed to
(27-30)fly from the top of Stirling castle. He actually
(27-30)made the attempt, but as his pinions would not
(27-30)work easily, he fell down the precipice, and broke
(27-30)his thigh-bone.
(27-30)As the kingdom of Scotland, except during a
(27-30)very short and indecisive war with England, remained
(27-30)at peace till near the end of James's reign,
(27-30)and as that monarch was a wise and active prince,
(27-30)it might have been hoped that he at least would
(27-30)have escaped the misfortunes which seemed to
(27-30)haunt the name of Stewart. But a great change,
(27-30)which took place at this period, led James V into
(27-30)a predicament, as unhappy as attended any of his
(27-30)ancestors.

[TG28-31, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 28, p. 31]

(28-31)YOU remember, my dear child, that James V.
(28-31)was nephew to Henry VIII. of England, being a
(28-31)son of Margaret, sister of that monarch. This
(28-31)connexion, and perhaps the policy of Henry, who
(28-31)was aware that it was better for both countries that
(28-31)they should remain at peace together, prevented
(28-31)for several years the renewal of the destructive

(28-31) wars between the two divisions of the island. The
(28-31) good understanding would probably have been still
(28-31) more complete, had it not been for the great and
(28-31) general change in religious matters, called in history
(28-31) the Reformation. I must give you some idea
(28-31) of the nature of this alteration, otherwise you cannot
(28-31) understand the consequences to which it led.

(28-31) After the death of our blessed Saviour Jesus
(28-31) Christ, the doctrine which he preached was planted
(28-31) in Rome, the principal city of the great Roman
(28-31) empire, by the Apostle Peter, as it is said, whom
(28-31) the Catholics, therefore, term the first bishop of
(28-31) Rome. In process of time, the bishops of Rome,

[TG28-32, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 28, p. 32]

(28-32) who succeeded, as they said, the apostle in his
(28-32) office, claimed an authority over all others in Christendom.
(28-32) Good and well-meaning persons, in their
(28-32) reverence for the religion which they had adopted,
(28-32) admitted these pretensions without much scrutiny.
(28-32) As the Christian religion was more widely received,
(28-32) the emperors and kings who embraced it, thought
(28-32) to distinguish their piety by heaping benefits on the
(28-32) church, and on the bishops of Rome in particular,
(28-32) who at length obtained great lands and demesnes
(28-32) as temporal princes; while, in their character of
(28-32) clergymen, they assumed the title of Popes, and
(28-32) the full and exclusive authority over all other clergymen
(28-32) in the Christian world. As the people of
(28-32) those times were extremely ignorant, any little
(28-32) knowledge which remained was to be found among
(28-32) the clergy, who had some leisure to study; while
(28-32) the laity, that is, all men who were not clergymen,
(28-32) learned little, excepting to tilt, fight, and feast.
(28-32) The Popes of Rome, having established themselves

(28-32)as heads of the church, went on, by degrees, introducing
(28-32)into the simple and beautiful system delivered
(28-32)to us in the gospel, other doctrines, many of
(28-32)them inconsistent with, or contradictory of, pure
(28-32)Christianity, and all of them tending to extend the
(28-32)power of the priests over the minds and consciences
(28-32)of other men. It was not difficult for the popes to
(28-32)make these alterations. For as they asserted that
(28-32)they were the visible successors of Saint Peter,
(28-32)they pretended that they were as infallible as the
(28-32)apostle himself, and that all that they published in
(28-32)their ordinances, which they called Bulls, must be

[TG28-33, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 28, p. 33]

(28-33)believed by all Christian men, as much as if the
(28-33)same had been enjoined in the Holy Scripture
(28-33)itself. We shall notice two or three of these innovations.

(28-33)Some good men, in an early age of Christianity,
(28-33)had withdrawn from the world to worship God in
(28-33)desert and desolate places. They wrought for
(28-33)their bread, gave alms to the poor, spent their leisure
(28-33)in the exercise of devotion, and were justly
(28-33)respected. But by degrees, as well-meaning
(28-33)persons bestowed great sums to support associations
(28-33)of such holy men, bequeathed lands to the
(28-33)monasteries or convents in which they lived, and
(28-33)made them wealthy, the Monks, as they were called,
(28-33)departed from the simplicity of their order,
(28-33)and neglected the virtues which they undertook to
(28-33)practise. Besides, by the extravagant endowments
(28-33)of these convents, great sums of money and large
(28-33)estates were employed in maintaining a useless set
(28-33)of men, who, under pretence of performing devotional
(28-33)exercises, withdrew themselves from the
(28-33)business of the world, and from all domestic duties.

(28-33)Hence, though there continued to be amongst the
(28-33)monks many good, pious, and learned men, idleness
(28-33)and luxury invaded many of the institutions,
(28-33)and corrupted both their doctrines and their
(28-33)morals.

(28-33)•@The worship also of saints, for which Scripture
(28-33)gives us no warrant whatever, was introduced in
(28-33)those ignorant times. It is natural we should
(28-33)respect the memory of any remarkably good man,
(28-33)and that we should value any thing which has belonged

[TG28-34, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 28, p. 34]

(28-34)to him. The error lay in carrying this
(28-34)natural veneration to extremity --in worshipping
(28-34)the relics of a saintly character, such as locks of
(28-34)hair, bones, articles of clothing, and other trumpery,
(28-34)and in believing that such things are capable of
(28-34)curing sickness, or of working other miracles shocking
(28-34)to common sense. Yet the Roman Church
(28-34)opened the way to this absurdity, and imputed to
(28-34)these relics, which were often mere imposture,
(28-34)the power, which God alone possesses, of altering
(28-34)those laws of nature which his wisdom has appointed.
(28-34)The popes also encouraged and enjoined the
(28-34)worship of saints, that is, the souls of holy men
(28-34)deceased, as a sort of subordinate deities, whose
(28-34)intercession may avail us before the throne of God,
(28-34)although the Gospel has expressly declared that
(28-34)our Lord Jesus Christ is our only Mediator. And
(28-34)in virtue of this opinion, not only were the Virgin
(28-34)Mary, the apostles, and almost every other person
(28-34)mentioned in the Gospels, erected by the Roman
(28-34)Catholics into the office of intercessors with the
(28-34)Deity, but numerous others, some of them mere
(28-34)names, who never existed as men, were canonized,

(28-34)as it was called, that is, declared by the pope to
(28-34)be saints, and had altars and churches dedicated
(28-34)to them. Pictures also and statues, representing
(28-34)these alleged holy persons, were exhibited in
(28-34)churches, and received the worship, which ought
(28-34)not, according to the second commandment, to be
(28-34)rendered to any idol or graven image.
(28-34)•@Other doctrines there were, about fasting on
(28-34)particular days, and abstaining from particular kinds

[TG28-35, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 28, p. 35]

(28-35)of food, all of which were gradually introduced into
(28-35)the Roman Catholic faith, though contrary to the
(28-35)gospel.
(28-35)•@But the most important innovation, and that by
(28-35)which the priests made most money, was the belief,
(28-35)that the church, or, in other words, the priest, had
(28-35)the power of pardoning such sins as were confessed
(28-35)to him, upon the culprit's discharging such penance
(28-35)as the priest imposed on him. Every person was,
(28-35)therefore, obliged to confess himself to a priest, if
(28-35)he hoped to have his sins pardoned; and the priest
(28-35)enjoined certain kinds of penance, more or less
(28-35)severe, according to the circumstances of the offence.
(28-35)But, in general, these penances might be excused,
(28-35)providing a corresponding sum of money were paid
(28-35)to the church, which possessed thus a perpetual
(28-35)and most lucrative source of income, which was yet
(28-35)more increased by the belief in Purgatory.
(28-35)•@We have no right, from Scripture, to believe in
(28-35)the existence of any intermediate state betwixt that
(28-35)of happiness, which we call Heaven, to which good
(28-35)men have access immediately after death, or that
(28-35)called Hell, being the place of eternal punishment,
(28-35)to which the wicked are consigned with the devil

(28-35)and his angels. But the Catholic priests imagined
(28-35)the intervention of an intermediate state, called Purgatory.
(28-35)They supposed that many, or indeed that
(28-35)most people, were not of such piety as to deserve
(28-35)immediate admission into a state of eternal happiness,
(28-35)until they should have sustained a certain
(28-35)portion of punishment; but yet were not so wicked
(28-35)as to deserve instant and eternal condemnation.

[TG28-36, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 28, p. 36]

(28-36)For the benefit of these, they invented the intermediate
(28-36)situation of Purgatory, a place of punishment,
(28-36)to which almost every one, not doomed to
(28-36)Hell itself, was consigned for a greater or less
(28-36)period, in proportion to his sins, before admission
(28-36)into a state of happiness. But here lay the stress
(28-36)of the doctrine. The power was in the church to
(28-36)obtain pardon, by prayer, for the souls who were
(28-36)in Purgatory, and to have the gates of that place of
(28-36)torture opened for their departure sooner than
(28-36)would otherwise have taken place. Men, therefore,
(28-36)whose consciences told them that they deserved
(28-36)a long abode in this place of punishment, left liberal
(28-36)sums to the church to have prayers said for the
(28-36)behoof of their souls. Children, in like manner,
(28-36)procured masses (that is, a particular sort of devotional
(28-36)worship practised by Catholics) to be said
(28-36)for the souls of their deceased parents. Widows
(28-36)did the same for their departed husbands--husbands
(28-36)for their wives. All these masses and prayers could
(28-36)only be obtained by money, and all this money went
(28-36)to the priests.
(28-36) But the pope and his clergy carried the matter
(28-36)still farther; and not only sold, as they pretended,
(28-36)the forgiveness of Heaven, to those who had committed

(28-36)sins, but also granted them (always for
(28-36)money) a liberty to break through the laws of
(28-36)God and the church. These licenses were called
(28-36)indulgences, because those who purchased them were
(28-36)indulged in the privilege of committing irregularities
(28-36)and vices, without being supposed answerable
(28-36)to the divine wrath.

[TG28-37, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 28, p. 37]

(28-37) To support this extraordinary fabric of superstition,
(28-37)the pope assumed the most extensive powers,
(28-37)even to the length of depriving kings of their
(28-37)thrones, by his sentence of excommunication, which
(28-37)declared their subjects free from their oath of allegiance,
(28-37)and at liberty to rise up against their sovereign
(28-37)and put him to death. At other times the
(28-37)pope took it upon him to give the kingdoms of the
(28-37)excommunicated prince to some ambitious neighbour.
(28-37)The rule of the church of Rome was as
(28-37)severe over inferior persons as over princes. If a
(28-37)layman read the Bible, he was accounted guilty of
(28-37)a great offence; for the priests well knew that a
(28-37)perusal of the sacred Scriptures would open men's
(28-37)eyes to their extravagant pretensions. If an individual
(28-37)presumed to disbelieve any of the doctrines
(28-37)which the church of Rome taught, or to entertain
(28-37)any which were inconsistent with these doctrines,
(28-37)he was tried as a heretic, and subjected to the horrid
(28-37)punishment of being burnt alive; and this
(28-37)penalty was inflicted without mercy for the slightest
(28-37)expressions approaching to what the Papists called
(28-37)heresy.
(28-37)This extraordinary and tyrannical power over
(28-37)men's consciences was usurped during those ages
(28-37)of European history which were called dark, because

(28-37)men were at that period without the light of learning
(28-37)and information. But the discovery of the art
(28-37)of printing began, in the fifteenth century, to open
(28-37)men's mind. The Bible, which had been locked
(28-37)up in the hands of the clergy, then became common,
(28-37)and was generally read; and wise and good men

[TG28-38, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 28, p. 38]

(28-38)in Germany and Switzerland made it their study
(28-38)to expose the errors and corruptions of the see of
(28-38)Rome. The doctrine of saint-worship was shown
(28-38)to be idolatrous-- that of pardons and indulgences,
(28-38)a foul encouragement to vice-- that of Purgatory,
(28-38)a cunning means of extorting money-- and the pretensions
(28-38)of the Pope to infallibilities, a blasphemous
(28-38)assumption of the attributes proper to God alone.
(28-38)These new opinions were termed the doctrines of
(28-38)the Reformers, and those who embraced them
(28-38)became gradually more and more numerous. The
(28-38)Roman Catholic priests attempted to defend the
(28-38)tenets of their church by argument; but as that
(28-38)was found difficult, they endeavoured, in most
(28-38)countries of Europe, to enforce them by violence.
(28-38)But the Reformers found protection in various
(28-38)parts of Germany. Their numbers seemed to
(28-38)increase rather than diminish, and to promise a
(28-38)great revolution in the Christian world.
(28-38)•@Henry VIII., the King of England, was possessed
(28-38)of some learning, and had a great disposition
(28-38)to show it in this controversy. Being, in the
(28-38)earlier part of his reign, sincerely attached to the
(28-38)church of Rome, he wrote a book in defence of its
(28-38)doctrines, against Martin Luther, one of the principal
(28-38)reformers. The Pope was so much gratified
(28-38)by this display of zeal, that he conferred on the

(28-38)King the appellation of Defender of the Faith; a
(28-38)title which Henry's successors continue to retain,
(28-38)although in a very different sense from that in
(28-38)which it was granted.
(28-38)•@Now Henry, you must know, was married to a

[TG28-39, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 28, p. 39]

(28-39)very good princess, named Catherine, who was a
(28-39)daughter of the King of Spain, and sister to the
(28-39)Emperor of Germany. She had been, in her youth,
(28-39)contracted to Henry's elder brother Arthur;
(28-39)but the prince dying, and Henry becoming heir
(28-39)of the throne, his union with Catherine had taken
(28-39)place. They had lived long together, and Catherine
(28-39)had borne a daughter, Mary, who was the
(28-39)natural heir apparent of the English crown. But
(28-39)at length Henry VIII. fell deeply in love with a
(28-39)beautiful young woman, named Ann Bullen, a maid
(28-39)of honour in the Queen's retinue, and he became
(28-39)extremely desirous to get rid of Queen Catherine,
(28-39)and marry this young lady. For this purpose he
(28-39)applied to the Pope, in order to obtain a divorce
(28-39)from the good Queen, under pretence of her having
(28-39)been contracted to his elder brother before he was
(28-39)married to her. This, he alleged, seemed to him
(28-39)like marrying his brother's wife, and therefore he
(28-39)desired that the Pope would dissolve a marriage,
(28-39)which, as he alleged, gave much pain to his conscience.
(28-39)The truth was, that his conscience would
(28-39)have given him very little disturbance, had he not
(28-39)wanted to marry another, a younger and more
(28-39)beautiful woman.
(28-39)The Pope would have, probably, been willing
(28-39)enough to gratify Henry's desire, at least his predecessors
(28-39)had granted greater favours to men of

(28-39)less consequence; but then Catherine was the sister
(28-39)of Charles V., who was at once Emperor of Germany
(28-39)and King of Spain, and one of the wisest

[TG28-40, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 28, p. 40]

(28-40)as well as the most powerful, princes in Christendom.
(28-40)The Pope, who depended much on Charles'
(28-40)assistance for checking the Reformation, dared not
(28-40)give him the great offence, which would have been
(28-40)occasioned by encouraging his sister's divorce.
(28-40)His holiness, therefore, evaded giving a precise
(28-40)answer to the King of England from day to day,
(28-40)week to week, and year to year. But this led to
(28-40)a danger which the Pope had not foreseen.
(28-40)•@Henry VIII., a hot, fiery, and impatient prince
(28-40)as ever lived, finding that the Pope trifling
(28-40)with him, resolved to shake off his authority entirely.
(28-40)For this purpose he denied the authority
(28-40)of the Pope in England, and declared, that he himself
(28-40)was the only Head of the English Church,
(28-40)and that the Bishop of Rome had nothing to do
(28-40)with him, or his dominions. Many of the bishops
(28-40)and clergymen of the English church adopted the
(28-40)reformed doctrines, and all disowned the supreme
(28-40)rule, hitherto ascribed to the Pope.
(28-40)But the greatest blow to the papal authority
(28-40)was the dissolution of the monasteries, or religious
(28-40)houses, as they were called. The King seized
(28-40)on the convents, and the lands granted for their
(28-40)endowment, and, distributing the wealth of the
(28-40)convents among the great men of his court, broke
(28-40)up for ever those great establishments, and placed
(28-40)an insurmountable obstacle in the way of the
(28-40)Catholic religion being restored, after the interest
(28-40)of so many persons had been concerned in its being

(28-40)excluded.

[TG28-41, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 28, p. 41]

(28-41)The motive of Henry VIII.'s conduct was by
(28-41)no means praiseworthy, but it produced the most
(28-41)important and salutary consequences; as England
(28-41)was for ever afterwards, except during the short
(28-41)reign of his eldest daughter, freed from all dependence
(28-41)upon the Pope, and from the superstitious
(28-41)doctrines of the Roman Catholic religion.

(28-41)Now here, returning to Scottish history, you
(28-41)must understand that one of Henry's principal
(28-41)wishes was to prevail upon his nephew, the young
(28-41)King of Scotland, to make the same alteration of
(28-41)religion in his country, which had been introduced
(28-41)into England. Henry, if we can believe the Scottish
(28-41)historians, made James the most splendid offers,
(28-41)to induce him to follow this course. He proposed
(28-41)to give him the hand of his daughter Mary in marriage,
(28-41)and to create him Duke of York; and, with
(28-41)a view to the establishment of a lasting peace
(28-41)between the countries, he earnestly desired a personal
(28-41)meeting with his nephew in the North of
(28-41)England.

(28-41) There is reason to believe that James was, at
(28-41)one period, somewhat inclined to the Reformed
(28-41)doctrines; at least, he encouraged a Scottish poet,
(28-41)called Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, and also
(28-41)the celebrated scholar, George Buchanan, in composing
(28-41)some severe satires against the corruptions
(28-41)of the Roman Catholic religion; but the King

[TG28-42, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 28, p. 42]

(28-42)was, notwithstanding, by no means disposed altogether

(28-42)to fall off from the Church of Rome. He
(28-42)dreaded the power of England, and the rough,
(28-42)violent, and boisterous manners of Henry, who
(28-42)disgusted his nephew by the imprudent violence
(28-42)with which he pressed him to imitate his steps.
(28-42)But, in particular, James found the necessity of
(28-42)adhering to the Roman Catholic faith, from the
(28-42)skill, intelligence, and learning of the clergy, which
(28-42)rendered them far more fit to hold offices of state,
(28-42)and to assist him in administering the public business,
(28-42)than the Scottish nobility, who were at once
(28-42)profoundly ignorant, and fierce, arrogant, and ambitious
(28-42)in the highest degree.

(28-42) The Archbishop Beaton, already mentioned, and
(28-42)his nephew David Beaton, who was afterwards
(28-42)made a cardinal, rose high in James's favour; and,
(28-42)no doubt, the influence which they possessed over
(28-42)the King's mind was exerted to prevent his following
(28-42)the example of his uncle Henry in religious
(28-42)affairs.

(28-42)•@The same influence might also induce him to seek
(28-42)an alliance with France, rather than with England;
(28-42)for it was natural that the Catholic clergy, with
(28-42)whom James advised, should discountenance, by
(28-42)every means in their power, any approaches to an
(28-42)intimate alliance with Henry, the mortal enemy of
(28-42)the Papal See. James V. accordingly visited
(28-42)France, and obtained the hand of Magdalen, the

[TG28-43, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 28, p. 43]

(28-43)daughter of Francis I., with a large portion. Much
(28-43)joy was expressed at the landing of this princess
(28-43)at Leith, and she was received with as
(28-43)great splendour and demonstration of
(28-43)welcome, as the poverty of the country

(28-43)would permit. But the young Queen was in a bad
(28-43)state of health, and died within forty days after her
(28-43)marriage.

(28-43)•@After the death of this princess , the King, still
(28-43)inclining to the French alliance, married Mary of
(28-43)Guise, daughter of the Duke of Guise,
(28-43)thus connecting himself with a family,
(28-43)proud, ambitious, and attached, in the most bigoted
(28-43)degree, to the Catholic cause. This connexion
(28-43)served, no doubt, to increase James's disinclination
(28-43)to any changes in the established Church.

(28-43) But whatever were the sentiments of the Sovereign,
(28-43)those of the subjects were gradually tending
(28-43)more and more towards a reformation of religion.
(28-43)Scotland at this time possessed several men of
(28-43)learning who had studied abroad, and had there
(28-43)learned and embraced the doctrines of the great
(28-43)reformer Calvin. They brought with them, on
(28-43)their return, copies of the Holy Scripture, and
(28-43)could give a full account of the controversy between
(28-43)the protestants, as they are now called, and
(28-43)the Roman Catholic Church. Many among the
(28-43)Scots, both of higher and lower rank, became converts
(28-43)to the new faith.

[TG28-44, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 28, p. 44]

(28-44) The Popish ministers and counsellors of the
(28-44)King ventured to have recourse to violence, in
(28-44)order to counteract these results. Several persons
(28-44)were seized upon, tried before the Spiritual Courts
(28-44)of the Bishop of St Andrews, and condemned to
(28-44)the flames. The modesty and decency with which
(28-44)these men behaved on their trials, and the patience
(28-44)with which they underwent the tortures of a cruel
(28-44)death, protesting at the same time their belief in

(28-44)the doctrines for which they had been condemned
(28-44)to the stake, made the strongest impression on the
(28-44)beholders, and increased the confidence of those
(28-44)who had embraced the tenets of the Reformers.
(28-44)Stricter and more cruel laws were made against
(28-44)heresy. Even the disputing the power of the
(28-44)Pope was punished with death; yet the Reformation
(28-44)seemed to gain ground in proportion to every
(28-44)effort to check it.
(28-44)•@The favours which the King extended to the
(28-44)Catholic clergy, led the Scottish nobility to look
(28-44)upon them with jealousy, and increased their inclination
(28-44)towards the Protestant doctrines. The
(28-44)wealth of the abbeys and convents, also, tempted
(28-44)many of the nobles and gentry, who hoped to have
(28-44)a share of the church-lands, in case of these institutions
(28-44)being dissolved, as in England. And
(28-44)although there were, doubtless, good men as well
(28-44)as bad among the monks, yet the indolent, and
(28-44)even debauched lives of many of the order, rendered
(28-44)them, generally, odious and contemptible to
(28-44)the common people.
(28-44) The popular discontent was increased by an

[TG28-45, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 28, p. 45]

(28-45)accident which took place in the year 1537. A
(28-45)matron of the highest rank, Jane Douglas, sister of
(28-45)the banished Earl of Angus, widow of John
(28-45)Lyon Lord of Glamis, and wife of Archibald
(28-45)Campbell of Kepneith, was accused of having
(28-45)practised against the life of James, by imaginary
(28-45)crime of witchcraft, and the more formidable
(28-45)means of poison. Her purpose was alleged to be
(28-45)the restoration of the Douglasses to Scotland, and
(28-45)to their estates and influence in that country.

(28-45)This lady was burnt alive on the Castle-hill of
(28-45)Edinburgh; and the spectators, filled with pity for
(28-45)her youth and beauty, and surprised at the courage
(28-45)with which she endured the sentence, did not fail
(28-45)to impute her execution less to any real crime, than
(28-45)to the King's deep-rooted hatred against the house
(28-45)of Douglas. Another capital punishment, though
(28-45)inflicted on an object of general dislike, served to
(28-45)confirm the opinion entertained of James's severity,
(28-45)not to say cruelty, of disposition. We have mentioned
(28-45)Sir James Hamilton of Draphane, called
(28-45)the Bastard of Arran, as distinguished on account
(28-45)of the ferocity of his disposition, and the murders
(28-45)which he committed on cold blood. This man had
(28-45)been made Sheriff of Ayr, and had received other
(28-45)favours from the King's hand. Notwithstanding,
(28-45)he was suddenly accused of treason by a cousin
(28-45)and namesake of his own; and on that sole testimony,
(28-45)condemned and executed. Upon this occasion
(28-45)also, public opinion charged James with having
(28-45)proceeded without sufficient evidence of guilt.
(28-45) In the mean time, Henry continued to press the

[TG28-46, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 28, p. 46]

(28-46)King of Scotland, by letters and negotiations, to
(28-46)enter into common measures with him against the
(28-46)Catholic clergy. He remonstrated with his nephew
(28-46)upon his preferring to improve his royal
(28-46)revenue by means of herds and flocks, which he
(28-46)represented as an unprincely practice, saying, that
(28-46)if he wanted money, he, his kind uncle, would let
(28-46)him have what sums he pleased; or, that the wealth
(28-46)of the Catholic convents and monasteries was a
(28-46)fund which lay at his command whenever he liked
(28-46)to seize it. Lastly, the English ambassador, Sir

(28-46)Ralph Sadler, insisted, as directed by his instructions,
(28-46)upon the evil doctrines and vicious lives
(28-46)of the clergy, against whom he urged the King to
(28-46)take violent measures.
(28-46) Much of this message was calculated to affront
(28-46)James, yet he answered temperately. He acknowledged
(28-46)that he preferred living on his own revenue,
(28-46)such as it was, to becoming dependent upon another
(28-46)king, even though that king was his uncle.
(28-46)He had no pretext or motive, he said, to seize the
(28-46)possessions of the clergy, because they were always
(28-46)ready to advance him money when he had need of
(28-46)it. Those among them who led vicious lives, he
(28-46)would not fail, he added, to correct severely; but
(28-46)he did not consider it as just to punish the whole
(28-46)body for the faults of a few. In conclusion, King
(28-46)James suffered a doubtful promise to be extracted
(28-46)from him that he would meet Henry at York, if
(28-46)the affairs of his kingdom would permit.
(28-46) The King of Scotland was now brought to a
(28-46)puzzling alternative, being either obliged to comply

[TG28-47, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 28, p. 47]

(28-47)with his uncle's wishes, break off his alliance with
(28-47)France, and introduce the Reformed religion into
(28-47)his dominions, or, by adhering to France and to
(28-47)the Catholic faith, to run all the hazards of a war
(28-47)with England. The churchmen exercised their
(28-47)full authority over the mind of James at this crisis.
(28-47)The gold of France was not spared to determine
(28-47)his resolution; and it may be supposed that the
(28-47)young Queen, so nearly connected with the Catholic
(28-47)house of Guise, gave her influence to the same
(28-47)party. James at length determined to disappoint
(28-47)his uncle; and after the haughty Henry had remained

(28-47)six days at York, on the expectation of
(28-47)meeting him, he excused himself by some frivolous
(28-47)apology. Henry was, as might have been expected,
(28-47)mortally offended, and prepared for war.
(28-47) A fierce and ruinous war was immediately commenced.
(28-47)Henry sent numerous forces to ravage
(28-47)the Scottish Border. James obtained success in
(28-47)the first considerable action, to his unutterable
(28-47)satisfaction, and prepared for more decisive hostility.
(28-47)He assembled the array of his kingdom, and
(28-47)marched from Edinburgh as far as Fala, on his
(28-47)way to the Border, when tidings arrived, 1st
(28-47)November, 1542, that the English general had
(28-47)withdrawn his forces within the English frontier.
(28-47)On this news, the Scottish nobles, who, with their
(28-47)vassals, had joined the royal standard, intimated to
(28-47)their sovereign, that though they had taken up
(28-47)arms to save the country from invasion, yet they
(28-47)considered the war with England as an impolitic
(28-47)measure, and only undertaken to gratify the clergy;

[TG28-48, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 28, p. 48]

(28-48)and that, therefore, the English having retired,
(28-48)they were determined not to advance one foot into
(28-48)the enemy's country. One Border chieftain alone
(28-48)offered with his retinue to follow the King wherever
(28-48)he chose to lead. This was John Scott of
(28-48)Thirlstane, whom James rewarded with an addition
(28-48)to his paternal coat-of-arms, with a bunch of
(28-48)spears for the crest, and the motto, "Ready, aye
(28-48)Ready."
(28-48)•@James, finding himself thus generally thwarted
(28-48)and deserted by the nobility, returned to Edinburgh,
(28-48)dishonoured before his people, and in the
(28-48)deepest dejection of mind.

(28-48) To retaliate the inroads of the English, and
(28-48)wipe out the memory of Fala moss, the King
(28-48)resolved that an army of ten thousand men should
(28-48)invade England on the Western Border; and he
(28-48)imprudently sent with them his peculiar favourite,
(28-48)Oliver Sinclair, who shared with the priests the
(28-48)unpopularity of the English war, and was highly
(28-48)obnoxious to the nobility, as one of those who
(28-48)engrossed the royal favour to their prejudice.
(28-48) The army had just entered English ground, at a
(28-48)place called Solway moss, when this Oliver Sinclair
(28-48)was raised upon the soldiers' shields to read
(28-48)to the army a commission, which, it was afterwards
(28-48)said, named Lord Maxwell commander of the
(28-48)expedition. But no one doubted at the time that
(28-48)Oliver Sinclair had himself been proclaimed
(28-48)commander-in-chief; and as he was generally disliked
(28-48)and despised, the army instantly fell into a
(28-48)state of extreme confusion. Four or five hundred

[TG28-49, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 28, p. 49]

(28-49)English Borderers, commanded by Thomas Dacre
(28-49)and John Musgrave, perceived this fluctuation, and
(28-49)charged the numerous squadrons of the invading
(28-49)army. The Scots fled without even attempting to
(28-49)fight. Numbers of noblemen and gentlemen suffered
(28-49)themselves to be made prisoners, rather than
(28-49)face the displeasure of their disappointed sovereign.
(28-49) The unfortunate James had lately been assaulted
(28-49)by various calamities. The death of his two sons,
(28-49)and the disgrace of the defection at Fala, had made
(28-49)a deep impression on his mind, and haunted him
(28-49)even in the visions of the night. He dreamed he
(28-49)saw the fierce Sir James Hamilton, whom he had
(28-49)caused to be put to death upon slight evidence.

(28-49)The bloody shade approached him with a sword,
(28-49)and said, "Cruel tyrant, thou hast unjustly murdered
(28-49)me, who was indeed barbarous to other men,
(28-49)but always faithful and true to thee; wherefore
(28-49)now shalt thou have thy deserved punishment."
(28-49)So saying, it seemed to him as if Sir James Hamilton
(28-49)cut off first one arm and then another, and then
(28-49)left him, threatening to come back soon and cut his
(28-49)head off. Such a dream was very likely to arise
(28-49)in the King's mind, perturbed as it was by misfortunes,
(28-49)and even perhaps internally reproaching
(28-49)himself for Sir James Hamilton's death. But to
(28-49)James the striking off his arms appeared to allude
(28-49)to the death of his two sons, and he became convinced
(28-49)that the ultimate threats of the vision presaged
(28-49)his own death.
(28-49) The disgraceful news of the battle, or rather the

[TG28-50, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 28, p. 50]

(28-50)rout of Solway, filled up the measure of the King's
(28-50)despair and desolation. He shut himself up in the
(28-50)palace of Falkland, and refused to listen to any
(28-50)consolation. A burning fever, the consequence of
(28-50)his grief and shame, seized on the unfortunate
(28-50)monarch. They brought him tidings that his wife
(28-50)had given birth to a daughter; but he only replied,
(28-50)"Is it so?" reflecting on the alliance which had
(28-50)placed the Stewart family on the throne; "then
(28-50)God's will be done. It came with a lass, and it
(28-50)will go with a lass." With these words, presaging
(28-50)the extinction of his house, he made a signal of
(28-50)adieu to his courtiers, spoke little more, but turned
(28-50)his face to the wall, and died of the most
(28-50)melancholy of all diseases, a broken heart.
(28-50)He was scarcely thirty-one years old; in

(28-50)the very prime, therefore, of life. If he had not
(28-50)suffered the counsels of the Catholic priests to
(28-50)hurry him into a war with England, James V.
(28-50)might have been as fortunate a prince as his many
(28-50)good qualities and talents deserved.

[TG29-51, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 51]

(29-51) THE evil fortunes of Mary Stewart, who succeeded
(29-51)her father in the crown of Scotland, commenced
(29-51)at he very birth, and could scarce be
(29-51)considered as ceasing during the whole period of
(29-51)her life. Of all the unhappy princes of the line of
(29-51)Stewart, she was the most uniformly unfortunate.
(29-51)She was born 7th December, 1542, and, in a few
(29-51)days after, became, by her father's death, the infant
(29-51)queen of a distracted country.

(29-51) Two parties strove, as is usual in minorities, to
(29-51)obtain the supreme power. Mary of Guise, the
(29-51)Queen-Mother, with Cardinal David Beaton, were
(29-51)at the head of that which favoured the alliance with
(29-51)France. Hamilton, Earl of Arran, the nearest
(29-51)male relation of the infant Queen, was chief of the
(29-51)other, and possessed more extended popularity;
(29-51)for the nobles dreaded the bold and ambitious character

[TG29-52, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 52]

(29-52)of the cardinal, and the common people
(29-52)detested him, on account of his cruel persecution
(29-52)of the Reformers. The Earl of
(29-52)Arran, however, was but a fickle and
(29-52)timid man, with little, it would seem, to recommend
(29-52)him, besides his high birth. He was, however,
(29-52)preferred to the office of Regent.
(29-52) Henry VIII is said to have expressed much

(29-52)concern for the death of his nephew, saying, there
(29-52)would never again reign a King in Scotland so
(29-52)nearly related to him, or so dear to him, and blaming,
(29-52)not the late James V., but his evil counsellors,
(29-52)for the unfortunate dispute between them. At the
(29-52)same time, Henry formed a plan of uniting the
(29-52)kingdoms of England and Scotland, by a marriage
(29-52)betwixt the infant Queen of Scotland and his only
(29-52)son, Edward VI, then a child. He took into his
(29-52)counsels the Earl of Glencairn and other Scottish
(29-52)nobles, made prisoners in the rout of Solway, and
(29-52)offered to set them at liberty, provided, on their
(29-52)return to Scotland, they would undertake to forward
(29-52)the match which he proposed. They were
(29-52)released accordingly, upon giving pledges that
(29-52)they would return in case the treaty should not be
(29-52)accomplished.
(29-52) Archibald, Earl of Angus, with his brother, Sir
(29-52)George Douglas, took the same opportunity of returning
(29-52)into Scotland, after fifteen years' exile.
(29-52)They had been indebted to Henry for support and
(29-52)protection during that long space of time. He had
(29-52)even admitted them to be members of his Privy
(29-52)Council, and by the countenance he afforded them,

[TG29-53, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 53]

(29-53)had given great offence to the late King James.
(29-53)When, therefore, the influence of the Douglasses,
(29-53)naturally attached to him by gratitude, was added
(29-53)to that of Glencairn and the others, who had been
(29-53)made prisoners at Solway, and to the general
(29-53)weight of the Protestants, favourable, of course, to
(29-53)an alliance with England, Henry must be considered
(29-53)as having a party in Scotland in every way
(29-53)favourable to his views.

(29-53) But the impatient temper of the English monarch
(29-53)ruined his own scheme. He demanded the
(29-53)custody of the young Queen of Scotland till she
(29-53)should be of age to complete the marriage to be
(29-53)contracted by the present league, and he insisted
(29-53)that some of the strongest forts in the kingdom
(29-53)should be put into his hands. These proposals
(29-53)alarmed the national jealousy of the Scots, and the
(29-53)characteristic love of independence and liberty
(29-53)which we find that people have always displayed.
(29-53)The nation at large became persuaded that Henry
(29-53)VIII, under pretence of a union by marriage,
(29-53)nourished, like Edward I. in similar circumstances,
(29-53)the purpose of subduing the country. The exiled
(29-53)lords who had agreed to assist Henry's views,
(29-53)could be of no use to him, in consequence of the
(29-53)extravagance of his propositions. They told Sir
(29-53)Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, frankly,
(29-53)that the nation could not endure the surrender of
(29-53)the Queen's person to Henry's charge--that their
(29-53)own vassals would not take arms for them in such
(29-53)a cause --that the old women of Scotland, with

[TG29-54, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 54]

(29-54)their distaffs, nay, the very stones in the streets,
(29-54)would arise and fight against it.
(29-54) Henry was with difficulty prevailed upon to defer
(29-54)the time for giving to him the custody of Queen
(29-54)Mary's person, until she should be ten years
(29-54)old. But even this modified proposition excited
(29-54)the greatest jealousy; and Sir George Douglas,
(29-54)Henry's chief advocate, only ventured to recommend
(29-54)acquiescence in the King's proposal, as a
(29-54)means of gaining time. He told the Scottish nobles
(29-54)of a certain king, who was so fond of an ass, that

(29-54)he insisted his chief physician should teach the
(29-54)animal to speak, upon pain of being himself put to

[TG29-55, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 55]

(29-55)death. The physician consented to undertake the
(29-55)case, but gave the King to understand that it would
(29-55)be ten years before the operation of his medicines
(29-55)could take effect. The king permitted him to set
(29-55)to work accordingly. Now, one of the physician's
(29-55)friends seeing him busy about the animal, expressed
(29-55)his wonder that so wise a man should undertake
(29-55)what was contrary to nature; to which the physician
(29-55)replied,--"Do you not see I have gained ten
(29-55)years' advantage? If I had refused the King's
(29-55)orders, I must have been instantly put to death;
(29-55)but as it is, I have the advantage of a long delay,
(29-55)during which the king may die, the ass may die,
(29-55)or I may die myself. In either of the three cases,
(29-55)I am freed from my trouble."--"Even so," said Sir
(29-55)George Douglas, "if we agree to this treaty we
(29-55)avoid a bloody and destructive war, and have a
(29-55)long period before us, during which the King of
(29-55)England, his son Prince Edward, or the infant
(29-55)Queen Mary, may one of them die, so that the
(29-55)treaty will be broken off." Moved by such reasons,
(29-55)a Parliament, which consisted almost entirely of
(29-55)the lords of the English party, consented to the
(29-55)match with England, and the Regent Arran also
(29-55)agreed to it.
(29-55) But while one part of the Scottish nobles adopted
(29-55)the solution to treat with King Henry on his
(29-55)own terms, the Queen-Mother and Cardinal Beaton
(29-55)were at the head of another and still more numerous
(29-55)faction, who adhered to the old religion,
(29-55)and to the ancient alliance with France, and were,

(29-55)of course, directly opposed to the English match.

[TG29-56, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 56]

(29-56)The fickle temper of the Regent contributed to
(29-56)break off the treaty which he had subscribed.
(29-56)Within a fortnight after he had ratified the conditions
(29-56)of the match with England, he reconciled
(29-56)himself to the cardinal and Queen-Mother, and
(29-56)joined in putting a stop to the proposed marriage.
(29-56) The English King, if he could have been watchful
(29-56)and patient, might perhaps have brought the
(29-56)measure, which was alike important to both countries,
(29-56)once more to bear. But Henry, incensed at
(29-56)the Regent's double dealing, determined for immediate
(29-56)war. He sent a fleet and army into the frith
(29-56)of Forth, which landed, and, finding no opposition,
(29-56)burnt the capital of Scotland, and its seaport, and
(29-56)plundered the country around. Sir Ralph Evers,
(29-56)and Sir Brian Latoun, were, at the same time, employed
(29-56)in making inroads on the Border, which
(29-56)were of the fiercest and most wasteful description.
(29-56)The account of the ravage is tremendous. In one
(29-56)foray they numbered 192 towers, or houses of defence,
(29-56)burnt or razed; 403 Scots slain, and 816
(29-56)made prisoners; 10,386 cattle, 12,492 sheep, 1296
(29-56)horses, and 850 bolls of corn, driven away as spoil.
(29-56)Another list gives an account of the destruction of
(29-56)seven monasteries, or religious houses; sixteen
(29-56)castles or towers; five market-towns, two hundred
(29-56)and forty-three villages, thirteen mills, and three
(29-56)hospitals, all pulled down or burnt.
(29-56) The exploits of the English leaders might
(29-56)gratify Henry's resentment, but they greatly
(29-56)injured his interest in Scotland, for the whole
(29-56)kingdom became united to repel the invaders;

[TG29-57, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 57]

(29-57)and even those who liked the proposed match with
(29-57)England best, were, to use an expression of the
(29-57)time, disgusted with so rough a mode of wooing.
(29-57)The Douglasses themselves, bound to Henry by
(29-57)so many ties, were obliged, on seeing the distress
(29-57)and devastation of the country, to take part in the
(29-57)war against him, and soon found an opportunity to
(29-57)do so.

(29-57) It seems Henry had conferred upon his two successful
(29-57)leaders, Evers and Latoun, all the lands
(29-57)which they had conquered, or should be able to
(29-57)conquer upon the Border, and, in particular, the
(29-57)fine countries of Merse and Teviotdale. "I will
(29-57)write the instrument of possession upon their own
(29-57)bodies, with sharp pens, and in blood-red ink," said
(29-57)the Earl of Angus, "because they destroyed the
(29-57)tombs of my ancestors at the abbey of Melrose."
(29-57)He accordingly urged Arran, the regent, or governor,
(29-57)as he was called, to move towards the frontiers,
(29-57)to protect them. Arran was with difficulty prevailed
(29-57)on to advance southward to Melrose, with
(29-57)scarce so many as five hundred men in his company.
(29-57)The English leaders were lying at Jedburgh with
(29-57)five thousand men. Three thousand of these were
(29-57)many Scottish clans who had taken the red cross,
(29-57)and submitted themselves to the dominion of England.
(29-57)With these forces Evers and Latoun made
(29-57)a sudden march, to surprise the governor and his
(29-57)handful of men; but they failed, for the Scots

[TG29-58, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 58]

(29-58)retreated beyond the Tweed, to the hills near

(29-58)Galashiels.

(29-58) The English then prepared to retire to Jedburgh,
(29-58)and the governor, acting by Angus's advice, followed
(29-58)them, and watched their motions. In the mean
(29-58)time, succours began to come in to the Scottish
(29-58)army. A bold young man, Norman Leslie, the
(29-58)master of Rothes, was the first to come up with
(29-58)three hundred horses, from Fife, gallantly armed.
(29-58)Afterwards the Lord Buccleuch joined them with
(29-58)a few of his clan, who arrived at full speed, and
(29-58)assured them that the rest of the Scotts would be
(29-58)presently on the field. This Border chieftain was
(29-58)a man of great military sagacity, and knew the
(29-58)ground well. He advised the governor and Angus
(29-58)to draw up their men at the foot of a small eminence,
(29-58)and to send their horses to the rear. The
(29-58)English, seeing the horses of the Scots ascend the
(29-58)hill, concluded they were in flight, and turned hastily
(29-58)back to attack them, hurrying in confusion, as
(29-58)to an assured conquest. Thus they came in front
(29-58)of the Scottish army, who were closely and firmly
(29-58)drawn up, at the very moment when they themselves
(29-58)were in confusion from their hasty advance.
(29-58)As the Scots began to charge, the Earl of Angus,
(29-58)seeing a heron arise out of the marsh, cried out,
(29-58)"Oh, that O had my white hawk here, that we
(29-58)might all join battle at once!" The English, surprised
(29-58)and out of breath,--(and having besides, the
(29-58)wind in their face, which blew the smoke of the
(29-58)gunpowder,--and the sun in their eyes, were completely
(29-58)defeated, and compelled to take to flight.)

[TG29-59, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 59]

(29-59)The Scottish Borderers, who had joined them during
(29-59)their prosperity, perceiving their own countrymen

(29-59)to be victorious, threw away their red crosses (the
(29-59)distinction which they had assumed as subjects of
(29-59)England), and fell upon the English, for the purpose
(29-59)of helping those against whom they had come
(29-59)to the field, and making amends for their desertion
(29-59)of the Scottish cause. These renegades made a
(29-59)pitiful slaughter, and the Scots in general, provoked,
(29-59)probably, by the late ravages of the English,
(29-59)showed themselves so cruel to the vanquished, that
(29-59)they seemed to deserve the severe blow which the
(29-59)nation soon afterwards received. Tradition says,
(29-59)that a beautiful young maiden, called Lillyard,
(29-59)followed her lover from the little village of Maxton,
(29-59)and when she saw him fall in battle, rushed herself
(29-59)into the heat of the fight, and was killed, after slaying
(29-59)several of the English. From this female,
(29-59)they call the field of battle Lillyard's Edge to this
(29-59)day.
(29-59) This battle was fought in 1545. A thousand
(29-59)Englishmen were killed, together with their two

[TG29-60, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 60]

(29-60)leaders, of whom Evers was buried in the abbey
(29-60)of Melrose, which he had repeatedly plundered, and
(29-60)finally burnt. A great many prisoners were made.
(29-60)One was Thomas Read, an alderman of the city of
(29-60)London, whom we are surprised to meet with in
(29-60)such a predicament. This worthy citizen had, we
(29-60)are informed, refused to pay his share of a benevolence,
(29-60)as it was called, that is, of a sum of money,
(29-60)which Henry demanded from the citizens of London.
(29-60)It seems that though the power of the King
(29-60)could not throw the alderman into jail until he paid
(29-60)the money, yet he could force him to serve as a
(29-60)soldier; and there is a letter to Lord Evers, directing

(29-60)that Read should be subjected to all the
(29-60)rigours and hardships of the service, that he might
(29-60)know what soldiers suffered when in the field, and
(29-60)be more ready another time to assist the King with
(29-60)money to pay them. It is to be supposed that the
(29-60)alderman had a large ransom to pay to the Scotsman
(29-60)who had the good luck to get him for a prisoner.
(29-60) Henry VIII was extremely offended at this
(29-60)defeat of Lillyard's Edge, or Ancram-moor, as it
(29-60)is frequently called, and vented his displeasure in
(29-60)menaces against the Earl of Angus, notwithstanding
(29-60)their connexion by the earl's marriage with the
(29-60)King's sister. Angus treated the threats of the
(29-60)English monarch with contempt. "Is our royal
(29-60)brother-in-law," he said, "angry with me for being
(29-60)a good Scotsman, and for revenging upon Ralph
(29-60)Evers the destruction of my ancestors' tombs at
(29-60)Melrose? They were better men than Evers, and

[TG29-61, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 61]

(29-61)I could in honour do no less. And will my royal
(29-61)brother-in-law take my life for that? Little does
(29-61)King Henry know the skirts of Cairntable" (a
(29-61)mountain near Douglas castle) ; "I can keep myself
(29-61)there against all his English host."
(29-61) The truth is, that at no period of their history
(29-61)had the Scottish people ever been more attached to
(29-61)France, and more alienated from England, than
(29-61)now; the proposed match between the young
(29-61)Queen and the English Prince of Wales being
(29-61)generally regarded with an abhorrence, which was
(29-61)chiefly owing to the vindictive and furious manner
(29-61)in which Henry conducted the war. Of all the
(29-61)Scottish nobles who had originally belonged to the
(29-61)English party, Lennox alone continued friendly to

(29-61)Henry; and he being obliged to fly into England,
(29-61)the King caused him to marry Lady Margaret
(29-61)Douglas, daughter of his sister Margaret, by her
(29-61)second husband the Earl of Angus, and of course
(29-61)the King's niece. Their son was the unhappy
(29-61)Henry Lord Darnley, of whom we shall have much
(29-61)to say hereafter.

(29-61)•@The King of France now sent a powerful body
(29-61)of auxiliary troops to the assistance of the Scots,
(29-61)besides considerable supplies of money, which enabled
(29-61)them to retaliate the English ravages, so that
(29-61)the Borders on both sides were fearfully wasted.
(29-61)A peace at length, in June 1546, ended a war in
(29-61)which both countries suffered severely, without
(29-61)either attaining any decisive advantage.

(29-61)•@The Scottish affairs were now managed almost
(29-61)entirely by Cardinal Beaton, a statesman, as we

[TG29-62, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 62]

(29-62)before observed, of great abilities, but a bigoted
(29-62)Catholic, and a man of a severe and cruel temper.
(29-62)He had gained entire influence over the Regent
(29-62)Arran, and had prevailed upon that fickle nobleman
(29-62)to abandon the Protestant doctrines, reconcile
(29-62)himself to the church of Rome, and consent to the
(29-62)persecution of the heretics, as the Protestants
(29-62)were still called. Many cruelties were exercised;
(29-62)but that which excited public feeling to the highest
(29-62)degree, was the barbarous death of George
(29-62)Wishart.

(29-62) This martyr to the cause of Reformation was a
(29-62)man of honourable birth, great wisdom and eloquence,
(29-62)and of primitive piety. He preached the
(29-62)doctrines of the Reformed religion with zeal and
(29-62)with success, and was for some time protected

(29-62)against the efforts of the vengeful Catholics by the
(29-62)barons who had become converts to the Protestant
(29-62)faith. At length, however, he fell into the hands
(29-62)of the cardinal, being surrendered to him by Lord
(29-62)Bothwell, and was conveyed to the castle of St
(29-62)Andrews, a strong fortress and palace belonging to
(29-62)the cardinal as archbishop, and there thrown into
(29-62)a dungeon. Wishart was then brought to a public
(29-62)trial, for heresy, before the Spiritual Court, where
(29-62)the cardinal presided. He was accused of preaching
(29-62)heretical doctrine, by two priests, called Lauder
(29-62)and Oliphant, whose outrageous violence was
(29-62)strongly contrasted with the patience and presence
(29-62)of mind shown by the prisoner. He appealed to
(29-62)the authority of the Bible against that of the
(29-62)church of Rome; but his judges were little disposed

[TG29-63, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 63]

(29-63)to listen to his arguments, and he was condemned
(29-63)to be burnt alive. The place of execution
(29-63)was opposite to the stately castle of the cardinal,
(29-63)and Beaton himself sat upon the walls, which were
(29-63)hung with tapestry, to behold the death of his heretical
(29-63)prisoner. The spot was also carefully chosen,
(29-63)that the smoke of the pile might be seen as far as
(29-63)possible, to spread the greater terror.
(29-63)Wishart was then brought out, and
(29-63)fastened to a stake with iron chains. He
(29-63)was clad in a buckram garment, and several bags
(29-63)of gunpowder were tied round his body, to hasten
(29-63)the operation of the fire. A quantity of fagots
(29-63)were disposed around the pile. While he stood
(29-63)in expectation of his cruel death, he cast his eyes
(29-63)towards his enemy the cardinal, as he sat on the
(29-63)battlements of the castle enjoying the dreadful

(29-63)scene.

(29-63) "Captain," he said to him who commanded the
(29-63)guard, "may God forgive yonder man, who lies so
(29-63)proudly on the wall -- within a few days he shall
(29-63)be seen lying there in as much shame as he now
(29-63)shows pomp and vanity."

[TG29-64, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 64]

(29-64) The pile was then fired, the powder exploded
(29-64)the flames arose, and Wishart was dismissed by a
(29-64)painful death to a blessed immortality in the next
(29-64)world.

(29-64) Perhaps the last words of Wishart, which seemed
(29-64)to contain a prophetic spirit, incited some men to
(29-64)revenge his death. At any rate, the burning of
(29-64)that excellent person greatly increased the public
(29-64)detestation against the cardinal, and a daring man
(29-64)stood forth to gratify the general desire, by putting
(29-64)him to death. This was Norman Leslie, called
(29-64)the Master of Rothes, the same who led the men
(29-64)of Fife at the battle of Ancram-moor. It appears,
(29-64)that besides his share of the common hatred to the
(29-64)cardinal as a persecutor, he had some private feud
(29-64)or cause of quarrel with him. With no more than
(29-64)sixteen men, Leslie undertook to assault the cardinal
(29-64)in his own castle, amongst his numerous guards
(29-64)and domestics. It chanced that, as many workmen
(29-64)were still employed in labouring upon the fortifications
(29-64)of the castle, the wicket of the castle-gate
(29-64)was open early in the morning, to admit them to
(29-64)their work. The conspirators took advantage of
(29-64)this, and obtained possession of the entrance.
(29-64)Having thus gained admittance, they seized upon
(29-64)the domestics of the cardinal, and turned them one
(29-64)by one out of the castle, then hastened to the cardinal's

(29-64)chamber, who had fastened the door. He
(29-64)refused them entrance, until they threatened to
(29-64)apply fire, when, learning that Norman Leslie was
(29-64)without, the despairing prelate at length undid the
(29-64)door, and asked for mercy. Melville, one of the

[TG29-65, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 65]

(29-65)conspirators, told him he should only have such
(29-65)mercy as he had extended to George Wishart, and
(29-65)the other servants of God, who had been slain by
(29-65)his orders. He then, with his sword pointed to
(29-65)his breast, bid the cardinal say his prayers to God,
(29-65)for his last hour was come. The conspirators now
(29-65)proceeded to stab their victim, and afterwards
(29-65)dragged the dead body to the walls, to show it to
(29-65)the citizens of St Andrews, his clients and dependents,
(29-65)who came in fury to demand what had
(29-65)become of their bishop. Thus his dead body really
(29-65)came to lie with open shame upon the very battlements
(29-65)of his own castle, where he had sat in triumph
(29-65)to behold Wishart's execution.
(29-65) Many persons who disapproved of this most
(29-65)unjustifiable action, were yet glad that this proud
(29-65)cardinal, who had sold the country in some measure
(29-65)to France, was at length removed. Some individuals,
(29-65)who assuredly would not have assisted in
(29-65)the slaughter, joined those who had slain the cardinal,
(29-65)in the defence of the castle. The Regent
(29-65)hastened to besiege the place, which, supplied by
(29-65)England with money, engineers, and provisions,
(29-65)was able to resist the Scottish army for five months.
(29-65)France, however, sent to Scotland a fleet and an
(29-65)army, with engineers better acquainted with the

[TG29-66, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 66]

(29-66)art of attacking strong places than those of the
(29-66)Scottish nation. The castle was, therefore, surrendered.
(29-66)The principal defenders of it were sent
(29-66)to France, and there for some time employed as
(29-66)galley-slaves. The common people made a song
(29-66)upon the event, of which the burden was --

(29-66)"Priests, content ye now,
(29-66)And, priests, content ye now,
(29-66)Since Norman and his company
(29-66)Have fill'd the galleys fou."

(29-66) Shortly after this tragical incident, King Henry
(29-66)VIII of England died. But his impatient and
(29-66)angry spirit continued to influence the counsels of
(29-66)the nation under the Lord Protector Somerset,
(29-66)who resolved to take the same violent measures to

[TG29-67, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 67]

(29-67)compel the Scots to give their young Queen in
(29-67)marriage to Edward VI., of which Henry had set
(29-67)an example. A chosen and well-disciplined army
(29-67)of eighteen thousand men, well supplied with all
(29-67)necessaries, and supported by an armed fleet,
(29-67)invaded Scotland on the eastern frontier. The
(29-67)Scots assembled a force of almost double the number
(29-67)of the invaders, but, as usual, unaccustomed to
(29-67)act in union together, or to follow the commands of
(29-67)a single general. Nevertheless, the Scottish leaders
(29-67)displayed at the commencement of the campaign
(29-67)some military skill. They posted their army
(29-67)behind the river Esk, near Musselburgh, a village
(29-67)about six miles from Edinburgh, and there seemed
(29-67)determined to await the advance of the English.

(29-67) The Duke of Somerset, Regent of England, and
(29-67)general of the invading army, was now in a state
(29-67)of difficulty. The Scots were too strongly posted
(29-67)to be attacked with hope of success, and it is probable
(29-67)the English must have retreated with dishonour,
(29-67)had not their enemies, in one of those fits
(29-67)of impatience which caused so many national calamities,
(29-67)abandoned their advantageous position.
(29-67) Confiding in the numbers of his army, the Scottish
(29-67)Regent (Earl of Arran) crossed the Esk, and
(29-67)thus gave the English the advantage of the ground,
(29-67)they being drawn up on the top of a sloping eminence.
(29-67)The Scots formed in their usual order, a
(29-67)close phalanx. They were armed with broadswords

[TG29-68, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 68]

(29-68)of an admirable form and temper, and a
(29-68)coarse handkerchief was worn in double and triple
(29-68)folds round each man's neck, -- "not for cold," says
(29-68)an old historian, "but for cutting." Especially,
(29-68)each man carried a spear eighteen feet long.
(29-68)When drawn up, they stood close together, the
(29-68)first rank kneeling on one knee, and pointing their
(29-68)spears towards the enemy. The ranks immediately
(29-68)behind stooped a little, and the others stood upright,
(29-68)presenting their lances over the heads of their
(29-68)comrades, and holding them with the but-end placed
(29-68)against their foot, the point opposed to the breast
(29-68)of the enemy. So that the Scottish ranks were so
(29-68)completely defended by the close order in which
(29-68)they stood, and by the length of their lances, that
(29-68)to charge them seemed to be as rash as to oppose
(29-68)your bare hand to a hedgehog's bristles.
(29-68) The battle began by the English cavalry, under
(29-68)the Lord Gray, rushing upon the close array of the

(29-68)Scots. They stood fast, menacing the horsemen
(29-68)with their pikes, and calling, "Come on, ye heretics!"
(29-68)The charge was dreadful; but as the spears
(29-68)of the English horse were much shorter than those
(29-68)of the Scottish infantry, they had greatly the worst
(29-68)of the encounter, and were beaten off with the loss
(29-68)of many men. The Duke of Somerset commanded
(29-68)Lord Gray to renew the charge, but Gray replied,
(29-68)he might as well bid him charge a castle-wall. By

[TG29-69, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 69]

(29-69)the advice of the Earl of Warwick, a body of
(29-69)archers and musketeers was employed instead of
(29-69)horsemen. The thick order of the Scots exposed
(29-69)them to insufferable loss from the missiles now
(29-69)employed against them, so that the Earl of Angus,
(29-69)who commanded the vanguard, made an oblique
(29-69)movement to avoid the shot; but the main body of
(29-69)the Scots unhappily mistook this movement for a
(29-69)flight, and were thrown into confusion. The van
(29-69)then fled also, and the English horse returning to
(29-69)the attack, and their infantry pressing forward, the
(29-69)victory was gained with very little trouble. The
(29-69)Scots attempted no farther resistance, and the
(29-69)slaughter was very great, because the river Esk lay
(29-69)between the fugitives and any place of safety.
(29-69)Their loss was excessive. For more than five
(29-69)miles the fields were covered with the dead, and
(29-69)with the spears, shields, and swords, which the
(29-69)flying soldiers had cast away, that they might run
(29-69)the faster. The day was equally disgraceful and
(29-69)disastrous; so that the field of Pinkie, as it was the
(29-69)last great defeat which the Scots received from the
(29-69)English, was also one of the most calamitous. It
(29-69)was fought on 10th September, 1547.

(29-69) It seemed to be decreed in those unhappy national
(29-69)wars, that the English should often be able
(29-69)to win great victories over the Scots, but that they
(29-69)should never derive any permanent advantage from
(29-69)their successes. The battle of Pinkie, far from
(29-69)paving the way to a marriage between Queen Mary
(29-69)and Edward VI, which was the object of Somerset's
(29-69)expedition, irritated and alarmed the Scots to

[TG29-70, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 70]

(29-70)such a degree, that they resolved to prevent the
(29-70)possibility of such a union, by marrying their
(29-70)young mistress with the Dauphin, that is, the eldest
(29-70)son of the King of France, and sending her to be
(29-70)bred up at the French court. A hasty assent of
(29-70)the Scottish Parliament was obtained to this, partly
(29-70)by the influence of gold, partly by the appearance
(29-70)of the French soldiers, partly, according to the
(29-70)reformer Knox, by the menaces of the Lord of
(29-70)Buccleuch, whom he describes as "a bloody man,
(29-70)who swore, with many deadly oaths, that they who
(29-70)would not consent should do what they would like
(29-70)worse."

(29-70) By the match with France the great object of
(29-70)the English government was rendered unattainable:
(29-70)But the Scots had little occasion for triumph.
(29-70)The union with France, which they so hastily and
(29-70)rashly adopted, brought a new and long series of
(29-70)ruinous consequences upon the country.

(29-70) Scotland, however, enjoyed the immediate advantages
(29-70)of a considerable auxiliary force of French
(29-70)soldiers, under an officer named D'Esse, who rendered
(29-70)material assistance in recovering several forts
(29-70)and castles which had fallen into the hands of the
(29-70)English after the battle of Pinkie, and in which

(29-70)they had left garrisons. The presence of these
(29-70)armed strangers gave great facilities for carrying
(29-70)into accomplishment the treaty with France. The
(29-70)Regent was gratified by the Dukedom of Chatelherault,
(29-70)conferred on him by the French King,
(29-70)with a considerable pension, in order to induce
(29-70)him to consent to the match. The young Queen

[TG29-71, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 71]

(29-71)was embarked on board the French galleys in
(29-71)July 1548, accompanied by four young ladies of
(29-71)quality of her own age, destined to be her play-
(29-71)fellows in childhood, and her companions when she
(29-71)grew up. They all bore the same name with their
(29-71)mistress, and were called the Queen's Maries.
(29-71) The infant Queen being thus transferred to
(29-71)France, her mother, Mary of Guise, the widow of
(29-71)James V., had the address to get herself placed at
(29-71)the head of affairs in Scotland. The Duke of
(29-71)Chatelherault, as we must now term the Earl of
(29-71)Arran, always flexible in his disposition, was prevailed
(29-71)upon to resign the office of Regent, which
(29-71)was occupied by the Queen Dowager, who displayed
(29-71)a considerable degree of wisdom and caution
(29-71)in the administration of the kingdom. Most men
(29-71)wondered at the facility with which the Duke of
(29-71)Chatelherault, himself so near in relation to the
(29-71)throne, had given place to Mary of Guise; but
(29-71)none was so much offended as the duke's natural
(29-71)brother, who had succeeded Beaton as archbishop
(29-71)of St Andrews. He exclaimed with open indecency
(29-71)against the mean spirit of his brother, who
(29-71)had thus given away the power of Regent, when

[TG29-72, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 72]

(29-72)there was but a "squalling girl" betwixt him and
(29-72)the crown.
(29-72) The Queen Regent, thus placed in authority,
(29-72)endeavoured to secure herself by diminishing the
(29-72)power of the Scottish nobles, and increasing that
(29-72)of the crown. For this purpose, she proposed that
(29-72)a tax should be levied on the country at large, to
(29-72)pay hired soldiers to fight, instead of trusting the
(29-72)defence of the country to the noblemen and their
(29-72)retainers. This proposal was exceedingly ill received
(29-72)by the Scottish Parliament. "We will fight
(29-72)for our families and our country," they said, "better
(29-72)than any hirelings can do --Our fathers did so,
(29-72)and we will follow their example." The Earl of
(29-72)Angus being checked for coming to Parliament
(29-72)with a thousand horse, contrary to a proclamation
(29-72)of the Queen Regent, that none should travel with
(29-72)more than their usual household train, answered
(29-72)jestingly, "That the knaves would not leave him;
(29-72)and that he would be obliged to the Queen, if she
(29-72)could put him on the way of being rid of them, for
(29-72)they consumed his beef and his ale." She had
(29-72)equally bad success, when she endeavoured to persuade
(29-72)the earl to give her up his strong castle of
(29-72)Tantallon, under pretence of putting a garrison
(29-72)there to defend it against the English. At first he
(29-72)answered indirectly, as if he spoke to a hawk which
(29-72)he held on his wrist, and was feeding at the time,
(29-72)"The devil," said he, "is in the greedy gled [kite!]
(29-72)Will she never be full?" The Queen, not choosing
(29-72)to take this hint, continued to urge her request
(29-72)about the garrison. "The castle, madam," he

(29-73)replied, "is yours at command; but, by St Bride
(29-73)of Douglas, I must be the captain, and I will keep
(29-73)it for you as well as any one you will put into it."
(29-73)The other nobles held similar opinions to those of
(29-73)Angus, and would by no means yield to the proposal
(29-73)of levying any hired troops, who, as they
(29-73)feared, might be employed at the pleasure of the
(29-73)kingdom.

(29-73) The prevalence of the Protestant doctrines in
(29-73)Scotland strengthened the Scottish nobles in their
(29-73)disposition to make a stand against the Queen
(29-73)Regent's desire to augment her power. Many
(29-73)great nobles, and a still greater proportion of the
(29-73)smaller barons, had embraced the Reformed opinions;
(29-73)and the preaching of John Knox, a man of
(29-73)great courage, zeal, and talents, made converts daily
(29-73)from the Catholic faith.

[TG29-74, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 74]

(29-74) The Queen Regent, though herself a zealous
(29-74)Catholic, had for some time tolerated, and even
(29-74)encouraged, the Protestant party, because they
(29-74)supported her interest against that of the Hamiltons;
(29-74)but a course of politics had been adopted in
(29-74)France, by her brothers of the House of Guise,
(29-74)which occasioned her to change her conduct in this
(29-74)respect.

(29-74) You may remember, that Edward VI of England
(29-74)succeeded by his father Henry. He adopted
(29-74)the Protestant faith, and completed the Reformation
(29-74)which his father began. But he died early,
(29-74)and was succeeded by his sister Mary of England,
(29-74)daughter of Henry VIII by his first wife,
(29-74)Catherine of Arragon, whom he divorced under
(29-74)pretext of scruples of conscience. This Mary

(29-74)endeavoured to bring back the Catholic religion,
(29-74)and enforced the laws against heresy with the
(29-74)utmost rigour. Many persons were burnt in her
(29-74)reign, and hence she has been called the Bloody
(29-74)Queen Mary. She died, however, after a short
(29-74)and unhappy reign, and her sister Elizabeth ascended
(29-74)the throne, with the general assent of all the people
(29-74)of England. The Catholics of foreign countries,
(29-74)however, and particularly those of France, objected
(29-74)to Elizabeth's title to the crown. Elizabeth was
(29-74)Henry's daughter by his second wife, Anne Bullen.
(29-74)Now, as the Pope had never consented either to
(29-74)the divorce of Queen Catherine, or to the marriage
(29-74)of Anne Bullen, the Catholic urged, that Elizabeth
(29-74)must be considered as illegitimate, and as
(29-74)having, therefore, no lawful right to succeed to

[TG29-75, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 75]

(29-75)the throne, which, as Henry VIII had no other
(29-75)child, must, they contended, descend upon Queen
(29-75)Mary of Scotland, as the grand-daughter of Margaret,
(29-75)Henry's sister, wife of James IV. of Scotland,
(29-75)and the next lawful heir, according to their
(29-75)argument, to her deceased grand-uncle.
(29-75) The court of France, not considering that the
(29-75)English themselves were to be held the best
(29-75)judges of the title of their own Queen, resolved,
(29-75)in an evil hour, to put forward this claim of the
(29-75)Scottish Queen to the English crown. Money
(29-75)was coined, and plate wrought, in which Mary,
(29-75)with her husband Francis the Dauphin, assumed the
(29-75)style, title, and armorial bearings of England, as
(29-75)well as Scotland; and thus laid the first foundation
(29-75)for that deadly hatred between Elizabeth and
(29-75)Mary, which, as you will hear by and by, led to

(29-75)such fatal consequences.

(29-75) Queen Elizabeth, finding France was disposed
(29-75)to challenge her title to the crown of England,
(29-75)prepared to support it with all the bravery and
(29-75)wisdom of her character. Her first labour was to
(29-75)re-establish the Reformed religion upon the same
(29-75)footing that Edward VI. had assigned to it, and
(29-75)to destroy the Roman Catholic establishments,
(29-75)which her predecessor Mary had endeavoured to
(29-75)replace. As the Catholics of France and Scotland
(29-75)were her natural enemies, and attempted to
(29-75)set up the right of Queen Mary as preferable to
(29-75)her own, so she was sure to find friends in the
(29-75)Protestants of Scotland, who could not fail to entertain
(29-75)respect, and even affection, for a Princess,

[TG29-76, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 76]

(29-76)who was justly regarded as the protectress of the
(29-76)Protestant cause throughout all Europe.
(29-76)When, therefore, these changes took place in
(29-76)England, the Queen Regent, at the instigation of
(29-76)her brothers of the House of Guise, began once
(29-76)more to persecute the Protestants in Scotland;
(29-76)while their leaders turned their eyes to Elizabeth
(29-76)for protection, counsel, and assistance; all of which
(29-76)she was easily disposed to render to a party whose
(29-76)cause rested on the same grounds with her own.
(29-76)Thus, while France made a vain pretence of claiming
(29-76)the kingdom of England in the name of Mary,
(29-76)and appealed for assistance to the English Catholics,
(29-76)Elizabeth far more effectually increased the internal
(29-76)dissensions of Scotland, by espousing the cause
(29-76)of the Protestants of that country.
(29-76) These Scottish Protestants no longer consisted
(29-76)solely of a few studious or reflecting men, whose

(29-76)indulgence in speculation had led them to adopt
(29-76)peculiar opinions in religion, and who could be
(29-76)dragged before the spiritual courts, fined, imprisoned,
(29-76)plundered, banished, or burnt, at pleasure.
(29-76)The Reformed cause had now been adopted by
(29-76)many of the principal nobility; and being the cause,
(29-76)at once, of rational religion and legitimate freedom,
(29-76)it was generally embraced by those who were most
(29-76)distinguished for wisdom and public spirit.
(29-76) Among the converts to the Protestant faith,
(29-76)was a natural son of the late King James V., who,
(29-76)being designed for the Church, was at this time
(29-76)called Lord James Stewart, the Prior of St Andrews,
(29-76)but was afterwards better known by the title

[TG29-77, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 77]

(29-77)of the Earl of Murray. He was a young nobleman
(29-77)of great parts, brave and skilful in war, and in
(29-77)peace a lover of justice, and a friend to the liberties
(29-77)of his country. His wisdom, good moral conduct,
(29-77)and the zeal he expressed for the reformed
(29-77)religion, occasioned his being the most active person
(29-77)amongst the Lords of the Congregation, as
(29-77)the leaders of the Protestant party were now
(29-77)called.
(29-77) The Queen Regent, more in compliance with
(29-77)the wishes of her brothers than he own inclination,
(29-77)which was gentle and moderate, began the
(29-77)quarrel by commanding the Protestant preachers
(29-77)to be summoned to a court of justice at Stirling,
(29-77)on 10th May, 1559; but such a concourse of friends
(29-77)and favourers attended them, that the Queen was
(29-77)glad to put a stop to the trial, on condition that
(29-77)they should not enter the town. Yet she broke
(29-77)this promise, and had them proclaimed outlaws for

(29-77)not appearing, although they had been stopped by
(29-77)her own command. Both parties then prepared
(29-77)for hostilities; and an incident happened, which
(29-77)heightened their animosity, while it gave to the
(29-77)course of the Reformation a peculiar colour of
(29-77)zealous passion.

(29-77) The Protestants had made their headquarters
(29-77)at Perth, where they had already commenced the
(29-77)public exercise of their religion. John Knox,
(29-77)whose eloquence gave him great influence with the
(29-77)people, had pronounced a vehement sermon against
(29-77)the sin of idolatry, in which he did not spare those
(29-77)reproached which the Queen Regent deserved for

[TG29-78, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 78]

(29-78)her late breach of faith. When his discourse was
(29-78)finished, and while the minds of the hearers were
(29-78)still agitated by its effects, a friar produced a little
(29-78)glass case, or tabernacle, containing the images of
(29-78)saints, which he required the bystanders to worship.

(29-78)A boy who was present exclaimed, "That
(29-78)was gross and sinful idolatry!" The priest, as
(29-78)incautious in his passion as ill-timed in his devotion,
(29-78)struck the boy a blow; and the lad, in revenge,
(29-78)threw a stone, which broke one of the
(29-78)images. Immediately all the people began to cast
(29-78)stones, not only at the images, but at the fine
(29-78)painted windows, and, finally, pulled down the
(29-78)altars, defaced the ornaments of the church, and
(29-78)nearly destroyed the whole building.

(29-78) The multitude next resolved to attack the splendid
(29-78)convent of the Carthusians. The prior had
(29-78)prepared for defence his garrison, consisting of the
(29-78)Highland tenants belonging to some lands which
(29-78)the convent possessed in the district of Athole.

(29-78)These men were determined to make the most of
(29-78)the occasion, and demanded of the prior, that since
(29-78)they were asked to expose their lives for the good
(29-78)of the Church, they should be assured, that if they
(29-78)were killed, their families should retain possession
(29-78)of the lands which they themselves enjoyed. The
(29-78)prior impolitically refused their request. They
(29-78)next demanded refreshments and good liquor, to
(29-78)encourage them to fight. But nothing was served
(29-78)out to them by the sordid churchman, excepting
(29-78)salted salmon and thin drink; so that they had
(29-78)neither heart nor will to fight when it came to the

[TG29-79, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 79]

(29-79)push, and made little defence against the multitude,
(29-79)by whom the stately convent was entirely
(29-79)destroyed.
(29-79) The example of the Reformers in Perth was
(29-79)followed in St Andrews and other places; and we
(29-79)have to regret that many beautiful buildings fell a
(29-79)sacrifice to the fury of the lower orders, and were
(29-79)either totally destroyed, or reduced to piles of
(29-79)shapeless ruins.
(29-79) The Reformers of the better class did not countenance
(29-79)these extremities, although the common
(29-79)people had some reason for the line of violence
(29-79)they pursued, besides their own natural inclination
(29-79)to tumultuary proceedings. One great point in
(29-79)which the Catholics and Protestants differed was,
(29-79)that the former reckoned the churches as places
(29-79)hallowed and sacred in their own character, which
(29-79)it was a highly meritorious duty to ornament and
(29-79)adorn with every species of studied beauty of
(29-79)architecture. The Scottish Protestants, on the
(29-79)contrary, regarded them as mere buildings of

(29-79)stone and lime, having no especial claim to respect
(29-79)when the divine service was finished. The
(29-79)defacing, therefore, and even destroying, the
(29-79)splendid Catholic churches, seemed to the early
(29-79)Reformers the readiest mode of testifying their
(29-79)zeal against the superstitions of Popery. There

[TG29-80, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 80]

(29-80)was a degree of policy in pulling down the abbeys
(29-80)and monasteries, with the cells and lodgings
(29-80)made for the accommodation of the monks.
(29-80)"The true way to banish the rooks," said John
(29-80)Knox, "is to pull down their nests, and the rooks
(29-80)will fly off." But this maxim did not apply to
(29-80)the buildings used for public worship. Respecting
(29-80)these at least, it would have been better to
(29-80)have followed the example of the citizens of Glasgow,
(29-80)who drew out in arms, when the multitude
(29-80)were about to destroy the High Church of that
(29-80)city, and, while they agreed with the more zealous
(29-80)in removing all the emblems of Popish worship,
(29-80)insisted that the building itself should remain uninjured,
(29-80)and be applied to the uses of a Protestant
(29-80)church.

(29-80) On the whole, however, though many fine buildings
(29-80)were destroyed in Scotland, in the first fury
(29-80)of the Reformation, it is better that the country
(29-80)should have lost these ornaments, than they
(29-80)should have been preserved entire, with the retention
(29-80)of the corrupt and superstitious doctrines which
(29-80)had been taught in them.

(29-80) The demolition of the churched and sacred buildings
(29-80)augmented the Queen Regent's displeasure
(29-80)against the Lords of the Congregation, and at
(29-80)length both parties took the field. The Protestant

(29-80)nobles were at the head of their numerous followers;
(29-80)the Queen chiefly relied upon a small but
(29-80)select body of French troops. The war was not
(29-80)very violently carried on, for the side of the Reformers
(29-80)became every day stronger. The Duke

[TG29-81, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 81]

(29-81)of Castelherault, the first nobleman in Scotland, a
(29-81)second time espoused the cause of the Congregation;
(29-81)and Maitland of Lethington, one of the
(29-81)wisest statesmen in the kingdom, took the same
(29-81)course. At the same time, although the Lords
(29-81)found it easy to bring together large bodies of men,
(29-81)yet they had not the money or means necessary to
(29-81)keep them together for a long time, while the
(29-81)French veteran soldiers were always ready to take
(29-81)advantage when the Reformed leaders were obliged
(29-81)to diminish their forces. Their difficulties
(29-81)became greater when the Queen Regent showed
(29-81)her design to fortify strongly the town of Leith
(29-81)and the adjacent island of Inch-Keith, and placed
(29-81)her French soldiers in garrison there; so that,
(29-81)being in possession of that seaport, she might at
(29-81)all times, when she saw occasion, introduce an additional
(29-81)number of foreigners.
(29-81)•@Unskilled in the art of conducting sieges, and
(29-81)totally without money, the Lords of the Congregation
(29-81)had recourse to the assistance of England:
(29-81)and for the first time an English fleet and army
(29-81)approached the territories of Scotland by sea and
(29-81)land, not with the purpose of invasion, as used to
(29-81)be the case of old, but to assist the nation in its
(29-81)resistance to the arms of France, and the religion
(29-81)of Rome.
(29-81) The English army was soon joined by the Scottish

(29-81)Lords of the Congregation, and advancing to
(29-81)Leith, laid siege to the town, which was most valorously
(29-81)defended by the French soldiers, who

[TG29-82, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 82]

(29-82)displayed a degree of ingenuity in their defence
(29-82)which for a long time resisted every effort of the
(29-82)besiegers. They were, however, blockaded by the
(29-82)English fleet, so that no provisions could be received
(29-82)by sea; and as on land they were surrounded
(29-82)by a considerable army, provisions became so
(29-82)scarce, that they were obliged to feed upon horse-
(29-82)flesh.

(29-82) In the mean time, their mistress, the Queen
(29-82)Regent, had retired into the castle of Edinburgh,
(29-82)where grief, fatigue, and disappointed expectations,
(29-82)threw her into an illness, of which she died
(29-82)on 10th of June, 1560. The French troops in
(29-82)Leith were now reduced to extremity, and Francis
(29-82)and Mary determined upon making peace in
(29-82)Scotland at the expense of most important concessions
(29-82)to the Reformed party. All foreign troops, on both sides,
(29-82)were to be withdrawn accordingly.

(29-82) England, and especially Queen Elizabeth, gained
(29-82)a great point by this treaty, for it recognized, in
(29-82)express terms, the title of that Princess to the
(29-82)throne of England; and Francis and Mary bound
(29-82)themselves to lay aside all claim to that kingdom,

[TG29-83, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 83]

(29-83)together with the arms and emblems of English
(29-83)sovereignty which they had assumed and borne.
(29-83) The parliament of Scotland being assembled, it
(29-83)was soon seen that the Reformers possessed the

(29-83)power and inclination to direct all its resolutions
(29-83)upon the subject of religion. They condemned
(29-83)unanimously the whole fabric of Popery, and adopted,
(29-83)instead of the doctrines of the Church of Rome,
(29-83)the tenets contained in a confession, or avowal, of
(29-83)Faith, drawn up by the most popular of the Protestant
(29-83)divines. Thus the whole religious constitution
(29-83)of the Church was at once altered.
(29-83) There was one particular in which the Scottish
(29-83)reformers greatly differed from those of England.
(29-83)The English monarch, who abolished the power of
(29-83)the Pope, had established that of the crown as the
(29-83)visible Head of the Church of England. The meaning
(29-83)of this phrase is, not that the King has the power
(29-83)of altering the religious doctrines of the church, but
(29-83)only that he should be the chief of the government
(29-83)in church affairs, as he was always in those of the
(29-83)State. On the contrary, the Reformed ministers
(29-83)of Scotland renounced the authority of any interference
(29-83)of the civil magistrate, whether subject or
(29-83)sovereign, in the affairs of the Church, declaring it
(29-83)should be under the exclusive direction of a court
(29-83)of delegates chosen from its own members, assisted
(29-83)by a certain number of the laity, forming what is
(29-83)called a General Assembly of the Church. The
(29-83)Scottish Reformers disclaimed also the division of
(29-83)the clergy into the various ranks of bishops, deans,
(29-83)prebendaries, and other classes of the clerical order.

[TG29-84, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 84]

(29-84)They discarded this subordination of ranks, though
(29-84)retained in the English Protestant Church, maintaining
(29-84)that each clergyman intrusted with a charge
(29-84)of souls was upon a level in every respect with the
(29-84)rest of his brethren. They reprobated, in particular,

(29-84)the order of bishop, as holding a place in the
(29-84)National Council, or Parliament; and asserted, that
(29-84)meddling in secular affairs was in itself improper
(29-84)for their office, and naturally led to the usurpation
(29-84)over men's consciences, which had been the chief
(29-84)abomination of the Church of Rome. The laity of
(29-84)Scotland, and particularly the great nobility, saw
(29-84)with pleasure the readiness of the ministers to
(29-84)resign all those pretensions to worldly rank and
(29-84)consequence, which had been insisted upon by the
(29-84)Roman Catholic clergy, and made their self-denying
(29-84)abjuration of titles and worldly business a
(29-84)reason for limiting the subsistence which they were
(29-84)to derive from the funds of the Church, to the
(29-84)smallest possible sum of annual stipend, whilst they
(29-84)appropriated the rest to themselves without scruple.
(29-84) It remained to dispose of the wealth lately enjoyed
(29-84)by the Catholic clergy, who were supposed
(29-84)to be possessed of half of the revenue of Scotland,
(29-84)so far as it arose from land. Knox and the other
(29-84)Reformed clergy had formed a plan for the decent
(29-84)maintenance of a National Church out of these
(29-84)extensive funds, and proposed, that what might be
(29-84)deemed more than sufficient for this purpose should
(29-84)be expended upon hospitals, schools, universities,
(29-84)and places of education. But the Lords, who had
(29-84)seized the revenues of the church, were determined

[TG29-85, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 85]

(29-85)not to part with the spoil they had obtained; and
(29-85)those whom the preachers had found most active
(29-85)in destroying Popery, were wonderfully cold when
(29-85)it was proposed to them to surrender the lands
(29-85)they had seized upon for their own use. The
(29-85)plan of John Knox was, they said, a "devout

(29-85)imagination," a visionary scheme, which showed the
(29-85)goodness of the preacher's intentions, but which it
(29-85)was impossible to carry into practice. In short,
(29-85)they retained by force the greater part of the church
(29-85)revenues for their own advantage.

(29-85) When Francis and Mary, who had now become
(29-85)King and Queen of France, heard that the Scottish
(29-85)Parliament had totally altered the religion, and
(29-85)changed the forms of the National Church from
(29-85)Catholic to Protestant, they were extremely angry;
(29-85)and had the King lived, it is most likely they would
(29-85)have refused to consent to this great innovation,
(29-85)and preferred rekindling the war by sending a new
(29-85)army of French into Scotland. But if they meditated
(29-85)such a measure, it was entirely prevented by
(29-85)the death of Francis II., on the 5th of December,
(29-85)1560.

(29-85) During her husband's life, Mary had exercised
(29-85)a great authority in France, for she possessed unbounded
(29-85)influence over his mind. After his death,
(29-85)and the accession of Charles his brother, that influence
(29-85)and authority were totally ended. It must
(29-85)have been painful to a lofty mind like Mary's thus
(29-85)to endure coldness and neglect in the place where
(29-85)she had met with honour and obedience. She
(29-85)retired, therefore, from the Court of France, and

[TG29-86, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 29, p. 86]

(29-86)determined to return to her native kingdom of
(29-86)Scotland; a resolution most natural in itself, but
(29-86)which became the introduction to a long and melancholy
(29-86)tale of misfortunes.

[TG30-87, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 30, p. 87]

(30-87) Mary Stewart, the Queen Dowager of France
(30-87)and hereditary Queen of Scotland, was without
(30-87)any exception, the most beautiful and accomplished
(30-87)woman of her time. Her countenance was
(30-87)lovely; she was tall, well-formed, elegant in all her
(30-87)motions, skilled in the exercises of riding and
(30-87)dancing, and possessed of all the female accomplishments
(30-87)which were in fashion at that period.
(30-87)Her education in France had been carefully attended
(30-87)to, and she had profited by the opportunities of
(30-87)instruction she enjoyed. She was mistress of several
(30-87)languages, and understood state-affairs, in
(30-87)which her husband had often used her advice. The
(30-87)beauty of Mary was enhanced by her great condescension,
(30-87)and by the good-humour and gaiety
(30-87)which she sometimes carried to the verge of excess.
(30-87)Her youth, for she was only eighteen when she
(30-87)returned to Scotland, increased the liveliness of her
(30-87)disposition. The Catholic religion, in which she

[TG30-88, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 30, p. 88]

(30-88)had been strictly educated, was a great blemish in
(30-88)the eyes of her people; but on the whole the
(30-88)nation expected her return with more hope and
(30-88)joy, than Mary herself entertained at the thought
(30-88)of exchanging the fine climate of France and the
(30-88)gaieties of its court, for the rough tempests and
(30-88)turbulent politics of her native country.
(30-88) Mary set sail from France 15th August, 1561.
(30-88)The English fleet were at sea, and there is great
(30-88)reason to believe that they had a purpose of intercepting
(30-88)the Queen of Scots, as a neighbour whose
(30-88)return was dreaded by Elizabeth. Occupied with
(30-88)anxious forebodings, the Queen remained on the
(30-88)deck of her galley, gazing on the coasts of France.

(30-88)Morning found her in the same occupation; and
(30-88)when they vanished from her eyes, she exclaimed
(30-88)in sorrow, "Farewell, farewell, happy France; I
(30-88)shall never see thee more!"
(30-88) She passed the English fleet under cover of a
(30-88)mist, and arrived at Leith on the 19th August,
(30-88)where little or no preparation had been made for
(30-88)her honourable reception. Such of the nobles as
(30-88)were in the capital hastened, however, to wait upon
(30-88)their young Queen, and convey her to Holyrood,
(30-88)the palace of her ancestors. Horses were
(30-88)provided to bring her and her train to Edinburgh;
(30-88)but they were wretched ponies, and had such
(30-88)tattered furniture and accoutrements, that poor
(30-88)Mary, when she thought of the splendid palfreys
(30-88)and rich appointments at the court of France, could
(30-88)not forbear shedding tears. The people were,
(30-88)however, in their way, rejoiced to see her; and

[TG30-89, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 30, p. 89]

(30-89)about two hundred citizens of Edinburgh, each
(30-89)doing his best upon a three-stringed fiddle, played
(30-89)under her window all night, by way of welcome ---
(30-89)a noisy serenade, which deprived her of sleep after
(30-89)her fatigue. She took it as it was meant, nevertheless,
(30-89)and expressed her thanks to the perpetrators
(30-89)of this mistuned and mistimed concert. Mary
(30-89)had immediately after her arrival a specimen of the
(30-89)religious zeal of her Reformed subjects. She had
(30-89)ordered mass to be performed by a Popish ecclesiastic
(30-89)in her own chapel, but the popular indignation
(30-89)was so much excited, that but for the interference
(30-89)of her natural brother, the Prior of St.
(30-89)Andrews, the priest would have been murdered on
(30-89)his own altar.

(30-89) Mary behaved with admirable prudence at this
(30-89)early period of her reign. She enchanted the
(30-89)common people by her grace and condescension,
(30-89)and while she sate in council, usually employed in
(30-89)some female work, she gained credit for her wisdom
(30-89)among the statesmen whom she consulted.
(30-89)She was cautious of attempting any thing contrary
(30-89)to the religion of her subjects, though different
(30-89)from her own; and using the assistance of the

[TG30-90, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 30, p. 90]

(30-90)Prior of St. Andrews, and of the sagacious Maitland,
(30-90)she made a rapid progress in the affections of
(30-90)her people. She conferred on the Prior of St.
(30-90)Andrews, who had given up thoughts of the
(30-90)church, the title and the earldom of Mar, which
(30-90)had been frequently bestowed on branches of the
(30-90)royal family.
(30-90) With similar prudence, the Queen maintained
(30-90)all the usual intercourse of civility with Elizabeth;
(30-90)and while she refused to abandon her title to the
(30-90)crown of England, in the case of Elizabeth dying
(30-90)without heirs of her body, she expressed her anxious
(30-90)wish to live on the best terms with her sister sovereign,
(30-90)and her readiness to relinquish, during the
(30-90)life of the English Queen, any right of inheritance
(30-90)to the English crown which she might possess to
(30-90)her prejudice. Elizabeth was silenced, if not satisfied;
(30-90)and there continued to be a constant communication
(30-90)of apparent friendship between the two
(30-90)sovereigns, and an exchange of letters, compliments,
(30-90)and occasionally of presents, becoming their rank,
(30-90)with much profession of mutual kindness.
(30-90) But there was one important class of persons to
(30-90)whom Mary's form of religion was so obnoxious,

(30-90)that they could not be gained to any favourable
(30-90)thoughts of her. These were the preachers of the
(30-90)Reformed faith, who, recollecting Mary's descent
(30-90)from the family of Guise, always hostile to the
(30-90)Protestant cause, exclaimed against the Queen
(30-90)even in the pulpit, with an indecent violent unfitting
(30-90)that place, and never spoke of her but as one
(30-90)hardened in resistance to the voice of true Christian

[TG30-91, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 30, p. 91]

(30-91)instruction. John Knox himself introduced
(30-91)such severe expressions into his sermons, that
(30-91)Queen Mary condescended to expostulate with
(30-91)him personally, and to exhort him to use more
(30-91)mild language in the discharge of his duty. Nevertheless,
(30-91)though the language of these rough
(30-91)Reformers was impolitic, as tending unnecessarily
(30-91)to increase the Queen's dislike of them and their
(30-91)form of religion, it must be owned that their suspicions
(30-91)of Mary's sincerity were natural, and in all
(30-91)probability well founded. The Queen uniformly
(30-91)declined to ratify the religious system adopted by
(30-91)the Parliament in 1560, or the confiscation of the
(30-91)church lands. She always seemed to consider the
(30-91)present state of things as a temporary arrangement,
(30-91)to which she was indeed willing to submit for the
(30-91)present, but with the reservation, that it should be
(30-91)subjected to alterations when there was opportunity
(30-91)for them. Her brother, the newly created
(30-91)Earl of Mar, however, who was at this time her
(30-91)principal counsellor, and her best friend, used his
(30-91)influence with the Protestant clergy in her behalf,
(30-91)and some coldness arose between him and John
(30-91)Knox, on the subject, which continued for more
(30-91)than a year.

(30-91) The first troublesome affair in Queen Mary's
(30-91)reign seems to have arisen from her attachment to
(30-91)this brother and his interest. She had created him
(30-91)Earl of Mar, as we have said; but it was her
(30-91)purpose to confer on him, instead of this title, that
(30-91)of Earl of Murray, and with it great part of the

[TG30-92, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 30, p. 92]

(30-92)large estates belonging to that northern earldom,
(30-92)which had become vested in the crown after the
(30-92)extinction of the heirs of the celebrated Thomas
(30-92)Randolph, who enjoyed it in the reign of the great
(30-92)Robert Bruce. The earldom of Murray had afterwards
(30-92)been held by a brother of the Earl of Douglas,
(30-92)but had again been forfeited to the crown on
(30-92)the fall of that great family in James the Second's
(30-92)time.

(30-92) This exchange, however, could not be made,
(30-92)without giving offence to the Earl of Huntly, often
(30-92)mentioned as head of the most powerful family in
(30-92)the North, who had possessed himself of a considerable
(30-92)part of those domains which had belonged to
(30-92)the earldom of Murray. This Earl of Huntly was
(30-92)a brave man, and possessed of very great power in
(30-92)the Northern counties. He was one of the few
(30-92)remaining peers who continued attached to the
(30-92)Catholic religion, and, after the family of Hamilton,
(30-92)was the nearest in connexion to the royal
(30-92)family

(30-92) It was believed, that if the Queen, instead of
(30-92)coming to Leith, had chosen to have landed at
(30-92)Aberdeen, and declared herself determined to
(30-92)reinstate the Catholic religion, the earl had offered
(30-92)to join her with twenty thousand men for accomplishing
(30-92)that purpose. Mary, however, had declined

(30-92)his proposal, which must have had the
(30-92)immediate consequence of producing a great civil
(30-92)war. The Earl of Huntly was, therefore, considered
(30-92)as hostile to the present government, and to
(30-92)the Earl of Mar, who had the principal management

[TG30-93, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 30, p. 93]

(30-93)of affairs; and it was to be supposed, that
(30-93)possessed as Huntly was of great power, and a
(30-93)very numerous body of dependents and retainers,
(30-93)he would not willingly surrender to his political
(30-93)enemy any part of the domains which he possessed
(30-93)belonging to the earldom of Murray.
(30-93) The Earl of Mar was, on his part, determined
(30-93)to break the strength of this great opponent; and
(30-93)Queen Mary, who appears also to have feared
(30-93)Huntly's power, and the use which he seemed
(30-93)disposed to make of it, undertook a personal journey
(30-93)to the North of Scotland, to enforce obedience
(30-93)to her commands. About the same time, Sir John
(30-93)Gordon, the Earl of Huntly's son, committed some
(30-93)feudal outrage, for which he was sentenced to
(30-93)temporary confinement. This punishment, though
(30-93)slight, was felt as another mark of disfavour to the
(30-93)house of Gordon, and increased the probability of
(30-93)their meditating resistance. It is difficult, or rather
(30-93)impossible, to say whether there were good grounds
(30-93)for suspecting Huntly of entertaining serious views
(30-93)to take arms against the Crown. But his conduct
(30-93)was, to say the least, incautious and suspicious.
(30-93) The young Queen advanced northward at the
(30-93)head of a small army, encamping in the fields, or
(30-93)accepting such miserable lodgings as the houses of
(30-93)the smaller gentry afforded. It was, however, a
(30-93)scene which awake her natural courage, and, marching

(30-93)at the head of her soldiery, such was her spirit,
(30-93)that she publicly wished she had been a man, to
(30-93)sleep all night in the fields, and to walk armed
(30-93)with a jack and skull-cap of steel, a good Glasgow

[TG30-94, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 30, p. 94]

(30-94)buckler at her back, and a broadsword by her
(30-94)side.

(30-94) Huntly seems to have been surprised by the
(30-94)arrival of his sovereign, and undecided what to do.
(30-94)While he made all offers of submission, and endeavoured
(30-94)to prevail on the Queen to visit his house
(30-94)as that of a dutiful subject, a party of his followers
(30-94)refused her admission into the royal castle of Inverness,
(30-94)and attempted to defend that fortress
(30-94)against her. They were, however, compelled to
(30-94)surrender, and the governor was executed for
(30-94)treason.

(30-94) Mean time, Sir John Gordon escaped from the
(30-94)prison to which the Queen had sentenced him, and
(30-94)placed himself at the head of vassals of his house,
(30-94)who were now rising in every direction; while his
(30-94)father, the Earl of Huntly, considering the Queen
(30-94)as guided entirely by his enemy, the Earl of Mar,
(30-94)at length assumed arms in person.

(30-94) Huntly easily assembled a considerable host, and
(30-94)advanced towards Aberdeen. The purpose of his
(30-94)enterprise was, perhaps, such as Buccleuch had
(30-94)entertained at the field of Melrose, -- an attack
(30-94)rather upon the Queen's counsellors than on her
(30-94)person. But her brother, who had now exchanged
(30-94)his title of Mar for that Murray, was as brave
(30-94)and as successful as Angus upon the former occasion,
(30-94)with the advantage, that he enjoyed the confidence
(30-94)of his sovereign. He was, however, in a

(30-94)state of great difficulty. The men on whom he
(30-94)could with certainty rely were few, being only
(30-94)those whom he had brought from the midland counties.

[TG30-95, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 30, p. 95]

(30-95)He summoned, indeed, the northern barons
(30-95)in his neighbourhood, and they came; but with
(30-95)doubtful intentions, full of awe for the house of
(30-95)Gordon, and probably with the private resolution
(30-95)of being guided by circumstances.
(30-95) Murray, who was an excellent soldier, drew up
(30-95)the men he could trust on an eminence called the
(30-95)hill of Fare, near Corrichie. He did not allow the
(30-95)northern clans to mix their doubtful succours with
(30-95)this resolute battalion, and the event showed the
(30-95)wisdom of his precaution. Huntly approached, and
(30-95)encountered the northern troops, his allies and
(30-95)neighbours, who offered little or no resistance.
(30-95)They fled tumultuously towards Murray's main
(30-95)body, pursued by the Gordons, who threw away
(30-95)their spears, drew their swords, and advanced in
(30-95)disorder, as to an assured victory. In this tumult
(30-95)they encountered the resistance of Murray's firm
(30-95)batallion of spearmen, who received the attack
(30-95)in close order, and with determined resolution. The
(30-95)Gordons were repulsed in their turn; and those
(30-95)clans who had before fled, seeing they were about
(30-95)to lose the day, returned with sprigs of heather in
(30-95)their caps, which they used to distinguish them, fell
(30-95)upon the Gordons, and completed Murray's victory.
(30-95)Huntly, a bulky man, and heavily armed, fell from
(30-95)horseback in the flight, and was trodden to death,
(30-95)or, as others say, died afterwards of a broken heart.
(30-95)This battle was fought 28th October, 1562. The
(30-95)body of Huntly, a man lately esteemed one of the

(30-95)bravest, wisest, and most powerful in Scotland, was
(30-95)afterwards brought into a court of justice, meanly

[TG30-96, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 30, p. 96]

(30-96)arrayed in a doublet of coarse canvass, that the sentence
(30-96)of a traitor might be pronounced over the
(30-96)senseless corpse.

(30-96) Sir John Gordon, the son of the vanquished
(30-96)Earl, was beheaded at Aberdeen, three days after
(30-96)the battle. Murray was placed in possession of the
(30-96)estates belonging to his new earldom, and the
(30-96)Queen returned, after having struck general terror
(30-96)into the minds of such barons as might be thought
(30-96)refractory, by the activity of her measures, and the
(30-96)success of her arms.

(30-96) Thus far the reign of Mary had been eminently
(30-96)prosperous; but a fatal crisis approached, which
(30-96)was eventually to plunge her into the utmost
(30-96)misery. She had no children by her deceased husband,
(30-96)the King of France, and her subjects were
(30-96)desirous that she should marry a second husband,
(30-96)a purpose which she herself entertained and encouraged.

(30-96)It was necessary, or politic at least, to
(30-96)consult Queen Elizabeth on the subject. That
(30-96)Princess had declared her own resolution never to
(30-96)marry, and if she should keep this determination,
(30-96)Mary of Scotland was the next heir to the English
(30-96)crown. In expectation of this rich and splendid
(30-96)inheritance, it was both prudent and natural, that
(30-96)in forming a new marriage, Mary should desire to
(30-96)have the advice and approbation of the Princess to
(30-96)whose realm she or her children might hope to
(30-96)succeed, especially if she could retain her favour.

(30-96) Elizabeth of England was one of the wisest and
(30-96)most sagacious Queen that ever wore a crown, and

(30-96)the English to this day cherish her memory with

[TG30-97, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 30, p. 97]

(30-97)well-deserved respect and attachment. But her
(30-97)conduct towards her kinswoman Mary, from beginning
(30-97)to end, indicated a degree of envy and deceit
(30-97)totally unworthy of her general character. Determined
(30-97)herself not to marry, it seems to have been
(30-97)Elizabeth's desire to prevent Mary also from doing
(30-97)so, lest she should see before her a lineage, no her
(30-97)own, ready to occupy her throne immediately after
(30-97)her death. She therefore adopted a mean and
(30-97)shuffling policy, recommending one match after
(30-97)another to her kinswoman, but throwing in obstacles
(30-97)whenever any of them seemed likely to take
(30-97)place. At first she appeared desirous that Mary
(30-97)should marry the Earl of Leicester, a nobleman
(30-97)whom, though by no means distinguished by talents
(30-97)or character, she herself admired so much for his
(30-97)personal beauty, as to say, that except for her vow
(30-97)never to marry, she would have chosen him for her
(30-97)own husband. It may be readily believed, that she
(30-97)had no design such a match as she hinted at should
(30-97)ever take place, and that if Mary had expressed
(30-97)any readiness to accept of Leicester, Elizabeth
(30-97)would have found ready means to break off the
(30-97)marriage.

(30-97) This proposal, however, was not at all agreeable
(30-97)to Queen Mary. Leicester, if his personal merit
(30-97)had been much greater, was of too low a rank to
(30-97)pretend to the hand of a Queen of Scotland, and
(30-97)Queen Dowager of France, to whom the most
(30-97)powerful monarchs in Europe were at the same
(30-97)time paying suit.

(30-97) The Archduke Charles, third son of the Emperor

[TG30-98, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 30, p. 98]

(30-98)of Germany, was proposed on one side; the
(30-98)hereditary Prince of Spain was offered on another;
(30-98)the Duke of Anjou, who became afterwards Henry
(30-98)II of France, also presented himself. But if
(30-98)Mary had accepted the hand of a foreign prince,
(30-98)she would in so doing have resigned her chance of
(30-98)succeeding to the English crown: nay, considering
(30-98)the jealousy of her Protestant subjects, she might
(30-98)have endangered her possession of that of Scotland.
(30-98)She was so much impressed by these considerations,
(30-98)that she went so far as to intimate that she
(30-98)might consent to the match with the Earl of Leicester,
(30-98)provided that Elizabeth would recognise her
(30-98)as next heir to the English crown, in case of her
(30-98)own decease without children. This, however, did
(30-98)not suit Elizabeth's policy. She did not desire
(30-98)Mary to be wedded to any one, far less to Leicester,
(30-98)her own personal favourite; and was therefore
(30-98)extremely unlikely to declare her sentiments upon
(30-98)the succession (a subject on which she always observed
(30-98)the most mysterious silence), in order to
(30-98)bring about the union of her rival with the man
(30-98)she herself preferred.

(30-98) Mean time, the vies of Queen Mary turned
(30-98)towards a young nobleman of high birth, nearly
(30-98)connected both with her own family and that of
(30-98)Elizabeth. This was Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley,
(30-98)eldest son of the Earl of Lennox. You may
(30-98)recollect, that after the battle of Flodden, the Earl
(30-98)of Angus married the Queen Dowager of Scotland;
(30-98)and, in the tumults which followed, was compelled
(30-98)to retire for a season to London. While Angus

[TG30-99, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 30, p. 99]

(30-99)resided in England, his wife bore him a daughter,
(30-99)called Lady Margaret Douglas, who, when her
(30-99)parents returned to Scotland, continued to remain
(30-99)at the English court, under the protection of her
(30-99)uncle, King Henry. Again you must remember,
(30-99)that during the regency of the Duke of Chatelherault,
(30-99)the Earl of Lennox attempted to place himself
(30-99)at the head of the English party in Scotland;
(30-99)but his efforts failing through want of power or of
(30-99)conduct, he also was compelled to retire to England,
(30-99)where Henry VIII, in acknowledgment of
(30-99)his niece, Lady Margaret Douglas, who, in right of
(30-99)her mother Margaret, had a claim of inheritance to
(30-99)the English crown.

(30-99) The young Lord Darnley's father being of such
(30-99)high rank, and his parents having such pretensions,
(30-99)Mary imagined that in marrying him she would
(30-99)gratify the wishes of Elizabeth, who seemed to
(30-99)point out, though ambiguously, a native of Britain,
(30-99)and one not of royal rank, as her safest choice, and
(30-99)as that which would be most agreeable to herself.
(30-99)Elizabeth seemed to receive the proposal favourably,
(30-99)and suffered the young man, and his father
(30-99)Lennox, to visit the court of Scotland, in the hope
(30-99)that their presence might embroil matters farther;
(30-99)and thinking that, in case the match should be
(30-99)likely to take place, she might easily break it off
(30-99)by recalling them as her subjects; a command which
(30-99)she supposed they would not dare to disobey, as
(30-99)enjoying all their lands and means of living in
(30-99)England.

[TG30-100, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 30, p. 100]

(30-100) Young Darnley was remarkably tall and handsome,
(30-100)perfect in all external and showy accomplishments,
(30-100)but unhappily destitute of sagacity, prudence,
(30-100)steadiness of character, and exhibiting only doubtful
(30-100)courage, though extremely violent in his passions.
(30-100)Had this young man possessed a very
(30-100)moderate portion of sense, or even of gratitude, we
(30-100)might have had a different story to tell of Mary's
(30-100)reign -- as it was, you will hear a very melancholy
(30-100)one. Mary had the misfortune to look upon this
(30-100)young nobleman with partiality, and was the more
(30-100)willing to gratify her own inclinations in his favour,
(30-100)that she longed to put an end to the intrigues by
(30-100)which Queen Elizabeth had endeavoured to impose
(30-100)upon her, and prevent her marriage. Indeed, while
(30-100)the two Queens used towards each other the language
(30-100)of the most affectionate cordiality, there was
(30-100)betwixt them neither plain dealing nor upright
(30-100)meaning, but great dissimulation, envy, and fear.
(30-100) Darnley, in the mean time, endeavouring to
(30-100)strengthen the interest which he had acquired in
(30-100)the Queen's affections, had recourse to the friendship
(30-100)of a man, of low rank, indeed, but who was
(30-100)understood to possess particular influence over the
(30-100)mind of Mary. This was an Italian of humble
(30-100)origin, called David Rizzio, who had been promoted
(30-100)from being a menial in the Queen's family,
(30-100)to the confidential office of French secretary. His
(30-100)talents for music gave him frequent admission to
(30-100)Mary's presence, as she delighted in that art; and
(30-100)his address, and arts of insinuation, gained him a
(30-100)considerable influence over her mind. It was almost

[TG30-101. Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 30, p. 101]

(30-101)necessary that the Queen should have near her

(30-101)person some confidential officer, skilled at once in
(30-101)languages and in business, through whom she might
(30-101)communicate with foreign states, and with her
(30-101)friends in France in particular. No such agent
(30-101)was likely to be found in Scotland, unless she had
(30-101)chosen a Catholic priest, which would have given
(30-101)more offence to her Protestant subjects, than even
(30-101)the elevation of this person, a stranger, a Catholic, and
(30-101)a man of mean origin, to the rank of a minister of
(30-101)the crown -- and, yet more, the personal familiarity
(30-101)to which the queen condescended to admit him,
(30-101)and the airs of importance which this low-born
(30-101)foreigner pretended to assume, became the subject
(30-101)of offence to the proud Scottish nobles, and of
(30-101)vulgar scandal among the common people.
(30-101) Darnley, anxious to strengthen his interest with
(30-101)the Queen on every hand, formed an intimacy with
(30-101)Rizzio, who employed all the arts of flattery and
(30-101)observance to gain possession of his favour, and
(30-101)unquestionably was serviceable to him in advancing
(30-101)his suit. The Queen, in the mean while, exerted
(30-101)herself to remove the obstacles to her union with
(30-101)Darnley, and with such success, that, with the
(30-101)approbation of far the greater part of her subjects,
(30-101)they were married at Edinburgh on the 29th
(30-101)July, 1565.

[TG31-102, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 31, p. 102]

(31-102) When Elizabeth received news that this union
(31-102)was determined upon, she gave way to all the
(31-102)weakness of an envious woman. She remonstrated
(31-102)against the match, though, in fact, Mary could
(31-102)scarcely have made a choice less dangerous to
(31-102)England. She called Lennox and his son Darnley
(31-102)from Scotland -- a mandate which they refused,

(31-102)or delayed, to obey. She committed the Countess
(31-102)of Lennox, the only one of the family within her
(31-102)reach, a prisoner to the Tower of London. Above
(31-102)all, she endeavoured to disturb the peace of Scotland,
(31-102)by stirring up to insurrection those among
(31-102)the Scottish nobility to whom the match with
(31-102)Darnley was distasteful.

(31-102) The Queen's brother, the Earl of Murray, was
(31-102)by far the most able and powerful of those who
(31-102)were displeased by Mary's marriage. Darnley
(31-102)and he were personal enemies; and besides, Murray
(31-102)was the principal of the Lords of the Congregation,
(31-102)who affected to see danger to the Protestant

[TG31-103, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 31, p. 103]

(31-103)religion in Mary's choice of Darnley for a husband,
(31-103)and in the disunion which it was likely to create
(31-103)betwixt Scotland and England. Murray even
(31-103)laid a plan to intercept Darnley, seize his person,
(31-103)and either put him to death, or send him prisoner
(31-103)to England. a body of horse was for this purpose
(31-103)stationed at a pass under the hill of Bennartey,
(31-103)near Kinross, called the Parrot-well, to intercept
(31-103)the Queen and Darnley as they returned from a
(31-103)Convention of Estates held at Perth; and they
(31-103)only escaped the danger by a hasty march, commenced
(31-103)early in the morning.

(31-103) After the marriage, Murray and his confederates,
(31-103)who were the Duke of Chatelherault, Glencairn,
(31-103)Argyle, Rothes, and others, actually took up arms.
(31-103)The Queen, in this emergency, assembled her subjects
(31-103)around her. They came in such numbers as
(31-103)showed her popularity. Darnley rode at their head
(31-103)in gilded armour, accompanied by the Queen
(31-103)herself, having loaded pistols at her saddle-bow.

(31-103)Unable to stand their ground, Murray and his
(31-103)accomplices eluded the pursuit of the royal army, and
(31-103)made a sudden march on Edinburgh, where they
(31-103)hoped to find friends. But the citizens not adopting
(31-103)their cause, and the castle threatening to fire
(31-103)on them, the insurgents were compelled to retreat,
(31-103)first to Hamilton, then to Dumfries, until they
(31-103)finally disbanded their forces in despair, and the
(31-103)leaders fled into England. Thus ended an insurrection,
(31-103)which, from the hasty and uncertain manner
(31-103)in which the conspirators posted from one part

[TG31-104, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 31, p. 104]

(31-104)of the kingdom to another, obtained the popular
(31-104)name of the Run-about Raid (or ride).
(31-104) Elizabeth, who had encouraged Murray and his
(31-104)associates to rise against Mary, was by no means
(31-104)desirous to have the discredit of having done so,
(31-104)when she saw their attempt was unsuccessful. She
(31-104)caused Murray and the Abbot of Kilwinning to
(31-104)appear before her in presence of the ambassadors
(31-104)of France and Spain, who, interfering in Mary's
(31-104)behalf, had accused Elizabeth of fomenting the
(31-104)Scottish disturbances. "How say you," she exclaimed,
(31-104)"my Lord of Murray, and you his companion?
(31-104)Have you had advice or encouragement
(31-104)from me in your late undertaking?" The exiles,
(31-104)afraid to tell the truth, were contented to say, however
(31-104)falsely, that they had received no advice or
(31-104)assistance at her hands. "There you indeed speak
(31-104)truth," replied Elizabeth; "for neither did I, nor
(31-104)any in my name, stir you up against your Queen;
(31-104)your abominable treason may serve for example
(31-104)to my own subjects to rebel against me. Therefore
(31-104)get out of my presence; you are but unworthy

(31-104)traitors!" Mortified and disgraced, Murray and
(31-104)his companions again retired to the Border, where
(31-104)Queen Elizabeth, notwithstanding her pretended
(31-104)resentment, allowed them privately means of support,
(31-104)until times should permit them to return into
(31-104)Scotland, and renew disturbances there.
(31-104) Mary had thus overcome her refractory subjects,
(31-104)but she soon found that she had a more formidable
(31-104)enemy in the foolish and passionate husband whom

[TG31-105, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 31, p. 105]

(31-105)she had chosen. This headstrong young man behaved
(31-105)to his wife with great disrespect, both as a
(31-105)woman and as a queen, and habitually indulged
(31-105)himself in intoxication, and other disgraceful vices.
(31-105)Although already possessed of more power than
(31-105)fitted his capacity or age, for he was but nineteen,
(31-105)he was importunate in his demands for obtaining
(31-105)what was called in Scotland the Crown Matrimonial;
(31-105)that is, the full equality of royal right in the
(31-105)crown with his consort. Until he obtained this
(31-105)eminence he was not held to be King, though called
(31-105)so in courtesy. He was only the husband of the
(31-105)Queen.
(31-105) This crown matrimonial had been bestowed on
(31-105)Mary's first husband, Francis, and Darnley was
(31-105)determined to be possessed of the same rank. But
(31-105)Mary, whose bounty had already far exceeded his
(31-105)deserts, as well as his gratitude, was resolved not
(31-105)to make this last concession, at least without the
(31-105)advice and consent of the Parliament.
(31-105) The childish impatience of Darnley made him
(31-105)regard with mortal hatred whatever interfered
(31-105)with the instant execution of his wishes; and his
(31-105)animosity on this occasion turned against the Italian

(31-105)secretary, once his friend, but whom he now
(31-105)esteemed his deadly foe, because he supposed that
(31-105)Rizzio encouraged the Queen in resisting his hasty
(31-105)ambition. His resentment against the unhappy
(31-105)stranger arose to such a height, that he threatened
(31-105)to poniard him with his own hand; and as Rizzio
(31-105)had many enemies, and no friend save his mistress,
(31-105)Darnley easily procured instruments, and those of

[TG31-106, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 31, p. 106]

(31-106)no mean rank, to take the execution of his revenge
(31-106)on themselves.

(31-106) The chief of Darnley's accomplices, on this
(31-106)unhappy occasion, was James Douglas, Earl of Morton,
(31-106)chancellor of the kingdom, tutor and uncle to
(31-106)the Earl of Angus (who chanced then to be a minor),
(31-106)and administrator, therefore, of all the power
(31-106)of the great house of Douglas. He was a nobleman
(31-106)of high military talent and political wisdom;
(31-106)but although a pretender to sanctity of life, his actions
(31-106)show him to have been a wicked and unscrupulous
(31-106)man. Although chancellor of the kingdom, and
(31-106)therefore bound peculiarly to respect the laws, he
(31-106)did not hesitate to enter into the young King's
(31-106)cruel and unlawful purpose. Lord Ruthven, a
(31-106)man whose frame was exhausted by illness, nevertheless
(31-106)undertook to buckle on his armour for the
(31-106)enterprise; and they had no difficulty in finding
(31-106)other agents.

(31-106) It would have been easy to have seized of Rizzio,
(31-106)and disposed of him as the Scottish peers at
(31-106)the bridge of Lauder used the favourites of James
(31-106)III. But this would not have accomplished the
(31-106)revenge of Darnley, who complained that the Queen
(31-106)showed this mean Italian more civility than she

(31-106)did to himself, and therefore took the barbarous
(31-106)resolution of seizing him in her very presence.
(31-106)This plan was the more atrocious, as Mary was at
(31-106)this time with child; and the alarm of agitation
(31-106)which such an act of violence was likely to produce,

[TG31-107, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 31, p. 107]

(31-107)might endanger her life, or that of her unborn
(31-107)offspring.
(31-107) While this savage plot was forming, Rizzio
(31-107)received several hints of what was likely to happen.
(31-107)Sir James Melville was at pains to explain
(31-107)to him the danger that was incurred by a stranger
(31-107)in any country, who rose so high in the favour of
(31-107)the prince, as to excite the disgust of the natives
(31-107)of the land. A French priest, who was something
(31-107)of an astrologer, warned the secretary to beware
(31-107)of a bastard. To such counsels, he replied, "that
(31-107)the Scots were more given to threaten than to
(31-107)stride; and as for the bastard (by whom he supposed
(31-107)the Earl of Murray to be meant), he would
(31-107)take care that he should never possess power
(31-107)enough in Scotland to do him any harm." Thus
(31-107)securely confident, he continued at court, to abide
(31-107)his fate.
(31-107) Those lords who engaged in the conspiracy did
(31-107)not agree to gratify Darnley's resentment against
(31-107)Rizzio for nothing. They stipulated, as the price
(31-107)of their assistance, that he should in turn aid them
(31-107)in obtaining pardon and restoration to favour for
(31-107)Murray, and his accomplices in the Run-about
(31-107)Raid; and intimation was despatched to these
(31-107)noblemen, apprizing them of the whole undertaking,
(31-107)and desiring them to be at Edinburgh on the night
(31-107)appointed for doing the deed.

(31-107) Queen Mary, like her father, James V, was
(31-107)fond of laying aside the state of a sovereign, and
(31-107)indulging in small private parties, quiet, as she
(31-107)as she termed them, and merry. On these occasions, she

[TG31-108, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 31, p. 108]

(31-108)admitted her favourite domestics to her table, and
(31-108)and Rizzio seems frequently to have had that honour.
(31-108)On the 9th of March, 1566, six persons had partaken
(31-108)of supper in a small cabinet adjoining to the
(31-108)Queen's bedchamber, and having no entrance save
(31-108)through it. Rizzio was of the number. About
(31-108)seven in the evening, the gates of the palace were
(31-108)occupied by Morton, with a party of two hundred
(31-108)men; and a select band of the conspirators, headed
(31-108)by Darnley himself, came into the Queen's apartment
(31-108)by a secret staircase. Darnley first entered
(31-108)the cabinet, and stood for an instant in silence,
(31-108)gloomily eyeing his victim. Lord Ruthven followed
(31-108)in complete armour, looking pale and ghastly,
(31-108)as one scarcely recovered from long sickness.
(31-108)Others crowded in after them, till the little closet
(31-108)was full of armed men. While the Queen demanded
(31-108)the purpose of their coming, Rizzio, who
(31-108)saw that his life was aimed at, got behind her, and
(31-108)clasped the folds of her gown, that the respect due
(31-108)to her person might protect him. The assassins
(31-108)threw down the table, and seized on the unfortunate
(31-108)object of their vengeance, while Darnley himself
(31-108)took hold of the Queen, and forced Rizzio and
(31-108)her asunder. It was their intention, doubtless, to
(31-108)have dragged Rizzio out of Mary's presence, and
(31-108)to have killed him elsewhere; but their fierce impatience
(31-108)hurried them into instant murder. George
(31-108)Douglas, called the postulate of Arbroath, a natural

(31-108)brother of the Earl of Morton, set the example,
(31-108)by snatching Darnley's dagger from his belt, and
(31-108)striking Rizzio with it. He received many other

[TG31-109, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 31, p. 109]

(31-109)blows. They dragged him through the bedroom
(31-109)and antechamber, and despatched him at the head
(31-109)of the staircase, with no less than fifty-six wounds.
(31-109)Ruthven, after all was over, fatigued with his exertions,
(31-109)sate down in the Queen's presence, and,
(31-109)begging her pardon for the liberty, called for a
(31-109)drink to refresh him, as if he had been doing the
(31-109)most harmless thing in the world.

(31-109) The witnesses, the actors, and the scene of this
(31-109)cruel tragedy, render it one of the most extraordinary
(31-109)which history records. The cabinet and the
(31-109)bedroom still remain in the same condition in which
(31-109)they were at the time; and the floor near the head
(31-109)of the stair bears visible marks of the blood of the
(31-109)unhappy Rizzio. The Queen continued to beg his
(31-109)his life with prayers and tears; but when she learned
(31-109)that he was dead, she dried her tears. --- "I will
(31-109)now," she said, "study revenge."

(31-109) The conspirators, who had committed the cruel
(31-109)action entirely or chiefly to gratify Darnley, reckoned
(31-109)themselves, of course, secure of his protection.
(31-109)They united themselves with Murray and
(31-109)his associates, who were just returned from England
(31-109)according to the appointment, and agreed upon a course
(31-109)of joint measure. The Queen, it was agreed,
(31-109)should be put under restraint in Edinburgh castle,
(31-109)or elsewhere; and Murray and Morton were to
(31-109)rule the state under the name of Darnley, who was
(31-109)to obtain the crown matrimonial, which he had so
(31-109)anxiously desired. But all this scheme was ruined

(31-109)by the defection of Darnley himself. As fickle as
(31-109)was vehement, and as timorous as he had shown

[TG31-110, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 31, p. 110]

(31-110)himself cruel, Rizzio was no sooner slain than
(31-110)Darnley became terrified at what had been done,
(31-110)and seemed much disposed to deny having given
(31-110)any authority for the crime.

(31-110) Finding her weak-minded husband in a state
(31-110)between remorse and fear, Mary prevailed on him
(31-110)to take part against the very persons whom he had
(31-110)instigated to the late atrocious proceeding. Darnley
(31-110)and Mary escaped together out of Holyrood-
(31-110)house, and fled to Dunbar, where the Queen issued
(31-110)a proclamation which soon drew many faithful followers
(31-110)around her. It was now the turn of the
(31-110)conspirators to tremble. That the Queen's conquest
(31-110)over them might be more certain, she pardoned
(31-110)the Earl of Murray, and those concerned
(31-110)in the Run-about Raid, as guilty of more venial
(31-110)offences than the assassins of Rizzio; and thus
(31-110)Murray, Glencairn, and others, were received into
(31-110)favour, while Morton, Ruthven, and his comrades,
(31-110)fled in their turn to England. No Scottish subject,
(31-110)whatever his crime, could take refuge there without
(31-110)finding secret support, if not an open welcome.
(31-110)Such was Elizabeth's constant policy.

(31-110) Queen Mary was now once more in possession
(31-110)of authority, but much disturbed and vexed by the
(31-110)silly conduct of her husband, who absurdities and
(31-110)insolences were not abated by the consequences of
(31-110)Rizzio's death; so that the royal pair continued to
(31-110)be upon the worst terms with each other, though
(31-110)disguised under a species of reconciliation.

(31-110) On the 19th of June, 1566, Mary was delivered

(31-110)of a son, afterwards James VI. When news of

[TG31-111, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 31, p. 111]

(31-111)this even reached London, Queen Elizabeth was
(31-111)merrily engaged in dancing; but upon hearing
(31-111)what had happened, she left the dance, and sate
(31-111)down, leaning her head on her hand, and exclaiming
(31-111)passionately to her ladies, "Do you not hear
(31-111)how the Queen of Scots is mother of a fair son,
(31-111)while I am but barren stock!" But next morning
(31-111)she had recovered herself sufficiently to maintain
(31-111)her usual appearance of outward civility, received
(31-111)the Scottish ambassador with much seeming
(31-111)favour, and accepted with thanks the office of god-
(31-111)mother to the young Prince, which he proffered to
(31-111)her in the Queen Mary's name.

(31-111) After a splendid solemnity at christening the
(31-111)heir of Scotland, Queen Mary seems to have turned
(31-111)her mind towards settling the disorders of her

[TG31-112, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 31, p. 112]

(31-112)nobility; and, sacrificing her own justifiable resentment,
(31-112)she yielded so far as to grant pardon to all
(31-112)those concerned in the murder of Rizzio. Two
(31-112)men of low rank, and no more, had been executed
(31-112)for that crime. Lord Ruthven, the principal actor,
(31-112)had died in England, taking and writing as composedly
(31-112)of "the slaughter of David," as if it had
(31-112)been the most indifferent, if not meritorious, action
(31-112)possible. George Douglas, who struck the first
(31-112)blow, and Ker of Faldonside, another ruffian who
(31-112)offered his pistol at the Queen's bosom in the fray,
(31-112)were exempted from the general pardon. Morton
(31-112)and all the others were permitted to return, to plan

(31-112)new treasons and murders.

(31-112) We are now come, my dear child, to a very
(31-112)difficult period in history. The subsequent events,
(31-112)in the reign of Queen Mary, are well known; but
(31-112)neither the names of the principal agents in those
(31-112)events, nor the motives upon which they acted, are
(31-112)at all agreed upon by historians. It has, in particular,
(31-112)been warmly disputed, and will probably
(31-112)long continue to be so, how far Queen Mary is to
(31-112)be considered as a voluntary party or actor in the
(31-112)tragic and criminal events of which I am about
(31-112)to tell you; or how far, being innocent of any
(31-112)foreknowledge of these violent actions, she was an
(31-112)innocent victim of the villany of others. Leaving
(31-112)you, my dear child, when you come to a more advanced
(31-112)age, to study this historical point for yourself,
(31-112)I shall endeavour to give you an outline of
(31-112)the facts, as they are admitted and proved on all
(31-112)sides.

[TG31-113, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 31, p. 113]

(31-113) James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, a man in
(31-113)middle age, had for several years played a conspicuous
(31-113)part in those troubled times. He had sided
(31-113)with the Queen Regent against the Reformed
(31-113)party, and was in general supposed to be attached
(31-113)rather to the reigning Queen, than to any of the
(31-113)factions who opposed her. He was head of the
(31-113)powerful family of Hepburn, and possessed great
(31-113)influence in East-Lothian and Berwickshire, where
(31-113)excellent soldiers could always be obtained. In
(31-113)his morals Bothwell was wild and licentious, irregular
(31-113)and daring in his ambition; and although
(31-113)his history does not show many instances of personal
(31-113)courage, yet in his early life he had the

(31-113)reputation of possessing it. He had been in danger
(31-113)on the occasion of Rizzio's murder, being supposed,
(31-113)from his regard for the Queen, to have been desirous
(31-113)of preventing that cruel insult to her person
(31-113)and authority. As this nobleman displayed great
(31-113)zeal for Mary's cause, she was naturally led to
(31-113)advance him at court, until many persons, and
(31-113)particularly the preachers of the Reformed religion,
(31-113)thought that she admitted to too great intimacy a
(31-113)man of so fierce and profligate a character; and a
(31-113)numerous part among her subjects accused the
(31-113)Queen as being fonder of Bothwell than she ought
(31-113)to have been, he being a married man, and herself
(31-113)a married woman.

(31-113) A thoughtless action of Mary's seemed to confirm
(31-113)this suspicion. Bothwell, among other offices
(31-113)of authority, held that of Lord Warden of all the
(31-113)Marches, and was residing at the castle of Hermitage,

[TG31-114, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 31, p. 114]

(31-114)a royal fortress which belonged to that
(31-114)office, in order to suppress some disorders on the
(31-114)Border. In October 1566, attempting with his
(31-114)own hand to seize a Border freebooter called John
(31-114)Elliot of the Park, he was severely wounded in
(31-114)the hand. That Queen, who was then at Jedburgh
(31-114)holding a court of justice, hastened through woods,
(31-114)morasses, and waters, to pay a visit to the wounded
(31-114)warden; and though the distance was twenty
(31-114)English miles, she went and returned from Hermitage
(31-114)castle in the same day. This excursion
(31-114)might arise solely from Mary's desire to learn the
(31-114)cause and particulars of a great outrage on her
(31-114)lieutenant; but all those who wished ill to her,
(31-114)who were a numerous body, represented it as expressing

(31-114)her anxiety for the safety of her lover.

(31-114) In the mean time, the dissension between
(31-114)Darnley and the Queen continued to increase;
(31-114)and while he must have been disliked by Mary
(31-114)from their numerous quarrels, and the affronts he
(31-114)put upon her, as well as from his share in the
(31-114)murder of Rizzio, those who had been concerned
(31-114)with him in that last crime, considered him as a
(31-114)poor mean-spirited wretch, who, having engaged
(31-114)his associates in so daring an act, had afterwards
(31-114)betrayed and deserted them. His latter conduct
(31-114)showed no improvement in either sense or spirit.
(31-114)He pretended he would leave the kingdom, and
(31-114)by this and other capricious resolutions, hastily
(31-114)adopted and abandoned, he so far alienated the

[TG31-115, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 31, p. 115]

(31-115)affections of the Queen, that many of the unscrupulous
(31-115)and plotting nobles by whom she was surrounded,
(31-115)formed the idea, that it would be very agreeable
(31-115)to Mary if she could be freed from her union with
(31-115)this unreasonable and ill-tempered young man.
(31-115) The first proposal made to her was, that she
(31-115)should be separated from Darnley by a divorce.
(31-115)Bothwell, Maitland, Morton, and Murray, are said
(31-115)to have joined in pressing such a proposal upon
(31-115)Queen Mary, who was then residing at Craigmillar
(31-115)castle, near Edinburgh; but she rejected it
(31-115)steadily. A conspiracy of a darker kind was then
(31-115)agitated, for the murder of the unhappy Darnley;
(31-115)and Bothwell seems to have entertained little
(31-115)doubt that Mary, thus rid of an unacceptable husband,
(31-115)would choose himself for his successor. He
(31-115)spoke with the Earl of Morton on the subject of
(31-115)despatching Darnley, and represented it as an

(31-115)enterprise which had the approbation of the Queen.
(31-115)Morton refused to stir in a matter of so great
(31-115)consequence, unless he received a mandate under the
(31-115)Queen's hand. Bothwell undertook to procure
(31-115)him such a warrant, but he never kept his word.
(31-115)This was confessed by Morton at his death. When
(31-115)it was asked of him by the clergyman who received
(31-115)his confession, why he had not prevented
(31-115)the conspiracy, by making it public? he replied,
(31-115)that there was no one to whom he could confess it
(31-115)with safety. "The Queen," he said, "was herself
(31-115)in the plot; and if I had told Darnley, his
(31-115)folly was so great that I am certain he would have
(31-115)betrayed it to his wife, and so my own destruction

[TG31-116, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 31, p. 116]

(31-116)would have been assured." But though he did not
(31-116)acknowledge more than I have told you, Morton
(31-116)was always supposed to have been one of the active
(31-116)conspirators; and it was universally believed that
(31-116)a daring and profligate relation of his, called
(31-116)Archibald Douglas, parson of Glasgow, was one of
(31-116)the actual murderers. While these suspicions
(31-116)hung over Morton himself, he seems to have had
(31-116)no reason for believing Mary's guilt, excepting
(31-116)what Bothwell told him; while he admits that
(31-116)Bothwell never showed him any warrant under the
(31-116)Queen's hand, though he promised to do so. It
(31-116)seems probable that Maitland of Lethington also
(31-116)knew the fatal and guilty secret. Morton and he,
(31-116)however, were both men of deep sagacity. They
(31-116)foresaw that Bothwell would render himself, and
(31-116)perhaps the Queen also, odious to the nation by the
(31-116)dark and bloody action which he meditated; and
(31-116)therefore they resolved to let him run on his course,

(31-116)in the hope that he would come to a speedy fall,
(31-116)and that they themselves might succeed to the
(31-116)supreme power.

(31-116) While these schemes were in agitation against
(31-116)his life, Darnley fell ill at Glasgow, and his indisposition
(31-116)proved to be the small-pox. The Queen
(31-116)sent her physician, and after an interval went herself
(31-116)to wait upon him, and an apparent reconciliation
(31-116)was effected between them. They came together

[TG31-117, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 31, p. 117]

(31-117)to Edinburgh on the 31st January, 1566-67. The
(31-117)King was lodged in a religious house called the
(31-117)Kirk of Field, just without the walls of the city.
(31-117)The Queen and the infant Prince were accommodated
(31-117)in the palace of Holyrood. The reason assigned
(31-117)for their living separate was the danger of
(31-117)the child catching the small-pox. But the Queen
(31-117)showed much attention to her husband, visiting
(31-117)him frequently; and they never seemed to have
(31-117)been on better terms than when the conspiracy
(31-117)against Darnley's life was on the eve of being executed.
(31-117)Mean while Darnley and his groom of the
(31-117)chamber were alone during the night time, and
(31-117)separated from any other persons, when measures
(31-117)were taken for his destruction in the following
(31-117)horrible manner: --

(31-117) On the evening of the 9th February, several
(31-117)persons, kinsmen, retainers, and servants of the
(31-117)Earl of Bothwell, came in secret to the Kirk of
(31-117)Field. They had with them a great quantity of
(31-117)gunpowder; and by means of false keys they obtained
(31-117)entrance into the cellars of the building,
(31-117)where they disposed the powder in the vaults under
(31-117)Darnley's apartment, and especially beneath

(31-117)the spot where his bed was placed. About two
(31-117)hours after midnight upon the ensuing morning,
(31-117)Bothwell himself came disguised in a riding-cloak,
(31-117)to see the execution of the cruel project. Two of
(31-117)his ruffians went in and took means of firing the
(31-117)powder, by lighting a piece of slow-burning match

[TG31-118, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 31, p. 118]

(31-118)at one end, and placing the other amongst the
(31-118)gunpowder. They remained for some time watching
(31-118)the event, and Bothwell became so impatient, that
(31-118)it was with difficulty he was prevented from entering
(31-118)the house, to see whether the light had not
(31-118)been extinguished by some accident. One of his
(31-118)accomplices, by looking through a window, ascertained
(31-118)that it was still burning. The explosion
(31-118)presently took place, blew up the Kirk of Field,
(31-118)and alarmed the whole city. The body of Darnley
(31-118)was found in the adjoining orchard. The bed in
(31-118)which he lay had preserved him from all action of
(31-118)the fire, which occasioned a general belief that he
(31-118)and his chamber-groom, who was found in the same
(31-118)situation, had been strangled and removed before
(31-118)the house was blown up. But this was a mistake.
(31-118)It is clearly proved, by the evidence of those who
(31-118)were present at the event, that there were no
(31-118)means employed but the gunpowder -- a mode of
(31-118)destruction sufficiently powerful to have rendered
(31-118)any other unnecessary.

[TG32-119, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 119]

(32-119) The horrible murder of the unhappy Darnley
(32-119)excited the strongest suspicions, and the greatest
(32-119)discontent, in the city of Edinburgh, and through

(32-119)the whole kingdom. Bothwell was pointed out by
(32-119)the general voice as the author of the murder; and
(32-119)as he still continued to enjoy the favour of Mary,
(32-119)her reputation was not spared. To have brought
(32-119)this powerful criminal to an open and impartial
(32-119)trial, would have been the only way for the Queen
(32-119)to recover her popularity; and Mary made a show
(32-119)of doing this public justice, but under circumstances
(32-119)which favoured the criminal.

(32-119) Lennox, father of the murdered Darnley, had, as
(32-119)was his natural duty, accused Bothwell of the murder
(32-119)of his son. But he received little countenance

[TG32-120, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 120]

(32-120)in prosecuting the accused. Every thing seemed
(32-120)to be done as hastily as if it were determined to
(32-120)defeat the operations of justice. Lennox received
(32-120)information on the 28th of March, that the 12th of
(32-120)April was appointed for the day of trial; and, at so
(32-120)short warning as fourteen days, he was summoned,
(32-120)as nearest relation of the murdered monarch, to
(32-120)appear as accuser, and to support the charge he had
(32-120)made against Bothwell. The Earl of Lennox complained
(32-120)that the time allowed him to prepare the
(32-120)charge and evidence necessary for convicting to
(32-120)powerful a criminal, was great too short; but he
(32-120)could not prevail to have it extended.

(32-120) It was a usual thing in Scotland for persons
(32-120)accused of crimes, to come to the bar of a court of
(32-120)justice attended by all their friends, retainers, and
(32-120)dependents, the number of whom was frequently
(32-120)so great, that the judges and accusers were over-awed,
(32-120)and became afraid to proceed in the investigation;
(32-120)so that the purposes of justice were for the
(32-120)time frustrated. Bothwell, conscious of guilt, was

(32-120)desirous to use this means of protection to the
(32-120)utmost. He appeared in Edinburgh with full five
(32-120)thousand attendants. Two hundred chosen musketeers
(32-120)kept close by his side, and guarded the
(32-120)doors of the court as soon as the criminal had
(32-120)entered. In such circumstances, there could be no
(32-120)chance of a fair trial. Lennox did not appear,
(32-120)saving by one of his vassals, who protested against
(32-120)the proceedings of the day. No charge was made,
(32-120)-- no proof of innocence, of course, was required, --
(32-120)and a jury, consisting of nobles and gentlemen of

[TG32-121, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 121]

(32-121)the first rank, acquitted Bothwell of a crime of
(32-121)which all the world believed him to be guilty.
(32-121) The public mind remained dissatisfied with this
(32-121)mockery of justice; but Bothwell, without regarding
(32-121)the murmurs of the people, hurried forward
(32-121)to possess himself of the situation which he had
(32-121)made vacant by the murder of Darnley. He convened
(32-121)a number of the principal nobility,
(32-121)at a feast given in a tavern, and prevailed
(32-121)on them to sign a bond, in which they not only declared
(32-121)Bothwell altogether innocent of the King's
(32-121)death, but recommended him as the fittest person
(32-121)whom her Majesty could choose for a husband.
(32-121)Morton, Maitland, and others, who afterwards were
(32-121)Mary's bitter enemies and accusers, subscribed this
(32-121)remarkable deed; either because they were afraid
(32-121)of the consequences of a refusal, or that they thought
(32-121)it the readiest and safest course for accomplishing
(32-121)their own purposes, to encourage Bothwell and the
(32-121)Queen to run headlong to their ruin, by completing
(32-121)a marriage which must be disgustful to the whole
(32-121)kingdom.

(32-121) Murray, the most important person in Scotland,
(32-121) had kept aloof from all these proceedings. He
(32-121) was in Fife when the King was murdered, and,
(32-121) about three days before Bothwell's trial, he obtained
(32-121) leave of his sister the Queen to travel to
(32-121) France. Probably he did not consider that his
(32-121) own person would be safe, should Bothwell rise to
(32-121) be King.

(32-121) The Earl of Bothwell, thus authorized by the
(32-121) apparent consent of the nobility, and, no doubt,

[TG32-122, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 122]

(32-122) thinking himself secure of the Queen's approbation,
(32-122) suddenly appeared at the bridge of Cramond,
(32-122) with a thousand horse, as Mary arrived there on
(32-122) her return from Stirling to Edinburgh. Bothwell
(32-122) took the Queen's horse by the bridle, and surrounding
(32-122) and disarming her attendants, he led her, as
(32-122) if by an appearance of force, to the strong castle
(32-122) of Dunbar, of which he was governor. On this
(32-122) occasion Mary seems neither to have attempted to
(32-122) resist, nor to have expressed that feeling of anger
(32-122) and shame which would have been proper to her
(32-122) character as a queen or as a woman. Her attendants
(32-122) were assured by the officers of Bothwell,
(32-122) that she was carried off in consequence of her own
(32-122) consent; and considering that such an outrage was
(32-122) offered to a sovereign of her high rank and bold
(32-122) spirit, her tame submission and silence under it
(32-122) seem otherwise to be accounted for. They
(32-122) remained at Dunbar ten days, after which they
(32-122) again appeared in Edinburgh, apparently reconciled;
(32-122) the earl carefully leading the Queen's
(32-122) palfrey, and conducting her up to the castle of
(32-122) Edinburgh, the government of which was held by

(32-122)one of his adherents.

(32-122) Whilst these strange proceedings took place,
(32-122)Bothwell had been able to procure a sentence of
(32-122)divorce against his wife, a sister of the Earl of
(32-122)Huntly. On the 12th of May, the Queen made
(32-122)a public declaration, that she forgave Bothwell the
(32-122)late violence which he had committed, and that,
(32-122)although she was at first highly displeased with
(32-122)him, she was now resolved not only to grant him

[TG32-123, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 123]

(32-123)her pardon, but also to promote him to further
(32-123)honours. She was as good as her word, for she
(32-123)created him Duke of Orkney; and, on the 15th of
(32-123)the same month, did Mary, with unpardonable
(32-123)indiscretion, commit the great folly of marrying this
(32-123)ambitious and profligate man, stained as he was
(32-123)with the blood of her husband.

(32-123) The Queen was not long in discovering that by
(32-123)this unhappy marriage she had gotten a more ruthless
(32-123)and wicked husband, than she had in the
(32-123)flexible Darnley. Bothwell used her grossly ill,
(32-123)and being disappointed in his plans of getting the
(32-123)young Prince into his keeping, used such upbraiding
(32-123)language to Mary, that she prayed for a knife
(32-123)with which to stab herself, rather than endure his
(32-123)ill treatment.

(32-123) In the mean time, the public discontent rose
(32-123)high, and Morton, Maitland, and others, who had
(32-123)been themselves privy to the murder of Darnley,
(32-123)placed themselves, notwithstanding, at the head of
(32-123)a numerous party of the nobility, who resolved to
(32-123)revenge his death, and remove Bothwell from his
(32-123)usurped power. They took arms hastily, and had
(32-123)nearly surprised the Queen and Bothwell, while

(32-123)feasting in the castle of the Lord Borthwick, from
(32-123)whence they fled to Dunbar, the Queen being
(32-123)concealed in the disguise of a page.
(32-123) The confederated lords marched towards Dunbar,
(32-123)and the Queen and Bothwell, having assembled

[TG32-124, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 124]

(32-124)an army, advanced to the encounter, and met
(32-124)them on Carberry hill, not far from the place
(32-124)where the battle of Pinkie was fought. This was
(32-124)on the 15th of June, 1567. Mary would have
(32-124)acted more wisely in postponing the threatened
(32-124)action, for the Hamiltons, in great force, were on
(32-124)their way to join her. But she had been accustomed
(32-124)to gain advantages by rapid and ready
(32-124)movements, and was not at first sufficiently aware
(32-124)what an unfavourable impression existed against
(32-124)her even in her own army. Many, if not most, of
(32-124)those troops who had joined the Queen, had little
(32-124)inclination to fight in Bothwell's cause. He himself,
(32-124)in a bravado, offered to prove his innocence of
(32-124)Darnley's murder, by a duel in the lists with any
(32-124)of the opposite lords who should affirm his guilt.
(32-124)The valiant Kirkaldy of Grange, Murray of
(32-124)Tullibardin, and Lord Lindsay of the Byres, successively
(32-124)undertook the combat; but Bothwell found exceptions
(32-124)to each of them, and, finally, it appeared that
(32-124)this wicked man had not courage to fight with any
(32-124)one in that quarrel. In the mean time, the Queen's
(32-124)army began to disband, and it became obvious that
(32-124)they would not fight in her cause, while they considered
(32-124)it as the same with that of Bothwell. She
(32-124)therefore recommended to him to fly from the field
(32-124)of action; and advice which he was not slow in
(32-124)following, riding to Dunbar as fast as he could,

(32-124)and from thence escaping by sea.

(32-124) Mary surrendered herself, upon promise of respect
(32-124)and kind treatment, to the Laird of grange,
(32-124)and was conducted by him to the headquarters of

[TG32-125, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 125]

(32-125)the confederate army. When she arrived there,
(32-125)the lords received her with silent respect; but some
(32-125)of the common soldiers hooted at and insulted her,
(32-125)until Grange, drawing his sword, compelled them
(32-125)to be silent. The lords adopted the resolution of
(32-125)returning to the capital, and conveying Mary thither,
(32-125)surrounded by their troops.

(32-125) As the unhappy Queen approached Edinburgh,
(32-125)led as it were in triumph by the victors, the most
(32-125)coarse and insulting behaviour was used towards
(32-125)her by the lower classes. There was a banner prepared
(32-125)for the insurrection, displaying, on the one
(32-125)side, the portrait of Darnley, as he lay murdered
(32-125)under a tree in the fatal orchard, with these words
(32-125)embroidered, "Judge, and avenge my cause, O
(32-125)Lord!" and on the other side, the little Prince on
(32-125)his knees, holding up his hands, as if praying to
(32-125)Heaven to punish his father's murderers. As the
(32-125)Queen rode through the streets, with her hair loose,
(32-125)her garments disordered, covered with dust, and
(32-125)overpowered with grief, shame, and fatigue, this
(32-125)fatal flag was displayed before her eyes, while the
(32-125)voices of the rude multitude upbraided her with
(32-125)having been an accomplice in Darnley's murder.
(32-125)The same cries were repeated, and the same insulting
(32-125)banner displayed, before the windows of
(32-125)the Lord Provost's house, to which she was for a
(32-125)few hours committed as if a prisoner. The better
(32-125)class of craftsmen and citizens were at length

(32-125)moved by her sorrows, and showed such a desire
(32-125)to take her part, that the lords determined to remove
(32-125)her from the city, where respects to her birth

[TG32-126, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 126]

(32-126)and misfortunes seemed likely to create partisans,
(32-126)in spite of her own indiscretions, and the resentment
(32-126)of her enemies. Accordingly, on the next
(32-126)evening, being 16th June, 1567, Mary, in disguised
(32-126)apparel, and escorted by a strong armed force, was
(32-126)conveyed from Holyrood to the castle of Lochleven,
(32-126)which stands on a little island, surrounded by the
(32-126)lake of the same name, and was there detained a
(32-126)prisoner.

(32-126) The insurgent Lords now formed themselves
(32-126)into a Secret Council, for managing the affairs of
(32-126)the nation. Their first attention was turned to
(32-126)securing Bothwell, although, perhaps, there may
(32-126)have been some even among their own number, --
(32-126)Morton, for example, and Maitland, -- who had been
(32-126)participant with him in the murder of Darnley, who
(32-126)could not be very desirous that he should be produced
(32-126)on a public trial. But it was necessary to
(32-126)make a show of pursuing him, and many were sincerely
(32-126)desirous that he should be taken.

(32-126) Kirkaldy of Grange followed Bothwell with two
(32-126)vessels, and had nearly surprised him in the harbour
(32-126)of Lerwick, the fugitive making his escape at one
(32-126)issue of the bay, while Grange entered at another;
(32-126)and Bothwell might even then have been captured,
(32-126)but that Grange's ship ran upon a rock, and was
(32-126)wrecked, though the crew escaped. Bothwell was
(32-126)only saved for a more melancholy fate. He took
(32-126)to piracy in the Northern Seas, in order to support
(32-126)himself and his sailors. He was in consequence

(32-126)assaulted and taken by some Danish ships of war.
(32-126)The Danes threw him into the dungeons of the

[TG32-127, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 127]

(32-127)castle of Malmay, where he died in captivity, about
(32-127)the end of the year 1576. It is said, that this atrocious
(32-127)criminal confessed at his death, that he had
(32-127)conducted the murder of Darnley, by the assistance
(32-127)of Murray, Maitland, and Morton, and that Mary
(32-127)was altogether guiltless of that crime. But there
(32-127)is little reliance to be placed on the declaration of
(32-127)so wicked a man, even if it were certain he had
(32-127)made it.

(32-127) Mean time, poor Mary reaped the full consequences
(32-127)of Bothwell's guilt, and of her own infatuated
(32-127)attachment to him. She was imprisoned in a rude
(32-127)and inconvenient tower, on a small islet, where
(32-127)there was scarce room to walk fifty yards; and not
(32-127)even the intercession of Queen Elizabeth, who
(32-127)seems for the time to have been alarmed at the
(32-127)successful insurrection of subjects against their
(32-127)sovereign, could procure any mitigation of her captivity.
(32-127)There was a proposal to proceed against the Queen
(32-127)as an accomplice in Darnley's murder, and to take
(32-127)her life under that pretence. But the lords of the
(32-127)Secret Council resolved to adopt somewhat of a
(32-127)gentler course, by compelling Mary to surrender
(32-127)her crown to her son, then an infant, and to make
(32-127)the Earl of Murray regent during the child's
(32-127)minority. Deeds to this purpose were drawn up, and
(32-127)sent to the castle of Lochleven, to be signed by the
(32-127)Queen. Lord Lindsay, the rudest, most bigoted,
(32-127)and fiercest of the confederated lords, was deputed
(32-127)to enforce Mary's compliance with the commands
(32-127)of the council. He behaved with such peremptory

(32-127)brutality as had perhaps been expected, and was so

[TG32-128, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 128]

(32-128)unmanly as to pinch with his iron glove the arm of
(32-128)the poor Queen, to compel her to subscribe the
(32-128)deeds.

(32-128) If Mary had any quarter to which, in her disastrous
(32-128)condition, she might look for love and favour,
(32-128)it was to her brother Murray. She may have been
(32-128)criminal -- she had certainly been grossly infatuated
(32-128)-- yet she deserved her brother's kindness and compassion.
(32-128)She had loaded him with favours, and
(32-128)pardoned him considerable offences. Unquestionably
(32-128)she expected more favour from him than she
(32-128)met with. But Murray was ambition; and ambition
(32-128)breaks through the ties of blood, and forgets
(32-128)the obligations of gratitude. He visited his
(32-128)imprisoned sister and benefactress in Lochleven castle,
(32-128)but it was not to bring her comfort: on the contrary,
(32-128)he pressed all her errors on her with such
(32-128)hardhearted severity, that she burst into floods of
(32-128)tears, and abandoned herself to despair.
(32-128)•@Murray accepted of the regency, and in doing
(32-128)so broke all remaining ties of tenderness
(32-128)betwixt himself and his sister. He was
(32-128)now at the head of the ruling faction,

[TG32-129, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 129]

(32-129)consisting of what were called the King's Lords;
(32-129)while such of the nobility as desired that Mary,
(32-129)being now freed from the society of Bothwell,
(32-129)should be placed at liberty, and restored to the
(32-129)administration of the kingdom, were termed the
(32-129)Queen's Party. The strict and sagacious government

(32-129)of Murray imposed silence and submission for
(32-129)a time upon this last-named faction; but a singular
(32-129)incident changed the face of things for a moment,
(32-129)and gave a gleam of hope to the unfortunate
(32-129)captive.

(32-129) Sir William Douglas, the Laid of Lochleven,
(32-129)owner of the castle where Mary was imprisoned,
(32-129)was a half-brother by the mother's side of the Regent
(32-129)Murray. This baron discharged with severe
(32-129)fidelity the task of Mary's jailer; but his youngest
(32-129)brother, George Douglas, became more sensible
(32-129)to the Queen's distress, and perhaps to her
(32-129)beauty, than to the interests of the Regent, or of
(32-129)his own family. A plot laid by him for the Queen's
(32-129)deliverance was discovered, and he was expelled
(32-129)from the island in consequence. But he kept up
(32-129)a correspondence with a kinsman of his own, called
(32-129)Little Douglas, a boy of fifteen or sixteen, who
(32-129)had remained in the castle. On Sunday, the 2nd
(32-129)May, 1568, this little William Douglas contrive
(32-129)to steal the keys of the castle while the family
(32-129)were at supper. He let Mary and her attendant
(32-129)out of the tower when all had gone to rest -- locked
(32-129)the gates of the castle to prevent pursuit -- placed
(32-129)the Queen and her waiting-woman in a little skiff,

[TG32-130, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 130]

(32-130)and rowed them to the shore, throwing the keys
(32-130)of the castle into the lake in the course of their
(32-130)passage. Just when they were about to set out
(32-130)on this adventurous voyage, the youthful pilot had
(32-130)made a signal, by a light in a particular window
(32-130)visible at the upper end of the lake, to intimate that
(32-130)all was safe. Lord Seaton and a party of the
(32-130)Hamiltons were waiting at the landing-place. The

(32-130)Queen instantly mounted, and hurried off to Niddry,
(32-130)in West Lothian, from which place she went
(32-130)next day to Hamilton. The news flew like lightning
(32-130)throughout the country, and spread enthusiasm
(32-130)every where. The people remembered Mary's
(32-130)gentleness, grace, and beauty -- they remembered
(32-130)her misfortunes also -- and if they reflected on her
(32-130)errors, they thought they had been punished with
(32-130)sufficient severity. On Sunday, Mary was a sad
(32-130)and helpless captive in a lonely tower. On the
(32-130)Saturday following, she was at the head of a powerful
(32-130)confederacy, by which nine earls, nine bishops,
(32-130)eighteen lords, and many gentlemen of high rank,
(32-130)engaged to defend her person and restore her
(32-130)power. But this gleam of success was only
(32-130)temporary.

(32-130) It was the Queen's purpose to place her person
(32-130)in security in the castle of Dunbarton, and her
(32-130)army, under the Earl of Argyle, proposed to carry
(32-130)her thither in a species of triumph. The Regent
(32-130)was lying at Glasgow with much inferior forces;
(32-130)but, with just confidence in his own military skill,
(32-130)as well as the talents of Morton, and the valour of

[TG32-131, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 131]

(32-131)Kirkaldy and other experienced soldiers, he
(32-131)determined to meet the Queen's Lords in their
(32-131)proposed march, and to give them battle.
(32-131) On 13th May, 1568, Murray occupied the village
(32-131)of Langside, which lay full in the march of
(32-131)the Queen's army. The Hamiltons, and other
(32-131)gentlemen of Mary's troop, rushed forth with
(32-131)ill-considered valour to dispute the pass. They
(32-131)fought, however, with obstinacy, after the Scottish
(32-131)manner; that is, they pressed on each other front

(32-131)to front, each fixing his spear in his opponent's
(32-131)target, and then endeavouring to bear him down,
(32-131)as two bulls do when they encounter each other.
(32-131)Morton decided the battle, by attacking the flank
(32-131)of the Hamiltons, while their column was closely
(32-131)engaged in the front. The measure was decisive,
(32-131)and the Queen's army was completely routed.
(32-131) Queen Mary beheld this final and fatal defeat
(32-131)from a castle called Crookstane, about four miles
(32-131)from Paisley, where she and Darnley had spent
(32-131)some happy days after their marriage, and which,
(32-131)therefore, must have been the scene of bitter
(32-131)recollections. It was soon evident that there was no
(32-131)resource but in flight, and, escorted by Lord
(32-131)Herries and a few faithful followers, she rode
(32-131)sixty miles before she stopped at the Abbey of
(32-131)Dundrennan, in Galloway. From this place she
(32-131)had the means of retreating either to France or
(32-131)England, as she should ultimately determine. In
(32-131)France she was sure to have been well received;
(32-131)but England afforded a nearer, and, as she thought,
(32-131)an equally safe place of refuge.

[TG32-132, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 132]

(32-132) Forgetting, therefore, the various causes of
(32-132)emulation which existed betwixt Elizabeth and
(32-132)herself, and remembering only the smooth and
(32-132)flattering words which she had received from her
(32-132)sister sovereign, it did not occur to the Scottish
(32-132)Queen that she could incur any risk by throwing
(32-132)herself upon the hospitality of England. It may
(32-132)also be supposed, that poor Mary, amongst whose
(32-132)faults want generosity could not be reckoned,
(32-132)judged of Elizabeth according to the manner in
(32-132)which she would herself have treated the Queen

(32-132)of England in the same situation. She therefore
(32-132)resolved to take refuge in Elizabeth's kingdom, in
(32-132)spite of the opposition of her wiser attendants.
(32-132)They kneeled and entreated in vain. She entered
(32-132)the fatal boat, crossed the Solway, and delivered
(32-132)herself up to a gentleman named Lowther, the
(32-132)English deputy-warden. Much surprised, doubtless,
(32-132)at the incident, he sent express to inform

[TG32-133, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 133]

(32-133)Queen Elizabeth; and receiving the Scottish
(32-133)Queen with as much respect as he had the means
(32-133)of showing, lodged her in Carlisle Castle.
(32-133) Queen Elizabeth had two courses in her power,
(32-133)which might be more less generous, but were
(32-133)alike just and lawful. She might have received
(32-133)Queen Mary honourably, and afforded her the
(32-133)succour she petitioned for; or, if she did not think
(32-133)that expedient, she might have allowed her to
(32-133)remain in her dominions, at liberty to depart from
(32-133)them freely, as she had entered them voluntarily.
(32-133) But Elizabeth, great as she was upon other
(32-133)occasions of her reign, acted on the present from
(32-133)mean and envious motives. She saw in the fugitive
(32-133)who implored her protection, a princess who
(32-133)possessed a right of succession to the crown of
(32-133)England, which, by the Catholic part of her subjects
(32-133)at least, was held superior to her own. She
(32-133)remembered that Mary had been led to assume the
(32-133)arms and titles of the English monarchy, or rather,
(32-133)that the French had assumed them in her name,
(32-133)when she was in childhood. She recollected, that
(32-133)Mary had been her rival in accomplishments; and
(32-133)certainly she did not forget that she was her
(32-133)superior in youth and beauty; and had the advantage,

(32-133)as she had expressed it herself, to the mother of
(32-133)fair son, while she remained a barren stock.
(32-133)Elizabeth, therefore, considered the Scottish Queen
(32-133)not as a sister and friend in distress, but as an
(32-133)enemy, over whom circumstances had given her
(32-133)power, and determined upon reducing her to the
(32-133)condition of a captive.

[TG32-134, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 134]

(32-134) In pursuance of the line of conduct to which this
(32-134)mean train of reasoning led, the unfortunate Mary
(32-134)was surrounded by English guards; and, as Elizabeth
(32-134)reasonably doubted that if she were left
(32-134)upon the Border, the fugitive Queen might obtain
(32-134)aid from her adherents in Scotland, she was removed
(32-134)to Bolton castle, in Yorkshire. But some pretext
(32-134)was wanting for a conduct so violent, so
(32-134)ungenerous, and so unjust, and Elizabeth contrived
(32-134)to find one.

(32-134) The Regent Murray, upon Mary's flight to England,
(32-134)had endeavoured to vindicate his conduct in
(32-134)the eyes of Queen Elizabeth, by alleging that his
(32-134)sister had been accessory to the murder of her husband
(32-134)Darnley, in order that she might marry her
(32-134)paramour Bothwell. Now, although this, supposing
(32-134)it to be true, was very criminal conduct, yet Elizabeth
(32-134)had not the least title to constitute herself judge in
(32-134)the matter. Mary was no subject of hers, nor,
(32-134)according to the law of nations, had the English
(32-134)Queen any right to act as umpire in the quarrel
(32-134)between the Scottish sovereign and her subjects.
(32-134)But she extorted, in the following manner, a sort
(32-134)of acquiescence in her right to decide, from the
(32-134)Scottish Queen.

(32-134) The messengers of Queen Elizabeth informed

(32-134)Mary, that their mistress regretted extremely that
(32-134)she could not at once admit her to her presence,
(32-134)no give her the affectionate reception which she
(32-134)longed to afford her, until her visiter stood clear, in
(32-134)the eyes of the world, of the scandalous accusations
(32-134)of her Scottish subjects. Mary at once undertook

[TG32-135, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 135]

(32-135)to make her innocence evident to Elizabeth's satisfaction;
(32-135)and this the Queen of England pretended
(32-135)to consider as a call upon herself to act as umpire
(32-135)in the quarrel betwixt Mary and the part by
(32-135)which she had been deposed and exiled. It was
(32-135)in vain that Mary remonstrated, that in agreeing
(32-135)to remove Elizabeth's scruples, she acted merely
(32-135)out of respect to her opinion, and a desire to conciliate
(32-135)her favour, but not with the purpose of constituting
(32-135)the English Queen her judge in a formal
(32-135)trial. Elizabeth was determined to keep the
(32-135)advantage which she had attained, and to act as if
(32-135)Mary had, of her full free will, rendered her rival
(32-135)the sole arbiter of her fate.
(32-135) The Queen of England accordingly appointed
(32-135)commissioners to hear the parties, and consider the
(32-135)evidence which was to be laid before them by both
(32-135)sides. The Regent Murray appeared in person
(32-135)before these commissioners, in the odious character
(32-135)of the accuser of his sister, benefactress, and sovereign.
(32-135)Queen Mary also sent the most able of
(32-135)her adherents, the Bishop of Ross, Lord Herries,
(32-135)and others, to plead the case on her side.
(32-135) The Commission met at York in October 1568.
(32-135)The proceedings commenced with a singular
(32-135)attempt to establish the obsolete question of the
(32-135)alleged supremacy of England over Scotland.

(32-135)"You come hither," said the English commissioners
(32-135)to the Regent sand his assistants, "to submit
(32-135)the differences which divide the kingdom of Scotland
(32-135)to the Queen of England, and therefore I
(32-135)first require of you to pay her grace the homage

[TG32-136, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 136]

(32-136)due to her." The Earl of Murray blushed and
(32-136)was silent. But Maitland of Lethington answered
(32-136)with spirit -- "When Elizabeth restores to Scotland
(32-136)the earldom of Huntingdon, with Cumberland,
(32-136)Northumberland, and such other lands as
(32-136)Scotland did of old possess in England, we will do
(32-136)such homage for these territories as was done by
(32-136)the ancient sovereigns of Scotland who enjoyed
(32-136)them. As to the crown and kingdom Scotland,
(32-136)they are more free than those of England, which
(32-136)lately paid Peter-pence to Rome."
(32-136) This question being waved, they entered on the
(32-136)proper business of the Commission. It was not
(32-136)without hesitation that Murray was induced to
(32-136)state his accusation in explicit terms, and there was
(32-136)still greater difficulty in obtaining from him any
(32-136)evidence in support of the odious charges of
(32-136)matrimonial infidelity, and accession to the murder of
(32-136)her husband, with which that accusation charged
(32-136)Mary. It is true, the Queen's conduct had been
(32-136)unguarded and imprudent, but there was no arguing
(32-136)from thence that she was guilty of the foul crime
(32-136)charged. Something like proof was wanted, and
(32-136)at length a box of letters and papers was produced,
(32-136)stated to have been taken from a servant of Bothwell,
(32-136)called Dalgleish. These letters, if genuine,
(32-136)certainly proved that Mary was a paramour of
(32-136)Bothwell while Darnley was yet alive, and that

(32-136)she knew and approved of the murder of that ill-fated
(32-136)young man. But the letters were alleged
(32-136)by the Queen's commissioners to be gross forgeries,
(32-136)devised for the purpose of slandering their mistress.

[TG32-137, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 137]

(32-137)It is most remarkable, that Dalgleish had been
(32-137)condemned and executed without a word being
(32-137)asked him about these letters, even if it had been
(32-137)only to prove that they had been found in his
(32-137)possession. Lord Herries and the Bishop of Ross
(32-137)did not rest satisfied with defending the Queen;
(32-137)they charged Murray himself with having confederating
(32-137)with Bothwell for the destruction of
(32-137)Darnley.

(32-137) At the end of five months' investigation, the
(32-137)Queen of England informed both parties that she
(32-137)had, on the one hand, seen nothing which induced
(32-137)her to doubt the worth and honour of the Earl of
(32-137)Murray, while, on the other hand, he had, in her
(32-137)opinion, proved nothing of the criminal charges
(32-137)which he had brought against his Sovereign. She
(32-137)was therefore, she said, determined to leave the
(32-137)affairs of Scotland as she had found them.

(32-137) To have treated both parties impartially, as her
(32-137)sentence seemed intended to imply her desire to do,
(32-137)the Queen ought to have restored Mary to liberty.
(32-137)But while Murray was sent down with the loan of
(32-137)a large sum of money, Mary was retained in that
(32-137)captivity which was only to end with her life.

(32-137) Murray returned to Scotland, having had all the
(32-137)advantage of the conference at York. His coffers
(32-137)were replenished, and his power confirmed, by the
(32-137)favour of Queen Elizabeth; and he had little difficulty
(32-137)in scattering the remains of the Queen's

(32-137)Lords, who, in fact, had never been able to make
(32-137)head since the battle of Langside, and the fight of
(32-137)their mistress.

[TG32-138, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 138]

(32-138) In the mean time some extraordinary events took
(32-138)place in England. The Duke of Norfolk had formed
(32-138)a plan to restore Queen Mary to liberty, and
(32-138)was in recompense to be rewarded with her hand
(32-138)in marriage. The Regent Murray had been admitted
(32-138)into the secret of this plot, although it may
(32-138)be supposed the object was not very acceptable to
(32-138)him. Many of the great nobles had agreed to join in
(32-138)the undertaking, particularly the powerful Earls of
(32-138)Westmoreland and Northumberland. The plot of
(32-138)Norfolk was discovered and proved against him,
(32-138)chiefly by the declarations of Murray, who meanly
(32-138)betrayed the secret intrusted to him; and he was
(32-138)seized upon, committed to confinement, and, a few
(32-138)months afterwards, upon the discovery of some new
(32-138)intrigues, was tried and executed.

(32-138) But before this catastrophe, Northumberland and
(32-138)Westmoreland rushed into a hasty rebellion, which
(32-138)they were unable to conduct with sufficient vigour.
(32-138)Their troops dispersed without a battle before the
(32-138)army which Queen Elizabeth sent against them.
(32-138)Westmoreland found a secure refuge among the
(32-138)Scottish Borderers, who were favourable to the
(32-138)cause of Mary. They assisted him in his escape to
(32-138)the sea-coast, and he finally his way to Flanders,
(32-138)and died in exile. Northumberland was less fortunate.
(32-138)A Borderer, named Hector Armstrong of
(32-138)Harlaw, treacherously betrayed him to the Regent
(32-138)Murray, who refused indeed to deliver him up to
(32-138)Queen Elizabeth, but detained him prisoner in that

(32-138) same lonely castle of Lochleven, which had been
(32-138) lately the scene of Mary's captivity.

[TG32-139, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 139]

(32-139) All these successive events tended to establish
(32-139) the power of Murray, and to diminish the courage
(32-139) of such lords as remained attached to the opposite
(32-139) party. But it happens frequently, that when men
(32-139) appear most secure of the object they have been
(32-139) toiling for, their views are suddenly and strangely
(32-139) disappointed. A blow was impending over Murray
(32-139) from a quarter, which, if named to the haughty
(32-139) Regent, he would probably have despised, since if
(32-139) originated in the resentment of a private man.

(32-139) After the battle of Langside, six or the Hamiltons,
(32-139) who had been most active on that occasion,
(32-139) were sentenced to die, as being guilty of treason
(32-139) against James VI, in having espoused his mother's
(32-139) cause. In this doom there was little justice,
(32-139) considering how the country was divided between the
(32-139) claims of the mother and the son. But the decree
(32-139) was not acted upon, and the persons condemned
(32-139) received their pardon through the mediation of
(32-139) John Knox with the Regent.

(32-139) One of the individuals thus pardoned was Hamilton
(32-139) of Bothwellhaugh, a man of a fierce and vindictive
(32-139) character. Like others in his condition, he was
(32-139) punished by the forfeiture of his property, although
(32-139) his life was spared. His wife had brought him, as
(32-139) her portion, the lands of Woodhouselee, near Roslin,
(32-139) and these were bestowed by Murray upon one of
(32-139) his favourites. This person exercised the right so
(32-139) rudely, as to turn Hamilton's wife out of her own
(32-139) house undressed, and unprotected from the fury of
(32-139) the weather. In consequence of this brutal treatment,

(32-139)she became insane, and died. Her husband

[TG32-140, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 140]

(32-140)vowed revenge, not on the actual author of his
(32-140)misfortune, but upon the Regent Murray, whom
(32-140)he considered as the original cause of it, and whom
(32-140)his family prejudices induced him to regard as the
(32-140)usurper of the sovereign power, and the oppressor
(32-140)of the name and house of Hamilton. There is little
(32-140)doubt that the Archbishop of Saint Andrews, and
(32-140)some others of his name, encouraged Bothwellhaugh
(32-140)in this desperate resolution.

(32-140) The assassin took his measures with every mark
(32-140)of deliberation. Having learned that the Regent
(32-140)was to pass through Linlithgow on a certain
(32-140)day, he secretly introduced himself
(32-140)into an empty house belonging to the
(32-140)Archbishop of St Andrews, which had in front a
(32-140)wooden balcony looking upon the street. Bothwellhaugh
(32-140)hung a black cloth on the wall of the
(32-140)apartment where he lay, that his shadow might not
(32-140)be seen from without, and spread a mattress on the
(32-140)floor, that the sound of his feet might not be heard
(32-140)from beneath. To secure his escape he fastened a
(32-140)fleet horse in the garden behind the house, and
(32-140)pulled down the lintel stones from the posts of the
(32-140)garden door, so that he might be able to pass through
(32-140)it on horseback. He also strongly barricaded the
(32-140)front door of the house, which opened to the street
(32-140)of the town. Having thus prepared all for concealment
(32-140)until the deed was done, and for escape
(32-140)afterwards, he armed himself with a loaded carabine,
(32-140)shut himself up in the lonely chamber, and waited
(32-140)the arrival of his victim.
(32-140) Some friend of Murray transmitted to him a

[TG32-141, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 141]

(32-141)hint of the danger which he might incur, in passing
(32-141)through the street of a place in which he was
(32-141)known to have enemies, and advised that he should
(32-141)avoid it by going round on the outside of the town;
(32-141)or, at least, by riding hastily past the lodging
(32-141)which was more particularly suspected, as belonging
(32-141)to the Hamiltons. But the Regent, thinking
(32-141)that the step recommended would have an appearance
(32-141)of timidity, held on his way through the
(32-141)crowded street. As he came opposite the fatal
(32-141)balcony, his horse being somewhat retarded by the
(32-141)number of spectators, Bothwellhaugh had time to
(32-141)take a deliberate aim. He fired the carabine, and
(32-141)the Regent fell, mortally wounded. The ball,
(32-141)after passing through his body, killed the horse of
(32-141)a gentleman who rode on his right hand. His
(32-141)attendants rushed furiously at the door of the house
(32-141)from which the shot had issued; but Bothwellhaugh's
(32-141)precautions had been so securely taken
(32-141)that they were unable to force their entrance till he
(32-141)had mounted his good horse, and escaped through
(32-141)the garden gate. He was notwithstanding pursued
(32-141)so closely, that he had very nearly been
(32-141)taken; but after spur and whip had both failed,
(32-141)he pricked his horse with his dagger, compelled
(32-141)him to take a desperate leap over a ditch, which
(32-141)his pursuers were unable to cross, and thus made
(32-141)his escape.

(32-141) The Regent died in the course of the night,
(32-141)leaving a character, which has been, perhaps, too
(32-141)highly extolled by one class of authors, and too

[TG32-142, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 142]

(32-142)much depreciated by another, according as his
(32-142)conduct to his sister was approved or condemned.
(32-142) The murderer escaped to France. In the civil
(32-142)wars of the country, an attempt was made to engage
(32-142)him, as a known desperado, in the assassination
(32-142)of the Admiral Coligni; but he resented it as
(32-142)a deadly insult. He had slain a man in Scotland,
(32-142)he said, from whom he had sustained a mortal injury;
(32-142)but the world could not engage him to
(32-142)attempt the life of one against whom he had no
(32-142)personal cause of quarrel.
(32-142) The death of Murray had been a an event expected
(32-142)by many of Queen Mary's adherents. The
(32-142)very night after it happened, Scott of Buccleuch
(32-142)and Ker of Fairniehirst broke into England, and
(32-142)ravaged the frontier with more than their wonted
(32-142)severity. When it was objected by one of the
(32-142)sufferers under this foray, that the Regent would
(32-142)punish the party concerned in such illegal violence,
(32-142)the Borderer replied contemptuously, that the
(32-142)Regent was as cold as his bridle-bit. This served
(32-142)to show that their leaders had been privy to
(32-142)Bothwellhaugh's action, and now desired to take
(32-142)advantage of it, in order to give grounds for war
(32-142)between the countries. But Queen Elizabeth was
(32-142)contented to send a small army to the frontier, to
(32-142)burn the castles and ravage the estates of the two
(32-142)clans which had been engaged in the hostile inroad;
(32-142)a service which they executed with much
(32-142)severity on the clans of Scott and Ker, without
(32-142)doing injury to those other Borderers against
(32-142)whom their mistress had no complaint.

[TG32-143, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 143]

(32-143) Upon the death of Murray, Lennox was chosen
(32-143)Regent. He was the father of the murdered
(32-143)Darnley, yet showed no excessive thirst of
(32-143)vengeance. He endeavoured to procure a union of
(32-143)parties, for the purpose of domestic peace. But
(32-143)men's minds on both sides had become too much
(32-143)exasperated against each other. The Queen's
(32-143)party was strengthened by Maitland of Lethington
(32-143)and Kirkaldy of Grange joining that faction,
(32-143)after having been long the boast of that of the
(32-143)King. Lethington we have often mentioned as
(32-143)one of the ablest men in Scotland, and Kirkaldy
(32-143)was certainly one of the bravest. He was, besides,
(32-143)Governor of Edinburgh castle, and his declaring
(32-143)that he held that important place for the
(32-143)Queen gave great spirit to Mary's adherents.
(32-143)At the same time, they were deprived
(32-143)of a stronghold of scarcely inferior
(32-143)consequence, by the loss of Dunbarton castle in
(32-143)the following extraordinary manner.
(32-143) This fortress is one of the strongest places in the
(32-143)world. It is situated on a rock, which rises almost
(32-143)perpendicularly from a level plain to the height of
(32-143)several hundred feet. On the summit of this rock
(32-143)the buildings are situated, and as there is only one
(32-143)access from below, which rises by steps, and is
(32-143)strongly guarded and fortified, the fort might be
(32-143)almost held to be impregnable, that is, impossible
(32-143)to be taken. One Captain Crawford of Jordan-hill,
(32-143)a distinguished adherent of the King's party,
(32-143)resolved, nevertheless, to make an attempt on this
(32-143)formidable castle.

[TG32-144, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 144]

(32-144) He took advantage of a misty and moonless

(32-144)night to bring to the foot of the castle-rock the
(32-144)scaling-ladders which he had provided, choosing
(32-144)for his terrible experiment the place where the
(32-144)rock was highest, and where, of course, less pains
(32-144)were taken to keep a regular guard. This choice
(32-144)was fortunate; for the first ladder broke with the
(32-144)weight of the men who attempted to mount, and
(32-144)the noise of the fall must have betrayed them, had
(32-144)there been any sentinel within hearing. Crawford,
(32-144)assisted by a soldier who had deserted from the
(32-144)castle, and was acting as his guide, renewed the
(32-144)attempt in person, having scrambled up to a
(32-144)projecting ledge of rock where there was some
(32-144)footing, contrived to make fast the ladder, by tying
(32-144)it to the roots of a tree, which grew about midway
(32-144)up the rock. Here they found a small flat surface,
(32-144)sufficient, however, to afford footing to the whole
(32-144)party, which was, of course, very few in number.
(32-144)In scaling the second precipice, another
(32-144)accident took place: -- One of the party, subject
(32-144)to epileptic fits, was seized by one of these
(32-144)attacks, brought on perhaps by terror, while he
(32-144)was in the act of climbing up the ladder. His illness
(32-144)made it impossible for him either to ascend
(32-144)or descend. To have slain the man would have
(32-144)been a cruel expedient, besides that the fall of his
(32-144)body from the ladder might have alarmed the garrison.
(32-144)Crawford caused him, therefore, to be tied
(32-144)to the ladder; then all the rest descending, they
(32-144)turned the ladder, and thus mounted with ease over
(32-144)the belly of the epileptic person. When the party

[TG32-145, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 145]

(32-145)gained the summit, they slew the sentinel ere he
(32-145)had time to give the alarm, and easily surprised the

(32-145)slumbering garrison, who had trusted too much to
(32-145)the security of their castle to keep good watch.
(32-145)This exploit of Crawford may compare with any
(32-145)thing of the kind which we read of in history.
(32-145) Hamilton, the Archbishop of Saint Andrews,
(32-145)was made prisoner in Dunbarton, where he had
(32-145)taken refuge, as he was particularly hated by the
(32-145)King's party. He was now in their hands, and, as
(32-145)they had formerly proclaimed him a traitor, they
(32-145)now without scruple put him to death as such.
(32-145)This cruel deed occasioned other violences, by way
(32-145)of retaliation, which, in turn, led to fresh acts of
(32-145)bloodshed. All natural ties were forgotten in the
(32-145)distinction of Kingsmen and Queensmen; and, as
(32-145)neither party gave quarter to their opponents, the
(32-145)civil war assumed a most horrible aspect. Fathers,
(32-145)and sons, and brother, took opposite sides, and
(32-145)fought against each other. The very children of
(32-145)the towns and villages formed themselves into bands
(32-145)for King James or Queen Mary, and fought
(32-145)inveterately with stones, sticks, and knives.
(32-145) In the midst of this confusion, each party called
(32-145)a Parliament, which was attended, only by the
(32-145) Lords of their own side. The Queen's Parliament
(32-145)met at Edinburgh, under protection of the castle,
(32-145)and its governor Kirkaldy. The King's faction
(32-145)had much more numerous assembly, assuming
(32-145)the same denomination, at Stirling, where they
(32-145)produced the young King, to give authority to their

[TG32-146, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 146]

(32-146)proceedings. The boy, with natural childishness,
(32-146)taking notice of a rent in the carpet which covered
(32-146)the table at which the clerks sate, observed, "there
(32-146)was a hole in the Parliament." These words were

(32-146)remarked afterwards, is if they had contained a
(32-146)sort of prophecy of the following singular event: --
(32-146) Kirkaldy devised an enterprise, by which, if
(32-146)successful, he would have put a complete stop to
(32-146)the proceedings of the King's Parliament, nay, to
(32-146)the civil war itself. He sent for Buccleuch and
(32-146)Fairniehirst, already noticed as zealous partisan of
(32-146)Mary, desiring them to bring a large party of their
(32-146)best horsemen, and joined with the Lord
(32-146)Claud Hamilton, with a detachment of infantry.
(32-146)The whole was guided by a man of the name of
(32-146)Bell, who knew the town of Stirling, being a native
(32-146)of that place. On the 4th of September, 1571, he
(32-146)introduced the party, consisting of about five hundred
(32-146)men, into the middle of the town, at four in
(32-146)the morning, without even a dog barking at them..
(32-146)They then raised the alarm, crying out, "God and
(32-146)the Queen! think on the Archbishop of Saint Andrews!
(32-146)all is our own!" According to the directions
(32-146)they had received, they sent parties to the
(32-146)different houses of which the King's lords had taken
(32-146)possession, and made them prisoners without resistance,
(32-146)except on the part of Morton, whose obstinate
(32-146)valour obliged them to set fire to his lodgings.
(32-146)He then reluctantly surrendered himself to Buccleuch,
(32-146)who was his near connexion. But his
(32-146)resistance had gained some time, and the assailants
(32-146)had scattered themselves in quest of plunder. At

[TG32-147, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 147]

(32-147)this moment, Mar brought a party of musketeers
(32-147)out of the castle, and placing them behind the walls
(32-147)of a house which he had commenced building on
(32-147)the castle-hill, he opened a heavy and unexpected
(32-147)fire upon the Queensmen. These being already in

(32-147)disorder, were struck with panic in the moment of
(32-147)victory, and began to fly. The scene was now completely
(32-147)changed, and they who had been triumphant
(32-147)the moment before, were glad to surrender to their
(32-147)own captives. Lennox the Regent had been
(32-147)mounted behind Spens of Wormeston, who had
(32-147)made him captive. He was a particular object of
(32-147)vengeance to the Hamiltons, who longed to requite
(32-147)the death of the Archbishop of Saint Andrews.
(32-147)He was killed, as was believed, by Lord Claud
(32-147)Hamilton's orders, and Spens, who most honourably
(32-147)endeavoured to his prisoner, was slain
(32-147)at the same time. The Queen's party retreated
(32-147)out of Stirling without much loss, for the Borderers
(32-147)carried off all the horses, upon which the opposite
(32-147)party might have followed the chase. Kirkaldy
(32-147)received the news of the Regent's death with much
(32-147)dissatisfaction, abusing those who commanded the
(32-147)party as disorderly beasts, who neither knew how
(32-147)to gain a victory, nor how to use it. Had he placed
(32-147)himself at the head of the detachment, as he had
(32-147)earnestly desired to do, it is probable that the Raid
(32-147)of Stirling might have ended the war. As it fell
(32-147)out, the quarrel was only embittered, if possible, by
(32-147)the death of Lennox.
(32-147) The Earl of Mar was named Regent on the
(32-147)King's side. He was a man of fair and moderate

[TG32-148, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 148]

(32-148)views, and so honourably desirous of restoring the
(32-148) blessing of peace to his country, that the impossibility
(32-148)of attaining his object is said to have shortened
(32-148)his life. He died 29th October, 1572, having
(32-148)been Regent little more than one year.
(32-148) The Earl of Morton was next made Regent.

(32-148)We have seen that this nobleman, however respectable
(32-148)for courage and talents, was nevertheless of a
(32-148)fierce, treacherous, and cruel disposition. He had
(32-148)been concerned in Rizzio's murder, and was at
(32-148)least acquainted with that of Darnley. It was to
(32-148)be expected that he would continue the war with
(32-148)the same ferocious cruelty by which it had been
(32-148)distinguished, instead of labouring, like Mar, to
(32-148)diminish its violence. This fell out accordingly.
(32-148)Each party continued to execute their prisoners;
(32-148)and as skirmishes were daily fought, the number
(32-148)of persons who fell by the sword, or died upon the
(32-148)gibbet, was fearfully great. From the family name
(32-148)of Morton, these were called the Douglasses' wars.
(32-148) After these hostilities had existed for about five
(32-148)years, the Duke of Chatelherault, and the Earl of
(32-148)Huntly, the two principal nobles who had supported
(32-148)the Queen's cause, submitted themselves to the
(32-148)King's authority, and to the sway of the Regents
(32-148)Kirkaldy of Grange, assisted by the counsels of

[TG32-149, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 149]

(32-149)Maitland of Lethington, continued to maintain the
(32-149)castle of Edinburgh against Morton. But Queen
(32-149)Elizabeth, who became now desirous of ending the
(32-149)Scottish dissensions, sent Sir William Drury from
(32-149)Berwick with a considerable number [1500]of
(32-149)regular forces, and, what was still more needful, a
(32-149)large train of artillery, which formed a close siege
(32-149)around the castle of Edinburgh. The garrison
(32-149)were, however, much more distress for provisions
(32-149)than by the shot of the English batteries. It was
(32-149)not till after a valiant defence, in the course of
(32-149)which one of the springs which supplied the fortress
(32-149)with water was dried up, and the other became

(32-149)choked with ruins, that the gallant Kirkaldy was
(32-149)compelled to capitulate.
(32-149) After a siege of thirty-three days he surrendered
(32-149)to the English general, who promised that his mistress
(32-149)should intercede with the Regent for favourable
(32-149)treatment to the governor and his adherents.
(32-149)This might the rather have been expected, because
(32-149)Morton and Kirkaldy had been at one time great
(32-149)friends. But the Regent was earnest in demanding
(32-149)the life of his valorous opponent; and Elizabeth,
(32-149)with little regard to her general's honour or her own,
(32-149)abandoned the prisoners to Morton's vengeance.
(32-149)Kirkaldy and his brother were publicly executed,
(32-149)to the great regret even of many of the King's
(32-149)party themselves. Maitland of Lethington, more
(32-149)famed for talents than integrity, despaired of
(32-149)obtaining mercy where none had been extended to
(32-149)Kirkaldy, and put a period to his existence by taking
(32-149)poison. Thus ended the civil wars of Queen

[TG32-150, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 150]

(32-150)Mary's reign, with the death of the bravest soldier,
(32-150)and of the ablest statesman, in Scotland; for such
(32-150)were Kirkaldy and Maitland.
(32-150) From the time of the surrender of Edinburgh
(32-150)castle, 29th May, 1573, the Regent Morton was
(32-150)in complete possession of the supreme power in
(32-150)Scotland. As Queen Elizabeth had been his constant
(32-150)friend during the civil wars, he paid devoted
(32-150)attention to her wishes when he became the undisputed
(32-150)ruler of the kingdom.
(32-150)•@Morton even went so far as to yield up to the
(32-150)justice, or the revenge, of the English Queen,
(32-150)that unfortunate Earl of Northumberland, who, as
(32-150)I formerly mentioned, had raised a rebellion in

(32-150)England, and flying into Scotland, had
(32-150)been confined by the Regent Murray in
(32-150)Lochleven castle. The surrender of this unfortunate
(32-150)nobleman to England was a great stain,
(32-150)not only on the character of Morton, but on that
(32-150)of Scotland in general, which had hitherto been
(32-150)accounted a safe and hospitable place of refuge for
(32-150)those whom misfortune or political faction had exiled
(32-150)from their own country. It was the more
(32-150)particularly noticed, because when Morton himself
(32-150)had been forced to fly to England, on account of
(32-150)his share in Rizzio's murder, he had been courteously
(32-150)received and protected by the unhappy nobleman
(32-150)whom he had now delivered up to his fate.
(32-150)It was an additional and aggravating circumstance,
(32-150)that it was a Douglas who betrayed a Percy; and
(32-150)when the annals of their ancestors were considered,
(32-150)it was found that while they presented many acts

[TG32-151, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 151]

(32-151)of open hostility, many instances of close and firm
(32-151)alliance, they never till now had afforded an example
(32-151)of any act of treachery exercised by the one
(32-151)family against the other. To complete the infamy
(32-151)of the transaction, a sum of money was paid to the
(32-151)Regent on this occasion, which he divided with
(32-151)Douglas of Lochleven. Northumberland was
(32-151)beheaded at York, 1572.
(32-151) In other respects, Scotland derived great advantage
(32-151)from the peace with England, as some
(32-151)degree of repose was highly necessary to this distracted
(32-151)country. The peace now made continued,
(32-151)with little interruption, for thirty years and
(32-151)upwards.
(32-151) On one occasion, however, a smart action took

(32-151)place betwixt the Scots and English, which, though
(32-151)of little consequence, I may here tell you of, chiefly
(32-151)because it was the last considerable skirmish -- with
(32-151)the exception of a deed of bold daring, of which I
(32-151)shall speak by and by -- which the two nations had,
(32-151)or, it is to be hoped, ever will have, with each
(32-151)other.

(32-151) It was the course adopted for preserving peace
(32-151)upon the Border, that the wardens on each side
(32-151)used to meet on days appointed, and deliver up to
(32-151)each other the malefactors who had committed
(32-151)aggressions upon either country, or else make pecuniary
(32-151)reparation for the trespasses which they had
(32-151)done. On the 7th July, 1575, Carmichael, as warden
(32-151)for the Scottish Middle Marches, met Sir John
(32-151)Foster, the English officer on the opposite frontier,
(32-151)each being, as usual, accompanied by the

[TG32-152, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 152]

(32-152)guards belonging to their office, as well as by the
(32-152)armed clans inhabiting their jurisdiction. Foster
(32-152)was attended by the men of Tyndale, in greater
(32-152)numbers than those of the Scottish Borderers, all
(32-152)well armed with jack and spear, as well as bows
(32-152)arrows. The meeting was at first peaceful.
(32-152)The wardens commenced their usual business of
(32-152)settling delinquencies; and their attendants began
(32-152)to traffic with each other, and to engage in sports
(32-152)and gaming. For, notwithstanding their habitual
(32-152)incursions, a sort of acquaintance was always kept
(32-152)up between the Borderers on both sides, like that
(32-152)which takes place betwixt the outposts of two contending
(32-152)armies.

(32-152) During this mutual friendly intercourse, a dispute
(32-152)arose between the two wardens, Carmichael desiring

(32-152)delivery of an English depredator, for whom
(32-152)Foster, on the other hand, refused to be responsible.
(32-152)They both arose from their seats as the debate
(32-152)grew warm, and Sir John Foster told Carmichael,
(32-152)contemptuously, he ought to match himself
(32-152)with his equals. The English Borderers immediately
(32-152)raised their war-cry of "To it, Tynedale!"
(32-152)and without further ceremony, shot a flight of
(32-152)arrows among the Scots, who, few in number, and
(32-152)surprised, were with difficulty able to keep their
(32-152)ground. A band of the citizens of Jedburgh arrived
(32-152)just in time to support their countrymen, and
(32-152)turn the fate of the day; for most of them having
(32-152)fire-arms, the old English long-bow no more possessed
(32-152)its ancient superiority. After a smart action,
(32-152)the English were driven from the field; Sir

[TG32-153, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 153]

(32-153)John Foster, with many of the English gentlemen,
(32-153)being made prisoners, were sent to be at the Regent
(32-153)Morton's disposal. Sir George Heron of
(32-153)Chipchase, and other persons of condition, were
(32-153)slain on the English side. The Scots lost but one
(32-153)gentleman of name.
(32-153) Morton, afraid of Queen Elizabeth's displeasure,
(32-153)thought the offence had been given by the English,
(32-153)treated the prisoners with distinction, and dismissed
(32-153)them, not only without ransom, but with presents
(32-153)of falcons, and other tokens of respect. "Are you
(32-153)not well treated?" said a Scotsman to one of these
(32-153)liberated prisoners, "since we give you live hawks
(32-153)for dead herons?"
(32-153) This skirmish, called the Raid of the Redswair,
(32-153)took place on the mountainous ridge of the Carter.
(32-153)It produced no interruption of concord between

(32-153)the two countries, being passed over as a casual
(32-153)affray. Scotland, therefore, enjoyed the blessings
(32-153)of peace and tranquillity during the greater part of
(32-153)Morton's regency.

(32-153) But the advantages which the kingdom derived
(32-153)from peace, were in some measure destroyed by
(32-153)the corrupt and oppressive government of Morton,
(32-153)who turned his thoughts almost entirely to amassing
(32-153)treasure, by every means in his power. The
(32-153)extensive property, which formerly belonged to
(32-153)the Roman Catholic Church, was a mine out of
(32-153)which the Regent and the other great nobles contrived
(32-153)to work for themselves a great deal of

[TG32-154, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 154]

(32-154)wealth. This they did chiefly by dealing with
(32-154)those who were placed in the room of the abbots
(32-154)and priors as commendators, by which word the
(32-154)Scots distinguished a layman who obtained possession
(32-154)of an ecclesiastical benefice. To these commendators
(32-154)the nobles applied, and, by fair means
(32-154)or force, compelled them to make over and transfer
(32-154)to them the property of the abbacies, or at least to
(32-154)grant it to them in long leases for a trifling rent.
(32-154)That you may understand how this sort of business
(32-154)was managed, I will give you a curious instance
(32-154)of it: --

(32-154) In August, 1570, Allan Stewart, commendator
(32-154)of the abbacy of Crossraguel, in Ayrshire, was
(32-154)prevailed on to visit the Earl of Cassilis, who conveyed
(32-154)him, partly against his will, to a lonely
(32-154)tower, which overhangs the sea, called the Black
(32-154)Vault of Denure, the ruins of which are yet visible.
(32-154)He was treated for some time kindly; but as his
(32-154)arms and servants were removed from him, he soon

(32-154)saw reason to consider himself less as a friendly
(32-154)guest than as a prisoner, to whom some foul play
(32-154)was intended. At length, the earl conveyed his
(32-154)guest into a private chamber, in which there was
(32-154)no furniture of any kind excepting a huge clumsy
(32-154)iron grate or gridiron, beneath which was a fire of
(32-154)charcoal. "And now, my lord abbot," said the
(32-154)Earl of Cassilis, "will you be pleased to sign these
(32-154)deeds?" And so saying, he laid before him leases
(32-154)and other papers, transferring the whole lands of
(32-154)the abbacy of Crossraguel to the earl himself.
(32-154)The commendator refused to yield up the property

[TG32-155, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 155]

(32-155)or to subscribe the deeds. A party of ruffians then
(32-155)entered, and seizing the unhappy man, stripped
(32-155)him of his clothes, and forcibly stretched him on
(32-155)the iron bars, where he lay, scorched by the fire
(32-155)beneath, while they basted him with oil, as a cook
(32-155)bastes the joint of meat which she roasts upon a
(32-155)spit. The agony of such torture was not to be
(32-155)endured. The poor man cried pitifully, begging
(32-155)they would put him to instant death, rather than
(32-155)subject him to this lingering misery, and offered
(32-155)his purse, with the money it contained, to any who
(32-155)would in mercy shoot him through the head. At
(32-155)length he was obliged to promise to subscribe
(32-155)whatever the earl wished, rather than endure the
(32-155)excessive torture any longer. The letters and
(32-155)leases being then presented to him he signed them
(32-155)with his half-roasted hand, while the earl all the
(32-155)while exclaimed, with the most impudent hypocrisy,
(32-155)"Benedicte! you are the most obstinate man
(32-155)I ever saw, to oblige me to use you thus: I never
(32-155)thought to have treated any one as your stubbornness

(32-155)has made me treat you." The commendator
(32-155)was afterwards delivered by a party commanded
(32-155)by Hamilton of Bargany, who attacked the Black
(32-155)Vault of Denure for the purpose of his liberation.
(32-155)But the wild, savage, and ferocious conduct of the
(32-155)earl shows in what manner the nobles obtained
(32-155)grants of the church lands from those who had
(32-155)possession of them for the time.
(32-155) The Earl of Morton, however, set the example

[TG32-156, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 156]

(32-156)of another and less violent mode of appropriating
(32-156)church revenues to his own purposes. This was
(32-156)by reviving the order of bishops, which had been
(32-156)discarded from the Presbyterian form of church
(32-156)government. For example, on the execution of the
(32-156)Archbishop of Saint Andrews, he caused Douglas,
(32-156)Rector of Saint Andrews, to be made archbishop
(32-156)in his place; but then he allowed this nominal prelate
(32-156)only a small pension out of the large revenues
(32-156)of the bishopric, and retained possession of all the
(32-156)rest of the income for his own advantage, though
(32-156)the rents were levied in the bishop's name.
(32-156) These and other innovations gave great distress
(32-156)to John Knox, the bold and inflexible father of the
(32-156)Scottish Reformation. He saw with pain that the
(32-156)Protestant nobles were likely to diminish even the
(32-156)scanty subsistence which had hitherto been supplied
(32-156)to the Scottish clergy, out of the ample funds
(32-156)belonging originally to the Church of Rome. He
(32-156)was also jealous of the republican equality of the
(32-156)clergy, when he beheld the Church of Scotland
(32-156)innovated upon by this new introduction of bishops,
(32-156)though with limited incomes and diminished power.
(32-156)For these and other reasons he had more than once

(32-156)bitterly rebuked the Regent Morton; but when
(32-156)this remarkable man died, the Regent
(32-156)who attended his funeral, pronounced over
(32-156)his coffin an eulogium never to be forgotten.
(32-156)-- "There lies he," said Morton, "who never
(32-156)feared the face of man."
(32-156) In the state as in the church, the Regent displayed
(32-156)symptoms of a vindictive, avaricious, and corrupt

[TG32-157, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 157]

(32-157)disposition. Although the civil wars were ended,
(32-157)he resolved to avenge upon the Hamiltons the
(32-157)continued support which that powerful family had
(32-157)given to the Queen's party, and the obstacles which
(32-157)they had thrown in the way of his own exaltation.
(32-157)He proceeded to act against them as public enemies,
(32-157)drove them out of Scotland, and seized upon their
(32-157)estates. The Earl of Arran, eldest brother of the
(32-157)family, to whom the estates actually belonged, was
(32-157)insane, and in a state of confinement; but this did
(32-157)not prevent Morton from declaring that the earldom
(32-157)and the lands belonging to it were forfeited,
(32-157)-- an abuse of law which scandalized all honest
(32-157)men.

(32-157) It was not only by confiscation that Morton
(32-157)endeavoured to amass wealth. He took money for
(32-157)the offices which he had it in his power to bestow.
(32-157)Even in administering justice, his hands were not
(32-157)pure from bribes; although to dispense the behests
(32-157)of law from favour or love of gain, is one of the
(32-157)greatest crimes of which a public man can be
(32-157)guilty.

(32-157) It is told of Earl Morton, in a history of the
(32-157)family of Somerville, that a nobleman of that house
(32-157)having a great and important cause to be decided,

(32-157)in which the influence of the Regent might assuredly
(32-157)occasion it to be determined as he himself should
(32-157)thin fit, he followed, by the advice of an ancient
(32-157)and experienced acquaintance of the Regent, the
(32-157)following singular course; -- Lord Somerville waited
(32-157)on the Earl of Morton, and recommended his
(32-157)case to his favourable opinion, -- a kind of personal

[TG32-158, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 158]

(32-158)solicitation which was then much in use. Having
(32-158)spoken with the Regent for a short time, he turned
(32-158)to depart, and, opening his purse, as if to take out
(32-158)some money to give to the ushers and attendants,
(32-158)as was the custom upon such occasions, he left the
(32-158)purse on the table as though he had forgot it.
(32-158)Morton called after him, -- "My lord, your purse --
(32-158)you have forgotten your purse!" -- but Lord Somerville
(32-158)hastened away without turning back. He
(32-158)heard nothing more of the purse, which he
(32-158)had taken care should be pretty full of
(32-158)gold; but Lord Morton that day decided
(32-158)the cause in his favour.

(32-158) Instances of such greedy profligacy by degrees
(32-158)alienated from Morton even the affection and
(32-158)inclination of his best friends, and his government at
(32-158)length became so unpopular, that a universal wish
(32-158)was entertained that the King would put an end to
(32-158)the Regency by assuming the government into his
(32-158)own hands.

(32-158) These opinions prevailed so generally, that Morton,
(32-158)on the 12th March, 1578, resigned his office of
(32-158)Regent, and retired to reside in the castle of

[TG32-159, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 159]

(32-159) Dalkeith, as a private man, leaving the government to
(32-159) be administered by a council of nobles, twelve in
(32-159) number. But accustomed to be at the head of the
(32-159) government, he could not long remain inactive.
(32-159) He burst from his seclusion in the gloomy fortress,
(32-159) which the people called the Lion's Den, and using
(32-159) a mixture of craft and force, expelled the new counsellors;
(32-159) and once more, after the old Douglas'
(32-159) fashion, obtained the supreme management of public
(32-159) affairs. But the sovereign was no longer a child.
(32-159) He was now beginning to think and act for himself;
(32-159) and it is necessary you should know something
(32-159) of his character.

(32-159) James VI was but an infant when he was placed
(32-159) of the throne of his mother. He was now only a
(32-159) boy of fourteen, very good-natured, and with as
(32-159) much learning as two excellent schoolmasters could
(32-159) cram him with. In fact, he had more learning than
(32-159) wisdom; and yet, in the course of his future life, it
(32-159) did not appear that he was without good sense so
(32-159) much, as that he was destitute of the power to form
(32-159) manly purposes, and the firmness necessary to
(32-159) maintain them. A certain childishness and meanness
(32-159) of mind rendered his good sense useless, and
(32-159) his learning ridiculous. Even from his infancy he
(32-159) was passionately addicted to favourites, and already,
(32-159) in his thirteenth or fourteenth year, there were two
(32-159) persons so high in his good graces that they could
(32-159) bring him to do any thing they pleased.

(32-159) The first was Esme Stewart of Aubigny, a
(32-159) nephew of the late Earl of Lennox, and his heir.
(32-159) The King not only restored this young man to the

[TG32-160, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 160]

(32-160) honours of his family, but created him Duke of

(32-160)Lennox, and raised him with too prodigal generosity
(32-160)to a high situation in the state. There was
(32-160)nothing in the character of this favourite, either to
(32-160)deserve such extreme preferment, or to make him
(32-160)unworthy of it. He was a gallant young gentleman,
(32-160)who was deeply grateful to the King for his
(32-160)bounty, and appears to have been disposed to enjoy
(32-160)it without injuring any one.

(32-160) Very different was the character of the other
(32-160)favourite of James VI. This was Captain James
(32-160)Stewart, a second son of the family of Ochiltree.
(32-160)He was an unprincipled, abandoned man, without
(32-160)any wisdom except cunning, and only distinguished
(32-160)by the audacity of his ambition and the boldness of
(32-160)his character.

(32-160) The counsels of these two favourites increased
(32-160)the King's natural desire to put an end to the sway
(32-160)of Morton, and Stewart resolved that the pretext
(32-160)for his removal should also be one which should
(32-160)bring him to the block. The grounds of accusation
(32-160)were artfully chosen. The Earl of Morton,
(32-160)when he resigned the regency, had obtained a
(32-160)pardon under the great seal for all crimes and
(32-160)offences which he had or might have committed
(32-160)against the King; but there was no mention, in
(32-160)that pardon, of the murder of Henry Darnley, the
(32-160)King's father; and in counselling, if not in committing
(32-160)that murder, the Earl of Morton had certainly
(32-160)participated. The favourite Stewart took
(32-160)the office of accuser upon himself; and entering the
(32-160)King's chamber suddenly when the Privy Council

[TG32-161, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 161]

(32-161)were assembled, he dropped on his knees before
(32-161)James, and accused the Earl of Morton of having

(32-161)been concerned in the murder of the King's father.
(32-161)To this Morton, with a haughty smile, replied,
(32-161)that he had prosecuted the perpetrators of that
(32-161)offence too severely to make it probable that he
(32-161)himself was one of them. All he demanded was a
(32-161)fair enquiry.
(32-161) Upon this public accusation, the earl, so lately
(32-161)the most powerful man in Scotland, was made
(32-161)prisoner, and appointed to abide a trial. The
(32-161)friends he had left earnestly exhorted him to fly.
(32-161)His nephew, the Earl of Angus, offered to raise
(32-161)his men, and protect him by force. Morton refused
(32-161)both offers, alleging he would wait the event of a
(32-161)fair investigation. The Queen of England interfered
(32-161)in Morton's behalf with such partial eagerness,
(32-161)as perhaps prejudiced James still more against the
(32-161)prisoner, whom he was led to believe to be more
(32-161)attached to Elizabeth's service than to his own.
(32-161) Mean time the accuser, Stewart, was promoted
(32-161)to the earldom of Arran, vacant by the forfeiture
(32-161)of the Hamiltons. Morton, who had no knowledge
(32-161)of this preferment, was astonished when he heard
(32-161)that the charge ran against him in the name of
(32-161)James, Earl of Arran. When it was explained to
(32-161)him who it was that now enjoyed the title, he
(32-161)observed, "Is it ever so? then I know what I
(32-161)have to expect." It was supposed that he recollected
(32-161)an old prophecy, which foretold "that the
(32-161)Bloody Heart" (the cognizance of the Douglasses)
(32-161)"should fall by the mouth of Arran;" and it was

[TG32-162, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 162]

(32-162)conjectured that the fear of some of the Hamiltons
(32-162)accomplishing that prophecy had made him the
(32-162)more actively violent in destroying that family. If

(32-162)so, his own tyrannical oppression only opened the
(32-162)way for the creation of an Arran different from
(32-162)those whom he had thought of.
(32-162) The trial of Morton appears to have been conducted
(32-162)with no attention to the rules of impartial
(32-162)justice; for the servants of the accused person
(32-162)were apprehended, and put to the torture, in order
(32-162)to extort from them confessions which might be
(32-162)fatal to their master. Morton protested against
(32-162)two or three persons who were placed upon his
(32-162)jury, as being his mortal enemies; but they were
(32-162)nevertheless retained. They brought in a verdict,
(32-162)finding that he was guilty, art and part, of the
(32-162)murder of Henry Darnley. A man is said to be
(32-162)art and part of a crime, when he contrives the
(32-162)manner of the deed, and concurs with and encourages
(32-162)those who commit the crime, although he
(32-162)does not put his own hand to the actual execution.
(32-162)Morton heard the verdict with indignation,
(32-162)and struck his staff against the ground as he repeated
(32-162)the words, "Art and part! art and part!
(32-162)God knoweth the contrary." On the morning after
(32-162)his sentence he awoke from a profound sleep --
(32-162)"On former nights," he said, "I used to lie
(32-162)awake, thinking how I might defend myself; but
(32-162)now my mind is relieved of its burden." Being
(32-162)conjured by the clergymen who attended him to
(32-162)confess all he knew of Henry Darnley's murder,
(32-162)he told them, as we have noticed elsewhere, that a

[TG32-163, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 163]

(32-163)proposal had been made to him by Bothwell to be
(32-163)accessary to the deed, but that he had refused to
(32-163)assent to it without an order under the Queen's
(32-163)hand, which Bothwell promised to procure, but

(32-163)could not, or at least did not, do so. Morton
(32-163)admitted that he had kept the secret, no knowing,
(32-163)he said, to whom to discover it: For if he had
(32-163)told it to Queen Mary, she was herself one of the
(32-163)conspirators; if to Darnley, he was of a disposition
(32-163)so fickle that the Queen would work it out of him,
(32-163)and then he, Morton, was equally undone. He
(32-163)also admitted, that he knew that his friend, dependent,
(32-163)and kinsman, Archibald Douglas, was present
(32-163)at the murder, whom, notwithstanding, he never
(32-163)brought to justice, but, on the contrary, continued
(32-163)to favour. Upon the whole, he seems to allow,
(32-163)that he suffered justly for concealing the crime,
(32-163)though he denied having given counsel or assistance
(32-163)to its actual execution. "But it is all the
(32-163)same," he said; "I should have had the same
(32-163)doom, whether I were as innocent as St Stephen,
(32-163)or guilty as Judas."
(32-163) As they were about to lead the earl to execution,
(32-163)Captain Stewart, his accuser, now Earl of Arran,
(32-163)came to urge his subscribing a paper containing the
(32-163)purport of his confession. Morton replied, "I
(32-163)pray you trouble me not; I am now to prepare for
(32-163)death, and cannot write in the state in which I am."
(32-163)Arran then desired to be reconciled to him, pretending
(32-163)he had only acted from public and conscientious
(32-163)motives. "It is no time to count quarrels

[TG32-164, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 164]

(32-164)now;" said the earl -- "I forgive you and all
(32-164)others."
(32-164) This celebrated man died by a machined called the
(32-164)Maiden, which he himself had introduced into Scotland
(32-164)from Halifax, in Yorkshire. The
(32-164)criminal who suffered by this engine, was

(32-164)adjusted upon planks, in a prostrate state,
(32-164)his neck being placed beneath a sharp axe, heavily
(32-164)loaded with lead, which was suspended by a rope
(32-164)brought over a pulley. When the signal was given,
(32-164)the rope was cast loose, and the axe, descending on
(32-164)the neck of the condemned person, severed, of
(32-164)course, the head from the body. Morton submitted
(32-164)to his fate with the most Christian fortitude;
(32-164)and in him died the last those terrible Douglasses,
(32-164)whose talents and courage rendered them the pride
(32-164)of their country, but whose ambition was often its
(32-164)scourge. No one could tell what became of the
(32-164)treasures he had amassed, and for the sake of which
(32-164)he sacrificed his popularity as a liberal, and his
(32-164)conscience as an honest man. He was, or seemed
(32-164)to be, so poor, that, when going to the scaffold, he
(32-164)borrowed money from a friend, that he might
(32-164)bestow a parting alms upon the mendicants who
(32-164)solicited his charity. Some have thought that his
(32-164)mass of wealth lies still concealed among the secret
(32-164)vaults of his castle of Dalkeith, now belonging to
(32-164)the Duke of Buccleuch. But Hume of Godscroft,
(32-164)who writes the history of the Douglas family, says
(32-164)that large sums were expended by the Earl of
(32-164)Angus, the nephew of Morton, in maintaining a

[TG32-165, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 165]

(32-165)number of exiles, who, like the earl himself, were
(32-165)banished from Scotland, and at length, when paying
(32-165)away some money for this purpose, he was heard
(32-165)to say, "The last of it is now gone, and I never
(32-165)looked that it should have done so much good."
(32-165)This Godscroft believed to allude to the final
(32-165)expenditure of the treasures of the Regent Morton.
(32-165) After the death of Morton, his faults and crimes

(32-165)were in a great measure forgotten, when it was
(32-165)observed that Arran (that is, Captain Stewart)
(32-165)possessed all the late Regent's vices of corruption
(32-165)and oppression, without his wisdom or his talents.
(32-165)Lennox, the King's other favourite, was also unpopular,
(32-165)chiefly because he was unacceptable to the
(32-165)clergy, who, although he avowedly professed the
(32-165)Protestant religion, were jealous of his retaining an
(32-165)attachment to the Catholic faith. This suspicion
(32-165)arose from his having been educated in France.
(32-165)They publicly preached against him as "a great
(32-165)Champion called his Grace, who, if he continued to
(32-165)oppose himself to religion, should have little grace
(32-165)in the end."

(32-165) A plot was formed among the discontented nobles
(32-165)to remove the King's favourites from the court;
(32-165)and this was to be accomplished by forcibly seizing
(32-165)on the person of the King himself, which, during
(32-165)the minority of the prince, was the ordinary mode
(32-165)of changing an administration in the kingdom of
(32-165)Scotland.

(32-165) On the 23rd August, 1582, the Earl of Gowrie
(32-165)invited the King to his castle at Ruthven, under
(32-165)pretext of hunting; he was joined by the Earl of

[TG32-166, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 166]

(32-166)Mar, Lord Lindsay, the Tutor of Glamis, and
(32-166)other noblemen, chiefly such as had been friendly
(32-166)to the Regent Morton, and who were, like him,
(32-166)attached to Queen Elizabeth's faction. When the
(32-166)King saw so many persons gather round him who
(32-166)he knew to be of one way of thinking, and that
(32-166)hostile to his present measures, he became apprehensive
(32-166)of their intentions, and expressed himself
(32-166)desirous of leaving the castle.

(32-166) The nobles gave him to understand that he
(32-166) would not be permitted to do so; and when James
(32-166) rose and went towards the door of the apartment,
(32-166) the Tutor of Glamis, a rude stern man, placed his
(32-166) back against it, and compelled him to return.
(32-166) Affronted at this act of personal restraint and violence,
(32-166) the King burst into tears. "Let him weep
(32-166) on," said the Tutor of Glamis, fiercely; "better
(32-166) that bairns (children) weep, than bearded men."
(32-166) These words sank deep into the King's heart, nor
(32-166) did he ever forget or forgive them.
(32-166) The insurgent lords took possession of the
(32-166) government, and banished the Duke of Lennox to
(32-166) France, where he died broken-hearted at the fall of
(32-166) his fortunes. James afterwards recalled his son to
(32-166) Scotland, and invested him with his father's fortune
(32-166) and dignities. Arran, the King's much less
(32-166) worthy favourite, was thrown into prison, and
(32-166) closely guarded. The King himself, reduced to a
(32-166) state of captivity, like his grandfather, James V,
(32-166) when in the hands of the Douglasses, temporized,
(32-166) and watched an opportunity of escape. His guards
(32-166) consisted of a hundred gentlemen, and their

[TG32-167, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 167]

(32-167) commander, Colonel Stewart, a relation of the
(32-167) disgraced and imprisoned Arran, was easily engaged
(32-167) to do what the King wished.
(32-167) James, with the purpose of recovering his freedom,
(32-167) made a visit to Saint Andrews, and, when
(32-167) there, affected some curiosity to see the
(32-167) castle. But no sooner had he entered it
(32-167) than he caused the gates to be shut, and
(32-167) excluded from his presence the nobles who had
(32-167) been accessory to what was called the Raid of

(32-167)Ruthven.

(32-167) The Earl of Gowrie and his accomplices, being
(32-167)thus thrust out of office, and deprived of the custody
(32-167)of the King's person, united in a fresh plot for
(32-167)regaining the power they had lost, by a new insurrection.
(32-167)In this, however, they were unsuccessful.
(32-167)The King advanced against them with considerable
(32-167)forces; Gowrie was made prisoner, tried and executed
(32-167)at Stirling, 4th May, 1584. Angus and the
(32-167)the other insurgents fled to England, the ordinary refuge
(32-167)of Scottish exiles. The execution of Gowrie
(32-167)gave rise long afterwards to that extraordinary
(32-167)event in Scottish history, called the Gowrie

[TG32-168, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 168]

(32-168)Conspiracy, of which I shall give you an account by
(32-168)and by.

(32-168) The upstart Earl of Arran was now restored to
(32-168)power, and indeed raised higher than ever, by that
(32-168)indiscriminate affection which on this and other occasions
(32-168)induced James to heap wealth and rank
(32-168)without bounds upon his favourites. This worthless
(32-168)minister governed every thing at court and
(32-168)throughout the kingdom; and, though ignorant as
(32-168)well as venal and profligate, he was raised to the
(32-168)dignity of Lord Chancellor, the highest law-office
(32-168)in the state, and that in which sagacity, learning,
(32-168)and integrity, were chiefly required.

(32-168) One day when the favourite was bustling into
(32-168)the Court of Justice, at the head of his numerous
(32-168)retinue, an old man, rather meanly dressed, chanced
(32-168)to stand in his way. As Arran pushed rudely
(32-168)past him, the man stopped him, and said, "Look
(32-168)at me, my lord, -- I am Oliver Sinclair!" Oliver
(32-168)Sinclair, you remember, was the favourite of James

(32-168)V, and had exercised during his reign as absolute
(32-168)a sway in Scotland as Arran now enjoyed under
(32-168)his grandson, James VI. In presenting himself
(32-168)before the present favourite in his neglected condition,
(32-168)he gave Arran an example of the changeful
(32-168)character of court favour. The lesson was a striking
(32-168)one; but Arran did not profit by it.
(32-168) The favourite's government became so utterly
(32-168)intolerable, that, in the year 1585, the banished

[TG32-169, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 169]

(32-169)lords found a welcome reception in Scotland, and
(32-169)marching to Stirling at the head of then thousand
(32-169)men, compelled James to receive them into his
(32-169)counsels; and, by using their victory with moderation,
(32-169)were enabled to maintain the power which
(32-169)they had thus gained. Arran, stripped of his
(32-169)earldom and ill-gotten gains, and banished from
(32-169)the court, was fain to live privately and miserably
(32-169)among the wilds of the north-west of Ayrshire,
(32-169)afraid of the vengeance of his numerous enemies.
(32-169) The fate which he apprehended from their enmity
(32-169)befell him at length; for, in 1596, seeing,
(32-169)or thinking he saw, some chance of regaining the
(32-169)King's favour, and listening, as is said, to the words
(32-169)of some idle soothsayer, who pretended that his
(32-169)head was about to be raised higher than ever, Stewart
(32-169)(for he was an earl no longer) ventured into the
(32-169)southern county of Dumfries. He received a
(32-169)hint to take care of his safety, since he was now in
(32-169)the neighbourhood of the Douglasses, who great
(32-169)leader, the Earl of Morton, he had been the means

[TG32-170, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 32, p. 170]

(32-170)of destroying; and in particular, he was advised to
(32-170)beware of James Douglas of Torthorwald, the
(32-170)earl's near kinsman [nephew]. Stewart replied
(32-170)haughtily, he would not go out of his road for him
(32-170)or all of the name of Douglas. This was reported
(32-170)to Torthorwald, who, considering the expression as
(32-170)a defiance, immediately mounted, with three servants,
(32-170)and pursued the disgraced favourite. When
(32-170)they overtook him, they thrust a spear through his
(32-170)body, and killed him on the spot, without resistance.
(32-170)His head was cut off, placed on the point of
(32-170)a lance, and exposed from the battlements of the
(32-170)tower of Torthorwald, and thus, in some sense,
(32-170)the soothsayer's prophecy was made good, as his
(32-170)head was raised higher than before, though not in
(32-170)the way he had been made to hope. His body was
(32-170)left for several days on the place where he was killed,
(32-170)and was mangled by dogs and swine. So ended
(32-170)this worthless minion, by a death at once bloody
(32-170)and obscure.

[TG33-171, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 171]

(33-171)I dare say you are wondering all this time what
(33-171)became of Queen Mary.
(33-171)We left her, you know,
(33-171)in the hands of Queen Elizabeth, who had refused
(33-171)to decide any thing on the question of her guilt or
(33-171)innocence. This was in 1568 - 9, and undoubtedly,
(33-171)by every rule of law or justice, Mary ought then
(33-171)to have been set at liberty. She had been accused
(33-171)of matters which Elizabeth herself had admitted
(33-171)were not brought home to her by proof, and of
(33-171)which, even if they had been proved, the Queen of
(33-171)England had no right to take cognizance. Nevertheless,
(33-171)Elizabeth continued to treat Mary as guilty,

(33-171)though she declined to pronounce her so, and to
(33-171)use her as her subject, though she was an independent
(33-171)sovereign, who had chosen England for a retreat,
(33-171)in the hope of experiencing that hospitable
(33-171)protection which would have been given to the

[TG33-172, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 172]

(33-172)meanest Scottish subject, who, flying from the laws
(33-172)of his own country, sought refuge in the sister
(33-172)kingdom. When you read English history, you
(33-172)will see that Elizabeth was a great and glorious
(33-172)Queen and well deserved the title of the Mother
(33-172)of her country; but her conduct towards Queen
(33-172)Mary casts a deep shade over her virtues, and leads
(33-172)us to reflect what poor frail creatures even the
(33-172)wisest of mortals are, and of what imperfect materials
(33-172)that which we call human virtue is found to
(33-172)consist.

(33-172) Always demanding her liberty, and always having
(33-172)her demand evaded or refused, Mary was
(33-172)transported from castle to castle, and placed under the
(33-172)charge of various keepers, who incurred Elizabeth's
(33-172)most severe resentment, when they manifested any
(33-172)of that attention to soften the rigours of the poor
(33-172)Queen's captivity, which mere courtesy, and
(33-172)compassion for fallen greatness, sometimes prompted.
(33-172) The very furniture and accommodations of her
(33-172)apartments were miserably neglected, and the
(33-172)expenses of her household were supplied as grudgingly
(33-172)as if she had been an unwelcome guest, who could
(33-172)depart at pleasure, and whom, therefore, the entertainer
(33-172)endeavours to get rid of by the coldness and

[TG33-173, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 173]

(33-173)discomfort of the reception afforded. It was, upon
(33-173)on occasion, with difficulty that the Queen Dowager
(33-173)of France, and actual Queen of Scotland, obtained
(33-173)the accommodation of a down bed, which a
(33-173)complaint in her limbs, the consequence of damp
(33-173)and confinement, rendered a matter of needful
(33-173)accommodation rather than of luxury. When she
(33-173)was permitted to take exercise, she was always
(33-173)strongly guarded, as if she had been a criminal;
(33-173)and if any one offered her a compliment, or token
(33-173)of respect, or any word of comfort, Queen Elizabeth,
(33-173)who had her spies everywhere, was sure to
(33-173)reproach those who were Mary's guardians for the
(33-173)time, with great neglect of their duty, in permitting
(33-173)such intercourse.

(33-173) During this severe captivity on the one part, and
(33-173)the greatest anxiety, doubt, and jealousy, on the
(33-173)other, the two Queens still kept up a sort of
(33-173)correspondence. In the commencement of this intercourse,
(33-173)Mary endeavoured, by the force of argument,
(33-173)by the seductions of flattery, and by appeals
(33-173)to the feelings of humanity, to soften towards her
(33-173)the heart of Elizabeth. She tried also to bribe her
(33-173)rival into a more humane conduct towards her, by
(33-173)offering to surrender her Crown and reside abroad,
(33-173)if she could but be restored to her personal freedom.
(33-173) But Elizabeth had injured the Queen of
(33-173)Scotland too deeply to venture the consequences
(33-173)of her resentment, and thought herself, perhaps,
(33-173)compelled to continue the course she had commenced,
(33-173)from the fear, that, once at liberty, Mary
(33-173)might have pursued measures of revenge and that

[TG33-174, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 174]

(33-174)she herself would find it impossible to devise any

(33-174)mode of binding the Scottish Queen to perform,
(33-174)when at large, such articles as she might consent
(33-174)to when in bondage.

(33-174)Despairing at length of making any favourable
(33-174)impression upon Elizabeth, Mary, with more wit
(33-174)than prudence, used her means of communicating
(33-174)with the Queen of England, to irritate and provoke
(33-174)her; yielding to the not unnatural, though certainly
(33-174)the rash and impolitic purpose, of retaliating some
(33-174)part of the pain to which she was herself subjected,
(33-174)upon the person whom she justly considered as the
(33-174)authoress of her calamities.

(33-174)Being for a long time under the charge of the
(33-174)Earl of Shrewsbury, who lady was a woman of
(33-174)a shrewish disposition, Mary used to report to
(33-174)Elizabeth, that the countess had called her old and
(33-174)ugly; and said she was grown as crooked in her
(33-174)temper as in her body, with many other scandalous
(33-174)and abusive expressions, which must have given
(33-174)exquisite pain to any woman, and more especially
(33-174)to a Queen so proud as Elizabeth, and desirous,
(33-174)even in old age, of being still esteemed beautiful.
(33-174)Unquestionably, these reproaches added poignancy
(33-174)to the hatred with which the English Sovereign
(33-174)regarded Queen Mary.

(33-174)But besides these female reasons for detesting
(33-174)her prisoner, Elizabeth had cause to regard the
(33-174)Queen of Scots with fear as well as envy and
(33-173)hatred. The Catholic party in England were still
(33-174)very strong, and they considered the claim of Mary
(33-174)to the throne of England as descended from the

[TG33-175, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 175]

(33-175)Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry VII, to be
(33-175)preferable to that of the existing Queen, who was,

(33-175)in their judgment, illegitimate, as being the heir of
(33-175)an illegal marriage betwixt Henry VIII and Anne
(33-175)Bullen. The Popes also, by whom Elizabeth was
(33-175)justly regarded as the great prop of the Reformed
(33-175)religion, endeavoured to excite against her such of
(33-175)her subjects as still owned obedience to the See of
(33-175)Rome. At length, in 1570-71, Pius V, then the
(33-175)reigning Pope, published a bull, or sentence of
(33-175)excommunication, by which he deprived Queen
(33-175)Elizabeth (as far as his sentence could) of her
(33-175)hopes of heaven, and of her kingdom upon earth,
(33-175)excluded her from the privileges of Christians, and
(33-175)delivered her over as a criminal to whomsoever
(33-175)should step forth to vindicate the Church, by putting
(33-175)to death its greatest enemy. The zeal of the
(33-175)English Catholics was kindled by this warrant from
(33-175)the Head of their Church. One of them [named
(33-175)Felton] was found bold enough to fix a copy of the
(33-175)sentence of excommunication upon the door of the
(33-175)Bishop of London, and various plots were entered
(33-175)into among the Papists for dethroning Elizabeth,
(33-175)and transferring the kingdom of England to Mary,
(33-175)a sovereign of their own religion, and in their eyes
(33-175)the lawful successor to the crown.

(33-175)As fast as one these conspiracies was discovered,
(33-175)another seemed to form itself; and as the
(33-175)Catholics were promised powerful assistance from
(33-175)the King of Spain, and were urged forward by the
(33-175)impulse of enthusiasm, the danger appeared every
(33-175)day more and more imminent. It cannot be doubted

[TG33-176, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 176]

(33-176)that several of these plots were communicated to
(33-176)Mary in her imprisonment; and, considering what
(33-176)grounds she had to complain of Elizabeth, it would

(33-176)have been wonderful if she had betrayed to her
(33-176)jailer the schemes which were formed to set her at
(33-176)liberty. But these conspiracies coming so closely
(33-176)the one after the other, produced one of the most
(33-176)extraordinary laws that was ever passed in England;
(33-176)declaring, that if any rebellion, or any attempt
(33-176)against Queen Elizabeth's person, should be
(33-176)meditated by, or for, any person pretending a right
(33-176)to the crown, the Queen might grant a commission
(33-176)to twenty-five persons, who should have power to
(33-176)examine into, and pass sentence upon, such offences;
(33-176)and after judgment given, a proclamation was to
(33-176)be issued, depriving the persons in whose behalf
(33-176)the plots or rebellion had been made, of all right
(33-176)to the throne; and it was enacted, that they might
(33-176)be prosecuted to the death. The hardship of this
(33-176)enactment consisted in its rendering Mary, against
(33-176)whom it was levelled, responsible for the deeds of
(33-176)others, as well as for her own actions; so that if the
(33-176)Catholic arose in rebellion, although without warrant
(33-176)from Mary, or even against her inclination,
(33-176)she was nevertheless rendered liable to lose her
(33-176)right of succession to the crown, and indeed to forfeit
(33-176)her life. Nothing short of the zeal of the
(33-176)English Government for the Reformed religion,
(33-176)and for the personal safety of Elizabeth, could have
(33-176)induced them to consent to a law so unjust and so
(33-176)oppressive.

(33-176) This act was passed in 1585, and in the following

[TG33-177, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 177]

(33-177)year, a pretext was found for making it the
(33-177)ground of proceedings against Mary. Anthony
(33-177)Babington, a young gentleman of fortune and of
(33-177)talent, but a zealous Catholic, and a fanatical

(33-177)enthusiast for the cause of the Scottish Queen, had
(33-177)associated with himself five resolute friends and
(33-177)adherents, all men of condition, in the desperate
(33-177)enterprise of assassinating Queen Elizabeth, and
(33-177)setting Mary at liberty. But their schemes were
(33-177)secretly betrayed to Walsingham, the celebrated
(33-177)minister of the Queen of England. They were
(33-177)suffered to proceed as far as was thought safe, then
(33-177)seized, tried and executed.

(33-177)It was next resolved upon, that Mary should be
(33-177)brought to trial for her life, under pretence of her
(33-177)having encouraged Babington and his companions
(33-177)in their desperate purpose. She was removed
(33-177)to the castle of Fotheringay, and
(33-177)placed under two keepers, Sir Amias
(33-177)Paulet and Sir Drew Drury, whose well-known
(33-177)hatred of the Catholic religion was supposed to render
(33-177)them inclined to treat their unfortunate captive
(33-177)with the utmost rigour. Her private cabinet was
(33-177)broken open and stripped of its contents, her most
(33-177)secret papers were seized upon and examined,
(33-177)her principal domestics were removed from her person,
(33-177)her money and her jewels were taken from her.
(33-177)Queen Elizabeth then proceeded to name Commissioners,
(33-177)in terms of the Act of Parliament which
(33-177)I have told you of. They were forty in number,
(33-177)of the most distinguished of her statesmen and nobility,
(33-177)and were directed to proceed to the trial of

[TG33-178, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 178]

(33-178)Mary for her alleged accession to Babington's
(33-178)conspiracy.

(33-178)On the 14th October, 1586, these Commissioners
(33-178)held their court in the great hall of Fotheringay
(33-178)castle. Mary, left to herself, and having counsel

(33-178)of no friend, advocate, or lawyer, made, nevertheless,
(33-178)a defence becoming her high birth and distinguished
(33-178)talents. She refused to plead before a
(33-178)court composed of person who were of a degree
(33-178)inferior to her own; and when at length she agreed
(33-178)to hear and answer the accusation brought against
(33-178)her, she made her protest that shi did so, not as
(33-178)owning the authority of the court, but purely in
(33-178)vindication of her own character.

(33-178)The attorney and solicitor for Queen Elizabeth
(33-178)stated the conspiracy of Babington, as it unquestionably
(33-178)existed, and produced copies of letters
(33-178)which Mary was alleged to have written, approving
(33-178)the insurrection, and even the assassination of
(33-178)Elizabeth. The declarations of Naue and Curle,
(33-178)two of Mary's secretaries, went to confirm the fact
(33-178)of her having had correspondence with Babington,
(33-178)by intervention of a priest called Ballard. The
(33-178)confessions of Babington and his associates were
(33-178)then read, avowing Mary's share in their criminal
(33-178)undertaking.

(33-178)To these charges Mary answered, by denying
(33-178)that she ever had any correspondence with Ballard,
(33-178)or that she had ever written such letters as those
(33-178)produced against her. She insisted that she could
(33-178)only be affected by such writings as bore her own
(33-178)hand and seal, and not by copies. She urged that

[TG33-179, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 179]

(33-179)the declarations of her secretaries were given in
(33-179)private, and probably under the influence of fear of
(33-179)torture, or hope of reward, of which, indeed, there
(33-179)is every probability. Lastly, she pleaded that the
(33-179)confessions of the conspirators could not affect her,
(33-179)since they were infamous persons, dying for an

(33-179)infamous crime. It their evidence was designed
(33-179)to be used, they ought to have been pardoned, and
(33-179)brought forward in person, to bear witness against
(33-179)her. Mary admitted that, having for many years
(33-179)despaired of relief or favour from Queen Elizabeth,
(33-179)she had, in her distress, applied to other sovereigns,
(33-179)and that she had also endeavoured to procure some
(33-179)favour for the persecuted Catholics of England;
(33-179)but she denied that she had endeavoured to purchase
(33-179)liberty for herself, or advantage for the
(33-179)Catholics, at the expense of shedding the blood of
(33-179)any one; and declared, that if she had given consent
(33-179)in word, or even in thought, to the murder of
(33-179)Elizabeth, she was willing, not only to submit to
(33-179)the doom of men, but even to renounce the mercy
(33-179)of God.

(33-179)The evidence which was brought to convict the
(33-179)Queen of Scotland was such as would not now
(33-179)affect the life of the meanest criminal; yet the
(33-179)Commission had the cruelty and meanness to declare
(33-179)Mary guilty of having been accessory to Babington's
(33-179)conspiracy, and of having contrived and

[TG33-180, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 180]

(33-180)endeavoured the death of Queen Elizabeth,
(33-180)contrary to the statute made for security of the
(33-180)Queen's life. And the Parliament of England
(33-180)approved of and ratified this iniquitous sentence.

(33-180)It was not perhaps to be expected that James
(33-180)VI should have had much natural affection for his
(33-180)mother, whom he had never seen since his infancy,
(33-180)and who had, doubtless, been represented to him as
(33-180)a very bad woman, and one desirous, if she
(33-180)could have obtained her liberty, of dispossessing
(33-180)him of the crown which he wore, and resuming it

(33-180)herself. He had, therefore, seen Mary's captivity
(33-180)with little of the sympathy which a child ought to
(33-180)feel for a parent. But, upon learning these
(33-180)proceedings against her life, he must have been
(33-180)destitute of the most ordinary feelings of human nature,
(33-180)and would have made himself a reproach and
(33-180)scandal throughout all Europe, if he had not interfered
(33-180)in her behalf. He therefore sent ambassadors,
(33-180)first, Sir William Keith, and after him the
(33-180)Master of Gray, to intercede with Queen Elizabeth,
(33-180)and to use both persuasion and threats to
(33-180)preserve the life of his mother. The friendship of
(33-180)Scotland was at this moment of much greater
(33-180)importance to England than at any previous period
(33-180)of her history. The King of Spain was in the act
(33-180)of assembling a vast navy and army (boastingly
(33-180)called the Invincible Armada), by which he
(33-180)proposed to invade and conquer England; and if
(33-180)James VI had been disposed to open the ports
(33-180)and harbours of Scotland to the Spanish fleets and
(33-180)armies, he might have greatly facilitated this

[TG33-181, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 181]

(33-181)formidable invasion, by diminishing the risk which
(33-181)the Armada might incur from the English fleet.

(33-181)It therefore seems probable, that had James
(33-181)himself been very serious in his interposition, or
(33-181)had his ambassador been disposed to urge the
(33-181)interference committed to his charge with due firmness
(33-181)and vigour, it could scarce have failed in being
(33-181)successful, at least for a time. But the Master of
(33-181)Gray, as is now admitted, privately encouraged
(33-181)Elizabeth and her ministers to proceed in the cruel
(33-181)path they had chosen, and treacherously gave them
(33-181)reason to believe, that though, for the sake of

(33-181)decency, James found it necessary to interfere in his
(33-181)mother's behalf, yet, in his secret mind, he would
(33-181)not be very sorry that Mary, who, in the eyes of a
(33-181)part of his subjects, was still regarded as sovereign
(33-181)of Scotland, should be quietly removed out of the
(33-181)way. From the intrigues of this treacherous
(33-181)ambassador, Elizabeth was led to trust that the resentment
(33-181)of the King for his mother's death would
(33-181)neither be long nor violent; and, knowing her
(33-181)own influence with a great part of the Scottish
(33-181)nobility, and the zeal of the Scots in general for
(33-181)the Reformed religion, she concluded that the
(33-181)motives arising out of these circumstances would
(33-181)prevent James from making common cause against
(33-181)England with the King of Spain.

(33-181)At any other period in the English history, it is
(33-181)probable that a sovereign attempting such an action
(33-181)as Elizabeth meditated, might have been interrupted
(33-181)by the generous and manly sense of justice and
(33-181)humanity peculiar to a free and high-minded people,

[TG33-182, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 182]

(33-182)like those of England. But the despotic reign of
(33-182)Henry VIII had too much familiarized the English
(33-182)with the sight of the blood of great persons,
(33-182)and even of Queens, poured forth by the blow of
(33-182)the executioner, upon the slightest pretexts; and
(33-182)the idea that Elizabeth's life could not be in safety
(33-182)while Mary existed, was, in the deep sentiment of
(33-182)loyalty and affection which they entertained for
(33-182)their Queen (and which the general tenour of her
(33-182)reign well deserved), strong enough to render
(33-182)them blind to the gross injustice exercised upon a
(33-182)stranger and a Catholic.

(33-182)Yet with all the prejudices of her subjects in

(33-182)her own favour, Elizabeth would fain have had
(33-182)Mary's death take place in such a way as that she
(33-182)herself should not appear to have any hand in it.
(33-182)Her ministers were employed to write letters to
(33-182)Mary's keepers, insinuating what a good service
(33-182)they would do to Elizabeth and the Protestant
(33-182)religion, if Mary could be privately assassinated.
(33-182)But these stern guardians, though strict and severe
(33-182)in their conduct towards the Queen, would not
(33-182)listen to such persuasions; and well was it for
(33-182)them that they did not, for Elizabeth would
(33-182)certainly have thrown the whole blame of the deed
(33-182)upon their shoulders, and left them to answer it
(33-182)with their lives and fortunes. She was angry
(33-182)with them, nevertheless, for their refusal, and
(33-182)called Paulet a precise fellow, loud in boasting of
(33-182)his fidelity, but slack in giving proof of it.

(33-182)As, however, it was necessary, from the scruples
(33-182)of Paulet and Drury, to proceed in all form, Elizabeth

[TG33-183, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 183]

(33-183)signed a warrant for the execution of the
(33-183)sentence pronounced on Queen Mary, and gave it
(33-183)to Davison, her secretary of state, commanding
(33-183)that it should be sealed with the great seal of
(33-183)England. Davison laid the warrant, signed by
(33-183)Elizabeth, before the Privy Council, and next day
(33-183)the great seal was placed upon it. Elizabeth, upon
(33-183)hearing this, affected some displeasure that the
(33-183)warrant had been so speedily prepared, and told
(33-183)the secretary that it was the opinion of wise men
(33-183)that some other course might be taken with Queen
(33-183)Mary. Davison, in this pretended change of mind,
(33-183)saw some danger that his mistress might throw the
(33-183)fault of the execution upon him after it had taken

(33-183)place. He therefore informed the Keeper of the
(33-183)Seals what the Queen had said, protesting he
(33-183)would not venture farther in the matter. The
(33-183)Privy Council, having met together, and conceiving
(33-183)themselves certain what were the Queen's real
(33-183)wishes, determined to save her the pain of expressing
(33-183)them more broadly, and resolving that the
(33-183)blame, if any might arise, should common to
(33-183)them all, sent off the warrant for execution with
(33-183)their clerk Beale. The Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury,
(33-183)with the High Sheriff of the county, were
(33-183)empowered and commanded to see the fatal mandate
(33-183)carried into effect without delay.

(33-183)Mary received the melancholy intelligence with
(33-183)the utmost firmness. "The soul," she said, "was
(33-183)undeserving of the joys of Heaven, which would
(33-183)shrink from the blow of an executioner. She had
(33-183)not," she added, "expected that her kinswoman

[TG33-184, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 184]

(33-184)would have consented to her death, but submitted
(33-184)not the less willingly to her fate." She earnestly
(33-184)requested the assistance of a priest; but this favour,
(33-184)which is granted to the worst criminals, and upon
(33-184)which Catholics lay particular weight, was cruelly
(33-184)refused. The Queen then wrote her last will, and
(33-184)short and affectionate letters of farewell to her
(33-184)relations in France. She distributed among her
(33-184)attendants such valuables as had been left her, and
(33-184)desired them to keep them for her sake. This
(33-184)occupied the evening before the day appointed for
(33-184)the fatal execution.

(33-184)On the 8th February, 1587, the Queen, still
(33-184)maintaining the same calm and undisturbed
(33-184)appearance which she had displayed at her pretended

(33-184)trial, was brought down to the great hall of the
(33-184)castle, where a scaffold was erected, on which were
(33-184)placed a block and a chair, the whole being covered
(33-184)with black cloth. The Master of her Household,
(33-184)Sir Andrew Melville, was permitted to take a last
(33-184)leave of the mistress whom he had served long
(33-184)and faithfully. He burst into loud lamentations,
(33-184)bewailing her fate, and deploring his own in being
(33-184)destined to carry such news to Scotland. "Weep
(33-184)not, my good Melville," said the Queen, "but
(33-184)rather rejoice; for thou shalt this day see Mary
(33-184)Stewart relieved from all her sorrows." She
(33-184)obtained permission, with some difficulty, that her
(33-184)maids should be allowed to attend her on the
(33-184)scaffold. It was objected to, that the extravagance
(33-184)of their grief might disturb the proceedings; she
(33-184)engaged for them that they would be silent.

[TG33-185, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 185]

(33-185)When the Queen was seated in the fatal chair,
(33-185)she heard the death warrant read by Beale, the
(33-185)clerk to the Privy Council, with an appearance of
(33-185)indifference; nor did she seem more attentive to
(33-185)the devotional exercises of the Dean of Peterborough,
(33-185)in which, as a Catholic, she could not
(33-185)conscientiously join. She implored the mercy of
(33-185)Heaven, after the form prescribed by her own
(33-185)church. She then prepared herself for execution,
(33-185)taking off such parts of her dress as might interfere
(33-185)with the deadly blow. The executioners offered
(33-185)their assistance, but she modestly refused it, saying,
(33-185)she had neither been accustomed to undress
(33-185)before so many spectators, not to be served by such
(33-185)grooms of the chamber. She quietly chid her maids,
(33-185)who were unable to withhold their cries of lamentation,

(33-185)and reminded them that she had engaged
(33-185)for their silence. Last of all, Mary laid her head
(33-185)on the block, which the executioner severed from
(33-185)her body with two strokes of his axe. The headsman
(33-185)held it up in his hand, and the Dean of
(33-185)Peterborough cried out, "So perish all Queen Elizabeth's
(33-185)enemies!" No voice, save that of the Earl Kent,
(33-185)could answer Amen: the rest were choked with
(33-185)sobs and tears.

(33-185)Thus died Queen Mary, aged a little above forty-four
(33-185)years. She was eminent for beauty, for talents,
(33-185)and accomplishments, nor is there reason to doubt
(33-185)her natural goodness of heart, and courageous
(33-185)manliness of disposition. Yet she was, in every sense,
(33-185)one of the most unhappy Princesses that ever lived,
(33-185)from the moment when she came into the world,

[TG33-186, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 186]

(33-186)in an hour of defeat and danger, to that in which
(33-186)a bloody and violent death closed a weary captivity
(33-186)of eighteen years.

(33-186)Queen Elizabeth, in the same spirit of hypocrisy
(33-186)which had characterised all her proceedings towards
(33-186)Mary, no sooner knew that the deed was done, than
(33-186)she hastened to deny her own share in it. She
(33-186)pretended, that Davison had acted positively against
(33-186)her command in laying the warrant before the
(33-186)Privy Council; and that she might seem the more
(33-186)serious in her charge, she caused him to be fined
(33-186)in a large sum of money, and deprived him of his
(33-186)office, and of her favour for ever. She sent a special
(33-186)ambassador to King James, to apologize for
(33-186)"this unhappy accident," as she chose to term the
(33-186)execution of Queen Mary.

(33-186)James at first testified high indignation, with

(33-186)which the Scottish nation was well disposed to
(33-186)sympathize. He refused to admit the English
(33-186)envoy to his presence, and uttered menaces of revenge.
(33-186)When a general mourning was ordered for the
(33-186)departed Queen, the Earl of Argyle appeared at the
(33-186)court in armour, as if that were the proper way of
(33-186)showing the national sense of the treatment which
(33-186)Mary had received. But James's hopes and fears
(33-186)were now fixed upon the succession to the English
(33-186)crown, which would have been forfeited by engaging
(33-186)in a war with Elizabeth. Most of his ancestors,
(33-186)indeed, would have set that objection at
(33-186)defiance, and have broken into the English frontier at
(33-186)the head of as large an army as Scotland could raise;
(33-186)but James was by nature timorous and unwarlike.

[TG33-187, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 187]

(33-187)He was conscious, that the poor and divided country
(33-187)of Scotland was not fit, in its own strength, to
(33-187)encounter a kingdom so wealthy and so unanimous
(33-187)as England. On the other hand, if James formed
(33-187)an alliance with the Spanish monarch, he considered
(33-187)that he would probably have been deserted by
(33-187)the Reformed part of his subjects; and, besides,
(33-187)he was aware the Philip of Spain himself laid claim
(33-187)to the Crown of England; so that to assist that
(33-187)prince in his meditated invasion, would have been
(33-187)to rear up and important obstacle to the accomplishment
(33-187)of his own hopes of the English succession.
(33-187)James, therefore, gradually softening towards Queen
(33-187)Elizabeth, affected to believe the excuses which she
(33-187)offered; and in a short time, they were upon as
(33-187)friendly a footing as they had been before the death
(33-187)of the unfortunate Mary.

(33-187)James was now in full possession of the Scottish

(33-187)kingdom, and showed himself to as much, or
(33-187)greater advantage, than at any subsequent period
(33-187)of his life. After the removal of the vile James
(33-187)Stewart from his counsels, he acted chiefly by the
(33-187)advice of Sir John Maitland, the Chancellor, a
(33-187)brother of that Maitland of Lethington whom we
(33-187)have so often mentioned. He was a prudent and
(33-187)good minister; and as it was James's nature, in
(33-187)which there was a strange mixture of wisdom and
(33-187)of weakness, to act with sagacity, or otherwise,
(33-187)according to the counsels which he received, there
(33-187)now arose in Britain, and even in Europe, a more
(33-187)general respect for his character, than was afterwards
(33-187)entertained when it became better known.

[TG33-188, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 188]

(33-188)Besides, James's reign in Scotland was marked
(33-188)with so many circumstances of difficulty, and even
(33-188)of danger, that he was placed upon his guard, and
(33-188)compelled to conduct himself with the strictest
(33-188)attention to the rules of prudence; for he had little
(33-188)chance of overawing his turbulent nobility, but by
(33-188)maintaining the dignity of the royal character. If
(33-188)the King had possessed the ability of distributing
(33-188)largesses among his powerful subjects, his influence
(33-188)would have been greater; but this was so far from
(33-188)being the case, that his means of supporting his
(33-188)royal state, excepting an annuity allowed to him
(33-188)by Elizabeth of five thousand pounds yearly, were
(33-188)in the last degree precarious. This was owing in
(33-188)a great measure to the plundering of the revenue
(33-188)of the crown during the civil wars of his minority,
(33-188)and the Regency of the Earl of Morton. The
(33-188)king was so dependent, that he could not even give
(33-188)an entertainment without begging poultry and

(33-188)venison from some of his more wealthy subjects;
(33-188)and his wardrobe was so ill furnished, that he was
(33-188)obliged to request the loan of a pair of silk hose
(33-188)from the Earl of Mar, that he might be suitably
(33-188)appareled to receive the Spanish ambassador.

(33-188)There were also peculiarities in James's situation
(33-188)which rendered it embarrassing. He had
(33-188)extreme difficulty in his necessary intercourse with
(33-188)the Scottish clergy, who possessed a strong influence
(33-188)over the minds of the people, and sometimes
(33-188)used it in interference with publish affairs.
(33-188)Although they had not, like the bishops of England
(33-188)and other countries, a seat in Parliament, yet

[TG33-189, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 189]

(33-189)they did not the less intermeddle with politics, and
(33-189)often preached from the pulpit against the king and
(33-189)his measures. They used this freedom the more
(33-189)boldly, because they asserted that they were not
(33-189)answerable to any civil court for what they might
(33-189)say in their sermons, but only to the spiritual
(33-189)courts, as they were called; that is, the Synods and
(33-189)General Assemblies of the Church, composed
(33-189)chiefly of clergymen like themselves, and who,
(33-189)therefore, were not likely to put a check upon the
(33-189)freedom of speech used by their brethren.

(33-189)Upon one occasion, which occurred 17th December,
(33-189)1596, disputes of this kind between of the King
(33-189)and the Church came to such a height, that the
(33-189)rabble of the city, inflamed by the violence of some
(33-189)of the sermons which they heard, broke out into
(33-189)tumult, and besieged the door of the Tolbooth,
(33-189)where James was sitting in the administration of
(33-189)justice, and threatened to break it open. The
(33-189)King was saved by the intervention of the better

(33-189)disposed part of the inhabitants, who rose in arms
(33-189)for his protection. Nevertheless he left Edinburgh
(33-189)the next day in great anger, and prepared to take
(33-189)away the privileges of the city, as a punishment
(33-189)for the insolence of the rioters. He was appeased
(33-189)with much difficulty, and, as it seemed, was by no
(33-189)means entirely satisfied; for he caused the High
(33-189)Street to be occupied by a great number of the
(33-189)Border and Highland clans. The citizens, terrified
(33-189)by the appearance of these formidable and
(33-189)lawless men, concluded that the town was to be
(33-189)plundered, and the alarm was very great. But

[TG33-190, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 190]

(33-190)the King, who only desired to frighten them, made
(33-190)the magistrates a long harangue upon the excesses
(33-190)of which he complained, and admitted them to
(33-190)pardon upon their submission.

(33-190)Another great plague of James the Sixth's
(33-190)reign, was the repeated insurrections of a turbulent
(33-190)nobleman, called Francis Stewart, Earl of
(33-190)Bothwell, -- a different person, of course, from
(33-190)James Hepburn, who bore that title in the reign
(33-190)of Queen Mary. This second Earl of Bothwell
(33-190)was a relation of the King's, and made several
(33-190)violent attempts to get possession of his person,
(33-190)with the purpose of governing the state, as the
(33-190)Douglasses of old, by keeping the King
(33-190)prisoner. But although he nearly succeeded on one
(33-190)or two occasions, yet James was always rescued
(33-190)from his hands, and was finally powerful enough to
(33-190)banish Bothwell altogether from the country. He
(33-190)died in contempt and exile.

(33-190)But by far the greatest pest of Scotland at that
(33-190)time, was the deadly feuds among the nobility and

(33-190)gentry, which eventually led to the most bloody

[TG33-191, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 191]

(33-191)consequences, and were perpetuated from father to
(33-191)son; while the King's good-nature, which rendered
(33-191)him very ready to grant pardons to those
(33-191)who had committed such inhuman outrages, made
(33-191)the evil still more frequent. The following is a
(33-191)remarkable instance: --

(33-191)The Earl of Huntly, head of the powerful family
(33-191)of Gordon, and the man of greatest consequence
(33-191)in the North of Scotland, had chanced to have some
(33-191)feudal differences with the Earl of Murray, son-in-law
(33-191)of the Regent-earl of the same name, in the
(33-191)course of which, John Gordon, a brother of Gordon
(33-191)of Cluny, was killed by a shot from Murray's
(33-191)castle of Darnoway. This was enough to make
(33-191)the two families irreconcilable enemies, even if
(33-191)they had been otherwise on friendly terms. Murray
(33-191)was so handsome and personable a man, that
(33-191)he was generally known by the name of the Bonnie
(33-191)Earl of Murray. About 1561-2, an accusation was
(33-191)brought against Murray, for having given some
(33-191)countenance or assistance to Stewart, Earl of Bothwell,
(33-191)in a recent treasonable exploit. James, without
(33-191)recollecting, perhaps, the hostility between the
(33-191)two earls, sent Huntly with a commission to bring
(33-191)the Earl of Murray to his presence. Huntly probably
(33-191)rejoiced in the errand, as giving him an
(33-191)opportunity of avenging himself on his feudal
(33-191)enemy. He beset the house of Dunnibersel, on the
(33-191)northern side of the Forth, and summoned Murray
(33-191)to surrender. In reply, a gun was fired, which
(33-191)mortally wounded one of the Gordons. The
(33-191)assailants proceeded to set fire to the house; when

[TG33-192, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 192]

(33-192)Dunbar, Sheriff of the county of Moray, said to the
(33-192)earl, "Let us not stay to be burned in the flaming
(33-192)house; I will go out foremost, and the Gordons,
(33-192)taking me for your lordship, will kill me, while you
(33-192)escape in the confusion." They rushed out among
(33-192)their enemies accordingly, and Dunbar was slain.
(33-192)But his death did not save his friend, as he had
(33-192)generously intended. Murray indeed escaped for
(33-192)the moment, but as he fled towards the rocks by
(33-192)the sea-shore, he was traced by the silken tassels
(33-192)attached to his headpiece, which had taken fore as
(33-192)he broke out from among the flames. By this
(33-192)means the pursuers followed him down amongst
(33-192)the cliffs near the sea, and Gordon of Buckie, who
(33-192)is said to have been the first that overtook him,
(33-192)wounded him mortally. As Murray was gasping
(33-192)in the last agony, Huntly came up; and it is alleged
(33-192)by tradition, that Gordon pointed his dirk
(33-192)against the person of his chief, saying, "By
(33-192)Heaven, my lord, you shall be as deep in as I,"
(33-192)and so compelled him to wound Murray whilst he
(33-192)was dying. Huntly, with a wavering hand, struck
(33-192)the expiring earl on the face. Thinking of his
(33-192)superior beauty, even in that moment of parting
(33-192)life, Murray stammered out the dying words,
(33-192)"You have spoiled a better face than your own."

(33-192)After this deed of violence, Huntly did not choose
(33-192)to return to Edinburgh, but departed for the North.
(33-192)He took refuge for the moment in the castle of
(33-192)Ravenscraig, belonging to the Lord Sinclair, who
(33-192)told him, with a mixture of Scottish caution and
(33-192)Scottish hospitality, that he was welcome to come

[TG33-193, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 193]

(33-193)in, but would have been twice as welcome to have
(33-193)passed by. Gordon of Buckie, when a long period
(33-193)had elapsed, avowed his contrition for the guilt he
(33-193)had incurred.

(33-193)Soon afterwards, three lords, the Earls of Huntly
(33-193)and Errol, who had always professed the Catholic
(33-193)religion, and the young Earl of Angus, who had
(33-193)become a convert to that faith, were accused of
(33-193)corresponding with the King of Spain, and of
(33-193)designing to introduce Spanish troops into Scotland
(33-193)for the restoration of the Catholic religion. The
(33-193)story which was told of this conspiracy does not
(33-193)seem very probable. However, the King ordered
(33-193)the Earl of Argyle to march against the Popish
(33-193)lords, with the northern forces of Lord Forbes and
(33-193)others, who were chiefly Protestants, and entered
(33-193)into the war with the religious emulation which
(33-193)divided the Reformers from the Catholics. Argyle
(33-193)likewise levied great bands of the Western
(33-193)Highlanders, who cared but little about religion,
(33-193)but were extremely desirous of plunder.

(33-193)The army of Argyle, about ten thousand strong,
(33-193)encountered the forces of Huntly and Errol at
(33-193)Glenlivet, on the 3d of October, 1594. The shock
(33-193)was very smart. But the Gordons and Hays,
(33-193)though far inferior in numbers, were gentlemen,
(33-193)well mounted, and completely armed, and the
(33-193)followers of Argyle had only their plaids and bonnets.
(33-193)Besides, the two earls had two or three pieces of
(33-193)cannon, of which the Highlanders, unaccustomed
(33-193)to any thing of the kind, were very apprehensive.
(33-193)The consequence of the encounter was, that though

[TG33-194, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 194]

(33-194)the cavalry had to charge up a hill, encumbered
(33-194)with rocks and stones, and although the Highlanders
(33-194)fought with great courage, the small body of
(33-194)Huntly and Errol, not amounting to above fifteen
(33-194)hundred horse, broke, and dispersed with great
(33-194)loss, the numerous host opposed to them. On the
(33-194)side of Argyle there was some treachery; the
(33-194)Grants, it is said, near neighbours, and some of
(33-194)them dependents, of the Gordons, joined their old
(33-194)friends in the midst of the fray. The Chief of
(33-194)MacLean and his followers defended themselves
(33-194)with great courage, but were at length completely
(33-194)routed. This was one of the occasions on which
(33-194)the Highland irregular infantry were found inferior
(33-194)to the compact charge of the cavaliers of the
(33-194)Lowland counties, with their long lances, who beat
(33-194)them down, and scattered them in every direction.

(33-194)Upon learning Argyle's defeat, the King himself
(33-194)advanced into the north with a small army,
(33-194)and restored tranquillity by punishing the insurgent
(33-194)earls.

(33-194)We have before mentioned, that in those wild
(33-194)days the very children had their deadly feuds,
(33-194)carried weapons, and followed the bloody example
(33-194)of their fathers. The following instance of their
(33-194)early ferocity occurred in September, 1595. The
(33-194)scholars of the High School of Edinburgh, having
(33-194)a dispute with their masters about the length of
(33-194)their holidays, resolved to stand out for a longer
(33-194)vacation. Accordingly, they took possession of
(33-194)the school in that sort of mutinous manner, which
(33-194)in England is called Barring-out, and resisted the

(33-195)admission of the masters. Such foolish things
(33-195)have often occurred in public schools elsewhere;
(33-195)but what was peculiar to the High School boys of
(33-195)Edinburgh was, that they defended the school
(33-195)with sword and pistol, and when Bailie MacMorran,
(33-195)one of the magistrates, gave directions to
(33-195)force the entrance, three of the boys fired, and
(33-195)killed him on the spot. There were none of them
(33-195)punished, because it was alleged that it could not
(33-195)be known which of them did the deed; but rather
(33-195)because two of them were gentlemen's sons. So
(33-195)you see the bloodthirsty spirit of the times
(33-195)descended even to children.

(33-195)To do justice to James VI, he adopted every
(33-195)measure in his power to put an end to these fatal
(33-195)scenes of strife and bloodshed. Wise laws were
(33-195)made for preventing the outrages which had been
(33-195)so general; and in order to compose the feuds
(33-195)amongst the nobles, James invited the
(33-195)principal lords, who had quarrels, to a
(33-195)great banquet, where he endeavoured to
(33-195)make them agree together, and caused them to
(33-195)take each other's hands and become friends on the
(33-195)spot. They obeyed him; and proceeding himself
(33-195)at their head, he made them walk in procession to
(33-195)the Cross of Edinburgh, still hand in hand, in
(33-195)token of perfect reconciliation, whilst the provost

[TG33-196, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 196]

(33-196)and magistrates danced before them for joy, to see
(33-196)such a prospect of peace and concord. Perhaps
(33-196)this reconciliation was too hasty to last long in
(33-196)every instance; but upon the whole, the authority
(33-196)of the law gradually gained strength, and the
(33-196)passions of men grew less fierce as it became more

(33-196)unsafe to indulge them.

(33-196)I must now fulfil my promise, and in this place,
(33-196)tell you of another exploit on the Borderers,
(33-196)the last that was performed there,
(33-196)but certainly not the least remarkable for valour
(33-196)and conduct.

(33-196)The English and Scottish Wardens, or their
(33-196)deputies, had held a day of truce for settling Border
(33-196)disputes, and, having parted friends, both,
(33-196)with their followers, were returning home. At
(33-196)every such meeting it was the general rule on the
(33-196)Borders that there should be an absolute truce for
(33-196)twenty-four hours, and that all men who attended
(33-196)the Warden on either side to the field should have
(33-196)permission to ride home again undisturbed.

(33-196)Now, there had come to the meeting, with other
(33-196)Border men, a notorious depredator, called
(33-196)William Armstrong, but more commonly known by
(33-196)the name of Kinmont Willie. This man was
(33-196)riding home on the north or Scottish side of the
(33-196)Liddell, where the stream divides England and
(33-196)Scotland, when some of the English who had
(33-196)enmity against him, or had suffered by his incursions,
(33-196)were unable to resist the temptation to attack
(33-196)him. They accordingly dashed across the river,

[TG33-197, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 197]

(33-197)pursued Kinmont Willie more than a mile within
(33-197)Scotland, made him prisoner, and brought him to
(33-197)Carlisle castle.

(33-197)As the man talked boldly and resolutely about
(33-197)the breach of truce in his person, and demanded
(33-197)peremptorily to be set at liberty, Lord Scrope told
(33-197)him, scoffingly, that before he left the castle he
(33-197)should bid him "farewell," meaning, that he should

(33-197)not go without his leave. The prisoner boldly
(33-197)answered, "that he would not go without bidding
(33-197)him good-night."

(33-197)The Lord of Buccleuch, who was Warden, or
(33-197)Keeper, of Liddesdale, demanded the restoration of
(33-197)Kinmont Willie to liberty, and complained of his
(33-197)being taken and imprisoned as a breach of the
(33-197)Border-laws, and an insult done to himself. Lord
(33-197)Scrope refused, or at least evaded, giving up his
(33-197)prisoner. Buccleuch then sent him a challenge,
(33-197)which Lord Scrope declined to accept, on the ground
(33-197)of his employment in the public service. The Scottish
(33-197)chief, therefore, resolved to redress by force
(33-197)the insult which his country, as well as himself, had
(33-197)sustained on the occasion. He collected about three
(33-197)hundred of his best men, and made a sight march
(33-197)to Carlisle castle. A small party of chosen men
(33-197)dismounted, while the rest remained on horseback,
(33-197)to repel any attack from the town. The night
(33-197)being misty and rainy, the party to whom that duty
(33-197)was committed approached the foot of the walls,
(33-197)and tried to scale them by means of ladders which
(33-197)they had brought with them for the purpose. But
(33-197)the ladders were found too short. They then, with

[TG33-198, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 198]

(33-198)mining instruments which they had provided, burst
(33-198)open a postern, or wicket-door, and entered the
(33-198)castle. Their chief had given them strict orders to
(33-198)do no harm save to those who opposed them, so
(33-198)that the few guards, whom the alarm brought
(33-198)together, were driven back without much injuring.
(33-198)Being masters of the castle, the trumpets of the
(33-198)Scottish Warden were then blown, to the no small
(33-198)terror of the inhabitants of Carlisle, surprised out

(33-198)of their quiet sleep by the sounds of invasion at so
(33-198)early an hour. The bells of the castle rang out;
(33-198)those of the Cathedral and Moot-hall answered;
(33-198)drums beat to arms; and beacons were lighted, to
(33-198)alarm the warlike country around.

(33-198)In the meanwhile, the Scottish party had done
(33-198)the errand they came for. They had freed Kinmont
(33-198)Willie from his dungeon. The first thing
(33-198)Armstrong did was to shout a good-night to Lord
(33-198)Scrope, asking him, at the same time, if he had any
(33-198)news for Scotland. The Borderers strictly obeyed
(33-198)the commands of their chief, in forbearing to take
(33-198)any booty. They returned from the castle, bringing
(33-198)with them their rescued countryman, and a
(33-198)gentleman named Spenser, an attendant on the
(33-198)constable of the castle. Buccleuch dismissed him with
(33-198)his commendations to Salkeld the constable, whom
(33-198)he esteemed, he said, a better gentleman than Lord
(33-198)Scrope, bidding him say it was the Warden of
(33-198)Liddesdale who had done the exploit, and praying
(33-198)the constable, if he desired the name of a man of
(33-198)honour, to issue forth and seek a revenge. Buccleuch
(33-198)then ordered the retreat, which he performed with

[TG33-199, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 199]

(33-199)great leisure, and re-entered Scotland at sunrise
(33-199)in honour and safety. "There had never been a
(33-199)more gallant deed of vassalage done in Scotland,"
(33-199)says an old historian, "no, not in Wallace's days."

(33-199)Queen Elizabeth, as you may imagine, was dreadfully
(33-199)angry at this insult, and demanded that
(33-199)Buccleuch should be delivered up to the English, as he
(33-199)had committed so great an aggression upon their
(33-199)frontier during the time of peace. The matter was
(33-199)laid before the Scottish Parliament. King James

(33-199)himself pleaded the question on the part of Elizabeth,
(33-199)willing, it may be supposed, to recommend
(33-199)himself to that Princess by his tameness and docility.
(33-199)The Secretary of State replied in defence of
(33-199)Buccleuch; and the Scottish Parliament finally
(33-199)voted that they would refer the question to
(33-199)commissioners, to be chosen for both nations, and would
(33-199)abide by their decision. But concerning the proposed
(33-199)surrender of Buccleuch to England, the
(33-199)President declared, with a loud voice, that it would be
(33-199)time enough for Buccleuch to go to England when
(33-199)the King should pass there in person.

(33-199)Buccleuch finally ended the discussion by going
(33-199)to England at the King's personal request, and on
(33-199)the understanding that no evil was to be done to
(33-199)him. Queen Elizabeth desired to see him
(33-199)personally, and demanded of him how he dared commit
(33-199)such aggression on her territory. He answered
(33-199)undauntedly, that he knew not that thing which a
(33-199)man dared not do. Elizabeth admired the answer,
(33-199)and treated this powerful Border chief with distinction

[TG33-200, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 200]

(33-200)during the time he remained in England,
(33-200)which was not long.

(33-200)But the strangest adventure of James's reign
(33-200)was the event called the Gowrie Conspiracy, over
(33-200)which there hangs a sort of mystery, which time
(33-200)has not even yet completely dispelled. You must
(33-200)recollect that there was an Earl of Gowrie
(33-200)condemned and executed, when James was but a boy.
(33-200)This nobleman left two sons, bearing the family
(33-200)name of Ruthven, who were well educated abroad,
(33-200)and accounted hopeful young men. The King
(33-200)restored to the eldest the title and estate of Gowrie,

(33-200)and favoured them both very much.

(33-200)Now, it chanced in the month of August, 1600,
(33-200)that Alexander Ruthven, the younger of the two
(33-200)brothers, came early one morning to the King, who
(33-200)was then hunting in the Park of Falkland, and told
(33-200)him a story of his having seized a suspicious-looking
(33-200)man, a Jesuit, as he supposed, with a large
(33-200)pot of gold under his cloak. This man Ruthven
(33-200)said he had detained prisoner at his brother's house,
(33-200)in Perth, till the King should examine him, and
(33-200)take possession of the treasure. With this story
(33-200)he decoyed James from the hunting-field, and
(33-200)persuaded him to ride with him to Perth, without any
(33-200)other company than a few noblemen and attendants,
(33-200)who followed the King without orders.

(33-200)When they arrived at Perth, they entered
(33-200)Gowrie-house, the mansion of the Earl, a large
(33-200)massive building, having gardens which stretched
(33-200)down to the river Tay. The Earl of Gowrie was,

[TG33-201, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 201]

(33-201)or seemed surprised, to see the King arrive so
(33-201)unexpectedly, and caused some entertainment to
(33-201)be hastily prepared for his Majesty's refreshment.
(33-201)After the King had dined, Alexander Ruthven
(33-201)pressed him to come with him to see the prisoner
(33-201)in private; and James, curious by nature, and
(33-201)sufficiently indigent to be inquisitive after money,
(33-201)followed him from one apartment to another, until
(33-201)Ruthven led him into a little turret, where there
(33-201)stood -- not a prisoner with a pot of gold -- but an
(33-201)armed man, prepared, as it seemed, for some
(33-201)violent enterprise.

(33-201)The King started back, but Ruthven snatched
(33-201)the dagger which the man wore, and pointing it

(33-201)to James's breast, reminded him of his father the
(33-201)Earl of Gowrie's death, and commanded him, upon
(33-201)pain of death, to submit to his pleasure. The King
(33-201)replied that he was but a boy when the Earl of
(33-201)Gowrie suffered, and upbraided Ruthven with
(33-201)ingratitude. The conspirator, moved by remorse
(33-201)or some other reason, assured the King that his
(33-201)life should be safe, and left him in the turret with
(33-201)the armed man, who, not very well selected to aid
(33-201)in a purpose so desperate, stood shaking in his
(33-201)armour, without assisting either his master or the
(33-201)King.

(33-201)Let us now see what was passing below, during
(33-201)this strange scene betwixt the King and Ruthven.
(33-201)The attendants of James had begun to wonder at
(33-201)his absence, when they were suddenly informed by
(33-201)a servant of the Earl of Gowrie, that the King had
(33-201)mounted his horse, and had set out on his return to

[TG33-202, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 202]

(33-202)Falkland. The noblemen and attendants rushed
(33-202)into the courtyard of the mansion, and called for
(33-202)their horses, the Earl of Gowrie at the same time
(33-202)hurrying them away. Here the porter interfered,
(33-202)and said the King could not have left the house,
(33-202)since he had not passed the gate, of which he had
(33-202)the keys. Gowrie, on the other hand, called the
(33-202)man a liar, and insisted that the King had departed.

(33-202)While the attendants of James knew not what
(33-202)to think, a half smothered, yet terrified voice, was
(33-202)heard to scream from the window of a turret above
(33-202)their heads, -- "Help! Treason! Help! my Lord
(33-202)of Mar!" They looked upwards, and beheld
(33-202)James's face in great agitation pushed through
(33-202)the window, while a hand was seen grasping his

(33-202)throat, as if some one behind endeavoured by
(33-202)violence to draw him back.

(33-202)The explanation was as follows: -- The King,
(33-202)when left alone with the armed man, had, it seems,
(33-202)prevailed upon him to open the lattice window.
(33-202)This was just done when Alexander Ruthven
(33-202)again entered the turret, and, swearing that there
(33-202)was no remedy, but the King must needs die, he
(33-202)seized on him, and endeavoured by main force to
(33-202)tie his hands with a garter. James resisted, in the
(33-202)extremity of despair, and dragging Ruthven to the
(33-202)window, now open, called out to his attendants in
(33-202)the manner was have described. His retinue hastened
to his assistance. The greater part ran to
(33-202)the principal staircase, of which they found the
(33-202)doors shut, and immediately endeavoured to force
(33-202)them open. Mean time a page of the King's, called

[TG33-203, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 203]

(33-203)Sir John Ramsay, discovered a back stair which
(33-203)led him to the turret, where Ruthven and the King
(33-203)were still struggling. Ramsay stabbed Ruthven
(33-203)twice with his dagger, James calling to him to
(33-203)strike light, as he had a doublet of proof on him.
(33-203)Ramsay then thrust Ruthven, now mortally
(33-203)wounded, towards the private staircase, where he
(33-203)was met by Sir Thomas Erskine and Sir Hugh
(33-203)Herries, two of the royal attendants, who despatched
(33-203)him with their swords. His last words were, --
(33-203)"Alas! I am not to blame for this action."

(33-203)This danger was scarcely over, when the Earl
(33-203)of Gowrie entered the outer chamber, with a
(33-203)drawn sword in each hand, followed by seven
(33-203)attendants, demanding vengeance for the death of
(33-203)his brother. The King's followers, only four in

(33-203)number, thrust James, for the safety of his person,
(33-203)back into the turret-closet, and shut the door; and
(33-203)then engaged in a conflict, which was the more
(33-203)desperate, that they fought four to eight, and Herries
(33-203)was a lame and disabled man. But Sir John
(33-203)Ramsay having run the Earl of Gowrie through
(33-203)the heart, he dropped dead without speaking a
(33-203)word, and his servants fled. The doors of the
(33-203)great staircase were now opened to the nobles, who
(33-203)were endeavouring to force their way to the King's
(33-203)assistance.

(33-203)In the mean time a new peril threatened the King
(33-203)and his few attendants. The slain Earl of Gowrie
(33-203)was provost of the town of Perth, and much
(33-203)beloved by the citizens. On hearing what had
(33-203)happened, they ran to arms, and surrounded the mansion-

[TG33-204, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 204]

(33-204)house, where this tragedy had been acted,
(33-204)threatening, that if their provost were not delivered
(33-204)to them safe and sound, the King's green coat should
(33-204)pay for it. Their violence was at last quieted by
(33-204)the magistrates of the town, and the mob were
(33-204)prevailed on to disperse.

(33-204)The object of this strange conspiracy is one of
(33-204)the darkest in history, and what made it stranger,
(33-204)the armed man who was stationed in the turret
(33-204)could throw no light upon it. He proved to be
(33-204)one Henderson, steward to the Earl of Gowrie,
(33-204)who had been ordered to arm himself for the purpose
(33-204)of taking a Highland thief, and was posted in
(33-204)the turret by Alexander Ruthven, without any
(33-204)intimation what he was to do; so that the whole
(33-204)scene came upon him by surprise. The mystery
(33-204)seemed to impenetrable, and so much of the narrative

(33-204)rested upon James's own testimony, that many
(33-204)persons of that period, and even some historians of
(33-204)our own day, have thought that it was not a conspiracy
(33-204)of the brothers against the King, but of the
(33-204)King against the brothers; and that James, having
(33-204)taken a dislike to them, had contrived the bloody
(33-204)scene, and then thrown the blame on the Ruthvens,
(33-204)who suffered in it. But, besides the placability
(33-204)and gentleness of James's disposition, and besides
(33-204)the consideration that no adequate motive can be
(33-204)assigned, or even conjectured, for his perpetrating
(33-204)such an inhospitable murder, it ought to be remembered
(33-204)that the King was naturally timorous, and
(33-204)could not even look at a drawn sword without
(33-204)shuddering; so that it is contrary to all reason and

[TG33-205, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 205]

(33-205)probability to suppose that he could be the deviser
(33-205)of a scheme, in which his life was repeatedly exposed
(33-205)to the most imminent danger. However,
(33-205)many of the clergy refused to obey James's order
(33-205)to keep a day of solemn thanksgiving for the King's
(33-205)deliverance, intimating, without hesitation, that
(33-205)they greatly doubted the truth of his story. One
(33-205)of them being pressed by the King very hard, said ---
(33-205)"That doubtless he must believe it, since his
(33-205)majesty said he had seen it; but that, had he seen
(33-205)it himself, he would not have believed his own
(33-205)eyes." James was much vexed with this incredulity,
(33-205)for it was hard not to obtain credit after
(33-205)having been in so much danger.

(33-205)Nine years after the affair, some light was
(33-205)thrown upon the transaction by one Sprot, a
(33-205)notary-public, who, out of mere curiosity, had
(33-205)possessed himself of certain letters, said to have been

(33-205)written to the Earl of Gowrie by Robert Logan of
(33-205)Restalrig, a scheming, turbulent, and profligate
(33-205)man. In these papers, allusion was repeatedly
(33-205)made to the death of Gowrie's father, to the
(33-205)revenge which was meditated, and to the execution of

[TG33-206, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 206]

(33-206)some great and perilous enterprise. Lastly, there
(33-206)was intimation that the Ruthvens were to bring a
(33-206)prisoner by sea to Logan's fortress of Fastcastle, a
(33-206)very strong and inaccessible tower, overhanging
(33-206)the sea, on the coast of Berwickshire. This place
(33-206)he recommends as suitable for keeping some important
(33-206)prisoner in safety and concealment, and
(33-206)adds, he had kept Bothwell there in his utmost
(33-206)distresses, let the King and his council say what they
(33-206)would.

(33-206)All these expressions seem to point at a plot,
(33-206)not affecting the King's life, but his personal
(33-206)liberty, and make it probable, that when Alexander
(33-206)Ruthven had frightened the King into silence and
(33-206)compliance, the brothers intended to carry him
(33-206)through the gardens, and put him on board of a
(33-206)boat, and so conveying him down the frith of Tay,
(33-206)might, after making a private signal, which Logan
(33-206)alludes to, place their royal prisoner in security at
(33-206)Fastcastle. The seizing upon the person of the
(33-206)King was a common enterprise among the Scottish
(33-206)nobles, and the father of the Ruthvens had lost his
(33-206)life for such an attempt. Adopting this as their
(33-206)intention, it is probable that Queen Elizabeth was
(33-206)privy to the attempt; and perhaps having found
(33-206)so much conveniency from detaining the person of
(33-206)Mary in captivity, she might have formed some
(33-206)similar plan for obtaining the custody of her son.

(33-206)I must not conclude this story without observing,
(33-206)that Logan's bones were brought into a court of
(33-206)justice, for the purpose of being tried after death,

[TG33-207, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 207]

(33-207)and that he was declared guilty, and a sentence of
(33-207)forfeiture pronounced against him. But it has not
(33-207)been noticed that Logan, a dissolute and extravagant
(33-207)man, was deprived of great part of his estate
(33-207)before his death, and that the King, therefore, could
(33-207)have no lucrative object in following out this ancient
(33-207)and barbarous form of process. The fate of Sprot,
(33-207)the notary, was singular enough. He was condemned
(33-207)to be hanged for keeping these treasonable
(33-207)letters in his possession, without communicating
(33-207)them to the government; and he suffered death
(33-207)accordingly, asserting to the last that the letters
(33-207)were genuine, and that he had only preserved them
(33-207)from curiosity. This fact he testified even in the
(33-207)agonies of death; for, being desired to give a sign
(33-207)of the truth and sincerity of his confession, after he
(33-207)was thrown off from the ladder, he is said to have
(33-207)clapped his hands three times. Yet some persons
(33-207)continued to think, that what Sprot told was untrue,
(33-207)and that the letters were forgeries; but it
(33-207)seems great incredulity to doubt the truth of a
(33-207)confession, which brought to the gallows the
(33-207)who made it; and, of late years, the letters produced
(33-207)by Sprot are regarded as genuine by the best
(33-207)judges of these matters. When so admitted, they
(33-207)render it evident that the purpose of the Gowrie
(33-207)conspiracy was to make King James a prisoner in
(33-207)the remote and inaccessible tower of Fastcastle,
(33-207)and perhaps ultimately to deliver him up to Queen
(33-207)Elizabeth.

(33-207)We now approach the end of this collection of

[TG33-208, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 208]

(33-208)Tales. King James VI of Scotland married the
(33-208)daughter of the King of Denmark, called Anne of
(33-208)Denmark. They had a family, which recommended
(33-208)them very much to the English people, who were
(33-208)tired of seeing their crown pass from one female to
(33-208)another, without any prospect of male succession.
(33-208)They began, therefore, to turn their eyes towards
(33-208)James as the nearest heir of King Henry VIII,
(33-208)and the rightful successor, when Queen Elizabeth
(33-208)should fail. She was now old, her health broken,
(33-208)and her feelings painfully agitated by the death of
(33-208)Essex, her principal favourite. After his execution,
(33-208)she could scarcely be said ever to enjoy either
(33-208)health or reason. She sat on a pile of cushions,
(33-208)with her finger in her mouth, attending, as it
(33-208)seemed, to nothing, saving to the prayers which
(33-208)were from time to time read in her chamber.

(33-208)While the Queen of England was thus struggling
(33-208)out the last moments of life, her subjects were
(33-208)making interest with her successor, James, with
(33-208)whom even Cecil himself, the Prime Minister of
(33-208)England, had long kept up a secret correspondence.
(33-208)The breath had no sooner left Elizabeth's
(33-208)body, than the near relation and godson of the
(33-208)late Queen, Sir Robert Carey, got on horseback,
(33-208)and, travelling with a rapidity which almost
(33-208)equalled that of the modern mail-coach, carried to
(33-208)the Palace of Holyrood the news, that James was
(33-208)King of England, France, and Ireland, as well as
(33-208)of his native dominions of Scotland.

(33-208)James arrived in London on the 7th of May,

[TG33-209, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 33, p. 209]

(33-209)1603, and took possession of his new realms without
(33-209)the slightest opposition; and thus the island of
(33-209)Great Britain, so long divided into the separate
(33-209)kingdoms of England and Scotland, became subject
(33-209)to the same prince. Here, therefore, must end the
(33-209)Tales of your Grandfather, so far as they
(33-209)relate to the History of Scotland, considered as a
(33-209)distinct and separate kingdom.

[Tg34-215, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 34, p. 215]

(34-215)The kind reception which the former Tales,
(34-215)written for your amusement and edification, have
(34-215)met with, induces me, my dear little boy, to make
(34-215)an attempt to bring down my historical narrative
(34-215)to a period, when the union of England and Scotland
(34-215)became as complete, in the intimacy of feelings
(34-215)and interests, as law had declared and intended
(34-215)them to be, and as the mutual advantage of both
(34-215)countries had long, though in vain, required. The
(34-215)importance of events, however, and the desire to
(34-215)state them clearly, have induced me for the present
(34-215)to stop short as the period of the Union of the
(34-215)Kingdoms.

(34-215)We left off, you may recollect, when James, the
(34-215)sixth of that name who reigned in Scotland,

[Tg34-216, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 34, p. 216]

(34-216)succeeded, by the death of Queen Elizabeth, to the
(34-216)throne of England, and thus became Sovereign of
(34-216)the whole Island of Britain. Ireland also belonged
(34-216)to his dominions, having been partly subdued by
(34-216)the arms of the English, and partly surrendered to

(34-216)them by the submission of the natives. There had
(34-216)been, during Elizabeth's time, many wars with the
(34-216)native lords and chiefs of the country; but the
(34-216)English finally obtained the undisturbed and undisputed
(34-216)possession of that rich and beautiful island.
(34-216)Thus the three kingdoms, formed by the Britannic
(34-216)Islands, came into the possession of one Sovereign,
(34-216)who was thus fixed in a situation of strength and
(34-216)security, which was at that time the lot of few
(34-216)monarchs in Europe.

(34-216)King James's power was the greater, that the
(34-216)progress of human society had greatly augmented
(34-216)the wisdom of statesmen and counsellors, and given
(34-216)strength and stability to those laws which preserve
(34-216)the poor and helpless against the encroachments of
(34-216)the wealthy and the powerful.

(34-216)But Master Littlejohn may ask me what I mean
(34-216)by the Progress of Human Society; and it is my
(34-216)duty to explain it as intelligibly as I can.

(34-216)If you consider the lower order of animals, such
(34-216)as birds, dogs, cattle, or any class of the brute creation,
(34-216)you will find that they are, to every useful
(34-216)purpose, deprived of the means of communicating
(34-216)their ideas to each other. They have cries, indeed,
(34-216)by which they express pleasure or pain -- fear or
(34-216)hope -- but they have no formed speech, by which,
(34-216)like men, they can converse together. God

[Tg34-217, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 34, p. 217]

(34-217)Almighty, who called all creatures into existence in
(34-217)such manner as best pleased him, has imparted to
(34-217)those inferior animals no power of improving their
(34-217)situation, or of communicating with each other.
(34-217)There is, no doubt, a difference in the capacity of
(34-217)these inferior classes of creation. But though one

(34-217)bird may build her nest more neatly than one of a
(34-217)different class, or one dog may be more clever and
(34-217)more capable of learning tricks than another, yet,
(34-217)as it wants language to explain to its comrades the
(34-217)advantages which it may possess, its knowledge
(34-217)dies with it; thus birds and dogs continue to use
(34-217)the same general habits proper to the species, which
(34-217)they have done since the creation of the world. In
(34-217)other words, animals have a certain limited degree
(34-217)of sense termed instinct, which teaches the present
(34-217)race to seek their food, and provide for their safety
(34-217)and comfort, in nearly the same manner as their
(34-217)parents did before them since the beginning of time,
(34-217)but does not enable them to communicate to their
(34-217)successors any improvements, or to derive any
(34-217)increase of knowledge from the practice of their
(34-217)predecessors. Thus you may remark, that the
(34-217)example of the swallow, the wren, and other birds,
(34-217)which cover their nests with a roof to protect them
(34-217)against the rain, is never imitated by other classes,
(34-217)who continue to construct theirs in the same
(34-217)exposed and imperfect manner since the beginning of
(34-217)the world.

(34-217)Another circumstance, which is calculated to
(34-217)prevent the inferior animals from rising above the
(34-217)rank in nature which they are destined to hold, is

[Tg34-218, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 34, p. 218]

(34-218)the short time during which they remain under the
(34-218)care of their parents. A few weeks gives the young
(34-218)nestlings of every season, strength and inclination
(34-218)to leave the protection of the parents; the tender
(34-218)attachment which has subsisted while the young
(34-218)bird was unable to provide for itself without
(34-218)assistance is entirely broken off, and in a week or

(34-218)two more they probably do not know each other.
(34-218)The young of the sheep, the cow, and the horse,
(34-218)attend and feed by the mother's side for a certain
(34-218)short period, during which they are protected by
(34-218)her care, and supported by her milk; but they have
(34-218)no sooner attained the strength necessary to defend
(34-218)themselves, and the sense to provide for their
(34-218)wants, than they separate from the mother, and all
(34-218)intercourse between the parent and her offspring
(34-218)is closed for ever.

(34-218)Thus each separate tribe of animals retains exactly
(34-218)the same station in the general order of the
(34-218)universe which was occupied by its predecessors;
(34-218)and no existing generation either is, or can be,
(34-218)much better instructed, or more ignorant, than that
(34-218)which preceded or that which is to come after it.

(34-218)It is widely different with mankind. God, as
(34-218)we are told in Scripture, was pleased to make man
(34-218)after his own image. By this you are not to
(34-218)understand that the Creator of heaven and earth has
(34-218)any visible form or shape, to which the human
(34-218)body bears a resemblance; but the meaning is, that
(34-218)as the God who created the world is a spirit invisible
(34-218)and incomprehensible, so he joined to the
(34-218)human frame some portion of an essence resembling

[Tg34-219, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 34, p. 219]

(34-219)his own, which is called the human soul, and
(34-219)which, while the body lives, continues to animate
(34-219)and direct its motions, and on the dissolution of
(34-219)the bodily form which it has occupied, returns to
(34-219)the spiritual world, to be answerable for the good
(34-219)and evil of its works upon earth. It is therefore
(34-219)impossible, that man, possessing this knowledge of
(34-219)right and wrong, proper to a spiritual essence

(34-219)resembling those higher orders of creation whom we
(34-219)call angels, and having some affinity, though at an
(34-219)incalculable distance, to the essence of the Deity
(34-219)himself, should have been placed under the same
(34-219)limitations in point of progressive improvement
(34-219)with the inferior tribes, who are neither responsible
(34-219)for the actions which they perform under directions
(34-219)of their instinct, nor capable, by any exertion of
(34-219)their own, of altering or improving their condition
(34-219)in the scale of creation. So far is this from being
(34-219)the case with man, that the bodily organs of the
(34-219)human frame bear such a correspondence with the
(34-219)properties of his soul, as to give him the means,
(34-219)when they are properly used, of enlarging his
(34-219)powers, and becoming wiser and more skilful from
(34-219)hour to hour, as long as his life permits; and not
(34-219)only is this the case, but tribes and nations of men
(34-219)assembled together for the purpose of mutual
(34-219)protection and defence, have the same power of alteration
(34-219)and improvement, and may, if circumstances
(34-219)are favourable, go on by gradual steps from being
(34-219)a wild horde of naked barbarians, till they become
(34-219)a powerful and civilized people.

(34-219)The capacity of amending our condition by

[Tg34-220, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 34, p. 220]

(34-220)increase of knowledge, which, in fact affords the
(34-220)means by which man rises to be the lord of creation,
(34-220)is grounded on the peculiar advantages possessed
(34-220)by the human race. Let us look somewhat
(34-220)closely into this, my dear boy, for it involves some
(34-220)truths equally curious and important.

(34-220)If man, though possessed of the same immortal
(34-220)essence or soul, which enables him to choose and
(34-220)refuse, to judge and condemn, to reason and conclude,

(34-220)were to be without the power of communicating
(34-220)to his fellow-men the conclusions to which
(34-220)his reasoning had conducted him, it is clear that
(34-220)the progress of each individual in knowledge,
(34-220)could be only in proportion to his own observation
(34-220)and his own powers of reasoning. But the gift of
(34-220)speech enables any one to communicate to others
(34-220)whatever idea of improvement occurs to him, and
(34-220)thus, instead of dying in the bosom of the individual
(34-220)by whom it was first thought of, it becomes
(34-220)a part of the stock of knowledge proper to the
(34-220)whole community, which is increased and rendered
(34-220)generally and effectually useful by the accession
(34-220)of further information, as opportunities occur, or
(34-220)men of reflecting and inventive minds arise in the
(34-220)state. This use of spoken language, therefore,
(34-220)which so gloriously distinguishes man from the
(34-220)beasts that perish, is the primary means of
(34-220)introducing and increasing knowledge in infant
(34-220)communities.

(34-220)Another early cause of the improvement in human
(34-220)society is the incapacity of children to act
(34-220)for themselves, rendering the attention and

[Tg34-221, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 34, p. 221]

(34-221)protection of parents to their offspring necessary for
(34-221)so long a period. Even where the food which
(34-221)the earth affords without cultivation, such as fruits
(34-221)and herbs, is most plentifully supplied, children
(34-221)remain too helpless for many years to be capable
(34-221)of gathering it, and providing for their own
(34-221)support. This is still more the case where food must
(34-221)be procured by hunting, fishing, or cultivating
(34-221)the soil, occupations requiring a degree of skill
(34-221)and personal strength, which children cannot possess

(34-221)until they are twelve or fourteen years old.
(34-221)It follows, as a law of nature, that instead of leaving
(34-221)their parents at an early age, like the young
(34-221)of birds or quadrupeds, the youth of the human
(34-221)species necessarily remain under the protection of
(34-221)their father and mother for many years, during
(34-221)which they have time to acquire all the knowledge
(34-221)the parents are capable of teaching. It arises also
(34-221)from this wise arrangement, that the love and
(34-221)affection between the offspring and the parents,
(34-221)which among the brute creation is the produce of
(34-221)mere instinct, and continues for a very short time,
(34-221)becomes in the human race a deep and permanent
(34-221)feeling, founded on the attachment of the parents,
(34-221)the gratitude of the children, and the effect of long
(34-221)habit on both.

(34-221)For these reasons, it usually happens, that children
(34-221)feel no desire to desert their parents, but remain
(34-221)inhabitants of the same huts in which they were
(34-221)born, and take up the task of labouring for subsistence
(34-221)in their turn, when their fathers and mothers
(34-221)are disabled by age. One or two such families

[Tg34-222, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 34, p. 222]

(34-222)gradually unites together, and avail themselves of
(34-222)each other's company for mutual defence and assistance.
(34-222)This is the earliest stage of human society;
(34-222)and some savages have been found in this condition
(34-222)so very rude and ignorant, that they may be said
(34-222)to be little wiser or better than a herd of animals.
(34-222)The natives of New South Wales, for example,
(34-222)are, even at present, in the very lowest scale of
(34-222)humanity, and ignorant of every art which can add
(34-222)comfort or decency to human life. These unfortunate
(34-222)savages use no clothes, construct no cabins or

(34-222)huts, and are ignorant even of the manner of chasing
(34-222)animals or catching fish, unless such of the latter
(34-222)as are left by the tide, or which are found on
(34-222)the rocks; they feed upon the most disgusting
(34-222)substances, snakes, worms, maggots, and whatever trash
(34-222)falls in their way. They know indeed how to
(34-222)kindle a fire -- in that respect only they have stepped
(34-222)beyond the deepest ignorance to which man
(34-222)can be subjected -- but they have not learned how
(34-222)to boil water; and when they see Europeans
(34-222)perform this ordinary operation, they have been known
(34-222)to run away in great terror. Voyages tell us of
(34-222)other savages who are even ignorant of the use of
(34-222)fire, and who maintain a miserable existence by
(34-222)subsisting on shell-fish eaten raw.

(34-222)And yet, my dear boy, out of this miserable and
(34-222)degraded state, which seems worse than that of the
(34-222)animals, man has the means and power to rise into
(34-222)the high place for which Providence hath destined
(34-222)him. In proportion as opportunities occur, these
(34-222)savage tribes acquire the arts of civilized life; they

[Tg34-223, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 34, p. 223]

(34-223)construct huts to shelter them against the weather; they
(34-223)invent arms for destroying the wild beasts by
(34-223)which they are annoyed, and for killing those whose
(34-223)flesh is adapted for food; they domesticate others,
(34-223)and use at pleasure their mild, flesh, and skins; and
(34-223)they plant fruit-trees and sow grain as soon as they
(34-223)discover that the productions of nature most necessary
(34-223)for their comfort may be increased by labour
(34-223)and industry. Thus, the progress of human society,
(34-223)unless it is interrupted by some unfortunate circumstances,
(34-223)continues to advance, and every new generation,
(34-223)without losing any of the advantages already

(34-223)attained, goes on to acquire others which were
(34-223)unknown to the preceding one.

(34-223)For instance, when three or four wandering
(34-223)families of savages have settled in one place, and
(34-223)begun to cultivate the ground, and collect their huts
(34-223)into a hamlet or village, they usually agree in choosing
(34-223)some chief to be their judge, and the arbiter of
(34-223)their disputes in time of peace, their leader and
(34-223)captain when they go to war with other tribes.
(34-223)This is the foundation of a monarchical government.
(34-223)Or, perhaps, their public affairs are directed by a
(34-223)council, or senate, of the oldest and wisest of the
(34-223)tribe -- this is the origin of a republican state. (34-223)At
(34-223)all events, in one way or other, they put themselves
(34-223)under something resembling a regular government,
(34-223)and obtain the protection of such laws as may prevent
(34-223)them from quarrelling with one another.

(34-223)Other important alterations are introduced by
(34-223)time. At first, no doubt, the members of the
(34-223)community store their fruits and the produce of the

[Tg34-224, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 34, p. 224]

(34-224)chase in common. But shortly after, reason teaches
(34-224)them that the individual who has bestowed labour
(34-224)and trouble upon any thing so as to render it
(34-224)productive, acquires a right of property, as it is called,
(34-224)in the produce, which his efforts have in a manner
(34-224)called into existence. Thus, it is soon acknowledged,
(34-224)that he who has planted a tree has the sole
(34-224)right of consuming its fruit; and that he who has
(34-224)sown a field of corn has the exclusive title to gather
(34-224)in the grain. Without the labour of the planter
(34-224)and husbandman, there would have been no apples
(34-224)or wheat, and therefore, these are justly entitled to
(34-224)the fruit of their labour. In like manner, the state

(34-224)itself is conceived to acquire a right of property in
(34-224)the fields cultivated by its members, and in the
(34-224)forests and waters where they have of old practised
(34-224)the rights of hunting and fishing. If men of a
(34-224)different tribe enter on the territory of a neighbouring
(34-224)nation, war ensues between them, and peace is made
(34-224)by agreeing on both sides to reasonable conditions.
(34-224)Thus a young state extends its possessions; and
(34-224)by its communications with other tribes lays the
(34-224)foundation of public laws for the regulation of
(34-224)their behaviour to each other in peace and in war.

(34-224)Other arrangements arise not less important,
(34-224)tending to increase the difference between mankind
(34-224)in their wild and original state, and that which
(34-224)they assume in the progress of civilisation. One
(34-224)of the most remarkable is the separation of the citizens
(34-224)into different classes of society, and the introduction
(34-224)of the use of money. I will try to render
(34-224)these great changes intelligible to you.

[Tg34-225, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 34, p. 225]

(34-225)In the earlier stages of society, every member
(34-225)of the community may be said to supply all his
(34-225)wants by his own personal labour. He acquires
(34-225)his food by the chase -- he sows and reaps his own
(34-225)grain -- he gathers his own fruit -- he cuts the skin
(34-225)which forms his dress so as to fit his own person --
(34-225)he makes the sandals or buskins which protect his
(34-225)feet. He is, therefore, better or worse accommodated
(34-225)exactly in proportion to the personal skill
(34-225)and industry which he can apply to that purpose.
(34-225)But it is discovered in process of time, that one
(34-225)man has particular dexterity in hunting, being, we
(34-225)shall suppose, young, active, and enterprising;
(34-225)another, older and of a more staid character, has

(34-225)peculiar skill in tilling the ground, or in managing
(34-225)cattle and flocks; a third, lame perhaps, or infirm,
(34-225)has a happy talent for cutting out and stitching
(34-225)together garments, or for shaping and sewing shoes.
(34-225)It becomes, therefore, for the advantage of all, that
(34-225)the first man shall attend to nothing but hunting,
(34-225)the second confine himself to the cultivation of the
(34-225)land, and the third remain at home to make clothes
(34-225)and shoes. But then it follows as a necessary
(34-225)consequence, that the huntsman must give to the man
(34-225)who cultivates the land a part of his venison and
(34-225)skins, if he desires to have grain of which to make
(34-225)bread, or a cow to furnish his family with milk;
(34-225)and that both the hunter and the agriculturist must
(34-225)give a share of the produce of the chase, and a
(34-225)proportion of the grain, to the third man, to obtain
(34-225)from him clothes and shoes. Each is thus accommodated
(34-225)with what he wants a great deal better,

[Tg34-226, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 34, p. 226]

(34-226)and more easily, by every one following a separate
(34-226)occupation, than they could possibly have been, had
(34-226)each of the three been hunter, farmer, and tailor,
(34-226)in his own person, practising two of the trades
(34-226)awkwardly and unwillingly, instead of confining
(34-226)himself to that which he perfectly understands,
(34-226)and pursues with success. This mode of accommodation,
(34-226)is called barter, and is the earliest kind
(34-226)of traffic by which men exchange their property
(34-226)with each other, and satisfy their wants by parting
(34-226)with their superfluities.

(34-226)But in process of time, barter is found
(34-226)inconvenient. The husbandman, perhaps, has no use
(34-226)for shoes when the shoemaker is in need of corn,
(34-226)or the shoemaker may not want furs or venison

(34-226)when the hunter desires to have shoes. To
(34-226)remedy this, almost all nations have introduced the
(34-226)use of what is called money; that is to say, they
(34-226)have fixed on some particular substance capable of
(34-226)being divided into small portions, which, having
(34-226)itself little intrinsic value applicable to human use,
(34-226)is nevertheless received as a representative of the
(34-226)value of all commodities. Particular kinds of shells
(34-226)are used as money in some countries; in others,
(34-226)leather, cloth, or iron, are employed; but gold
(34-226)and silver, divided into small portions, are used
(34-226)for this important purpose almost all over the
(34-226)world.

(34-226)That you may understand the use of this circulating
(34-226)representative of the value of commodities,
(34-226)and comprehend the convenience which it affords,
(34-226)let us suppose that the hunter, as we formerly said,

[Tg34-227, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 34, p. 227]

(34-227)wanted a pair of shoes, and the shoemaker had no
(34-227)occasion for venison, but wanted some corn, while
(34-227)the husbandman, not desiring to have shoes, stood
(34-227)in need of some other commodity. Here are
(34-227)three men, each desirous of some article of necessity, or
(34-227)convenience, which he cannot obtain by barter,
(34-227)because the party whom he has to deal with does not
(34-227)want the commodity which he has to offer in
(34-227)exchange. But supposing the use of money introduced,
(34-227)and its value acknowledged, these three
(34-227)persons are accommodated by means of it in the
(34-227)amplest manner possible. The shoemaker does
(34-227)not want the venison which the hunter offers for
(34-227)sale, but some other man in the village is willing
(34-227)to purchase it for five pieces of silver -- the hunter
(34-227)sells his commodity, and goes to the shoemaker,

(34-227)who, though he would not barter the shoes for the
(34-227)venison which he did not want, readily sells them
(34-227)for the money, and, going with it to the farmer,
(34-227)buys from him the quantity of corn he needs; while
(34-227)the farmer, in his turn, purchases whatever he is in
(34-227)want of, or if he requires nothing at the time, lays
(34-227)the pieces of money aside, to use when he had
(34-227)occasion.

(34-227)The invention of money is followed by the gradual
(34-227)rise of trade. There are men who make it
(34-227)their business to buy various articles, and sell them
(34-227)again for profit; that is, they sell them somewhat
(34-227)dearer than they bought them. This is convenient
(34-227)for all parties; since the original proprietors
(34-227)are willing to sell their commodities to those
(34-227)store-keepers, or shopkeepers, at a low rate, to be

[Tg34-228, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 34, p. 228]

(34-228)saved the trouble of hawking them about in search
(34-228)of a customer; while the public in general are
(34-228)equally willing to buy from such intermediate
(34-228)dealers, because they are sure to be immediately
(34-228)supplied with what they want.

(34-228)The numerous transactions occasioned by the
(34-228)introduction of money, together with other
(34-228)circumstances, soon destroy the equality of ranks
(34-228)which prevails in an early stage of society. Some
(34-228)men hoard up quantities of gold and silver, become
(34-228)rich, and hire the assistance of others to do their
(34-228)work; some waste or spend their earnings, become
(34-228)poor, and sink into the capacity of servants. Some
(34-228)men are wise and skilful, and, distinguishing themselves
(34-228)by their exploits in battle and their counsels
(34-228)in peace, rise to the management of public affairs.
(34-228)Others, and much greater numbers, have no more

(34-228)valour than to follow where they are led, and no
(34-228)more talent than to act as they are commanded.
(34-228)These last sink, as a matter of course, into obscurity,
(34-228)while the others become generals and statesmen.
(34-228)The attainment of learning tends also to
(34-228)increase the difference of ranks. Those who
(34-228)receive a good education by the care of their
(34-228)parents, or possess so much strength of mind and
(34-228)readiness of talent as to educate themselves, become
(34-228)separated from the more ignorant of the community,
(34-228)and form a distinct class and condition of
(34-228)their own; holding no more communication with
(34-228)the others than is absolutely necessary.
(34-228)In this way the whole order of society is changed,
(34-228)and instead of presenting the uniform appearance

[Tg34-229, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 34, p. 229]

(34-229)of one large family, each member of which has
(34-229)nearly the same rights, it seems to resemble a
(34-229)confederacy or association of different ranks, classes,
(34-229)and conditions of men, each rank filling up a certain
(34-229)department in society, and discharging a class of
(34-229)duties totally distinct from those of the others.
(34-229)The steps by which a nation advances, from the
(34-229)natural and simple state which we have just
(34-229)described, into the more complicated system in which
(34-229)ranks are distinguished from each other, are called
(34-229)the progress of society, or of civilisation. It is
(34-229)attended, like all things human, with much of evil
(34-229)as well as good; but it seems to be a law of our
(34-229)moral nature, that faster or slower, such alterations
(34-229)must take place, in consequence of the inventions
(34-229)and improvements of succeeding generations of
(34-229)mankind.
(34-229)Another alteration, productive of consequences

(34-229)not less important, arises out of the gradual
(34-229)progress towards civilisation. In the early state of
(34-229)society, every man in the tribe is a warrior, and
(34-229)liable to serve as such when the country requires
(34-229)his assistance; but in progress of time the pursuit
(34-229)of the military art is, at least on all ordinary occasions,
(34-229)confined to bands of professional soldiers,
(34-229)whose business it is to fight the battles of the state,
(34-229)when required, in consideration of which they are
(34-229)paid by the community, the other members of
(34-229)which are thus left to the uninterrupted pursuit of
(34-229)their own peaceful occupations. This alteration is
(34-229)attended with more important consequences than
(34-229)we can at present pause to enumerate.

[Tg34-230, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 34, p. 230]

(34-230) We have said that those mighty changes which
(34-230)bring men to dwell in castles and cities instead of
(34-230)huts and caves, and enable them to cultivate the
(34-230)sciences and subdue the elements, instead of being
(34-230)plunged in ignorance and superstition, are owing
(34-230)primarily to the reason with which God has
(34-230)graciously endowed the human race; and in a second
(34-230)degree to the power of speech, by which we enjoy
(34-230)the faculty of communicating to each other the
(34-230)result of our own reflections.

(34-230)But it is evident that society, when its advance
(34-230)is dependent upon oral tradition alone, must be
(34-230)liable to many interruptions. The imagination of
(34-230)the speaker, and the dullness or want of comprehension
(34-230)of the hearer, may lead to many errors: and
(34-230)it is generally found that knowledge makes but
(34-230)very slow progress until the art of writing is discovered,
(34-230)by which a fixed, accurate, and substantial
(34-230)form can be given to the wisdom of past ages.

(34-230)When this noble art is attained, there is a sure
(34-230)foundation laid for the preservation and increase of
(34-230)knowledge. The record is removed from the
(34-230)inaccurate recollection of the aged, and placed in a
(34-230)safe, tangible, and imperishable form, which may
(34-230)be subjected to the inspection of various persons,
(34-230)until the sense is completely explained and
(34-230)comprehended, with the least possible chance of doubt or
(34-230)uncertainty.

(34-230)By the art of writing, a barrier is fixed against
(34-230)those violent changes so apt to take place in the
(34-230)early stages of society, by which all the fruits of
(34-230)knowledge are frequently destroyed, as those of

[Tg34-231, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 34, p. 231]

(34-231)the earth are by a hurricane. Suppose, for example,
(34-231)a case, which frequently happens in the early history
(34-231)of mankind, that some nation which has made
(34-231)considerable progress in the arts, is invaded and
(34-231)subdued by another which is more powerful and
(34-231)numerous, though more ignorant than themselves.
(34-231)It is clear, that in this case, as the rude and ignorant
(34-231)conquerors would set no value on the knowledge
(34-231)of the vanquished, it would, if intrusted only to the
(34-231)memory of the individuals of the conquered people,
(34-231)be gradually lost and forgotten. But if the useful
(34-231)discoveries made by the ancestors of the vanquished
(34-231)people were recorded in writing, the manuscripts
(34-231)in which they were described, though they might
(34-231)be neglected for a season, would, if preserved at all,
(34-231)probably attract attention at some more fortunate
(34-231)period. It was thus, when the empire of Rome,
(34-231)having reached the utmost height of its grandeur,
(34-231)was broken down and conquered by numerous
(34-231)tribes of ignorant though brave barbarians, that

(34-231)those admirable works of classical learning, on
(34-231)which such value is justly placed in the present day,
(34-231)were rescued from total destruction and oblivion by
(34-231)manuscript copies preserved by chance in the old
(34-231)libraries of churches and convents. It may indeed
(34-231)be taken as an almost infallible maxim, that no
(34-231)nation can make any great progress in useful knowledge
(34-231)or civilisation, until their improvement can
(34-231)be rendered stable and permanent by the invention
(34-231)of writing.

(34-231)Another discovery, however, almost as important
(34-231)as that of writing, was made during the fifteenth

[Tg34-232, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 34, p. 232]

(34-232)century. I mean the invention of printing.
(34-232)Writing with the hand must be always a slow,
(34-232)difficult, and expensive operation; and when the
(34-232)manuscript is finished, it is perhaps laid aside among
(34-232)the stores of some great library, where it may be
(34-232)neglected by students, and must, at any rate, be
(34-232)accessible to very few persons, and subject to be
(34-232)destroyed by numerous accidents. But the
(34-232)admirable invention of printing enables the artist to
(34-232)make a thousand copies from the original manuscripts,
(34-232)by having them stamped upon paper, in far
(34-232)less time and with less expense than it would cost
(34-232)to make half a dozen such copies with the pen.
(34-232)From the period of this glorious discovery, knowledge
(34-232)of every kind may be said to have been
(34-232)brought out of the darkness of cloisters and
(34-232)universities, where it was known only to a few scholars,
(34-232)into the broad light of day, where its treasures
(34-232)were accessible to all men.

(34-232)The Bible itself, in which we find the rules of
(34-232)eternal life, as well as a thousand invaluable lessons

(34-232)for our conduct in this world, was, before the
(34-232)invention of printing, totally inaccessible to all, save
(34-232)the priests of Rome, who found it their interest to
(34-232)discourage the perusal of the Scriptures by any
(34-232)except their own order, and thus screened from
(34-232)discovery those alterations and corruptions, which
(34-232)the inventions of ignorant and designing men had
(34-232)introduced into the beautiful simplicity of the gospel.
(34-232)But when, by means of printing, the copies
(34-232)of the Bible became so numerous, that every one
(34-232)above the most wretched poverty, could, at a cheap

[Tg34-233, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 34, p. 233]

(34-233)price, possess himself of a copy of the blessed rule
(34-233)of life, there was a general appeal from the errors
(34-233)and encroachments of the Church of Rome, to the
(34-233)Divine Word on which they professed to be founded;
(34-233)a treasure formerly concealed from the public,
(34-233)but now placed within the reach of every man,
(34-233)whether of the clergy or laity. The consequence
(34-233)of these enquires, which printing alone could have
(34-233)rendered practicable, was the rise of the happy
(34-233)Reformation of the Christian church.

(34-233)The same noble art made knowledge of a temporal
(34-233)kind as accessible as that which concerned
(34-233)religion. Whatever works of history, science,
(34-233)morality, or entertainment, seemed likely to
(34-233)instruct or amuse the reader, were printed and
(34-233)distributed among the people at large by printers and
(34-233)booksellers, who had a profit by doing so. Thus,
(34-233)the possibility of important discoveries being
(34-233)forgotten in the course of years, or of the destruction
(34-233)of useful arts, or elegant literature, by the loss
(34-233)of the records in which they are preserved, was in
(34-233)a great measure removed.

(34-233)In a word, the printing-press is a contrivance
(34-233)which empowers any one individual to address his
(34-233)whole fellow-subjects on any topic which he thinks
(34-233)important, and which enables a whole nation to
(34-233)listen to the voice of such individual, however
(34-233)obscure the may be, with the same ease, and greater
(34-233)certainty, of understanding what he says, than if
(34-233)a chief of Indians were haranguing the tribe at his
(34-233)council-fire. Nor is the important difference to
(34-233)be forgotten, that the orator can only speak to the

[Tg34-234, Tales of a Grandfather, chap. 34, p. 234]

(34-234)persons present, while the author of a book
(34-234)addresses himself, not only to the race now in existence,
(34-234)but to all succeeding generations, while his
(34-234)work shall be held in estimation.

(34-234)I have thus endeavoured to trace the steps by
(34-234)which a general civilisation is found to take place
(34-234)in nations with more or less rapidity, as laws and
(34-234)institutions, or external circumstances, favourable
(34-234)or other wise, advance or retard the increase of
(34-234)knowledge, and by the course of which man,
(34-234)endowed with reason, and destined for immortality,
(34-234)gradually improves the condition in which Providence
(34-234)has placed him; while the inferior animals
(34-234)continue to live by means of the same, or nearly
(34-234)the same, instincts of self-preservation, which have
(34-234)directed their species in all its descents since the
(34-234)creation.

(34-234)I have called your attention at some length to
(34-234)this matter, because you will now have to remark,
(34-234)that a material change had gradually and slowly
(34-234)taken place, both in the kingdom of England, and
(34-234)in that of Scotland, when their long quarrels were
(34-234)at length, in appearance, ended, by the accession of

(34-234)James the Sixth of Scotland to the English crown,
(34-234)which he held under the title of James the First of
(34-234)that powerful kingdom.

[Tg35-235, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 235]

(35-235)The whole island of Great Britain was now
(35-235)united under one king, though it remained in effect
(35-235)two separate kingdoms, governed by their own
(35-235)separate constitutions, and their own distinct codes
(35-235)of laws, and liable again to be separated, in case, by
(35-235)the death of King James without issue, the kingdoms
(35-235)might have been claimed by different heirs.
(35-235)For although James had two sons, yet there was a
(35-235)possibility that they might have both died before
(35-235)their father, in which case the sceptres of England
(35-235)and Scotland must have passed once more into
(35-235)different hands. The Hamilton family would, in that
(35-235)case, have succeeded to the kingdom of Scotland,
(35-235)and the next heir of Elizabeth to that of England.
(35-235)Who that heir was, it might have been
(35-235)found difficult to determine.

[Tg35-236, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 236]

(35-236)It was in these circumstances to be apprehended,
(35-236)that James, the sovereign of a poor and barren
(35-236)kingdom, which had for so many ages maintained
(35-236)an almost perpetual war with England, would have
(35-236)met with a prejudiced and unpleasant reception
(35-236)from a nation long accustomed to despise the
(35-236)Scotch for their poverty, and to regard them with
(35-236)enmity on account of their constant hostility to the
(35-236)English blood and name. It might have been
(35-236)supposed also, that a people so proud as the English,
(35-236)and having so many justifiable reasons for their

(35-236)pride, would have regarded with an evil eye the
(35-236)transference of the sceptre from the hand of the
(35-236)Tudors, who had swayed it during five successive
(35-236)reigns, to those of a Stewart, descended from the
(35-236)ancient and determined enemies of the English
(35-236)nation. But it was the wise and gracious pleasure
(35-236)Providence, that while so many reasons existed
(35-236)to render the accession of James, and, in consequence,
(35-236)the union of the two crowns, obnoxious to
(35-236)the English people, others should occur, which not
(35-236)only balanced, but for a time completely overpowered
(35-236)that objections, as well in the minds of
(35-236)men of sense and education, as in the judgment of
(35-236)the populace, who are usually averse to foreign
(35-236)rules, for no other reason than that they are such.

[Tg35-237, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 237]

(35-237)Queen Elizabeth, after a long and glorious reign,
(35-237)had, in her latter days, become much more cross and
(35-237)uncertain in her temper than had been the case in
(35-237)her youth, more wilful also, and more inclined to
(35-237)exert her arbitrary power on slight occasions. One
(35-237)peculiar cause of offence given to her people was
(35-237)her obstinate refusal to gratify their anxiety, by
(35-237)making, as the nation earnestly desired, some
(35-237)arrangement for the succession to the throne after
(35-237)her own death. On this subject, indeed, she
(35-237)nursed so much suspicion and jealousy, as gave
(35-237)rise to more than one extraordinary scene. The

[Tg35-238, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 238]

(35-238)following is a whimsical instance, among others, of
(35-238)her unwillingness to hear of any thing respecting
(35-238)old age and its consequences.

(35-238)The Bishop of St David's, preaching in her
(35-238)Majesty's presence, took occasion from his text, which
(35-238)was Psalm xc. v. 12, "So teach us to number our
(35-238)days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom,"
(35-238)to allude to the Queen's advanced period of life,
(35-238)she being then sixty-three, and to the consequent
(35-238)infirmities attending upon old age; as, for example,
(35-238)when the grinders shall be few in number, and
(35-238)they wax dark who look out at windows -- when
(35-238)they daughters of singing shall be abased, and more
(35-238)to the like purpose. With the tone of these admonitions
(35-238)the Queen was so ill satisfied, that she flung
(35-238)open the window of the closet in which she sate,
(35-238)and told the preacher to keep his admonitions to
(35-238)himself, since she plainly saw the greatest clerks
(35-238) (meaning scholars) were not the wisest men. Nor
(35-238)did her displeasure end here. The bishop was
(35-238)commanded to confine himself to his house for
(35-238)a time, and the Queen, referring to the circumstance
(35-238)some time afterwards, told her courtiers how
(35-238)much the prelate was mistaken in supposing her to
(35-238)be as much decayed as perhaps he might feel himself
(35-238)to be. As for her, she thanked God, neither
(35-238)her stomach nor her strength -- her voice for singing,
(35-238)nor her art of fingering instruments, were any
(35-238)whit decayed. And to prove the goodness of her
(35-238)eyes, she produced a little jewel, with an inscription
(35-238)in very small letters, which she offered to Lord
(35-238)Worcester and Sir James Crofts to read. They

[Tg35-239, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 239]

(35-239)had too much tact to be sharp-sighted on the
(35-239)occasion, she, therefore, read it herself with apparent
(35-239)ease, and laughed at the error of the good
(35-239)bishop.

(35-239)The faults of Elizabeth, though arising chiefly
(35-239)from age and ill-temper, were noticed and resented
(35-239)by her subjects, who began openly to show themselves
(35-239)weary of a female reign, forgetting how glorious
(35-239)it had been, and manifested a general desire
(35-239)to have a king to rule over them. With this almost
(35-239)universal feeling, all eyes, even those of Elizabeth's
(35-239)most confidential statesman and counsellor, Sir

[Tg35-240, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 240]

(35-240)Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, were
(35-240)turned to the King of Scotland as next heir to the
(35-240)crown. He was a Protestant prince, which assured
(35-240)him the favour of the Church of England, and
(35-240)of the numerous and strong adherents to the
(35-240)Protestant religion. As such, Cecil entered into a
(35-240)secret correspondence with him, in which he pointed
(35-240)out the line of conduct proper on James's part to
(35-240)secure his interest in England. On the other hand,
(35-240)the English Catholics, on whom Queen Elizabeth's
(35-240)government had imposed many severe penal laws,
(35-240)were equally friendly to the succession of King
(35-240)James, since from that prince, whose mother had
(35-240)been a strict Catholic, they might hope for favour,
(35-240)to the extent at least of some release from the
(35-240)various hardships which the laws of England imposed
(35-240)on them. The Earl of Northumberland
(35-240)conducted a correspondence with James on the part of
(35-240)the Catholics, in which he held high language, and
(35-240)offered to assert the Scottish King's right of
(35-240)succession by force of arms.

(35-240)These intrigues were kept by James as secret
(35-240)as was in his power. If Elizabeth had discovered
(35-240)either the one or the other, neither the services of
(35-240)Cecil, nor the high birth and power of the great

(35-240)Earl of Northumberland, could have saved them

[Tg35-241, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 241]

(35-241)from experiencing the extremity of her indignation.
(35-241)Cecil, in particular, was at one time on the point
(35-241)of ruin. A post from Scotland delivered into his
(35-241)hands a private packet from the Scottish King,
(35-241)when the secretary was in attendance on Elizabeth.
(35-241)"Open your despatches," said Elizabeth, "and let
(35-241)us hear the news from Scotland." A man of less
(35-241)presence of mind would have been ruined; for if
(35-241)the Queen had seen the least hesitation in her
(35-241)minister's manner, her suspicions would have been
(35-241)instantly awakened, and detection must have followed.
(35-241)But Cecil recollected the Queen's sensitive
(35-241)aversion to any disagreeable smell, which was
(35-241)strengthened by the belief of the time, that infectious
(35-241)diseases and subtle poisons could be
(35-241)communicated by means of scent alone. The artful
(35-241)secretary availed himself of this, and while he seemed
(35-241)to be cutting the strings which held the packet, he
(35-241)observed it had a singular and unpleasant odour;
(35-241)on which Elizabeth desired it might be taken from
(35-241)her presence, and opened elsewhere with due
(35-241)precaution. Thus Cecil got an opportunity to
(35-241)withdraw from the packet whatever could have betrayed
(35-241)his correspondence with King James. Cecil's
(35-241)policy and inclinations were very generally followed
(35-241)in the English Court; indeed, there appeared

[Tg35-242, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 242]

(35-242)no heir to the crown, male or female, whose right
(35-242)could be placed in competition with that of James.
(35-242)It may be added to this general inclination in

(35-242)James's favour, that the defects of his character
(35-242)were of a kind which did not attract much attention
(35-242)while he occupied the throne of Scotland.
(35-242)The delicacy of his situation was then so great,
(35-242)and he was exposed to so many dangers from the
(35-242)dislike of the clergy, the feuds of the nobles, and
(35-242)the tumultuous disposition of the common people,
(35-242)that he dared not indulge in any of those childish
(35-242)freaks of which he was found capable when his
(35-242)motions were more completely at his own disposal.
(35-242)On the contrary, he was compelled to seek out
(35-242)the sagest counsellors, to listen to the wisest advice,
(35-242)and to put a restraint on his own natural
(35-242)disposition for encouraging idle favourites, parasites,
(35-242)and flatterers, as well as to suppress his inward
(35-242)desire to extend the limits of his authority farther
(35-242)than the constitution of the country permitted.

(35-242)At time period James governed by the advice of
(35-242)such ministers as the Chancellor Maitland, and
(35-242)afterwards of Home, Earl of Dunbar, men of
(35-242)thought and action, of whose steady measures and
(35-242)prudent laws the King naturally obtained the credit.
(35-242)Neither was James himself deficient in a certain
(35-242)degree of sagacity. He possessed all that could be
(35-242)derived from learning alloyed by pedantry, and
(35-242)from a natural shrewdness of wit, which enabled
(35-242)him to play the part of a man of sense, when either
(35-242)acting under the influence of constraint and fear, or
(35-242)where no temptation occurred to induce him to be

[Tg35-243, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 243]

(35-243)guilty of some folly. It was by these specious
(35-243)accomplishments that he acquired in his youth the
(35-243)character of an able and wise monarch, although
(35-243)when he was afterwards brought on a more conspicuous

(35-243)stage, and his character better understood, he
(35-243)was found entitled to no better epithet than that
(35-243)conferred on him by an able French politician, who
(35-243)called him, "the wisest fool in Christendom."

(35-243)Such, however, as King James was, England
(35-243)now received him with more universal acclamation
(35-243)than had attended any of her princes on their
(35-243)ascent to the throne. Multitudes, of every description,
(35-243)hastened to accompany him on his journey
(35-243)through England to the capital city. The wealthy
(35-243)placed their gold at his disposal, the powerful
(35-243)opened their halls for the most magnificent
(35-243)entertainments, the clergy hailed him as the head of the
(35-243)Church, and the poor, who had nothing to offer but
(35-243)their lives, seemed ready to devote them to his
(35-243)service. Some of the Scottish retinue, who were
(35-243)acquainted with James's character, saw and feared
(35-243)the unfavourable effect which such a change of
(35-243)circumstances was likely to work on him. "A plague
(35-243)of these people!" said one of his oldest domestics;
(35-243)"they will spoil a good king."

(35-243)Another Scot made an equally shrewd answer
(35-243)to an Englishman, who desired to know from him
(35-243)the King's real character. "Did you ever see a
(35-243)jackanapes?" said the Scotchman, meaning a tame
(35-243)monkey; "if you have, you must be aware that if
(35-243)you hold the creature in your hands you can

[Tg35-244, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 244]

(35-244)make him bite me, and if I hold him in my hands,
(35-244)I can make him bite you."

(35-244)Both these sayings were shown to be true in
(35-244)course of time. King James, brought from poverty
(35-244)to wealth, became thoughtless and prodigal, indolent,
(35-244)and addicted to idle pleasures. From hearing

(35-244)the smooth flatteries of the clergy of England, who
(35-244)recognised him as head of the church, instead of
(35-244)the rude attacks of the Presbyterian ministers of
(35-244)Scotland, who had hardly admitted his claim to be
(35-244)one of its inferior members, he entertained new and
(35-244)more lofty pretension to divine right. Finally,
(35-244)brought from a country where his personal liberty
(35-244)and the freedom of his government were frequently
(35-244)placed under restraint, and his life sometimes in
(35-244)danger, he was overjoyed to find himself in a
(35-244)condition where his own will was not only unfettered,
(35-244)as far as he himself was concerned, but appeared
(35-244)to be the model by which all loyal subjects were
(35-244)desirous to accommodate theirs; and he seemed
(35-244)readily enough disposed to stretch to its utmost
(35-244)limits the power thus presented to him. Thus,
(35-244)from being a just and equitable monarch, he was
(35-244)inspired with a love of arbitrary power; and from
(35-244)attending, as had been his custom, to state
(35-244)business, he now minded little save hunting and
(35-244)festivals.

(35-244)In this manner James, though possessing a large
(35-244)stock of pedantic wisdom, came to place himself
(35-244)under the management of a succession of unworthy
(35-244)favourites, and although particularly good-natured,
(35-244)and naturally a lover of justice, was often

[Tg35-245, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 245]

(35-245)hurried into actions and measures, which, if they
(35-245)could not be termed absolutely tyrannical, were
(35-245)nevertheless illegal and unjust. It is, however, of
(35-245)his Scottish government that we are now to treat,
(35-245)and therefore I am to explain to you, as well as I
(35-245)can, the consequences of the union with England
(35-245)to the people and country of Scotland.

(35-245)If the English nation were at first delighted to
(35-245)receive King James as their sovereign, the Scottish
(35-245)people were no less enchanted by the prospect
(35-245)of their monarch's ascent to this wealthy and
(35-245)pre-eminent situation. They considered the promotion
(35-245)of their countryman and prince as an omen of
(35-245)good fortune to their nation; each individual
(35-245)Scotchman expected to secure some part of the
(35-245)good things with which England was supposed to
(35-245)abound, and multitudes harried to court, to put
(35-245)themselves in the way of obtaining their share.

(35-245)James was shocked at the greediness and
(35-245)importunity of his hungry countrymen, and scandalized
(35-245)besides at the poor and miserable appearance
(35-245)which many of them made among the rich Englishmen,
(35-245)which brought discredit on the country to
(35-245)which he himself, as well as they, belonged. He
(35-245)sent instructions to the Scottish Privy Council to
(35-245)prevent such intruders from leaving their country,
(35-245)complaining of their manners and appearance, as
(35-245)calculated to bring disgrace upon all the natives
(35-245)of Scotland. A proclamation was accordingly
(35-245)issued at Edinburgh, setting forth that great
(35-245)numbers of men and women of base sort and condition,
(35-245)and without any certain trade, calling, or dependence,

[Tg35-246, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 246]

(35-246)repaired from Scotland to court, which was
(35-246)almost filled with them, to the great annoyance of
(35-246)his Majesty, and to the heavy disgrace of the Scottish
(35-246)nation; for these suitors being, in the judgment
(35-246)of all who saw them, but "idle rascals, and
(35-246)poor miserable bodies," their importunity and
(35-246)numbers raised an opinion that there were no persons
(35-246)of good rank, comeliness, or credit in the country

(35-246)which sent forth such a flight of locusts. Further,
(35-246)it was complained that these unseemly supplicants
(35-246)usually alleged that the cause of their repairing
(35-246)to court was to desire payment of old debts due by
(35-246)the King, "which, of all kinds of importunity,"
(35-246)says the proclamation, with great simplicity, "is
(35-246)the most displeasing to his Majesty." Therefore,
(35-246)general proclamation was directed to be made at
(35-246)all the market crosses in Scotland, that no Scottish
(35-246)person should be permitted to travel to England
(35-246)without leave of the Privy Council; and that
(35-246)vessels transporting individuals, who had not obtained
(35-246)due license, should be liable to confiscation.

(35-246)But although the King did all that was in his
(35-246)power to prevent these uncouth suitors from repairing
(35-246)to his court, yet there were many other natives
(35-246)of Scotland of a higher description, the sons of men
(35-246)of rank and quality, who, by birth and condition,
(35-246)had the right of attending his court, and approaching
(35-246)his presence, whom he could not prohibit from
(35-246)doing so, without positively disowning all former
(35-246)affections, national feeling, and sympathy or gratitude
(35-246)for past services. The benefits which he
(35-246)conferred on these were ill construed by the English,

[Tg35-247, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 247]

(35-247)who seem to have accounted every thing as taken
(35-247)from themselves which was bestowed on a Scotchman.
(35-247)The King, though it does not appear that
(35-247)he acted with any unjust purpose, was hardly
(35-247)judged, both by his own countrymen and the
(35-247)English. The Scots, who had been his friends in his
(35-247)inferior situation, and, as it might be called, his
(35-247)adversity, naturally expected a share of his bounty,
(35-247)when he was advanced to such high prosperity;

(35-247)while the English, with a jealousy for which much
(35-247)allowance is also to be made, regarded these northern
(35-247)suitors with an evil eye. In short, the Scottish
(35-247)courtiers thought that their claims of ancient
(35-247)services, of allegiance tried under difficult circumstances,
(35-247)of favour due to countrymen, and perhaps
(35-247)even to kindred, with no people carry so far,
(35-247)entitled them to all the advantages which the
(35-247)King might have to bestow; while the English,
(35-247)on the other hand, considered every thing given to
(35-247)the Scots as conferred at their expense, and used
(35-247)many rhymes and satirical expressions to that
(35-247)purpose, such as occur in the old song:
(35-247) Bonny Scot, all witness can,
(35-247) England has made thee a gentleman.
(35-247) Thy blue bonnet, when thou came hither,
(35-247) Would scarcely keep out the wind or weather;
(35-247) But now it is turn'd to a hat and a feather --
(35-247) The bonnet is blown the devil knows whither.
(35-247) The sword at thy haunch was a huge black blade,
(35-247) With a great basket-hilt, of iron made;
(35-247) But now a long rapier doth hand by his side,
(35-247) And huffingly doth this bonny Scot ride.

[Tg35-248, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 248]

(35-248)Another rhyme, to the same purpose, described a
(35-248)Scottish courtier thus: --
(35-248)In Scotland he was born and bred,
(35-248) And, though a beggar, must be fed.
(35-248)It is said, that when the Scots complained to the
(35-248)King of this last aspersion, James replied, "Hold
(35-248)your peace, for I will soon make the English as
(35-248)poor as yourselves, and so end that controversy."
(35-248)But as it was not in the power of wit to appease
(35-248)the feud betwixt the nobility and gentry of two

(35-248)proud nations, so lately enemies, all the efforts of
(35-248)the King were unequal to prevent bloody and
(35-248)desperate quarrels between his countrymen and his
(35-248)new subjects, to the great disquiet of the court, and
(35-248)the distress of the good-natured monarch, who,
(35-248)averse to war in all its shapes, and even to the
(35-248)sight of a drawn sword, suffered grievously on such
(35-248)occasions.

(35-248)There was one of those incidents which assumed
(35-248)a character so formidable, that it threatened the
(35-248)destruction of all the Scots at the court and in the
(35-248)capital, and, in consequence, a breach between the

[Tg35-249, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 249]

(35-249)kingdoms so lately and happily brought into alliance.
(35-249)As a public horse-race at Croydon, Philip
(35-249)Herbert, an Englishman of high birth, though, as
(35-249)it fortunately chanced, of no degree of corresponding
(35-249)spirit, received, an a quarrel, a blow in the
(35-249)face by a switch or horse-whip, from one Ramsay,
(35-249)a Scottish gentleman, in attendance on the court.
(35-249)The rashness and violence of Ramsay was
(35-249)construed into a national point of quarrel by the
(35-249)English present, who proposed revenging themselves
(35-249)on the spot by a general attack upon all the Scots
(35-249)on the race-ground. One gentleman, named Pinchbeck,
(35-249)although ill fitted for such a strife, for he had
(35-249)but the use of two fingers on his right hand, rode
(35-249)furiously through the multitude, with his dagger
(35-249)ready drawn, exhorting all the English to imitate
(35-249)him in an immediate attack on the Scots, exclaiming,
(35-249)"Let us breakfast with those that are here,
(35-249)and dine with the rest in London." But as Herbert
(35-249)did not return the blow, no scuffle or assault
(35-249)actually took place; otherwise, it is probable, a

(35-249)dreadful scene must have ensued. James, with
(35-249)whom Herbert was a particular favourite, rewarded
(35-249)his moderation or timidity by raising him to the
(35-249)rank of Knight, Baron, Viscount, and Earl of
(35-249)Montgomery, all in one day. Ramsay was banished
(35-249)the court for a season; and thus the immediate
(35-249)affront was in some degree alleviated. But the
(35-249)new Earl Montgomery remained, in the opinion
(35-249)of his countrymen, a dishonoured man; and it is
(35-249)said his mother, the sister of Sir Philip Sidney,
(35-249)wept and tore her hair when she heard of his having

[Tg35-250, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 250]

(35-250)endured with patience the insult offered by Ramsay.
(35-250)This is the lady whom, in a beautiful epitaph,
(35-250)Ben Jonson has described as
(35-250) Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother;
(35-250) Death, ere thou has slain another
(35-250) Wise, and good, and learn'd as she,
(35-250) Time shall throw a dart at thee.
(35-250) Yet the patience of Herbert under the insult was
(35-250)the fortunate prevention of a great national misfortune,
(35-250)for which, if his after conduct had not given
(35-250)tokens of an abject spirit, he might have been praised
(35-250)as a patriot, who had preferred the good of his
(35-250)country to the gratification of his own immediate
(35-250)resentment.
(35-250) Another offence given by the haughty and
(35-250)irascible temper of a Scotchman, was also likely to
(35-250)have produced disastrous consequences. The Inns

[Tg35-251, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 251]

(35-251)of Court are the places of resort and study
(35-251)appointed for those young men who are destined to

(35-251)the profession of the law in England, and they are
(35-251)filled with students, men often of high family and
(35-251)accomplishments, and who, living together in the
(35-251)sort of colleges set apart for their residence, have
(35-251)always kept up the ideas of privilege and distinction,
(35-251)to which their destination to a highly honourable
(35-251)profession, as well as their won birth and
(35-251)condition, entitles them. One of these gentlemen,
(35-251)by name Edward Hawley, appeared at court on
(35-251)a public occasion, and probably intruded farther
(35-251)than his rank authorized; so that Maxwell, a
(35-251)Scotchman, much favoured by James, and an usher
(35-251)of his chamber, not only thrust him back, but
(35-251)actually pulled him out of the presence-chamber by a
(35-251)black ribband, which, like other gallants of the
(35-251)time, Hawley wore at his ear. Hawley, who was
(35-251)a man of spirit, instantly challenged Maxwell to
(35-251)fight; and his second, who carried the challenge,
(35-251)informed him, that if he declined such meeting,
(35-251)Hawley would assault him wherever they should
(35-251)meet, and either kill him or be killed on the spot.
(35-251)James, by his royal interference, was able to solder
(35-251)up this quarrel also. He compelled Maxwell to
(35-251)make an apology to Hawley; and for the more
(35-251)full accommodation of the dispute, accepted of a
(35-251)splendid masque and entertainment offered on the
(35-251)occasion by the students of Gray's Inn Lane, the
(35-251)society to which the injured gentleman belonged.
(35-251) We may here remark a great change in the manners
(35-251)of the gallants of the time, which had taken

[Tg35-252, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 252]

(35-252)place in the progress of civilisation, to which I
(35-252)formerly alluded. The ancient practice of trial by
(35-252)combat, which made a principal part of the feudal

(35-252)law, and which was resorted to in so many cases,
(35-252)had now fallen into disuse. The progress of reason,
(35-252)and the principles of justice, concurred to prove
(35-252)that a combat in the lists might indeed show which
(35-252)of two knights was the best rider and the stoutest
(35-252)swordsman, but that such an encounter could afford
(35-252)no evidence which of the two was innocent or
(35-252)guilty; since it can only be believed in a very ignorant
(35-252)age that Providence is to work a miracle in
(35-252)case of every chance combat, and award success to
(35-252)the party whose virtue best deserves it. The trial
(35-252)by combat, therefore, though it was not actually
(35-252)removed from the statute-book, was in fact only
(35-252)once appealed to after the accession of James, and
(35-252)even then the combat, as a mode of trial unsuited
(35-252)to enlightened times, did not take place.
(35-252) For the same reason the other sovereigns of
(35-252)Europe discountenanced these challenges and combats,
(35-252)undertaken for pure honour or in revenge of
(35-252)some injury, which it used to be their custom to
(35-252)encourage, and to sanction with their own presence.
(35-252)Such rencounters were now generally accounted
(35-252)by all sensible persons an inexcusable waste of
(35-252)gallant men's lives for matters of mere punctilio;
(35-252)and were strictly forbidden, under the highest
(35-252)penalties, by the Kings both of England and France,
(35-252)and, generally speaking, throughout the civilized
(35-252)world. But the royal command could not change
(35-252)the hearts of those to whom it was addressed, nor

[Tg35-253, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 253]

(35-253)could the penalties annexed to the breach of the
(35-253)law intimidate men, whom a sense of honour,
(35-253)though a false one, had already induced to hold
(35-253)life cheap. Men fought as many, perhaps even

(35-253)more, single combats than formerly; and although
(35-253)such meetings took place without the publicity and
(35-253)formal show of lists, armour, horses, and the attendance
(35-253)of heralds and judges of the field, yet they
(35-253)were not less bloody than those which had been
(35-253)formerly fought with the observance of every point
(35-253)of chivalry.

(35-253) According to the more modern practice, combatants
(35-253)met in some solitary place, alone, or each
(35-253)accompanied by a single friend called a second, who
(35-253)were supposed to see fair play. The combat was
(35-253)generally fought with the rapier or small swords, a
(35-253)peculiarly deadly weapon, and the combatants, to
(35-253)show they wore no defensive armour under their

[Tg35-254, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 254]

(35-254)clothes, threw off their coats and waistcoats, and
(35-254)fought in their shirts. The duty of the seconds,
(35-254)properly interpreted, was only to see fair play;
(35-254)but as these hot-spirited young men felt it difficult
(35-254)to remain cool and inactive when they saw their
(35-254)friends engaged, it was very common for them,
(35-254)though without even the shadow of a quarrel, to
(35-254)fight also; and, in that case, whoever first despatched
(35-254)his antagonist, or rendered him incapable of
(35-254)further resistance, came without hesitation to the
(35-254)assistance of his comrade, and thus the decisive
(35-254)superiority was brought on by odds of numbers,
(35-254)which contradicts all our modern ideas of honour
(35-254)or of gallantry.

(35-254) Such were the rules of the duel, as these single
(35-254)combats were called. The fashion came from
(35-254)France to England, and was adopted by the Scots
(35-254)and English as the readiest way of settling their
(35-254)national quarrels, which became very numerous.

(35-254) One of the most noted of these was the bloody
(35-254)and fatal conflict between Sir James Stewart, eldest
(35-254)son of the first Lord Blantyre, a Scottish Knight
(35-254)of the Bath, and Sir George Wharton, an Englishman,
(35-254)eldest son of Lord Wharton, a Knight of the
(35-254)same order. These gentlemen were friends; and,
(35-254)if family report speaks truth, Sir James Stewart
(35-254)was one of the most accomplished young men of his
(35-254)time. A trifling dispute at play led to uncivil
(35-254)expressions on the part of Wharton, to which Stewart
(35-254)answered by a blow. A defiance was exchanged
(35-254)on the spot, and they resolved to fight next day t
(35-254)an appointed place near Waltham. This fatal

[Tg35-255, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 255]

(35-255)appointment made, they carried their resentment with
(35-255)a show of friendship, and drank some wine together;
(35-255)after finishing which, Wharton observed to his
(35-255)opponent, "Our next meeting will not part so easily."
(35-255)The fatal rencounter took place; both gentlemen
(35-255)fought with the most determined courage, and both
(35-255)fell with many wounds, and died on the field of
(35-255)battle.

(35-255) Sometimes the rage and passion of the gallants
(35-255)of the day did not take the fairest, but the shortest,
(35-255)road to revenge; and the courtiers of James I,
(35-255)men of honourable birth and title, were, in some
(35-255)instances, known to attack an enemy by surprise,
(35-255)without regard to the previous appointment of a
(35-255)place of meeting, or any regulation as to the number
(35-255)of the combatants. Nay, it seems as if, on
(35-255)occasions of special provocation, the English did not
(35-255)disdain to use the swords of hired assassins in aid
(35-255)of their revenge, and all punctilios of equality of
(35-255)arms or numbers were set aside as idle ceremonies.

(35-255) Sir John Ayres, a man of rank and fortune,
(35-255)entertained jealousy of Lord Herbert of Cherbury,

[Tg35-256, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 256]

(35-256)celebrated as a soldier and philosopher, from having
(35-256)discovered that his wife, Lady Ayres, wore
(35-256)around her neck the picture of that high-spirited
(35-256)and accomplished nobleman. Incensed by the
(35-256)suspicions thus excited, Sir John watched Lord Herbert,
(35-256)and, meeting him on his return from court,
(35-256)attended by only two servants, he attacked him
(35-256)furiously, backed by four of his followers with
(35-256)drawn weapons, and accompanied by many others,
(35-256)who, though they did not directly unsheath their
(35-256)swords, yet served to lend countenance to the
(35-256)assault. Lord Herbert was thrown down under his
(35-256)horse; his swords, with which he endeavoured to
(35-256)defend himself, was broken in his hand; and the
(35-256)weight of the horse prevented him from rising. One
(35-256)of his lacqueys ran away on seeing his master
(35-256)attacked by such odds; the other stood by him, and
(35-256)released his foot, which was entangled in the stirrup.
(35-256)At this moment Sir John Ayres was standing
(35-256)over him, and in the act of attempting to plunge
(35-256)his sword in his body; but Lord Herbert, catching
(35-256)him by the legs, brought him also to the ground;
(35-256)and, although the young lord had but a fragment
(35-256)of his sword remaining, he struck his unmanly
(35-256)antagonist on the stomach with such force as deprived
(35-256)him of the power to prosecute his bloody purpose;
(35-256)and some of Lord Herbert's friends coming up, the
(35-256)assassin thought it prudent to withdraw, vomiting
(35-256)blood in consequence of the blow he had received.
(35-256) This scuffle lasted for some time in the streets of
(35-256)London, without any person feeling himself called

(35-256)upon to interfere in behalf of the weaker party;

[Tg35-257, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 257]

(35-257)and Sir John Ayres seems to have entertained no
(35-257)shame for the enterprise, but only regret that it
(35-257)had not succeeded. Lord Herbert sent him a challenge
(35-257)as soon as his wounds were in the way of
(35-257)being cured; and the gentleman who bore it, placed
(35-257)the letter on the point of his sword, and in that
(35-257)manner delivered it publicly to the person whom
(35-257)he addressed. Sir John Ayres replied, that the
(35-257)injury he had received from Lord Herbert was of
(35-257)such a nature, that he would not consent to any
(35-257)terms of fair play, but would shoot him from a
(35-257>window with a musket, if he could find an opportunity.
(35-257)Lord Herbert protests, in his Memoirs,
(35-257)that there was no cause given on his part for the
(35-257)jealousy which drove Sir John Ayres to such
(35-257)desperate measures of revenge.
(35-257) A still more noted case of cruel vengeance, and
(35-257)which served to embitter the general hatred against
(35-257)the Scots, was a crime committed by Lord
(35-257)Sanquhar, a nobleman of that country, the representative
(35-257)of the ancient family of Creichton. This
(35-257)young lord, in fencing with a man called Turner,
(35-257)a teacher of the science of defence, had the
(35-257)misfortune to be deprived of an eye by the accidental
(35-257)thrust of a foil. The mishap was, doubtless, both
(35-257)distressing and provoking; but there was no room
(35-257)to blame Turner, by whom no injury had been
(35-257)intended, and who greatly regretted the accident.
(35-257)One or two years after this, Lord Sanquhar being
(35-257)at the court of France, Henry IV, then king, asked
(35-257)him how he had lost his eye. Lord Sanquhar, not
(35-257)wishing to dwell on the subject, answered in general

[Tg35-258, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 258]

(35-258)terms, that it was by the thrust of a sword.
(35-258)"Does the man who did the injury still live?"
(35-258)asked the King; and the unhappy question
(35-258)impressed it indelibly upon the heart of the infatuated
(35-258)Lord Sanquhar that his honour required the death
(35-258)of the poor fencing-master. Accordingly, he
(35-258)despatched his page and another of his followers, who
(35-258)pistoled Turner in his own school. The murderers
(35-258)were taken, and acknowledged they had been
(35-258)employed to do the deed by their lord, whose
(35-258)commands, they said, they had been bred up to hold as
(35-258)indisputable warrants for the execution of whatever
(35-258)he might enjoin. All the culprits being brought
(35-258)to trial and condemned, much interest was made
(35-258)for Lord Sanquhar, who was a young man, it is
(35-258)said, of eminent parts. But to have pardoned him
(35-258)would have argued too gross a partiality in James
(35-258)towards his countrymen and original subjects. He
(35-258)was hanged, therefore, along with his two
(35-258)associates; which Lord Bacon termed the most
(35-258)exemplary piece of justice in any king's reign.
(35-258) To sum up the account of these acts of violence,
(35-258)they gave occasion to a severe law, called the
(35-258)statute of stabbing. Hitherto, in the mild spirit of
(35-258)English jurisprudence, the crime of a person slaying

[Tg35-259, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 35, p. 259]

(35-259)another without premeditation only amounted
(35-259)to the lesser denomination of murder which the
(35-259)law calls manslaughter, and which had been only
(35-259)punishable by fine and imprisonment. But, to
(35-259)check the use of short swords and poniards,

(35-259)weapons easily concealed, and capable of being suddenly
(35-259)produced, it was provided, that if any one,
(35-259)though without forethought or premeditation, with
(35-259)sword or dagger, attacked and wounded another
(35-259)whose weapon was not drawn, of which would the
(35-259)party should die within six months after receiving
(35-259)it, the crime should not be accounted homicide, but
(35-259)rise into the higher class of murder, and be as such
(35-259)punished with death accordingly.

[TG36-260, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 36, p. 260]

(36-260) While the quarrels of the English and Scottish
(36-260)nobility disturbed the comfort of James the First's
(36-260)reign, it must be admitted that the monarch applied
(36-260)himself with some diligence to cement as much as
(36-260)possible the union of the two kingdoms, and to
(36-260)impart to each such advantages as they might be
(36-260)found capable of borrowing from the other. The
(36-260)love of power, natural to him as a sovereign,
(36-260)combined with a sincere wish for what would be most
(36-260)advantageous to both countries -- for James, when
(36-260)not carried off by his love of idle pleasures, and
(36-260)the influence of unworthy favourites, possessed the
(36-260)power of seeing, and the disposition to advance,
(36-260)the interests of his subjects -- alike induced him to
(36-260)accelerate, by every means, the uniting the two
(36-260)separate portions of Britain into one solid and
(36-260)inseparable state, for which nature designed the

[TG36-261, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 36, p. 261]

(36-261)inhabitants of the same island. He was not negligent
(36-261)in adopting measures to attain so desirable an
(36-261)object, though circumstances deferred the accomplishment
(36-261)of his wishes till the lapse of a century. To

(36-261)explain the nature of his attempt, and the causes
(36-261)of its failure, we must consider the respective
(36-261)condition of England and Scotland as regarded their
(36-261)political institutions.

(36-261) The long and bloody wars between the houses
(36-261)of York and Lancaster, who, for more than thirty
(36-261)years, contended for the throne of England, had,
(36-261)by slaughter in numerous battles, by repeated
(36-261)proscriptions, public executions, and forfeitures, reduced
(36-261)to a comparatively inconsiderable number, and
(36-261)to a much greater state of disability and weakness,
(36-261)the nobility and great gentry of the kingdom, by
(36-261)whom the crown had been alternately bestowed on
(36-261)one of other of the contending parties. Henry the
(36-261)Seventh, a wise and subtle prince, had, by his
(36-261)success in the decisive battle of Bosworth, attained a
(36-261)secure seat upon the English throne. He availed
(36-261)himself of the weak state of the peers and barons,
(36-261)and the rising power of the cities and boroughs, to
(36-261)undermine and destroy the influence which the
(36-261)feudal system had formerly given to the aristocracy
(36-261)over their vassals; and they submitted to this
(36-261)diminution of their authority, as men who felt that
(36-261)the stormy independence possessed by their ancestors
(36-261)had cost them very dear, and that it was better
(36-261)to live at ease under the king, as a common head
(36-261)of the state, than to possess, each on his own
(36-261)domains, the ruinous power of petty sovereigns,

[TG36-262, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 36, p. 262]

(36-262)making war upon, and ruining others, and incurring
(36-262)destruction themselves. They therefore relinquished,
(36-262)without much open discontent, most of their
(36-262)oppressive rights of sovereignty over their vassals,
(36-262)and were satisfied to be honoured and respected

(36-262)masters of their own lands, without retaining the
(36-262)power of princes over those who cultivated them.
(36-262)They exacted rents from their tenants instead of
(36-262)service in battle, and attendance in peace, and
(36-262)became peaceful and wealthy, instead of being great
(36-262)and turbulent.

(36-262) As the nobles sunk in political consideration, the
(36-262)citizens of the towns and seaports, and the smaller
(36-262)gentry and cultivators of the soil, increased in
(36-262)importance as well as in prosperity and happiness.
(36-262)These commoners felt, indeed, and sometimes
(36-262)murmured against, the ascendancy acquired by the
(36-262)King, but were conscious, at the same time, that
(36-262)it was the power of the crown which had relieved
(36-262)them from the far more vexatious and frequent
(36-262)exactions of their late feudal lords; and as the
(36-262)burden fell equally on all, they were better
(36-262)contented to live under the sway of one king, who
(36-262)imposed the national burdens on the people at
(36-262)large, than under that of a number of proud lords.
(36-262)Henry VII availed himself of these favourable
(36-262)dispositions, to raise large taxes, which he partly
(36-262)hoarded up for occasions of emergency, and partly
(36-262)expended on levying bands of soldiers, both foreign
(36-262)and domestic, by whom he carried on such wars
(36-262)as he engaged in, without finding any necessity to
(36-262)call out the feudal array of the kingdom. In this

[TG36-263, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 36, p. 263]

(36-263)manner he avoided rendering himself dependent
(36-263)on his nobles.

(36-263) Henry VIII was a prince of a very different
(36-263)temper, and yet his reign contributed greatly to
(36-263)extend and confirm the power of the English
(36-263)crown. He expended, indeed, lavishly, the treasures

(36-263)of his father; but he replenished them, in a great
(36-263)measure, by the spoils of the Roman Catholic Church,
(36-263)and he confirmed the usurpation of arbitrary authority,
(36-263)by the vigour with which he wielded it. The
(36-263)tyranny which he exercised in his family and court,
(36-263)was unfelt by the citizens and common people, with
(36-263)whom he continued to be rather popular from his
(36-263)splendour, than dreaded for his violence. His power
(36-263)wrested from them, in the shape of compulsory
(36-263)loans and benevolences, large sums of money which
(36-263)he was not entitled to by the grant of Parliament;
(36-263)but though he could not directly compel them to
(36-263)pay such exactions, yet he could exert, as in the
(36-263)case of Alderman Read, the power of sending the
(36-263)refusing party to undergo the dangers and
(36-263)hardships of foreign service, which most wealthy
(36-263)citizens though still harder than the alternative of
(36-263)paying a sum of money.
(36-263) The reign of the English Queen Mary was
(36-263)short and inglorious, but she pursued the arbitrary
(36-263)steps of her father, and in no degree relaxed the
(36-263)power which the crown had acquired since the
(36-263)accession of Henry VII. That of Elizabeth tended
(36-263)considerably to increase it. The success of the

[TG36-264, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 36, p. 264]

(36-264)wise measures which she adopted for maintaining
(36-264)the Protestant religion, and making the power of
(36-264)England respected by foreign states, flattered the
(36-264)vanity, and conciliated the affection, of her
(36-264)subjects. The wisdom and economy with which she
(36-264)distributed the treasures of the state, added to the
(36-264)general disposition of her subjects to place them
(36-264)at her command; and the arbitrary authority which
(36-264)her grandfather acquired by subtlety, which he

(36-264)father maintained by violence, and which her sister,
(36-264)preserved by bigotry, was readily conceded to
(36-264)Elizabeth by the love and esteem of her people.
(36-264)It was moreover, to be considered, that, like the
(36-264)rest of the Tudor family, the Queen nourished
(36-264)high ideas of royal prerogative; and, when thwarted
(36-264)in her wishes by any opposition, not unfrequently
(36-264)called to lively recollection, both by
(36-264)expression and action, whose daughter she was.
(36-264) In a word, the almost absolute authority of the
(36-264)House of Tudor may be understood from the single
(36-264)circumstance, that although religion is the point on
(36-264)which men do, and ought to think their individual
(36-264)feelings and sentiments particularly at liberty, yet,
(36-264)at the arbitrary will of the sovereign, the Church
(36-264)of England was disjoined from that of Rome by
(36-264)Henry the Eighth, was restored to the Roman
(36-264)Catholic faith by Queen Mary, and again declared
(36-264)Protestant by Elizabeth; and on each occasion
(36-264)the change was effected without any commotion or
(36-264)resistance, beyond such temporary tumults as were
(36-264)soon put down by the power of the Crown.
(36-264) Thus, on succeeding to the English throne,

[TG36-265, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 36, p. 265]

(36-265)James found himself at the head of a nobility who
(36-265)had lost both the habit and power of contesting
(36-265)the pleasure of the sovereign, and of a wealthy
(36-265)body of commons, who, satisfied with being liberated
(36-265)from the power of the aristocracy, were little
(36-265)disposed to resist the exaction of the Crown.
(36-265) His ancient kingdom of Scotland was in a
(36-265)directly different situation. The feudal nobility had
(36-265)retained their territorial jurisdictions, and their
(36-265)signorial privileges, in as full extent as their ancestors

(36-265)had possessed them, and therefore had at once the
(36-265)power and the inclination to resist the arbitrary
(36-265)will of the sovereign, as James himself had felt
(36-265)on more occasions than one. Thus, though the
(36-265)body of the Scottish people had not the same
(36-265)protection from just and equal laws, as was the happy
(36-265)lot of the inhabitants of England, and were much
(36-265)less wealthy and independent, yet the spirit of the
(36-265)constitution possessed all the freedom which was
(36-265)inherent in the ancient feudal institutions, and it
(36-265)was impossible for the monarch of Scotland so
(36-265)to influence the parliament of the country, as to
(36-265)accomplish any considerable encroachment on the
(36-265)privileges of the nation.

(36-265) It was therefore obvious, that besides the numerous
(36-265)reasons of a public nature for uniting South
(36-265)and North Britain under a similar system of
(36-265)government, James saw a strong personal interest for
(36-265)reducing the turbulent nobles and people of Scotland
(36-265)to the same submissive and quiet state in
(36-265)which he found England, but in which it was not
(36-265)his good fortune to leave it. With this view he

[TG36-266, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 36, p. 266]

(36-266)proposed, that the Legislature of each nation should
(36-266)appoint Commissioners, to consider of the terms
(36-266)on which it might be possible to unite both under
(36-266)the same constitution. With some difficulty on
(36-266)both sides, the Parliament of England was
(36-266)prevailed on to name forty-four Commissioners, while
(36-266)the Scottish Parliament appointed thirty-six, to
(36-266)consider this important subject.

(36-266) The very first conferences showed how impossible
(36-266)it was to accomplish the desired object, until
(36-266)time should have removed or softened those prejudices,

(36-266)which had existed during the long state of
(36-266)separation and hostility betwixt the two nations.
(36-266)The English Commissioners demanded, as a
(36-266)preliminary stipulation, that the whole system of
(36-266)English law should be at once extended to Scotland.
(36-266)The Scots rejected the proposal with disdain, justly
(36-266)alleging, that nothing less than absolute
(36-266)conquest by force of arms could authorize the subjection
(36-266)of an independent nation to the customs and
(36-266)laws of a foreign country. The treaty, therefore,
(36-266)was in a great degree shipwrecked at the very
(36-266)commencement -- the proposal for the union was suffered
(36-266)to fall asleep, and the King only reaped from
(36-266)his attempt the disadvantage of having excited the
(36-266)suspicious and fears of the Scottish lawyers, who
(36-266)had been threatened with the total destruction of
(36-266)their national system of Jurisprudence. This
(36-266)impression was the deeper, as the profession of the
(36-266)law, which must be influential in every government,
(36-266)was particularly so in Scotland, it being

[TG36-267, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 36, p. 267]

(36-267)chiefly practised in that kingdom by the sons of
(36-267)the higher class of gentry.
(36-267) Though in a great measure disappointed in his
(36-267)efforts for effecting a general union and
(36-267)correspondence of laws between the two nation, James
(36-267)remained extremely desirous to obtain at least an
(36-267)ecclesiastical conformity of opinion, by bringing
(36-267)the form and constitution of the Scottish Church
(36-267)as near as possible to that England. What he
(36-267)attempted and accomplished in this respect,
(36-267)constitutes an important part of the history of his
(36-267)reign, and gave occasion to some of the most
(36-267)remarkable and calamitous events in that of his

(36-267)successor.

(36-267) I must remind you, my dear child, that the
(36-267)Reformation was effected by very different agency in
(36-267)England, from the causes which produced a similar
(36-267)change in Scotland. The new plans of church
(36-267)government adopted in the two nations did not in
(36-267)the least resemble each other, although the
(36-267)doctrines which they teach are so nearly alike, that
(36-267)little distinction can be traced, save what is of a
(36-267)very subtle and metaphysical character. But the
(36-267)outward forms of the two churches are totally
(36-267)different.

(36-267) You must remember that the Reformation of the
(36-267)Church of England was originally brought about
(36-267)by Henry VIII, whose principal object was to
(36-267)destroy the dependence of the clergy upon the
(36-267)Pope, and transfer to himself, whom he declared
(36-267)head of the Church in his own regal right, all the
(36-267)authority and influence which had formerly been

[TG36-268, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 36, p. 268]

(36-268)enjoyed by the Papal See. When, therefore,
(36-268)Henry had destroyed the monastic establishments,
(36-268)and confiscated their possessions, and had reformed
(36-268)such doctrines of the church as he judged to
(36-268)require amendment, it became his object to preserve
(36-268)the general constitution and hierarchy, that is the
(36-268)gradation of superior and inferior clergy, by whom
(36-268)her functions were administered. The chief
(36-268)difference therefore was, that the patronage exercised
(36-268)by the Pope was, in a great measure, transferred
(36-268)to the Crown, and distributed by the hands of the
(36-268)King himself, to whom, therefore, the inferior
(36-268)clergy must naturally be attached by hope of
(36-268)preferment, and the superior orders by gratitude for

(36-268)past favours, and the expectation of farther
(36-268)advancement. The order of bishops, in particular,
(36-268)raised to that rank by the crown, and enjoying
(36-268)seats in the House of Lords, must be supposed, on
(36-268)most occasions, willing to espouse the cause, and
(36-268)forward the views of the King, in such debates as
(36-268)might occur in the assembly.

(36-268) The Reformation in Scotland had taken place
(36-268)by a sudden popular impulse, and the form of
(36-268)church government adopted by Knox, and the other
(36-268)preachers under whose influence it had been
(36-268)accomplished, was studiously rendered as different
(36-268)as possible from the Roman hierarchy. The Presbyterian
(36-268)system, as I said in a former chapter, was
(36-268)upon the model of the purest republican simplicity;
(36-268)the brethren who served the altar claimed and
(36-268)allowed of no superiority of ranks, and of no influence
(36-268)but what individuals might attach to themselves

[TG36-269, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 36, p. 269]

(36-269)by superior worth or superior talent. The
(36-269)representatives who formed their church courts,
(36-269)were selected by plurality of votes, and no other
(36-269)Head of the church, visible or invisible, was
(36-269)acknowledged, save the blessed Founder of the
(36-269)Christian Religion, in whose name the church
(36-269)courts of Scotland were and still are convoked and
(36-269)dismissed.

(36-269) Over a body so constituted, the King could have
(36-269)little influence or power; nor did James acquire
(36-269)any by his personal conduct. It was, indeed, partly
(36-269)by the influence of the clergy that he had been in
(36-269)infancy placed upon the throne; but, as their
(36-269)conduct in this was regarded by James, in his secret
(36-269)soul, as an act of rebellion against his mother's

(36-269)authority, he gave the Kirk of Scotland little thanks
(36-269)for what they had done. It must be owned the
(36-269)preachers made no attempt to conciliate his favour;
(36-269)for, although they had no legal call to speak their
(36-269)sentiments upon public and political affairs, they
(36-269)yet entered into them without ceremony, whenever
(36-269)they could show that the interest of the church
(36-269)gave a specious apology for interference. The
(36-269)Scottish pulpits rang with invectives against the
(36-269)King's ministers, and sometimes against the King
(36-269)himself; and the more hot-headed among the clergy
(36-269)were disposed not only to thwart James's inclinations,
(36-269)and put the worst construction upon his
(36-269)intentions, but even publicly to insult him in their
(36-269)sermons, and favour the insurrections attempted by
(36-269)Stewart Earl of Bothwell, and others, against his
(36-269)authority. They often entertained him with violent

[TG36-270, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 36, p. 270]

(36-270)invectives against his mother's memory; and
(36-270)it is said, that on one occasion, when the King,
(36-270)losing patience, commanded one of these zealots
(36-270)either to speak sense or come down from the pulpit,
(36-270)the preacher replied to this request, which one
(36-270)would have thought a very reasonable one, "I tell
(36-270)thee, man, I will neither speak sense nor come
(36-270)down."
(36-270) James did not see that these acts of petulance
(36-270)and contumacy arose, in a great measure, from the
(36-270)suspicious which the Scottish clergy justly entertained
(36-270)of his desiring to innovate upon the Presbyterian
(36-270)model; and hastily concluded, that their
(36-270)refractory conduct, which was the result of mutual
(36-270)jealousies, was essential to the character of the
(36-270)peculiar form of church government, and that the

(36-270)spirit of Presbytery was in itself inimical to a
(36-270)monarchical establishment.

[TG36-271, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 36, p. 271]

(36-271) As soon, therefore, as the King obtained the
(36-271)high increase of power which arose from his accession
(36-271)to the English throne, he set himself gradually
(36-271)to new-model the Scottish Church, so as to bring
(36-271)it nearer to that England, and to obtain for the
(36-271)crown some preponderating influence in its councils.
(36-271)But the suspicions of the Presbyterian clergy
(36-271)were constantly alive to their sovereign's intentions.
(36-271)It was in vain he endeavoured to avail himself of
(36-271)the institution of an order of man called Superintendents,
(36-271)to whom the Book of Discipline, drawn up
(36-271)by Knox himself, had assigned a sort of presidency
(36-271)in certain cases, with power of inspecting the merits
(36-271)of the clergy. By re-establishing superior offices
(36-271)among the clergy, James endeavoured to introduce
(36-271)a sort of permanent presidents into the several
(36-271)presbyteries. But the ministers clearly saw his
(36-271)ultimate object. "Busk (dress), busk him as
(36-271)bonnily as you can," cried Mr John Davidson, "bring
(36-271)him in as fairly as you will, we see the horns of his
(36-271)mitre weel enough;" and the horns of the mitre
(36-271)were, to their apprehension, as odious as the horns
(36-271)of the Pope's tiara, or those of Satan himself. At
(36-271)last the King ventured on a decisive stroke. He
(36-271)named thirteen bishops, and obtained the consent
(36-271)of Parliament for restoring them to the small
(36-271)remains of their dilapidated bishoprics. The other
(36-271)bishoprics, seventeen in number, were converted
(36-271)into temporal lordships.
(36-271) It cannot be denied that leaders of the
(36-271)Presbyterian clergy showed the utmost skill and

(36-271)courage in the defence of the immunities of their

[TG36-272, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 36, p. 272]

(36-272)church. They were endeared to the people by the
(36-272)purity of their lives, by the depth of learning
(36-272)possessed by some, and the powerful talents
(36-272)exhibited by others; above all, perhaps, by the
(36-272)willingness with which they submitted to deprivation
(36-272)of office, accompanied by poverty, penalties, and
(36-272)banishment, rather than betray the cause which
(36-272)they considered as sacred. The King had in 1605
(36-272)openly asserted his right to call and to dissolve the
(36-272)General Assemblies of the Church. Several of the
(36-272)clergy, however, in contempt of the monarch,
(36-272)summoned and attended a General Assembly at
(36-272)Aberdeen independent of his authority. This
(36-272)opportunity was taken to chastise the refractory
(36-272)clergymen. Five of their number were punished
(36-272)with banishment. In 1606, the two celebrated
(36-272)preachers named Melville were summoned before
(36-272)the Council, and upbraided by the King with their
(36-272)resistance to his will. They defended themselves
(36-272)with courage, and claimed the right of being tried
(36-272)by the laws of Scotland, a free kingdom, having
(36-272)laws and privileges of its own. But the elder
(36-272)Melville furnished a handle against them by his
(36-272)own imprudence.

(36-272) In a debate before the Privy Council, concerning
(36-272)a Latin copy of verses, which Andrew Melville
(36-272)had written in derision of the ceremonies of the
(36-272)Church of England, the old man gave way to

[TG36-273, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 36, p. 273]

(36-273)indecent violence, seized the Archbishop of

(36-273)Canterbury by the lawn sleeves, which he shook, calling
(36-273)them Romish rags, and charged the prelate as
(36-273)breaker of the Sabbath, the maintainer of an
(36-273)anti-christian hierarchy, the persecutor of true
(36-273)preachers, the enemy of reformed churches, and
(36-273)proclaimed himself his mortal enemy to the last
(36-273)drop of his blood. This indiscretion and violence
(36-273)afforded a pretext for committing the hot old
(36-273)Presbyterian divine to the Tower; and he was
(36-273)afterwards exiled, and died at Sedan. The younger
(36-273)Melville was confined to Berwick, several other
(36-273)clergymen were banished from their parishes to
(36-273)remote parts, and the Kirk of Scotland was for the
(36-273)time reduced to reluctant submission to the King's
(36-273)will. Thus the order of bishops was once more
(36-273)introduced into the Scottish Church.
(36-273) James's projects of innovation were not entirely
(36-273)accomplished by the introduction of prelacy. The
(36-273)Church of England, at the Reformation, had

[TG36-274, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 36, p. 274]

(36-274)retained some particular rites in observance, which
(36-274)had decency at least to recommend them, but
(36-274)which the headlong opposition of the Presbyterians
(36-274)to every thing approaching to the Popish ritual
(36-274)induced them to reject with horror. Five of these
(36-274)were introduced in Scotland, by an enactment
(36-274)passed by a parliament held at Perth [1618], and
(36-274)thence distinguished as the Five Articles of Perth.
(36-274)In modern times, when the mere ceremonial part
(36-274)of divine worship is supposed to be of little
(36-274)consequence, compared with the temper and spirit in
(36-274)which we approach the Deity, the Five Articles of
(36-274)Perth seem to involve matters which might be
(36-274)dispensed or complied with, without being considered

(36-274)as essential to salvation. They were as follows: --
(36-274)I. It was ordained that the communion should be
(36-274)received in a kneeling posture, and not sitting, as
(36-274)hitherto practised in the Scottish churches. II.
(36-274)That, in extreme cases, the communion might be
(36-274)administered in private. III. That baptism also
(36-274)might, when necessary, be administered in private.
(36-274)IV. That youth, as they grew up, should be
(36-274)confirmed, as it is termed, by the bishop; being a
(36-274)kind of personal avowal of the engagements entered
(36-274)into by godfathers and godmothers at the time of
(36-274)baptism. V. That four days, distinguished by
(36-274)events of the utmost importance to the Christian
(36-274)religion, should be observed as holidays. These
(36-274)were -- Christmas, on which day our Saviour was
(36-274)born; Good Friday, when he suffered death;
(36-274)Easter, when he arose from the dead; and
(36-274)Pentecost, when the Holy spirit descended on the
(36-274)apostles.

[TG36-275, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 36, p. 275]

(36-275) But, notwithstanding the moderate character of
(36-275)these innovations, the utmost difficulty was found
(36-275)in persuading even those of the Scottish clergy
(36-275)who were most favourable to the King to receive
(36-275)them into the church, and they only did so on the
(36-275)assurance that they should not be required to adopt
(36-275)any additional changes. The main body of the
(36-275)churchmen, though terrified into sullen acquiescence,
(36-275)were unanimous in opinion that the new
(36-275)regulations indicated a manifest return towards
(36-275)Popery. The common people held the same opinion;
(36-275)and a thunder-storm, of unusual violence, which
(36-275)took place at the time the Parliament was sitting
(36-275)in debate upon the adoption of these obnoxious

(36-275)articles, was considered as a declaration of the wrath
(36-275)of Heaven against those, who were again introducing
(36-275)the rites and festivals of the Roman Church
(36-275)into the pure and reformed Kirk of Scotland. In
(36-275)short, this attempt to infuse into the Presbyterian
(36-275)model something of the principles of a moderate
(36-275)prelacy, and to bring it, in a few particulars, into
(36-275)conformity with that of the sister kingdom, was
(36-275)generally unacceptable to the church and to the
(36-275)nation; and it will be hereafter shown, that an
(36-275)endeavour to extend and heighten the edifice which
(36-275)his father had commenced, led the way to those acts
(36-275)of violence which cost Charles I his throne and
(36-275)life.

[TG37-277, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 37, p. 277]

(37-277) We are next to examine the effect which
(37-277)James's accession to the throne of England had
(37-277)upon those lawless parts of his kingdom, the
(37-277)Borders and the Highlands, as well as on the more
(37-277)civilized provinces of Scotland -- of which I shall
(37-277)take notice in their order.

(37-277) The consequences of the union of the crowns
(37-277)were more immediately felt on the Borders, which,
(37-277)from being the extremity of both countries, were
(37-277)now converted into the centre of the kingdom.
(37-277)But it was not easy to see, how the restless and
(37-277)violent inhabitants, who had been for so many
(37-277)centuries accustomed to a lawless and military life,
(37-277)were to conduct themselves, when the general

[TG37-278, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 37, p. 278]

(37-278)peace around left them no enemies either to fight
(37-278)with or plunder.

(37-278) These Borderers were, as I have elsewhere told
(37-278)you, divided into families, or clans, who followed a
(37-278)leader supposed to be descended from the original
(37-278)father of the tribe. They lived in a great measure
(37-278)by the rapine which they exercised indiscriminately
(37-278)on the English, or their own countrymen, the
(37-278)inhabitants of the more inland districts, or by the
(37-278)or by the
(37-278)protection-money which they exacted for leaving
(37-278)them undisturbed. This kind of plundering was
(37-278)esteemed by them in the highest degree honourable
(37-278)and praiseworthy; and the following, as well as
(37-278)many other curious stories, is an example of
(37-278)this: --

(37-278) A young gentleman, of a distinguished family
(37-278)belonging to one of these Border tribes, or clans,
(37-278)made, either from the desire of plunder, or from
(37-278)revenge, a raid, or incursion, upon the lands of
(37-278)Sir Gideon Murray of Elibank, afterwards deputy-
(37-278)treasurer of Scotland, and a great favourite of
(37-278)James VI. The Laird of Elibank, having got his
(37-278)people under arms, engaged the invaders, and,
(37-278)encountering them when they were encumbered
(37-278)with spoil defeated them, and made the leader
(37-278)of the band prisoner. He was brought to the

[TG37-279, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 37, p. 279]

(37-279)castle of his conqueror, when the lady enquired
(37-279)of her victorious husband, "what he intended
(37-279)to do with his captive?" --"I design," said the
(37-279)fierce baron, "to hang him instantly, dame, as a
(37-279)man taken red-hand in the act of robbery and
(37-279)violence." -- "That is not like your wisdom, Sir
(37-279)Gideon," answered his more considerate lady. "If
(37-279)you put to death this young gentleman, you will

(37-279)enter into deadly feud with his numerous and
(37-279)powerful clan. You must therefore do a wiser
(37-279)thing, and, instead of hanging him, we will cause
(37-279)him to marry our youngest daughter, Meg with
(37-279)the meikle mouth, without any tocher"(that is,
(37-279)without any portion). The laird joyfully
(37-279)consented; for this Meg with the large mouth was so
(37-279)ugly, that there was very little chance of her
(37-279)getting a husband in any other circumstances; and,
(37-279)in fact, when the alternative of such a marriage, or
(37-279)death by the gallows, was proposed to the poor
(37-279)prisoner, he was for some time disposed to choose
(37-279)the latter; nor was it without difficulty that he
(37-279)could be persuaded to save his life at the expense
(37-279)of marrying Meg Murray. He did so at last,
(37-279)however; and it is said, that Meg, thus forced
(37-279)upon him, made an excellent and affectionate wife;
(37-279)but the unusual size of mouth was supposed to
(37-279)remain discernible tin their descendants for several
(37-279)generations. I mention this anecdote, because it

[TG37-280, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 37, p. 280]

(37-280)occurred during James the Sixth's reign, and shows,
(37-280)in a striking manner, how little the Borderers had
(37-280)improved in their sense of morality, or distinctions
(37-280)between right and wrong.

(37-280) A more important, but not more characteristic
(37-280)event, which happened no long afterwards, shows,
(37-280)in its progress, the utter lawlessness and contempt
(37-280)of legal authority which prevailed on the Borders
(37-280)in the commencement of this reign, and, in its
(37-280)conclusion, the increased power of the monarch
(37-280)after the Union of the Crowns.

(37-280) There had been long and deadly feud, on the
(37-280)West Borders, betwixt the two great families of

(37-280)Maxwell and Johnstone. The former house was
(37-280)the most wealthy and powerful family in Dumfriesshire
(37-280)and its vicinity, and had great influence
(37-280)among the families inhabiting the more level part
(37-280)of that county. Their chieftain had the title of
(37-280)Lord Maxwell, and claimed that of Earl of Morton.
(37-280)The Johnstones, on the other hand, were

[TG37-281, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 37, p. 281]

(37-281)neither equal to the Maxwells in numbers nor in
(37-281)power; but they were a race of uncommon hardihood,
(37-281)much attached to each other and their chieftain,
(37-281)and who, residing in the strong and mountainous
(37-281)district of Annandale, used to sally from thence
(37-281)as from a fortress, and return to its fastnesses after
(37-281)having accomplished their inroads. They were,
(37-281)therefore, able to maintain their ground against
(37-281)the Maxwells, though more numerous than
(37-281)themselves.

(37-281) So well was this known to be the case, that when,
(37-281)in 1585, the Lord Maxwell was declared to be a
(37-281)rebel, a commission was given to the Laird of
(37-281)Johnstone to pursue and apprehend him. In this,
(37-281)however, Johnstone was unsuccessful. Two bands
(37-281)of hired soldiers, whom the Government had sent
(37-281)to his assistance, were destroyed by the Maxwells;
(37-281)and Lochwood, the chief house of the laird, was
(37-281)taken and wantonly burnt, in order, as the
(37-281)Maxwells expressed it, that Lady Johnstone might
(37-281)have light to put on her hood. Johnstone himself
(37-281)was subsequently defeated and made prisoner.
(37-281)Being a man of a proud and haughty temper, he
(37-281)is said to have died of grief at the disgrace which
(37-281)he incurred; and thus there commenced a long
(37-281)series of mutual injuries between the hostile clans.

(37-281) Shortly after this catastrophe, Maxwell, being
(37-281)restored to the King's favour, was once more placed
(37-281)in the situation of Warden of the West Borders,
(37-281)and an alliance was made betwixt him and Sir
(37-281)James Johnstone, in which they and their two clans
(37-281)agreed to stand by each other against all the world.

[TG37-282, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 37, p. 282]

(37-282)This agreement being entered into, the clan of
(37-282)Johnstone concluded they had little to apprehend
(37-282)from the justice of the new Lord Warden, so long
(37-282)as they did not plunder any of the name of Maxwell.
(37-282)They accordingly descended into the valley of the
(37-282)Nith, and committed great spoil on the lands
(37-282)belonging to Douglas of Drumlanrig, Creichton Lord
(37-282)Sanquhar, Grierson of Lagg, and Kirkpatrick of
(37-282)Closeburn, all of them independent barons of high
(37-282)birth and great power. The injured parties
(37-282)pursued the depredators with forces hastily assembled,
(37-282)but were defeated with slaughter in their attempt
(37-282)to recover the prey. The despoiled and injured
(37-282)barons next carried their complaints to Maxwell
(37-282)the warden, who alleged his late alliance with
(37-282)Johnstone as a reason why he could not yield them
(37-282)the redress which his office entitled them to expect
(37-282)at his hands. But when, to make up for such risk
(37-282)as he might incur by renewing his enmity with the
(37-282)Johnstones, the barons of Nithsdale offered to
(37-282)bind themselves by a bond of manrent, as it was
(37-282)called, to become the favourers and followers of
(37-282)Lord Maxwell in all his quarrels, excepting against
(37-282)the King, the temptation became too strong to be
(37-282)overcome, and the ambitious warden resolved to
(37-282)sacrifice his newly formed friendship with Johnstone
(37-282)to the desire of extending his authority over so

(37-282)powerful a confederacy.

(37-282) The secret of this association did not long
(37-282)remain concealed from Johnstone, who saw that his
(37-282)own destruction and the ruin of his clan were the
(37-282)objects aimed at, and hastened to apply to his

[TG37-283, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 37, p. 283]

(37-283)neighbours in the east and south for assistance.

(37-283)Buccleuch, the relative of Johnstone, and by far
(37-283)his most powerful ally, was then in foreign parts.
(37-283)But the Laird of Elibank, mentioned in the last
(37-283)story, bore the banner of Buccleuch in person, and
(37-283)assembled five hundred men of the clan of Scott,
(37-283)whom our historians term the greatest robbers and
(37-283)fiercest fighters among the Border clans. The
(37-283)Elliot of Liddesdale also assisted Johnstone; and
(37-283)his neighbours on the southern parts, the Grahams
(37-283)of the Debateable Land, from hopes of plunder and
(37-283)ancient enmity to the Maxwells, sent also a
(37-283)considerable number of spears.

(37-283) Thus prepared for war, Johnstone took the field
(37-283)with activity, while Maxwell, on the other part,
(37-283)hastily assembling his own forces, and those of his
(37-283)new followers, the Nithsdale barons, Drumlanrig,
(37-283)Lagg, Closeburn, the Creichtons, and others,
(37-283)invaded Annandale with the royal banner displayed,
(37-283)and a force of upwards of two thousand men.
(37-283)Johnstone, unequal in numbers, stood on the defensive,
(37-283)and kept possession of the woods and strong
(37-283)ground; waiting an opportunity of fighting to
(37-283)advantage; while Maxwell, in contempt of him,
(37-283)formed the siege of the castle or tower of Lockerby,
(37-283)the fortress of a Johnstone, who was then in
(37-283)arms with his chief. His wife, a woman of a
(37-283)masculine disposition, the sister or daughter of the

(37-283)laird who had died in Maxwell's prison, defended
(37-283)his place of residence. While Maxwell
(37-283)endeavoured to storm the castle, and while it was bravely
(37-283)defended by its female captain, the chief received

[TG37-284, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 37, p. 284]

(37-284)information that the Laird of Johnstone was
(37-284)advancing to its relief. He drew off from the siege,
(37-284)marched towards his feudal enemy, and caused it
(37-284)to be published through his little army that he
(37-284)would give a "ten-pound land," that is, land rated
(37-284)in the cess-books at that yearly amount, "to any
(37-284)one who would bring him the head or hand of the
(37-284)Laird of Johnstone." When this was reported to
(37-284)Johnstone, he said he had not ten-pound lands to
(37-284)offer, but that he would bestow a five-merk land
(37-284)upon the man who should bring him the head or
(37-284)hand of Lord Maxwell.

(37-284) The conflict took place close by the river Dryfe
(37-284)near Lochmaber, and is called the Battle of Dryfe
(37-284)Sands. It was managed by Johnstone with
(37-284)considerable military skill. He showed at first only a
(37-284)handful of horsemen, who made a hasty attack upon

[TG37-285, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 37, p. 285]

(37-285)Maxwell's army, and then retired in a manner which
(37-285)induced the enemy to consider them as defeated,
(37-285)and led them to pursue in disorder with loud
(37-285)acclamations of victory. The Maxwells and their
(37-285)confederates were thus exposed to a sudden and
(37-285)desperate charge from the main body of the
(37-285)Johnstones and their allies, who fell upon them while
(37-285)their ranks were broken, and compelled them to
(37-285)take to flight. The Maxwells and the confederated

(37-285)barons suffered grievously in the retreat --
(37-285)many were overtaken in the streets of Lockerby,
(37-285)and cut down or slashed in the face by the
(37-285)pursuers; and kind of blow, which to this day is called
(37-285)in that country a "Lockerby lick."
(37-285) Maxwell himself, an elderly man and heavily
(37-285)armed, was borne down from his horse in the
(37-285)beginning of the conflict; and, as he named his name
(37-285)and offered to surrender, his right hand, which he
(37-285)stretched out for mercy, was cut from his body.
(37-285)Thus far history; but family tradition adds the
(37-285)following circumstance: The Lady of Lockerby,
(37-285)who was besieged in her tower as already
(37-285)mentioned, had witnessed from the battlements the
(37-285)approach of the Laird of Johnstone, and as soon as
(37-285)the enemy withdrew from the blockade of the
(37-285)fortress, had sent to the assistance of her chief the
(37-285)few servants who had assisted in the defence.
(37-285)After this she heard the tumult of battle, but as
(37-285)she could not from the tower see the place where
(37-285)it was fought, she remained in an agony of
(37-285)suspense, until, as the noise seemed to pass away in

[TG37-286, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 37, p. 286]

(37-286)a westerly direction, she could endure the uncertainty
(37-286)no longer, but sallied out from the tower,
(37-286)with only one female attendant, to see how the
(37-286)day had gone. As a measure of precaution, she
(37-286)locked the strong oaken door and the iron-grate
(37-286)with which a Border fortress was commonly secured,
(37-286)and knitting the large keys on a thong, took
(37-286)them with her, hanging on her arm.
(37-286) When the Lady of Lockerby entered on the
(37-286)field of battle, she found all the relics of a bloody
(37-286)fight; the little valley was covered with slain men

(37-286)and horses, and broken armour, besides many
(37-286)wounded, who were incapable of further effort for
(37-286)saving themselves. Amongst others, she saw lying
(37-286)beneath a thorn-tree a tall, grey-haired, noble-
(37-286)looking man, arrayed in bright armour, but bare-
(37-286)headed, and bleeding to death from the loss of his
(37-286)right hand. He asked her for mercy and help
(37-286)with a faltering voice; but the idea of deadly feud
(37-286)in that time and country closed all access to
(37-286)compassion even in the female bosom. She saw before
(37-286)her on the enemy of her clan, and the cause of
(37-286)her father's captivity and death; and raising the
(37-286)ponderous keys which she bore along with her, the
(37-286)Lady of Lockerby is commonly reported to have
(37-286)dashed out the brains of the vanquished Lord
(37-286)Maxwell.

(37-286) The battle of Dryfe Sands was remarkable as
(37-286)the last great clan battle fought on the Borders,
(37-286)and it led to the renewal of the strife betwixt the
(37-286)Maxwells and Johnstones, with every circumstance

[TG37-287, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 37, p. 287]

(37-287)of ferocity which could add horror to civil war.
(37-287)The last distinguished act of the tragedy took
(37-287)place thus: --
(37-287) The son of the slain Lord Maxwell invited Sir
(37-287)James Johnstone to a friendly conference, to which
(37-287)each chieftain engaged to bring one friend only.
(37-287)They met at a place called Auchmanhill, on the
(37-287)6th August, 1608, when the attendant of Lord
(37-287)Maxwell, after falling into bitter and reproachful
(37-287)language with Johnstone of Gunmanlie, who was
(37-287)in attendance on his chief, at length fired his pistol.
(37-287)Sir James Johnstone turning round to see what
(37-287)had happened, Lord Maxwell treacherously shot

(37-287)him through the back with a pistol charged with
(37-287)a brace of poisoned bullets. While the gallant old
(37-287)knight lay dying on the ground, Maxwell rode
(37-287)round him with the view of completing his crime,
(37-287)but Johnstone defended himself with his sword till
(37-287)strength and life failed him.
(37-287) This final catastrophe of such a succession of
(37-287)bloody acts of revenge, took place several years
(37-287)after the union of the crowns, and the consequences,
(37-287)so different from those which ensued on former
(37-287)occasions, show how effectually the King's authority,
(37-287)and the power of enforcing the course of equal
(37-287)justice, had increased in consequence of that
(37-287)desirable event. You may observe, from the incidents
(37-287)mentioned, that in 1585, when Lord Maxwell
(37-287)assaulted and made prisoner the Laird of Johnstone,
(37-287)then the King's warden, and acting in his
(37-287)name, and committed him to the captivity in which
(37-287)he died, James was totally unequal to the task of

[TG37-288, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 37, p. 288]

(37-288)vindicating his royal authority, and saw himself
(37-288)compelled to receive Maxwell into favour and
(37-288)trusts, as if he had done nothing contrary to the
(37-288)laws. Nor was the royal authority more effectual
(37-288)in 1593, when Maxwell, acting as royal warden,
(37-288)and having the King's banner displayed, was in
(37-288)his turn defeated and slain, in so melancholy and
(37-288)cruel a manner, at Dryfe Sands. On the contrary,
(37-288)Sir James Johnstone was not only pardoned, but
(37-288)restored to favour and trust by the King. But
(37-288)there was a conspicuous difference in the
(37-288)consequences of the murder which took place at
(37-288)Auchmanhill in 1608. Lord Maxwell, finding no refuge
(37-288)in the Border country, was obliged to escape to

(37-288)France, where he resided for two or three years;
(37-288)but afterwards venturing to return to Scotland, he
(37-288)was apprehended in the wilds of Caithness, and
(37-288)brought to trial at Edinburgh. James, desirous on
(37-288)this occasion to strike terror, by a salutary warning,
(37-288)into the factious nobility and disorderly Borderers,
(37-288)caused the criminal to be publicly beheaded on 21st
(37-288)May, 1613.

(37-288) Many instances might be added to show that
(37-288)the course of justice on the Border began, after the
(37-288)accession of James to the English throne, to flow

[TG37-289, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 37, p. 289]

(37-289)with a less interrupted stream, even where men of
(37-289)rank and power were concerned.

(37-289) The inferior class of freebooters was treated
(37-289)with much less ceremony. Proclamations were
(37-289)made, that none of the inhabitants of either side of
(37-289)the Border (except noblemen and gentlemen of
(37-289)unsuspected character) should retain in their
(37-289)possession armour or weapons, offensive or defensive,
(37-289)or keep any horse above the value of fifty shillings.
(37-289)Particular clans, described as broken men, were
(37-289)especially forbid the use of weapons. The
(37-289)celebrated clan of Armstrong had, on the very night
(37-289)in which Queen Elizabeth's death became public,
(37-289)concluding that a time of such misrule as that in
(37-289)which they had hitherto made their harvest was
(37-289)again approaching, and desirous of losing no time,
(37-289)made a fierce incursion into England, extending
(37-289)their ravages as far as Penrith, and done much
(37-289)mischief. But such a consequence had been foreseen
(37-289)and provided against. A strong body of
(37-289)soldiers, both English and Scots, swept along the
(37-289)Border, and severely punished the marauders,

(37-289)blowing up their fortresses with gunpowder,
(37-289)destroying their lands, and driving away their cattle
(37-289)and flocks. Several of the principal leaders were
(37-289)taken and executed at Carlisle. The Armstrongs
(37-289)appear never to have recovered their consequence
(37-289)after this severe chastisement; nor are there many
(37-289)of this celebrated clan now to be found among the
(37-289)landholders of Liddesdale, where they once
(37-289)possessed the whole district.

[TG37-290, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 37, p. 290]

(37-290) The Grahams, long the inhabitants of the
(37-290)Debateable Land which was claimed both by England
(37-290)and Scotland, were still more severely dealt with.
(37-290)They were very brave and active Borderers
(37-290)attached to England, for which country, and particularly
(37-290)in Edward VI's time, they had often done
(37-290)good service. But they were also very lawless
(37-290)plunderers, and their incursions were as much
(37-290)dreaded by the inhabitants of Cumberland as by
(37-290)those of the Scottish frontier. Thus their conduct
(37-290)was equally the subject of complaint on both sides
(37-290)of the Border; and the poor Grahams, seeing no
(37-290)alternative, were compelled to sign a petition to the
(37-290)King, confessing themselves to be unfit persons to
(37-290) dwell in the country which they now inhabited, and
(37-290)praying that he would provide the means of transporting
(37-290)them elsewhere, where his paternal goodness
(37-290)should assign them the means of subsistence.
(37-290)The whole clan, a very few individuals excepted,
(37-290)were thus deprived of their lands and residences,
(37-290)and transported to the county of Ulster, in Ireland,
(37-290)where they were settled on lands which had been
(37-290)acquired from the conquered Irish. There is a list
(37-290)in existence, which shows the rate at which the

(37-290)county of Cumberland was taxed for the exportation
(37-290)of these poor Borderers, as if they had been
(37-290)so many bullocks.

[TG37-291, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 37, p. 291]

(37-291) Another efficient mode of getting rid of a
(37-291)warlike and disorderly population, who, though an
(37-291)admirable defence of a country in time of war, must
(37-291)have been great scourges in time of the profound
(37-291)peace to which the Border districts were consigned
(37-291)after the close of the English wars, was the levying
(37-291)a large body of soldiers to serve in foreign countries.
(37-291)The love of military adventure had already
(37-291)carried one legion of Scots to serve the Dutch in
(37-291)their defence against the Spaniards, and they had
(37-291)done great service in the Low Countries, and
(37-291)particularly at the battle of Mechline, in 1578; where,
(37-291)impatient of the head of the weather, to the
(37-291)astonishment of both friends and enemies, the Scottish
(37-291)auxiliaries flung off their upper garments, and
(37-291)fought like furies in their shirts. The circumstance
(37-291)is pointed out in the plan of the battle, which is to
(37-291)be found in Strada's history, with the explanation,
(37-291)"Here the Scots fought naked."
(37-291) Buccleuch levied a large additional force from
(37-291)the Border, whose occupation in their native country
(37-291)was gone for ever. These also distinguished
(37-291)themselves in the wars of the Low Countries. It
(37-291)may be supposed that very many of them perished

[TG37-292, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 37, p. 292]

(37-292)in the field, and the descendants of others still
(37-292)survive in the Netherlands and in Germany.
(37-292) In addition to the relief afforded by such an

(37-292)outlet for a superfluous military population, whose
(37-292)numbers greatly exceeded what the land could have
(37-292)supplied with food, and who, in fact, had only lived
(37-292)upon plunder, bonds were entered into by the men
(37-292)of substance and family on the Borders, not only
(37-292)obliging themselves to abstain from depredations,
(37-292)but to stand by each other in putting down and
(37-292)preventing such evil doings at the hand of others,
(37-292)and in making common cause against any clan,
(37-292)branch, or surname, who might take offence at any
(37-292)individual for acting in prosecution of this engagement.
(37-292)They engaged also to the King and to each
(37-292)other, not only to seize and deliver to justice such
(37-292)thieves as should take refuge in their grounds, but
(37-292)to discharge from their families or estates all persons,
(37-292)domestics, tenants, or others, who could be
(37-292)suspected of such offences, and to supply their place
(37-292)with honest and peaceable subjects. I am possessed
(37-292)of such a bond, dated in the year 1612, and
(37-292)subscribed by about twenty landholders, chiefly of the
(37-292)name of Scott.

(37-292) Finally, an unusually severe and keen prosecution
(37-292)of all who were convicted, accused, or even
(37-292)suspected, of offence against the peace of the
(37-292)Border, was set on foot by George Home, Earl of
(37-292)Dunbar, James's able but not very scrupulous
(37-292)minister; and these judicial measures were

[TG37-293, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 37, p. 293]

(37-293)conducted so severely as to give rise to the proverb of
(37-293)Jeddart (or Jedburgh) justice, by which it is said
(37-293)a criminal was hanged first and tried afterwards:
(37-293)the truth of which is affirmed by historians as a
(37-293)well-known fact, occurring in numerous instances.
(37-293) Cruel as these measures were, they tended to

(37-293)remedy a disease which seemed almost desperate.
(37-293)Rent, the very name of which had till that period
(37-293)scarcely been heard on the Border, began to be
(37-293)paid for property, and the proprietors of land turned
(37-293)their thoughts to rural industry, instead of the
(37-293)arts of predatory warfare. But it was more than
(37-293)a century ere the country, so long a harassed and
(37-293)disputed frontier, gained the undisturbed appearance
(37-293)of the civilized land.

(37-293) Before leaving the subject of the Borders, I
(37-293)ought to explain to you, that as the possession of
(37-293)the strong and important town of Berwick had been
(37-293)long and fiercely disputed between England and
(37-293)Scotland, and as the latter country had never
(37-293)surrendered or abandoned her claim to the place,
(37-293)though it had so long remained as English possession,
(37-293)James, to avoid giving offence to either nation,
(37-293)left the question undecided; and since the union
(37-293)of the Crown the city is never spoken of as part
(37-293)England or Scotland, but as the King's Good
(37-293)Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed; and when a law
(37-293)is made for North and South Britain, without
(37-293)special and distinct mention of this ancient town,
(37-293)that law is of no force or avail within its precincts.

[TG38-294, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 38, p. 294]

(38-294) The Highlands and Western Islands were in no
(38-294)respect so much affected by the union of the Crowns
(38-294)as the inhabitants of the Borders. The accession
(38-294)of James to the English throne was of little consequence
(38-294)to them, unless in so far as it rendered the
(38-294)King more powerful, and gave him the means of
(38-294)occasionally sending bodies of troops into their
(38-294)fortresses to compel them to order; and this was a
(38-294)measure of unusual rigour, which was but seldom

(38-294)resorted to.

(38-294) The Highland tribes, therefore, remained in the
(38-294)same state as before, using the same dress, wielding
(38-294)the same arms, divided into the same clans, each
(38-294)governed by its own patriarch, and living in all
(38-294)respects as their ancestors had lived for many
(38-294)centuries before them. Or if there were some marks
(38-294)of softened manners among those Gaelic tribes who
(38-294)resided on the mainland, the inhabitants of the

[TG38-295, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 38, p. 295]

(38-295)Hebrides or Western Isles, adjacent to the coast of
(38-295)Scotland, are described to us as utterly barbarous.
(38-295)A historian of the period says, "that the Highlanders
(38-295)who dwell on the mainland, though sufficiently
(38-295)wild, show some shade of civilisation; but those in
(38-295)the islands are without laws or morals, and totally
(38-295)destitute of religion and humanity." Some stories
(38-295)of their feuds are indeed preserved, which go far to
(38-295)support this general accusation. I will tell you
(38-295)one or two of them.

(38-295) The principal possessors of the Hebrides were
(38-295)originally of the name of MacDonald, the whole
(38-295)being under the government of a succession of chiefs,
(38-295)who bore the name of Donald of the Isles, as we
(38-295)have already mentioned, and were possessed of
(38-295)authority almost independent of the Kings of
(38-295)Scotland. But this great family becoming divided into
(38-295)two or three branches, other chiefs settled in some
(38-295)of the islands, and disputed the property of the
(38-295)original proprietors. Thus, the MacLeods, a powerful
(38-295)and numerous clan, who had extensive estates
(38-295)on the mainland, made themselves masters, at a
(38-295)very early period, of a great part of the large island
(38-295)of Skye, seized upon much of the Long Island, as

(38-295)the Isles of Lewis and Harris are called, and fought
(38-295)fiercely with the MacDonalds, and other tribes of
(38-295)the islands. The following is an example of the
(38-295)mode in which these feuds were conducted.

[TG38-296, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 38, p. 296]

(38-296) About the end of the sixteenth century, a boat,
(38-296)manned by one or two of the MacLeods, landed in
(38-296)Eigg, a small island, peopled by the MacDonalds.
(38-296)They were at first hospitably received but having
(38-296)been guilty of some incivility to the young women
(38-296)on the island, it was so much resented by the
(38-296)inhabitants, that they tied the MacLeods hand and
(38-296)foot, and putting them on board of their own boat,
(38-296)towed it to sea, and set it adrift, leaving the wretched
(38-296)man, bound as they were, to perish by famine,
(38-296)or by the winds and waves, as chance should
(38-296)determine. But fate so ordered it, that a boat
(38-296)belonging to the Laird of MacLeod fell in with that
(38-296)which had the captives on board, and brought them
(38-296)in safety to the laird's castle of Dunvegan in Skye,
(38-296)where they complained of the injury which they
(38-296)had sustained from the MacDonalds of Eigg.
(38-296)MacLeod, in a great rage, put to sea with his
(38-296)galleys, manned by a large body of his people, which
(38-296)the men of Eigg could not entertain any rational
(38-296)hope resisting. Learning that their incensed
(38-296)enemy was approaching with superior forces, and
(38-296)deep vows of revenge, the inhabitants, who knew
(38-296)they had no mercy to expect at MacLeod's hands,
(38-296)resolved, as the best change of safety in their power,
(38-296)to conceal themselves in a large cavern on the
(38-296)seashore.
(38-296) This place was particularly well calculated for
(38-296)that purpose. The entrance resembles that of a

(38-296)fox-earth, being an opening so small that a man
(38-296)cannot enter save by creeping on hands and knees.
(38-296)A rill of water falls from the top of the rock, and

[TG38-297, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 38, p. 297]

(38-297)serves, or rather served at the period we speak of,
(38-297)wholly to conceal the aperture. A stranger, even
(38-297)when apprized of the existence of such a cave,
(38-297)would find the greatest difficulty in discovering the
(38-297)entrance. Within, the cavern rises to a great height,
(38-297)and the floor is covered with white dray sand. It
(38-297)is extensive enough to contain a great number of
(38-297)people. The whole inhabitants of Eigg, who,
(38-297)with their wives and families, amounted to nearly
(38-297)two hundred souls, took refuge within its precincts.
(38-297) MacLeod arrive with his armament, and landed
(38-297)on the island, but could discover no one on whom
(38-297)to wreak his vengeance -- all was desert. The
(38-297)MacLeods destroyed the huts of the islanders,
(38-297)and plundered what property they could discover;
(38-297)but the vengeance of the chieftain could not be
(38-297)satisfied with such petty injuries. He knew that
(38-297)the inhabitants must either have fled in their boats
(38-297)to one of the islands possessed by the MacDonalds,
(38-297)or that they must be concealed somewhere in Eigg.
(38-297)After making a strict but unsuccessful search for
(38-297)two days, MacLeod had appointed the third to
(38-297)leave his anchorage, when, in the grey of the
(38-297)morning, one of the seamen beheld from the deck

[TG38-298, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 38, p. 298]

(38-298)of his galley the figure of a man on the island.
(38-298)This was a spy whom the MacDonalds, impatient
(38-298)of their confinement in the cavern, had imprudently

(38-298)sent out to see whether MacLeod had retired or
(38-298)no. The poor fellow, when he saw himself
(38-298)discovered, endeavoured, by doubling, after the manner
(38-298)of a hare or fox, to obliterate the track of his
(38-298)footsteps on the snow, and prevent its being
(38-298)discovered where he had re-entered the cavern. But
(38-298)all the arts he could use were fruitless, the
(38-298)invaders again landed, and tracked him to the entrance
(38-298)of the den.

(38-298) MacLeod then summoned those who were within
(38-298)it, and called upon them to deliver up the
(38-298)individuals who had maltreated his men, to be disposed
(38-298)of at his pleasure. The MacDonalds, still confident
(38-298)in the strength of their fastness, which no
(38-298)assailant could enter but on hands and knees,
(38-298)refused to surrender their clansmen.

(38-298) MacLeod next commenced a dreadful work of
(38-298)indiscriminate vengeance. He caused his people,
(38-298)by means of a ditch cut above the top of the rock,
(38-298)to turn away the stream of water which fell over
(38-298)the entrance of the cavern. This being done, the
(38-298)MacLeods collected all the combustibles which
(38-298)could be found on the island, particularly turf and
(38-298)quantities of dry heather, piled them up against
(38-298)the aperture, and maintained an immense fire for
(38-298)many hours, until the smoke, penetrating into the
(38-298)inmost recesses of the cavern, stifled to death
(38-298)every creature within. There is no doubt of the
(38-298)truth of this story, dreadful as it is. The cavern

[TG38-299, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 38, p. 299]

(38-299)is often visited by strangers; and I have myself
(38-299)seen the place where the bones of the murdered
(38-299)MacDonalds still remain, lying as thick on the
(38-299)floor of the cave as in the charnel-house of a

(38-299)church.

(38-299) The MacLeans, in like manner, a bold and hardy
(38-299)race, who, originally followers of the Lords of the
(38-299)Isles, had assumed independence, seized upon great
(38-299)part both of the isle of Mull and the still more
(38-299)valuable island of Ilay, and made war on the
(38-299)MacDonalds with various success. There is a story
(38-299)belonging to this clan, which I may tell you, as
(38-299)giving another striking picture of the manners of
(38-299)the Hebrideans.

(38-299) The chief of the clan, MacLean of Duart, in the
(38-299)isle of Mull, had an intrigue with a beautiful young
(38-299)woman of his own clan, who bore a son to him. In
(38-299)consequence of the child's being, by some accident,
(38-299)born on a heap of straw, he received the name of
(38-299)Allan-a-Sop, or Allan of the Straw, by which he
(38-299)was distinguished from others of his clan. As his
(38-299)father and mother were not married, Allan was of

[TG38-300, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 38, p. 300]

(38-300)course a bastard, or natural son, and had no
(38-300)inheritance to look for, save that which he might win
(38-300)for himself.

(38-300) But the beauty of the boy's mother having
(38-300)captivated a man of rank in the clan, called MacLean
(38-300)of Torloisk, he married her, and took her to reside
(38-300)with him at his castle of Torloisk, situated on the
(38-300)shores of the sound, or small strait of the sea,
(38-300)which divides the smaller island of Ulva from that
(38-300)of Mull. Allan-a-Sop paid his mother frequent
(38-300)visits at her new residence, and she was naturally
(38-300)glad to see the poor boy, both from affection, and
(38-300)on account of his personal strength and beauty,
(38-300)which distinguished him above other youths of his
(38-300)age. But she was obliged to confer marks of her

(38-300)attachment on him as privately as she could, for
(38-300)Allan's visits were by no means so acceptable to
(38-300)her husband as to herself. Indeed, Torloisk like
(38-300)so little to see the lad, that he determined to put
(38-300)some affront on him, which should prevent his
(38-300)returning to the castle for some time. An opportunity
(38-300)for executing his purpose soon occurred.

(38-300) The lady one morning, looking from the window,
(38-300)saw her son coming wandering down the hill,
(38-300)and hastened to put a girdle cake upon the fire,
(38-300)that he might have hot bread for breakfast.
(38-300)Something called her out of the apartment after making
(38-300)this preparation, and her husband, entering at the
(38-300)same time, saw at once what she had been about,
(38-300)and determined to give the boy such a reception as
(38-300)should disgust him for the future. He snatched
(38-300)the cake from the girdle, thrust it into his

[TG38-301, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 38, p. 301]

(38-301)step-son's hands, which he forcibly closed on the scalding
(38-301)bread, saying, "Here, Allan -- here is a cake which
(38-301)your mother has got ready for your breakfast."
(38-301)Allan's hands were severely burnt; and being a
(38-301)sharp-witted and proud boy, he resented this mark
(38-301)of his step-father's ill-will, and came not again to
(38-301)Torloisk.

(38-301) At this time the western seas were covered with
(38-301)the vessels of pirates, who, not unlike the Sea-Kings
(38-301)of Denmark at an early period, sometimes settled
(38-301)and made conquests on the islands. Allan-a-Sop was
(38-301)young, strong, and brave to desperation. He entered
(38-301)as a mariner on board of one of these ships, and in
(38-301)process of time obtained the command, first of one
(38-301)galley, then of a small flotilla, with which he sailed
(38-301)round the seas and collected considerable plunder,

(38-301)until his name became both feared and famous.
(38-301)At length he proposed to himself to pay a visit to
(38-301)his mother, whom he had not seen for many years;
(38-301)and setting sail for this purpose, he anchored one
(38-301)morning in the sound of Ulva, and in front of the
(38-301)house of Torloisk. His mother was dead, but his
(38-301)step-father, to whom he was now as much an
(38-301)object of fear as he had been formerly of aversion,
(38-301)hastened to the shore to receive his formidable
(38-301)step-son, with great affectation of kindness and
(38-301)interest in his prosperity; while Allan-a-Sop, who,
(38-301)though very rough and hasty, does not appear to
(38-301)have been sullen or vindictive, seemed to take his
(38-301)kind reception in good part.
(38-301) The crafty old man succeeded so well, as he
(38-301)thought, in securing Allan's friendship, and obliterating

[TG38-302, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 38, p. 302]

(38-302)all recollections of the former affront put on
(38-302)him, that he began to think it possible to employ
(38-302)his step-son in executing his own private revenge
(38-302)upon MacQuarrie of Ulva, with whom, as was
(38-302)usual between such neighbours, he had some feud.
(38-302)With this purpose, he offered what he called the
(38-302)following good advice to his son-in-law: "My
(38-302)dear Allan, you have now wandered over the seas
(38-302)long enough; it is time you should have some
(38-302)footing upon land, a castle to protect yourself in
(38-302)winter, a village and cattle for your men, and a
(38-302)harbour to lay up your galleys. Now, here is the
(38-302)island of Ulva, near at hand, which lies ready for
(38-302)your occupation, and it will cost you no trouble,
(38-302)save that of putting to death the present proprietor,
(38-302)the Laird of MacQuarrie, a useless old carle,
(38-302)who has cumbered the world long enough."

(38-302) Allan-a-Sop thanked his step-father for so happy
(38-302)a suggestion, which he declared he would put in
(38-302)execution forthwith. Accordingly, setting sail the
(38-302)next morning, he appeared before MacQuarrie's
(38-302)house an hour before noon. The old chief of
(38-302)Ulva was much alarmed at the menacing apparition
(38-302)of so many galleys, and his anxiety was not
(38-302)lessened by the news that they were commanded
(38-302)by the redoubted Allan-a-Sop. Having no effectual
(38-302)means of resistance, MacQuarrie, who was a
(38-302)man of shrewd sense, saw no alternative save that

[TG38-303, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 38, p. 303]

(38-303)of receiving the invaders, whatever might be their
(38-303)purpose, with all outward demonstrations of joy
(38-303)and satisfaction; the more especially as he recollected
(38-303)having taken some occasional notice of
(38-303)Allan during his early youth, which he now
(38-303)resolved to make the most of. Accordingly,
(38-303)MacQuarrie caused immediate preparations to be made
(38-303)for a banquet as splendid as circumstances admitted,
(38-303)hastened down to the shore to meet the rover,
(38-303)and welcomed him to Ulva with such a appearance
(38-303)of sincerity, that the pirate found it impossible
(38-303)to pick any quarrel, which might afford a
(38-303)pretence for executing the violent purpose which
(38-303)he had been led to meditate.

(38-303) They feasted together the whole day; and, in
(38-303)the evening, as Allan-a-Sop was about to retire to
(38-303)his ships, he thanked the laird for his hospitality,
(38-303)but remarked, with a sigh, that it had cost him
(38-303)very dear. "How can that be," said MacQuarrie,
(38-303)"when I bestowed this entertainment upon you in
(38-303)free good-will?" -- "It is true, my friend," replied
(38-303)the pirate, "but then it has quite disconcerted the

(38-303)purpose for which I came hither; which was to
(38-303)put you to death, my good friend, and seize upon
(38-303)your house and island, and so settle myself in the
(38-303)world. It would have been very convenient for
(38-303)me this island of Ulva; but your friendly reception
(38-303)has rendered it impossible for me to execute
(38-303)my purpose: so that I must be a wanderer on the
(38-303)seas for some time longer." Whatever MacQuarrie
(38-303)felt at learning he had been so near to destruction,
(38-303)he took care to show no emotion save surprise,

[TG38-304, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 38, p. 304]

(38-304)and replied to his visitor, -- "My dear Allan, who
(38-304)was it that put into your mind so unkind a purpose
(38-304)towards your old friend; for I am sure it never
(38-304)arose from your own generous nature? It must
(38-304)have been old Torloisk, who made such an
(38-304)indifferent husband to your mother, and such an
(38-304)unfriendly step-father to you when you were a
(38-304)helpless boy; but now, when he sees you a bold
(38-304)and powerful leader, he desires to make a quarrel
(38-304)betwixt you and those who were the friends of
(38-304)your youth. If you consider this matter rightly,
(38-304)Allan, you will see that the estate and harbour of
(38-304)Torloisk lie to the full as conveniently for you as
(38-304)those of Ulva, and that, if you are disposed (as is
(38-304)very natural) to make a settlement by force, it is
(38-304)much better it should be at the expense of the old
(38-304)churl, who never showed you kindness or countenance,
(38-304)than at that of a friend like me, who always
(38-304)loved and honoured you."
(38-304) Allan-a-Sop was struck with the justice of this
(38-304)reasoning; and the old offence of his scalded
(38-304)fingers was suddenly recalled to his mind. "It is
(38-304)very true what you say, MacQuarrie," he replied,

(38-304)"and, besides, I have not forgotten what a hot
(38-304)breakfast my step-father treated me to one morning.
(38-304)Farewell for the present; you shall soon
(38-304)hear news of me from the other side of the sound."
(38-304)Having said thus much, the pirate got on board,
(38-304)and, commanding his men to unmoor the galleys,
(38-304)sailed back to Torloisk, and prepared to land in
(38-304)arms. MacLean hastened to meet him, in expectation
(38-304)to hear of the death of his enemy, MacQuarrie.

[TG38-305, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 38, p. 305]

(38-305)But Allan greeted him in a very different
(38-305)manner from what he expected. "You hoary old
(38-305)traitor," he said, "you instigated my simple good-
(38-305)nature to murder a better man than yourself! But
(38-305)have you forgotten how you scorched my fingers
(38-305)twenty years ago, with a burning cake? The day
(38-305)is come that the breakfast must be paid for." So
(38-305)saying, he dashed out the old man's brains with a
(38-305)battle-axe, took possession of his castle and
(38-305)property, and established there a distinguished branch
(38-305)of the clan of MacLean.

(38-305) It is told of another of these western chiefs, who
(38-305)is said, upon the whole, to have been a kind and
(38-305)good-natured man, that he was subjected to
(38-305)repeated risk and injury by the treachery of an
(38-305)ungrateful nephew, who attempted to surprise his
(38-305)castle, in order to put his uncle to death, and
(38-305)obtain for himself the command of the tribe. Being
(38-305)detected on the first occasion, and brought before
(38-305)his uncle as a prisoner, the chief dismissed him
(38-305)unharmd; with a warning, however, not to repeat
(38-305)the offence, since, if he did so, he would cause him
(38-305)to be put to a death so fearful that all Scotland
(38-305)should ring with it. The wicked young man

(38-305)persevered, and renewed his attempts against his
(38-305)uncle's castle and life. Falling a second time into
(38-305)the hands of the offended chieftain, the prisoner
(38-305)had reason to term him as good as his word. He
(38-305)was confined in the pit, or dungeon of the castle, a
(38-305)deep dark vault, to which there was no access save
(38-305)through a hole in the roof. He was left without
(38-305)food, till his appetite grew voracious; the more so,

[TG38-306, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 38, p. 306]

(38-306)as he had reason to apprehend that it was intended
(38-306)to starve him to death. But the vengeance of his
(38-306)uncle was of a more refined character. The stone
(38-306)which covered the aperture in the roof was lifted,
(38-306)and a quantity of salt beef let down to the prisoner,
(38-306)who devoured it eagerly. When he had glutted
(38-306)himself with this food, and expected to be supplied
(38-306)with liquor, to quench the raging thirst which the
(38-306)died had excited, a cup was slowly lowered down,
(38-306)which when he eagerly grasped it, he found to be
(38-306)empty! Then they rolled the stone on the opening
(38-306)in the vault, and left the captive to perish by
(38-306)thirst, the most dreadful of all death.

(38-306) Many similar stories could be told you of the
(38-306)wild wars of the islanders; but these may suffice at
(38-306)present to give you some idea of the fierceness of
(38-306)their manners, the low value at which they held
(38-306)human life, the cruel manner in which wrongs were
(38-306)revenged, and the unscrupulous violence by which
(38-306)property was acquired.

(38-306) The Hebrideans seem to have been accounted
(38-306)by King James a race whom it was impossible to
(38-306)subdue, conciliate, or improve by civilisation; and
(38-306)the only remedy which occurred to him was to
(38-306)settle Lowlanders in the islands, and drive away

(38-306)or extirpate the people by whom they were inhabited.
(38-306)For this purpose, the King authorized an
(38-306)association of many gentlemen in the county of
(38-306)Fife, then the wealthiest and most civilized part of
(38-306)Scotland, who undertook to make a settlement in
(38-306)the isles of Lewis and Harris. These undertakers,
(38-306)as they were called, levied many, assembled

[TG38-307, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 38, p. 307]

(38-307)soldiers, and manned a fleet, with which they landed
(38-307)on the Lewis, and effected a settlement at Stornoway
(38-307)in that country, as they would have done in
(38-307)establishing a colony on the desert shores of a
(38-307)distant continent.

(38-307) At this time the property of the Lewis was
(38-307)disputed between the sons of Rory MacLeod, the last
(38-307)lord, who had two families by separate wives.
(38-307)The undertakers, finding the natives thus
(38-307)quarrelling among themselves, had little difficulty in
(38-307)building a small town and fortifying it; and their
(38-307)enterprise in the beginning assumed a promising
(38-307)appearance. But the Lord of Kintail, chief of the
(38-307)numerous and powerful clan of MacKenzie, was
(38-307)little disposed to let this fair island fall into the
(38-307)possession of a company of Lowland adventurers.
(38-307)He had himself some views of obtaining it in the
(38-307)name of Torquil Connaldagh MacLeod, one of the
(38-307)Hebridean claimants, who was closely connected
(38-307)with the family of MacKenzie, and disposed to act
(38-307)as his powerful ally desired. Thus privately
(38-307)encouraged, the islanders united themselves against
(38-307)the undertakers; and, after a war of various
(38-307)fortune, attacked their camp of Stornoway, took it by
(38-307)storm, burnt the fort, slew many of them, and made
(38-307)the rest prisoners. They were not expelled, you

(38-307)may be sure, without bloodshed and massacre.
(38-307)Some of the old persons still alive in the Lewis,
(38-307)talk of a very old woman, living in their youth,
(38-307)who used to say, that she had held the light while
(38-307)her countrymen were cutting the throats of the
(38-307)Fife adventurers.

[TG38-308, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 38, p. 308]

(38-308) A lady, the wife of one of the principal gentlemen
(38-308)in the expedition, fled from the scene of
(38-308)violence into a wild and pathless desert of rock and
(38-308)morass, called the Forest of Fanning. In this
(38-308>wilderness she became the mother of a child. A
(38-308)Hebridean, who chanced to pass on one of the
(38-308)ponies of the country, saw the mother and infant
(38-308)in the act of perishing with cold, and being struck
(38-308)with the misery of their condition, contrived a
(38-308)strange manner of preserving them. He killed his
(38-308)pony, and opening its belly, and removing the
(38-308)entrails, he put the new-born infant and the helpless
(38-308)mother into the inside of the carcass, to have the
(38-308)advantage of the warmth which this strange and
(38-308)shocking receptacle for some time afforded. In
(38-308)this manner, with or without assistance, he
(38-308)contrived to bear them to some place of security, where
(38-308)the lady remained till she could get back in safety
(38-308)to her own country.

(38-308) The lady who experienced this remarkable
(38-308)deliverance, became afterwards, by a second
(38-308)marriage, the wife of a person of consequence and
(38-308)influence in Edinburgh, a judge, I believe, of the
(38-308)Court of Session. One evening, while she looked
(38-308)out of the window of her house in the Canongate,
(38-308)just as a heavy storm was coming on, she heard a
(38-308)man in the Highland dress say in the Gaelic

(38-308)language, to another with whom he was walking,
(38-308)"This would be a rough night for the forest of
(38-308)Fanning." The lady's attention was immediately
(38-308)attracted by the name of a place which she had
(38-308)such awful reasons for remembering, and, on looking

[TG38-309, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 38, p. 309]

(38-309)attentively at the man who spoke, she recognised
(38-309)her preserver. She called him into the house,
(38-309)received him in the most cordial manner, and finding
(38-309)that he was come from the Western Islands on
(38-309)some law business of great importance to his
(38-309)family, she interested her husband in his favour, by
(38-309)whose influence it was speedily and successfully
(38-309)settled; and the Hebridean, loaded with kindness
(38-309)and presents, returned to his native island, with
(38-309)reason to congratulate himself on the humanity
(38-309)which he had shown in so singular a manner.

(38-309) After the surprise of their fort, and the massacre
(38-309)of the defenders, the Fife gentlemen tired of their
(38-309)undertaking; and the Lord of Kintail had the
(38-309)whole advantage of the dispute, for he contrived
(38-309)to get possession of the Lewis for himself, and
(38-309)transmitted it to his family, with whom it still
(38-309)remain.

(38-309) It appears, however, that King James did not
(38-309)utterly despair of improving the Hebrides, by
(38-309)means of colonization. It was supposed that
(38-309)powerful Marquis of Huntly might have been able
(38-309)to acquire the property, and had wealth enough to
(38-309)pay the Crown something for the grant. The
(38-309)whole archipelago was offered to him, with the
(38-309)exception of Skye and Lewis, at the cheap price of
(38-309)ten thousand pounds Scots, or about L.800; but
(38-309)the marquis would not give more than half the

(38-309)sum demanded, for what he justly considered as
(38-309)merely a permission to conquer a sterile region,
(38-309)inhabited by a warlike race.

[TG38-310, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 38, p. 310]

(38-310) Such was the ineffectual result of the efforts to
(38-310)introduce some civilisation into these islands. In
(38-310)the next chapter we shall show that the improvement
(38-310)of the Highlanders on the mainland was not
(38-310)much more satisfactory.

[TG39-311, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 39, p. 311]

(39-311) The size and position of the Highlands of Scotland
(39-311)rendered them much less susceptible of
(39-311)improvement than the Border districts, which, far
(39-311)less extensive, and less difficult of access, were
(39-311)now placed between two civilized and peaceful
(39-311)countries, instead of being the frontier of two
(39-311)hostile lands.

(39-311) The Highlanders, on the contrary, continued
(39-311)the same series of wars among themselves, and
(39-311)incursions upon their Lowland neighbours, which
(39-311)had distinguished them even since the dawn of their
(39-311)history. Military adventure, in one form or other,
(39-311)was their delight as well as their employment,
(39-311)and all works of industry were considered as
(39-311)unworthy the dignity of a mountaineer. Even the
(39-311)necessary task of raising a scanty crop of barley,
(39-311)was assigned to the aged, and to the women and
(39-311)children. The men thought of nothing but hunting
(39-311)and war. I will give you an account of a
(39-311)Highland chieftain, in character and practice not

[TG39-312, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 39, p. 312]

(39-312)very different from that of Allan-a-Sop, the
(39-312)Hebridean.
(39-312) The Stewarts, who inhabited the district of
(39-312)Appin, in the West Highlands, were a numerous
(39-312)and warlike clan. Appin is the title of the chief
(39-312)of the clan. The second branch of the family
(39-312)was that of Invernahyle. The founder, a second
(39-312)son of the house of Appin, was called by the
(39-312)uncommon epithet of Saioleach, or the Peaceful. One
(39-312)of his neighbours was the Lord of Dunstaffnage,
(39-312)called Cailen Uaine, or Green Colin, from the
(39-312)green colour which predominated in his tartan.
(39-312)This Green Colin surprised the peaceful Laird of
(39-312)Invernahyle, assassinated him, burnt his house, and
(39-312)destroyed his whole family, excepting an infant
(39-312)at the breast. This infant did not owe its safety to
(39-312)the mercy of Green Colin, but to the activity and
(39-312)presence of mind of its nurse. Finding she could
(39-312)not escape the pursuit of that chief's attendants, the
(39-312)faithful nurse determined to provide for the safety
(39-312)of her foster-child, whose life she knew was aimed
(39-312)at, in the only manner which remained. She therefore
(39-312)hid the infant in a small fissure, or cave, of a
(39-312)rock, and, as the only means she had of supplying
(39-312)him with subsistence, hung by a string round his
(39-312)neck a large piece of lard, in the faint hope that
(39-312)instinct might induce the child to employ it as a
(39-312)means of subsistence. The poor woman had only
(39-312)time to get a little way from the place where she
(39-312)had concealed her charge, when she was made
(39-312)prisoner by the pursuers. As she denied any
(39-312)knowledge where the child was, they dismissed her as

[TG39-313, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 39, p. 313]

(39-313)a person of no consequence, but not until they had
(39-313)kept her two or three days in close confinement,
(39-313)menacing her with death unless she would discover
(39-313)what she had done with the infant.
(39-313) When she found herself at liberty and unobserved,
(39-313)she went to the hole in which she had
(39-313)concealed her charge, with little hope save of finding
(39-313)such relics as wolves, wild-cats, or birds of prey
(39-313)might have left after feasting upon its flesh, but
(39-313)still with the pious wish to consign the remains of
(39-313)her dault, or foster-child, to some place of Christian
(39-313)burial. But her joy and surprise were extreme
(39-313)to find the infant still alive and well, having lived
(39-313)during her absence by sucking the lard, which it
(39-313)had reduced to a very small morsel, scarce larger
(39-313)than a hazel nut. The delighted nurse made all
(39-313)haste to escape with her charge to the neighbouring
(39-313)district of Moidart, of which she was a native, being
(39-313)the wife of the smith of the clan of MacDonald, to
(39-313)whom that country belonged. The mother of the
(39-313)infant thus miraculously rescued had also been a
(39-313)daughter of this tribe.
(39-313) To ensure the safety of her foster-child, the
(39-313)nurse persuaded her husband to bring it up as their
(39-313)own son. The smith, you must remark, of a Highland
(39-313)tribe, was a person of considerable consequence.
(39-313)His skill in forging armour and weapons was usually
(39-313)united with dexterity in using them, and with the
(39-313)strength of body which his profession required. If
(39-313)I recollect right, the smith usually ranked as third
(39-313)officer in the chief's household. The young Donald
(39-313)Stewart, as he grew up, was distinguished for great

[TG39-314, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 39, p. 314]

(39-314)personal strength. He became skilful in his foster-

(39-314)father's art, and so powerful, that he could, it is
(39-314)said, wield two fore-hammers, one in each hand,
(39-314)for hours together. From this circumstance, he
(39-314)gained the name of Donuil nan Ord, that is, Donald
(39-314)of the Hammer, by which he was all his life
(39-314)distinguished.

(39-314) When he attained the age of twenty-one,
(39-314)Donald's foster-father, the smith, observing that
(39-314)his courage and enterprise equalled his personal
(39-314)strength, thought fit to discover to him the secret
(39-314)of his birth, the injuries which he had received from
(39-314)Green Colin of Dunstaffnage, and the pretensions
(39-314)which he had to the property of Invernahyle, now
(39-314)in the possession of the man who had slain his
(39-314)father, and usurped his inheritance. He concluded
(39-314)his discovery by presenting to his beloved foster-
(39-314)child his own six sons to be his followers and
(39-314)defenders for life and death, and his assistants in
(39-314)the recovery of his patrimony.

(39-314) Law of every description was unknown in the
(39-314)Highlands. Young Donald proceeded in his
(39-314)enterprise by hostile measures. In addition to his
(39-314)six foster-brethren, he got some assistance from his
(39-314)mother's kindred, and levied among the old
(39-314)adherents of his father, and his kinsmen of the house of
(39-314)Appin, such additional force, that he was able to
(39-314)give battle to Green Colin, whom he defeated and
(39-314)slew, regaining at the same time his father's house
(39-314)and estate of Invernahyle. This success had its
(39-314)dangers; for it placed the young chief in feud with
(39-314)all the families of the powerful clan of Campbell,

[TG39-315, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 39, p. 315]

(39-315)to which the slain Dunstaffnage belonged by alliance
(39-315)at least; for Green Colin and his ancestors

(39-315)had assumed the name, and ranked themselves
(39-315)under the banner, of this formidable clan, although
(39-315)originally they were chieftains of a different and
(39-315)independent race. The feud became more deadly,
(39-315)when, not satisfied with revenging himself on the
(39-315)immediate authors of his early misfortune, Donald
(39-315)made inroads on the Campbells in their own
(39-315)dominions; in evidence of which his historian quotes
(39-315)a verse to this purpose --
(39-315) "Donald of the Smithy, the Son of the Hammer,
(39-315) Filled the banks of Lochawe with mourning and clamour."
(39-315) At length the powerful Earl of Argyle resented
(39-315)the repeated injuries which were offered to his
(39-315)clansmen and kindred. The Stewarts of Appin
(39-315)refused to support the kinsman against an enemy
(39-315)so formidable, and insisted that he should seek for
(39-315)peace with the earl. So that Donald, left to
(39-315)himself, and sensible that he was unable to withstand
(39-315)the force which might be brought against him by
(39-315)this mighty chief, endeavoured to propitiate the
(39-315)earl's favour by placing himself in his hands.
(39-315) Stewart went, accordingly, with only a single
(39-315)attendant, towards Inverary, the castle of Argyle,
(39-315)and met with the earl himself at some distance in
(39-315)the open fields. Donald of the Hammer showed
(39-315)on this occasion that it was not fear which had
(39-315)induced him to this step. Being a man of ready wit,
(39-315)and a poet, which was an accomplishment high in
(39-315)the estimation of the Highlanders, he opened the
(39-315)conference with an extempore verse, which intimated

[TG39-316, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 39, p. 316]

(39-316)a sort of defiance, rather like the language
(39-316)of a man that cared not what might befall him, than
(39-316)one who craved mercy or asked forgiveness.

(39-316) "Son of dark Colin, thou dangerous earl,
(39-316) Small is the boon that I crave at thy hand;
(39-316) Enough, if in safety from bondage and peril,
(39-316) Thou let'st me return to my kindred and land."
(39-316) The earl was too generous to avail himself of
(39-316)the advantage which Invernahyle's confidence had
(39-316)afforded him, but he could not abstain from
(39-316)maintaining the conversation thus begun, in a gibing
(39-316)tone. Donuil nan Ord was harsh-featured, and had
(39-316)a custom, allied to his mode of education, and the
(39-316)haughtiness of his character, of throwing back his
(39-316)head, and laughing loudly with his mouth wide
(39-316)open. In ridicule of this peculiarity, in which
(39-316)Donald had indulged repeatedly, Argyle, or one of
(39-316)his attendants, pointed out to his observation a rock
(39-316)in the neighbourhood, which bore a singular resemblance
(39-316)to a human face, with a large mouth much
(39-316)thrown back, and open as if laughing a horse-laugh.
(39-316)"Do you see yonder crag?" said the earl to
(39-316)Donald of the Hammer; "it is called Gaire
(39-316)Granda, or the Ugly Laugh." Donald felt this
(39-316)intended gibe, and as Argyle's lady was a
(39-316)hard-favoured and haughty woman, he replied without
(39-316)hesitation, in a verse like the following:
(39-316) "Ugly the sneer of yon cliff of the hill,
(39-316) Nature has stamp'd the grim laugh on the place;
(39-316) Would you seek for a grimmer and uglier still,
(39-316) You will find it at home in your countess's face."
(39-316) Argyle took the raillery of Donald in good part,
(39-316)but would not make peace with him, until he agreed

[TG39-317, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 39, p. 317]

(39-317)to make two creaghs, or inroads, one on Moidart,
(39-317)and one on Athole. It seems probable that the
(39-317)purpose of Argyle was to engage his troublesome

(39-317)neighbour in a feud with other clans to whom he
(39-317)bore no good-will; for whether he of the Hammer
(39-317)fell or was successful, the earl, in either event,
(39-317)would gain a certain advantage. Donald accepted
(39-317)peace with the Campbells on these terms.

(39-317) On his return home, Donald communicated to
(39-317)MacDonald of Moidart the engagement he had
(39-317)come under; and that chieftain, his mother's kinsman
(39-317)and ally, concerted that Invernahyle and his
(39-317)band should plunder certain villages in Moidart,
(39-317)the inhabitants of which had offended him, and on
(39-317)whom he desired chastisement should be inflicted.
(39-317)The incursion of Donald the Hammerer punished
(39-317)them to some purpose, and so far he fulfilled his
(39-317)engagement to Argyle, without making an enemy
(39-317)of his own kinsman. With the Athole men, as
(39-317)more distant and unconnected with him Donald
(39-317)stood on less ceremony, and made more than one
(39-317)successful creagh upon them. His name was now
(39-317)established as one of the most formidable marauders
(39-317)known in the Highlands, and a very bloody
(39-317)action which he sustained against the family of
(39-317)the Grahams of the Monteith, made him still more
(39-317)dreaded.

(39-317) The Earls of Monteith, you must know, had a
(39-317)castle situated upon an island in the lake, or loch,
(39-317)as it is called, of the same name. But though this
(39-317)residence, which occupied almost the whole of the
(39-317)islet upon which its ruins still exist, was a strong

[TG39-318, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 39, p. 318]

(39-318)and safe place of abode, and adapted accordingly
(39-318)to such perilous times, it had this inconvenience,
(39-318)that the stables, cow-houses, poultry-yard, and
(39-318)other domestic offices, were necessarily separated

(39-318)from the castle, and situated on the mainland, as
(39-318)it would have been impossible to be constantly
(39-318)transporting the animals belonging to the
(39-318)establishment, to and fro from the shore to the island.
(39-318)These offices, therefore, were constructed on the
(39-318)banks of the lake, and in some sort defenceless.
(39-318) It happened upon a time that there was to be a
(39-318)great entertainment in the castle, and a number of
(39-318)the Grahams were assembled. The occasion, it is
(39-318)said, was a marriage in the family. To prepare
(39-318)for this feast, much provision was got ready, and
(39-318)in particular a great deal of poultry had been
(39-318)collected. While the feast was preparing, an
(39-318)unhappy chance brought Donald of the Hammer to
(39-318)the side of the lake, returning at the head of a
(39-318)band of hungry followers, whom he was conducting
(39-318)homewards to the West Highlands, after some of
(39-318)his usual excursions into Stirlingshire. Seeing so
(39-318)much good victuals ready, and being possessed of
(39-318)an excellent appetite, the Western Highlanders
(39-318)neither asked questions, nor waited for an invitation,
(39-318)but devoured all the provisions that had been
(39-318)prepared for the Grahams, and then went on their
(39-318)way rejoicing, through the difficult and dangerous
(39-318)path, which leads from the banks of the Loch of
(39-318)Monteith, through the mountains, to the side of
(39-318)Loch Katrine.
(39-318) The Grahams were filled with the highest

[TG39-319, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 39, p. 319]

(39-319)indignation. No one in those fierce times was so
(39-319)contemptible as an individual who would suffer
(39-319)himself to be plundered without exacting satisfaction
(39-319)and revenge, and the loss of their dinner probably
(39-319)aggravated the sense of the insults entertained by

(39-319)the guests. The company who were assembled at
(39-319)the castle of Monteith, headed by the earl himself,
(39-319)hastily took to their boats, and, disembarking on
(39-319)the northern side of the lake, pursued with all
(39-319)speed the marauders and their leader. They
(39-319)came up with Donald's party in the gorge of a
(39-319)pass, near a rock, called Craig-Vad, or the Wolf's
(39-319)Cliff. Here the Grahams called, with loud insults,
(39-319)on the Appin men to stand, and one of them, in
(39-319)allusion to the execution which had been done
(39-319)amongst the poultry, exclaimed in verse --
(39-319) "They're brave gallants, these Appin men,
(39-319) To twist the throat of cock and hen?"
(39-319)Donald instantly replied to the reproach --
(39-319) "And if we be of Appin's line,
(39-319) We'll twist a goose's neck in thine."
(39-319) So saying, he shot the unlucky scoffer with an
(39-319)arrow. The battle then began, and was continued
(39-319)with much fury till night. The Earl of
(39-319)Monteith and many of his noble kinsmen fell, while
(39-319)Donald, favoured by darkness, escaped with a
(39-319)single attendant. The Grahams obtained, from
(39-319)the cause of the quarrel, the nickname of
(39-319)Gramoch an Garrigh, or Grahams of the Hens:
(39-319)although they certainly lost no honour in the
(39-319)encounter, having fought like game-cocks.
(39-319) Donald of the Hammer was twice married. His

[TG39-320, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 39, p. 320]

(39-320)second marriage was highly displeasing to his eldest
(39-320)son, whom he had by his first wife. This
(39-320)young man, whose name of Duncan, seems to
(39-320)have partaken rather of the disposition of his
(39-320)grandfather, Alister Saoileach, or the Peaceful,
(39-320)than of the turbulent spirit of his father the

(39-320)Hammerer. He quitted the family mansion in
(39-320)displeasure at his father's second marriage, and went
(39-320)to a farm called Inverfalla, which his father had
(39-320)bestowed upon his nurse in reward for her eminent
(39-320)services. Duncan took up his abode with this
(39-320)valued connexion of the family, who was now in
(39-320)the extremity of old age, and amused himself with
(39-320)attempting to improve the cultivation of the
(39-320)farm; a task which not only was considered as
(39-320)below the dignity of a Highland gentleman, but even
(39-320)regarded as the last degree of degradation.

(39-320) The idea of his son's occupying himself with
(39-320)agricultural operations, struck so much shame and
(39-320)anger into the heart of Donald of Hammerer, that
(39-320)his resentment against him became ungovernable.
(39-320)At length, as he walked by his own side of the
(39-320)river, and looked towards Inverfalla, he saw, to his
(39-320)extreme displeasure, a number of men employed in
(39-320)digging and levelling the soil for some intended
(39-320)crop. Soon after, he had the additional mortification
(39-320)to see his son come out and mingle with the
(39-320)workmen, as if giving them directions; and, finally,
(39-320)beheld him take the spade out of an awkward
(39-320)fellow's hand, and dig a little himself, to show him
(39-320)how to use it. This last act of degeneracy drove
(39-320)the Hammerer frantic; he seized a curragh, or boat

[TG39-321, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 39, p. 321]

(39-321)covered with hides, which was near, jumped into
(39-321)it, and pushed across the stream, with the determination
(39-321)of destroying the son, who had, in his opinion,
(39-321)brought such unutterable disgrace upon his family.
(39-321)The poor agriculturist, seeing his father approach
(39-321)in such haste, and having a shrewd guess of the
(39-321)nature of his parental intentions, fled into the house

(39-321)and hid himself. Donald followed with his drawn
(39-321)weapon; but, deceived by passion and darkness,
(39-321)he plunged his sword into the body of one whom
(39-321)he saw lying on the bed-clothes. Instead of
(39-321)his son, for whom the blow was intended, it lighted on
(39-321)the old foster-mother, to whom he owed his life in
(39-321)infancy and education in youth, and slew her on
(39-321)the spot. After this misfortune, Donald became
(39-321)deeply affected with remorse; and giving up all
(39-321)his estates to his children, he retired to the Abbey
(39-321)of St. Columbus, in Iona, passed the remainder of
(39-321)his days as a monk, and died at the age of eighty-
(39-321)seven.

(39-321) It may easily be believed, that there was little
(39-321)peace and quiet in a country abounding with such
(39-321)men as the Hammerer, who thought the practice of
(39-321)honest industry on the part of a gentleman was an
(39-321)act of degeneracy, for which nothing short of death
(39-321)was an adequate punishment; so that the disorderly
(39-321)state of the highlands was little short of that

[TG39-322, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 39, p. 322]

(39-322)of the Isles. Still, however, many of the principal
(39-322)chiefs attended occasionally at the court of Scotland;
(39-322)others were frequently obliged to send their
(39-322)sons to be educated there, who were retained as
(39-322)hostages for the peaceable behaviour of the clan;
(39-322)so that by degrees they came to improve with the
(39-322)increasing civilisation of the times.

(39-322) The authority also of the great nobles, who held
(39-322)estates in or adjacent to the Highlands, was a means,
(39-322)though a rough one, of making the district over
(39-322)which they exercised their power, submit, in a
(39-322)certain degree, to the occasional influence of the laws.
(39-322)It is true, that the great Earls of Huntly, Argyle,

(39-322)Sutherland, and other nobles, did not enforce the
(39-322)Lowland institutions upon their Highland vassals
(39-322)out of mere zeal for their civilisation, but rather
(39-322)because, by taking care to secure the power of the
(39-322)sovereign and the laws on their own side, they
(39-322)could make the infraction of them by the smaller
(39-322)chiefs the pretext for breaking down the independent
(39-322)clans, and making them submit to their own
(39-322)authority.

(39-322) I will give you an example of the manner in
(39-322)which a noble lady chastised a Highland chief in
(39-322)the reign of James the Sixth. The head of the
(39-322)House of Gordon, then Marquis of Huntly, was
(39-322)by far the most powerful lord in the northern counties,
(39-322)and exercised great influence over the Highland
(39-322)clans who inhabited the mountains of Badenoch,
(39-322)which lay behind his extensive domains.
(39-322)One of the most ancient bribes situated in and near
(39-322)that district is that of MacIntosh, a word which

[TG39-323, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 39, p. 323]

(39-323)means Child of the Thane, as they boasts their descent
(39-323)from MacDuff, the celebrated Thane of Fife.
(39-323)This haughty race having fallen at variance with
(39-323)the Gordons, William MacIntosh, their chief,
(39-323)carried his enmity to so great a pitch, as to surprise
(39-323)and burn the castle of Auchindown, belonging to
(39-323)the Gordon family. The Marquis of Huntly vowed
(39-323)the severest vengeance. He moved against the
(39-323)MacIntoshes with his own followers; and he let
(39-323)loose upon the devoted tribe, all such neighbouring
(39-323)clans as would do any thing, as the old phrase was,
(39-323)for his love or for his fear. MacIntosh, after a
(39-323)short struggle, found himself unequal to sustain the
(39-323)conflict, and saw that he must either behold his clan

(39-323)totally exterminated, or contrive some mode of
(39-323)pacifying Huntly's resentment. The idea of the
(39-323)first alternative was not to be endured, and of the
(39-323)last he saw no chance, save by surrendering himself
(39-323)into the power of the marquis, and thus
(39-323)personally atoning for the offence which he had
(39-323)committed. To perform this act of generous devotion
(39-323)with as much chance of safety as possible, he chose
(39-323)a time when the marquis himself was absent, and
(39-323)asking for the lady, whom he judged likely to prove
(39-323)less inexorable than her husband, he presented
(39-323)himself as the unhappy Laird of MacIntosh, who
(39-323)came to deliver himself up to the Gordon, to
(39-323)answer
(39-323)for his burning of Auchindown, and only desired
(39-323)that Huntly would spare his clan. The marchioness,
(39-323)a stern and haughty woman, had shared deeply
(39-323)in her husband's resentment. She regarded
(39-323)MacIntosh with a keen eye, as the hawk or eagle

[TG39-324, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 39, p. 324]

(39-324)contemplates the prey within its clutch, and having
(39-324)spoken a word aside to her attendants, replied to
(39-324)the suppliant chief in this manner: -- "MacIntosh,
(39-324)you have offended the Gordon so deeply, that
(39-324)Huntly has sworn by his father's soul, that he will
(39-324)never pardon you, till he has brought your neck to
(39-324)the block." -- "I will stoop even to that humiliation,
(39-324)to secure the safety of my father's house," said
(39-324)MacIntosh. And as this interview passed in the
(39-324)kitchen of the castle at Bog of Gicht, he undid the
(39-324)collar of his doublet, and kneeling down before the
(39-324)huge block on which, in the rude hospitality of the
(39-324)time, the slain bullocks and sheep were broken up
(39-324)for use, he laid his neck upon it, expecting, doubtless,

(39-324)that the lady would be satisfied with this token
(39-324)of unreserved submission. But the inexorable
(39-324)marchioness made a sign to the cook, who stepped
(39-324)forward with his hatchet raised, and struck
(39-324)MacIntosh's head from his body.
(39-324) Another story, and I will change the subject.
(39-324)It is also of the family of Gordon; not that they
(39-324)were by any means more hard-hearted than other
(39-324)Scottish barons, who had feuds with the
(39-324)Highlanders, but because it is the readiest which occurs
(39-324)to my recollection. The Farquharsons of
(39-324)Deeside, a bold and warlike people, inhabiting the
(39-324)dales of Braemar, had taken offence at, and slain,
(39-324)a gentleman of consequence, named Gordon of
(39-324)Brackley. The Marquis of Huntly summoned
(39-324)his forces, to take a bloody vengeance for the death
(39-324)of a Gordon; and that none of the guilty tribe
(39-324)might escape, communicated with the Laird of

[TG39-325, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 39, p. 325]

(39-325)Grant, a very powerful chief, who was an ally of
(39-325)Huntly, and a relation, I believe, to the slain Baron
(39-325)of Brackley. -- They agreed, that, on a day appointed,
(39-325)Grant, with his clan in arms, should occupy the
(39-325)upper end of the vale of Dee, and move from
(39-325)thence downwards, while the Gordons should
(39-325)ascend the river from beneath, each party killing,
(39-325)burning, and destroying, without mercy, whatever
(39-325)and whomever they found before them. A terrible
(39-325)massacre was made of the Farquharsons, taken
(39-325)at unawares, and placed betwixt two enemies.
(39-325)Almost all the men and women of the race were
(39-325)slain, and when the day was done, Huntly found
(39-325)himself encumbered with about two hundred orphan
(39-325)children, whose parents had been killed. What

(39-325)became of them you shall presently hear.
(39-325) About a year after this foray, the Laird of Grant
(39-325)chanced to dine at the Marquis's castle. He was,
(39-325)of course, received with kindness, and entertained
(39-325)with magnificence. After dinner was over, Huntly
(39-325)said to his guest, that he would show him some
(39-325)rare sport. Accordingly, he conducted Grant to
(39-325)a balcony, which, as was frequent in old mansions,
(39-325)overlooked the kitchen, perhaps to permit the lady
(39-325)to give an occasional eye to the operations there.
(39-325)The numerous servants of the marquis and his
(39-325)visitors had already dined, and Grant beheld the
(39-325)remains of the victuals which had furnished a
(39-325)plentiful meal, flung at random into a large trough,
(39-325)like that out of which swine feed. While Grant
(39-325)was wondering what this could mean, the master
(39-325)cook gave a signal with his silver whistle; on which

[TG39-326, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 39, p. 326]

(39-326)a hatch, like that of a dog kennel, was raised, and
(39-326)there rushed into the kitchen, some shrieking, some
(39-326)shouting, some yelling -- not a pack of hounds,
(39-326)which, in number, noise, and tumult, they greatly
(39-326)resembled, but a huge mob of children, half naked,
(39-326)and totally wild in their manners, who threw themselves
(39-326)on the contents of the trough, and fought,
(39-326)struggled, bit, scratched, and clamoured, each to
(39-326)get the largest share. Grant was a man of
(39-326)humanity, and did not see in that degrading scene all
(39-326)the amusement which his noble host had intended
(39-326)to afford him. "In the name of Heaven," he said,
(39-326)"who are these unfortunate creatures that are fed
(39-326)like so many pigs?" -- "They are the children of
(39-326)those Farquharsons whom we slew last year on
(39-326)Dee-side," answered Huntly. The laird felt more

(39-326)shocked than it would have been prudent or polite
(39-326)to express. "My lord," he said, "my sword helped
(39-326)to make these poor children orphans, and it is not
(39-326)fair that your lordship should be burdened with all
(39-326)the expense of maintaining them. You have
(39-326)supported them for a year and day -- allow me now
(39-326)to take them to Castle-Grant, and keep them for
(39-326)the same period at my cost." Huntly was tired of
(39-326)the joke of the pig-trough, and willingly consented
(39-326)to have the undisciplined rabble of children taken
(39-326)off his hands. He troubled himself no more about
(39-326)them; and the Laird of Grant, carrying them to
(39-326)his castle, had them dispersed among his clan, and
(39-326)brought up decently, giving them his own name of
(39-326)Grant; but it is said their descendants are still
(39-326)called the Race of the Trough, to distinguish them

[TG39-327, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 39, p. 327]

(39-327)from the families of the tribe into which they were
(39-327)adopted.
(39-327) These are instances of the severe authority
(39-327)exercised by the great barons over their Highland
(39-327)neighbours and vassals. Still that authority
(39-327)produced a regard to the laws, which they would not
(39-327)otherwise have received. These might lords,
(39-327)though possessed of great power in their jurisdictions,
(39-327)never effected entire independence, as had
(39-327)been done by the old Lords of the Isles, who made
(39-327)peace and war with England, without the consent
(39-327)of the King of Scotland. On the contrary,
(39-327)Argyle, Huntly, Murray, and others, always used at
(39-327)least the pretext of the King's name and authority,
(39-327)and were, from habit and education, less apt to
(39-327)practise wild stretches of arbitrary power than the
(39-327)native chiefs of the Highlands. In proportion,

(39-327)therefore, as the influence of the nobles increased,
(39-327)the country approached more nearly to
(39-327)civilisation.

(39-327) It must not here be forgotten, that the increase
(39-327)of power acquired by the sovereign, in the person
(39-327)of James VI, had been felt severely by one of his
(39-327)great feudal lords, for exercising violence and
(39-327)oppression, even in the most distant extremity of the
(39-327)empire. The Earl of Orkney, descended from a
(39-327)natural son of James V, and of course a cousin-
(39-327)german of the reigning monarch, had indulged
(39-327)himself in extravagant excesses of arbitrary authority
(39-327)amongst the wild recesses of the Orkney and
(39-327)Zetland islands. He had also, it was alleged, shown
(39-327)some token of a wish to assume sovereign power,

[TG39-328, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 39, p. 328]

(39-328)and had caused his natural son to defend the castle
(39-328)of Kirkwall, by force of arms, against the King's
(39-328)troops. Mr Littlejohn is now something of a Latin
(39-328)scholar, and he will understand, that this wicked
(39-328)Earl of Orkney's ignorance of that language
(39-328)exposed him to two disgraceful blunders. When he
(39-328)had built the great tower of Scalloway in
(39-328)Zetland, he asked a clergyman for a motto, who
(39-328)supplied him with the following Latin words: --
(39-328) "Cujus fundamen saxum est, domus illa manebit
(39-328) Stabilis; et contra, si sit arena, perit."
(39-328)The earl was highly pleased with this motto, not
(39-328)understanding that the secret meaning implied,
(39-328)that a house, raised by honourable and virtuous
(39-328)means, was as durable as if founded upon a rock;
(39-328)whereas one like his new castle of Scalloway,
(39-328)constructed by injustice and oppressive means, was
(39-328)like one founded on the faithless sands, and would

(39-328)soon perish. It is now a waste ruin, and bears
(39-328)the defaced inscription as if prophetic of the event.
(39-328) A worse error was that which occurred in the
(39-328)motto over another castle on the island of Birasa,
(39-328)in Orkney, built by his father and repaired by
(39-328)himself. Here he was pleased to inscribe his father's
(39-328)name and descent thus; -- ROBERTUS STUARTUS,
(39-328)FILIUS JACOBI QUINTI, REX SCOTORUM, HOC
(39-328)EDIFICIUM INSTRUXIT. SIC FUIT, EST, ET ERIT.
(39-328)It was probably only the meaning of this inscription
(39-328)to intimate, that Earl Robert was the son of
(39-328)James V, King of Scotland, which was an
(39-328)undeniable truth; but putting Rex in the nominative
(39-328)instead of Regis, in the genitive, as the construction

[TG39-329, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 39, p. 329]

(39-329)required, Earl Patrick seemed to state that his
(39-329)father had been the King of Scotland, and was
(39-329)gravely charged with high treason for asserting
(39-329)such a proposition.
(39-329) If this was rather a severe punishment for false
(39-329)Latin, it must be allowed that Earl Patrick had
(39-329)deserved his condemnation by repeated acts of the
(39-329)greatest cruelty and oppression on the defenceless
(39-329)inhabitants of those remote islands. He was held
(39-329)in such terror by them, that one person who was
(39-329)brought as a witness against him, refused to answer
(39-329)any question till he had received a solemn
(39-329)assurance that the earl would never be permitted to
(39-329)return to Orkney. Being positively assured of
(39-329)this, he gave such a detail of his usurpation and
(39-329)crimes as made his guilt fully manifest.
(39-329) For these offences the earl was tried and
(39-329)executed at Edinburgh; and his punishment struck

[TG39-330, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 39, p. 330]

(39-330)such terror among the aristocracy, as made even
(39-330)those great lords, whose power lay
(39-330)in the most distant and inaccessible
(39-330)places of Scotland, disposed to be
(39-330)amenable to the royal authority. (6th February, 1614)
(39-330) Having thus discussed the changes effected by
(39-330)the union of the crowns on the Borders, Highlands,
(39-330)and Isles, it remains to notice the effects
(39-330)produced in the Lowlands, or more civilized parts
(39-330)of the kingdom.

[TG40-331, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 40, p. 331]

(40-331) The Scottish people were soon made sensible,
(40-331)that if their courtiers and great men made fortunes
(40-331)by King James's favour, the nation at large was
(40-331)not enriched by the union of the crowns.
(40-331)Edinburgh was no longer the residence of a court,
(40-331)whose expenditure, though very moderate, was
(40-331)diffused among her merchants and citizens, and
(40-331)was so far of importance. The sons of the gentry
(40-331)and better classes, who sole trade had been war
(40-331)and battle, were deprived of employment by the
(40-331)general peace with England, and the nation was
(40-331)likely to feel all the distress arising from an excess
(40-331)of population.
(40-331) To remedy the last evil, the wars on the
(40-331)Continent afforded a resource peculiarly fitted to the
(40-331)genius of the Scots, who have always had a disposition

[TG40-332, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 40, p. 332]

(40-332)for visiting foreign parts. The celebrated
(40-332)Thirty Years' War, as it was called, was now

(40-332)raging in Germany, and a large national brigade of
(40-332)Scots was engaged in the service of Gustavus
(40-332)Adolphus, King of Sweden, one of the most
(40-332)successful generals of the age. Their total numbers
(40-332)may be guessed from those of the superior officers,
(40-332)which amounted to thirty-four colonels, and fifty
(40-332)lieutenant-colonels. The similarity of the religion
(40-332)of the Scots with that of the Swedes, and some
(40-332)congenial resemblances betwixt the two nations, as
(40-332)well as the high fame of Gustavus, made most of
(40-332)the Scots prefer the service of Sweden; but there
(40-332)were others who went into that of the Emperor of
(40-332)Austria, of France, of the Italian States, -- in short,
(40-332)they were dispersed as soldiers throughout all
(40-332)Europe. It was not uncommon, when a party of
(40-332)Scots was mounting a breach, for them to hear
(40-332)some of the defenders call out in the Scottish
(40-332)language, "Come on, gentlemen; this is not like
(40-332)gallanting it at the Cross of Edinburgh!" and
(40-332)thus learn that they were opposed to some of their
(40-332)countrymen engaged on the opposite side. The
(40-332)taste for foreign service was so universal, that
(40-332)young gentlemen of family, who wished to see the
(40-332)world, used to travel on the Continent from place
(40-332)to place, and from state to state, and defray their
(40-332)expenses by engaging for a few weeks or months
(40-332)in military service in the garrison or guards of the
(40-332)state in which they made their temporary residence.
(40-332)It is but doing the Scots justice to say, that while
(40-332)thus acting as mercenary soldiers, they acquired a

[TG40-333, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 40, p. 333]

(40-333)high character for courage, military skill, and a
(40-333)faithful adherence to their engagements. The
(40-333)Scots regiments in the Swedish service were the

(40-333)first troops who employed platoon firing, by which
(40-333)they contributed greatly to achieve the victory in
(40-333)the decisive battle of Lutzen.

(40-333) Besides the many thousand Scottish emigrants
(40-333)who pursued the trade of war on the Continent,
(40-333)there was another numerous class who undertook
(40-333)the toilsome and precarious task of travelling
(40-333)merchants, or to speak plainly, of pedlars, and were
(40-333)employed in conducting the petty inland commerce,
(40-333)which gave the inhabitants of Germany, Poland,
(40-333)and the northern parts of Europe in general,
(40-333)opportunities of purchasing articles of domestic
(40-333)convenience. There were at that time few towns,
(40-333)and in these towns there were few shops regularly
(40-333)open. When an inhabitant of the country, of high
(40-333)or low degree, wished to purchase any article of
(40-333)dress or domestic convenience which he did not
(40-333)manufacture himself, he was obliged to attend at
(40-333)the next fair, to which the travelling merchants
(40-333)flocked, in order to expose their goods to sale. Or

[TG40-334, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 40, p. 334]

(40-334)if the buyer did not choose to take that trouble,
(40-334)he must wait till some pedlar, who carried his goods
(40-334)on horseback, in a small wain, or perhaps in a pack
(40-334)upon his shoulders, made his wandering journey
(40-334)through the country. It has been made matter of
(40-334)ridicule against the Scots, that this traffic fell into
(40-334)their hands, as a frugal, patient, provident, and
(40-334)laborious people, possessing some share of education,
(40-334)which we shall presently see was now becoming
(40-334)general among them. But we cannot think
(40-334)that the business which required such attributes to
(40-334)succeed in it, could be dishonourable to those who
(40-334)pursued it; and we believe that those Scots who,

(40-334)in honest commerce, supplied foreigners with the
(40-334)goods they required, were at least as well employed
(40-334)as those who assisted them in killing each other.
(40-334) While the Scots thus continued to improve their
(40-334)condition by enterprise abroad, they gradually

[TG40-335, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 40, p. 335]

(40-335)sunk into peaceful habits at home. In the wars
(40-335)of Queen Mary's time, and those of King James's
(40-335)minority, we have the authority of a great lawyer,
(40-335)the first Earl of Haddington, generally known by
(40-335)the name of Tom of the Cowgate, to assure us,
(40-335)that "the whole country was so miserably distracted,
(40-335)not only by the accustomed barbarity of the
(40-335)Highlands and Borders, which was greatly
(40-335)increased, but by the cruel dissensions arising from
(40-335)public factions and private feuds, that men of every
(40-335)rank daily wore steel-jacks, knapsaps or head-pieces,
(40-335)plate-sleeves, and pistols and poniards,
(40-335)being as necessary parts of their apparel as their
(40-335)doublets and breeches." Their disposition was, of
(40-335)course, as warlike as their dress; and the same
(40-335)authority informs us, that whatever was the cause
(40-335)of their assemblies or meetings, fights and affrays
(40-335)were the necessary consequence before they
(40-335)separated; and this not at parliaments, conventions,
(40-335)trysts, and markets only, but likewise in church-
(40-335)yards, churches, and places appointed for the
(40-335)exercise of religion.
(40-335) This universal state of disorder was not owing
(40-335)to any want of laws against such enormities; on
(40-335)the contrary, the Scottish legislature was more
(40-335)severe than that of England, accounting as murder
(40-335)the killing of any one in a sudden quarrel,
(40-335)without previous malice, which offence the law of

(40-335)England rated under the milder denomination of
(40-335)manslaughter. And this severity was introduced
(40-335)into the law, expressly to restrain the peculiarly
(40-335)furious temper of the Scottish nation. It was not,

[TG40-336, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 40, p. 336]

(40-336)therefore, laws which were wanting to restrain
(40-336)violence, but the regular and due execution of such
(40-336)as existed. An ancient Scottish statesman and
(40-336)judge, who was also a poet, has alluded to the
(40-336)means used to save the guilty from deserved
(40-336)punishment. "We are allowed some skill," he says,
(40-336)"in making good laws, but God knows how ill
(40-336)they are kept and enforced; since a man accused
(40-336)of a crime will frequently appear at the bar of the
(40-336)court to which he is summoned, with such a
(40-336)company of armed friends at his back, as if it were his
(40-336)purpose to defy and intimidate both judge and
(40-336)jury." The interest of great men, moreover,
(40-336)obtained often by bribes, interposed between a criminal
(40-336)and justice, and saved by court favour the life
(40-336)which was forfeited to the laws.

(40-336) James made great reformation in these particulars,
(40-336)as soon as his power, increased by the union
(40-336)of the two kingdoms, gave him the means of doing
(40-336)so. The laws, as we have seen in more cases than
(40-336)one, were enforced with greater severity; and the
(40-336)assistance of powerful friends, nay, the interposition
(40-336)of courtiers and favourites, was less successful
(40-336)in interfering with the course of justice, or obtaining
(40-336)remissions and pardons for condemned criminals.
(40-336)Thus the wholesome terror of justice gradually
(40-336)imposed a restraint on the general violence
(40-336)and disorder which had followed the civil wars of
(40-336)Scotland. Still, however, as the barons held, by

(40-336)means of their hereditary jurisdictions, the exclusive
(40-336)right to try and to punish such crimes as were
(40-336)committed on their own estates; and as they often did

[TG40-337, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 40, p. 337]

(40-337)not choose to do so, either because the action had
(40-337)been committed by the baron's own direction; or
(40-337)that the malefactor was a strong and active partisan,
(40-337)of whose service the lord might have need;
(40-337)or because the judge and criminal stood in some
(40-337)degree of relationship to each other; in all such
(40-337)cases, the culprit's escape from justice was a necessary
(40-337)consequence. Nevertheless, viewing Scotland
(40-337)generally, the progress of public justice at the
(40-337)commencement of the seventeenth century was
(40-337)much purer, and less liable to interruption, than in
(40-337)former ages, and the disorders of the country were
(40-337)fewer in proportion.

(40-337) The law and its terrors had its effect in preventing
(40-337)the frequency of crime; but it could not have
(40-337)been in the power of mere human laws, and the
(40-337)punishments which they enacted, to eradicate from
(40-337)the national feelings the proneness to violence, and
(40-337)the thirst of revenge, which had been so long a
(40-337)general characteristic of the Scottish people. The
(40-337)heathenish and accursed custom of deadly feud, or
(40-337)the duty, as it was thought, of exacting blood for
(40-337)blood, and perpetuating a chance quarrel, by handing
(40-337)it down to future generations, could only give
(40-337)place to those pure religious doctrines which teach
(40-337)men to practise, not the revenge, but the forgiveness
(40-337)in injuries, as the only means of acquiring the
(40-337)favour of Heaven.

(40-337) The Presbyterian preachers, in throwing away
(40-337)the external pomp and ceremonial of religious

(40-337)worship, had inculcated, in its place, the most severe
(40-337)observation of morality. It was objected to them,

[TG40-338, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 40, p. 338]

(40-338)indeed, that, as in their model of church government,
(40-338)the Scottish clergy claimed an undue influence
(40-338)over state affairs, so, in their professions of doctrine
(40-338)and practice, they verged towards an ascetic system,
(40-338)in which too much weight was laid on venial
(40-338)transgressing, and the opinions of other Christian churches
(40-338)were treated with too little liberality. But no
(40-338)one who considers their works, and their history,
(40-338)can deny to those respectable men the merit of
(40-338)practising, in most rigid extent, the strict doctrines
(40-338)of morality which they taught. They despised
(40-338)wealth, shunned even harmless pleasures, and
(40-338)acquired the love of their flocks, by attending to their
(40-338)temporal as well as spiritual diseases. They preached
(40-338)what they themselves seriously believed, and
(40-338)they were believed because they spoke with all the
(40-338)earnestness of conviction. They spared neither
(40-338)example nor precept to improve the more ignorant of
(40-338)their hearers, and often endangered their own lives
(40-338)in attempting to put a stop to the feuds and frays
(40-338)which daily occurred in their bounds. It is recorded
(40-338)of a worthy clergyman, whose parish was peculiarly
(40-338)distracted by the brawls of the quarrelsome
(40-338)inhabitants, that he used constantly to wear a stout
(40-338)steel head-piece, which bore an odd appearance
(40-338)contrasted with his clerical dress. The purpose was,
(40-338)that when he saw swords drawn in the street, which
(40-338)was almost daily, he might run between the
(40-338)combatants, and thus separate them, with less risk of
(40-338)being killed by a chance blow. So that his
(40-338)venturous and dauntless humanity was perpetually

(40-338)placing his life in danger.

[TG40-339, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 40, p. 339]

(40-339) The clergy of that day were frequently respectable
(40-339)from their birth and connexions, often from
(40-339)their learning, and at all times from their character.
(40-339)These qualities enabled them to interfere with
(40-339)effect, even in the feuds of the barons and gentry;
(40-339)and they often brought to milder and more peaceful
(40-339)thoughts, men who would not have listened to
(40-339)any other intercessors. There is no doubt, that
(40-339)these good men, and the Christianity which they
(40-339)taught, were one of the principal means of correcting
(40-339)the furious temper and revengeful habits of the
(40-339)Scottish nation, in whose eyes bloodshed and deadly
(40-339)vengeance had been till then a virtue.

(40-339) Besides the precepts and examples of religion
(40-339)and morality, the encouragement of general
(40-339)information and knowledge is also an effectual mode of
(40-339)taming and subduing the wild habits of a military
(40-339)and barbarous people. For this also the Lowlands
(40-339)of Scotland were indebted to the Presbyterian
(40-339)ministers.

(40-339) The Catholic clergy had been especially instrumental
(40-339)in the foundation of three universities in
(40-339)Scotland, namely, those of Glasgow, St Andrews
(40-339)and Aberdeen; but these places of education, from
(40-339)the very nature of their institutions, were only
(40-339)calculated for the education of students designed
(40-339)for the church, or of those youths from among the
(40-339)higher classes of the laity, whom their parents
(40-339)desired should receive such information as might
(40-339)qualify them for lawyers and statesmen. The more
(40-339)noble view of the Reformed Church, was to extend
(40-339)the blessings of knowledge to the lower, as well

(40-339)as the higher classes of society.

[TG40-340, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 40, p. 340]

(40-340) The preachers of the Reformation had appealed
(40-340)to the Scriptures as the rule of their doctrine, and
(40-340)it was their honourable and liberal wish, that the
(40-340)poorest, as well as the richest man, should have an
(40-340)opportunity of judging, by his own perusal of the
(40-340)sacred volume, whether they had interpreted the
(40-340)text truly and faithfully. The invention of printing
(40-340)had made the Scripture accessible to every
(40-340)one, and the clergy desired that the meanest peasant
(40-340)should be capable of reading them. John Knox,
(40-340)and other leaders of the Congregation, had, from
(40-340)the very era of the Reformation, pressed the duty
(40-340)of reserving from the confiscated revenues of the
(40-340)Romish Church the means of providing for the
(40-340)clergy with decency, and of establishing colleges
(40-340)and schools for the education of youth; but their
(40-340)wishes were for a long time disappointed by the
(40-340)avarice of the nobility and gentry, who were
(40-340)determined to retain for their own use the spoils of the
(40-340)Catholic establishment, and by the stormy
(40-340)complexion of the times, in which little was regarded
(40-340)save what belonged to politics and war.

(40-340) At length the legislature, chiefly by the influence
(40-340)of the clergy, was induced to authorize the noble
(40-340)enactment, which appoints a school to be kept in
(40-340)every parish of Scotland, at a low rate of endowment
(40-340)indeed, but such as enables every poor man
(40-340)within the parish to procure for his children the
(40-340)knowledge of reading and writing; and affords an
(40-340)opportunity for those individuals who show a decided
(40-340)taste for learning, to obtain such progress in
(40-340)classical knowledge, as may fit them for college

[TG40-341, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 40, p. 341]

(40-341)studies. There can be no doubt that the opportunity
(40-341)afforded of procuring instruction thus easily,
(40-341)tended, in the course of a generation, greatly to
(40-341)civilize and humanize the character of the Scottish
(40-341)nation; and it is equally certain, that this general
(40-341)access to useful knowledge has not only given rise
(40-341)to the success of many men of genius, who otherwise
(40-341>would never have aspired above the humble
(40-341)rank in which they were born, but has raised the
(40-341)common people of Scotland in general, in knowledge,
(40-341)sagacity, and intelligence, many degrees
(40-341)above those of most other countries.

(40-341) The Highlands and Islands did not share the
(40-341)influence of religion and education, which so
(40-341)essentially benefited their Lowland countrymen,
(40-341)owing to their speaking a language different from
(40-341)the rest of Scotland, as well as to the difficulty, or
(40-341)rather at that time the impossibility, of establishing
(40-341)churches or schools in such a remote country, and
(40-341)amongst natives of such wild manners.

(40-341) To the reign of James VI it is only necessary
(40-341)to add, that in 1617 he revisited his ancient kingdom
(40-341)of Scotland, for the same instinct, as his
(40-341)Majesty was pleased to express it, which induces
(40-341)salmon, after they have visited the sea, to return to
(40-341)the river in which they have been bred.

(40-341) He was received with every appearance of
(40-341)affection by his Scottish subjects; and the only
(40-341)occasion of suspicious, doubt, or quarrel, betwixt the
(40-341)King and them, arose from the partiality he evinced
(40-341)to the form and ritual of the Church of
(40-341)England. The true Presbyterians groaned heavily at

[TG40-342, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 40, p. 342]

(40-342)seeing choristers and singing boys arrayed in white
(40-342)surplices, and at hearing them chant the service of
(40-342)the Church of England; and they were in despair
(40-342)when they saw his Majesty's private chapel adorned
(40-342)with pictures representing scriptural subjects. All
(40-342)this, and every thing like an established and
(40-342)prescribed form in prayer, in garb or decoration, was,
(40-342)in their idea, a greater or less approximation to the
(40-342)practices of the Church of Rome. This was,
(40-342)indeed, mere prejudice, but it was a prejudice of
(40-342)little consequence in itself, and James ought to
(40-342)have rather respected than combated feelings
(40-342)connected with much that was both moral and religious,
(40-342)and honoured the right which his Scottish
(40-342)subjects might justly claim to worship God after
(40-342)their own manner, and not according to the rules
(40-342)and ceremonies of a foreign country. His obstinacy
(40-342)on this point was, however, satisfied with
(40-342)carrying through the Articles of Perth, already
(40-342)mentioned, which were finally admitted in the year
(40-342)after his visit to Scotland. He left to his successor
(40-342)the task of endeavouring to accomplish a complete
(40-342)conformity, in ritual and doctrine, between the
(40-342)churches of South and North Britain -- and very
(40-342)dear the attempt cost him.

(40-342) James died at Theobalds on the 27th March,
(40-342)1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the
(40-342)twenty-second after his accession to the throne of
(40-342)England. He was the least dignified and accomplished
(40-342)of all his family; but, at the same time, the
(40-342)most fortunate. Robert II, the first of the Stewart
(40-342)family, died, it is true, in peace; but Robert III

[TG40-343, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 40, p. 343]

(40-343)had sunk under the family losses which he had
(40-343)sustained; James I was murdered; James II
(40-343)killed by the bursting of a cannon; James III
(40-343)(whom James VI chiefly resembled) was
(40-343)privately slain after the battle of Sauchie-Burn;
(40-343)James IV fell at Flodden; James V died of a
(40-343)broken heart; Henry Darnley, the father of James
(40-343)VI was treacherously murdered; and his mother,
(40-343)Queen Mary, was tyrannically beheaded. He
(40-343)himself alone, without courage, without sound
(40-343)sagacity, without that feeling of dignity which
(40-343)should restrain a prince from foolish indulgences
(40-343)became King of the great nation which had for
(40-343)ages threatened to subdue that of which he was born
(40-343)monarch; and the good fortune of the Stewart
(40-343)family, which seems to have existed in his person
(40-343)alone, declined and totally decayed in those of his
(40-343)successors.

(40-343) James had lost his eldest son, Henry, a youth of
(40-343)extraordinary promise. His second, Charles I,
(40-343)succeeded him in the throne. He left also one
(40-343)daughter, Elizabeth, married to Frederick, the
(40-343)Elector Palatine of the German empire. He was
(40-343)an unfortunate prince, and with a view of obtaining
(40-343)the kingdom of Bohemia, engaged in a ruinous
(40-343)war with the Emperor, by which he lost his
(40-343)hereditary dominions. But the Elector's evil fortune
(40-343)was redeemed in the person of his descendants,
(40-343)from whom sprung the royal family which now
(40-343)possess the British throne, in right of the Princess
(40-343)Elizabeth.

[TG41-345, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 345]

(41-345) Charles I, who succeeded his father James,

(41-345)was a prince whose personal qualities were excellent.
(41-345)It was said of him justly, that considered as
(41-345)a private gentleman, where was not a more honourable,
(41-345)virtuous, and religious man, in his dominions.
(41-345)He was a kind father, an indulgent master, and
(41-345)even too affectionate a husband, permitting the
(41-345)Queen Henrietta Maria, the beautiful daughter of
(41-345)Henry IV of France, to influence his government
(41-345)in a degree beyond her sphere. Charles possessed
(41-345)also the personal dignity which his father totally
(41-345)wanted; and there is no just occasion to question
(41-345)that so good a man as we have described him, had

[TG41-346, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 346]

(41-346)the intention to rule his people justly and mercifully,
(41-346)in place of enforcing the ancient feudal thralldom.
(41-346)But, on the other hand, he entertained extravagant
(41-346)ideas of the regal power, feelings which, being
(41-346)peculiarly unsuitable to the times in which he lived,
(41-346)occasioned his own total ruin, and, for a time, that
(41-346)of his posterity.
(41-346) The English people had been now, for a century
(41-346)and more, relieved from the severe yoke of the
(41-346)nobles, and had forgotten how severely it had
(41-346)pressed upon their forefathers. What had galled
(41-346)them in the late reign, were the exactions of
(41-346)King James, who, to indulge his prodigal liberality
(41-346)to worthless favourites, had extorted from Parliament
(41-346)large supplies, and having misapplied these,
(41-346)had endeavoured to obtain others in an indirect and
(41-346)illegal manner by granting to individuals, for sums
(41-346)of money, exclusive rights to sell certain commodities,
(41-346)which the monopolist immediately raised to a
(41-346)high rate, and made a large fortune, while the
(41-346)King got little by the bribe which he had received,

(41-346)and the subjects suffered extremely by the price of
(41-346)articles, perhaps necessities of life, being unduly
(41-346)advanced. Yet James, finding that a spirit of
(41-346)opposition had arisen within the House of
(41-346)Commons, and that pecuniary grants were obtained
(41-346)with difficulty, could not be induced to refrain
(41-346)from such indirect practices to obtain money from
(41-346)the people without the consent of their representatives
(41-346)in Parliament.

(41-346) It was James's object also to support the royal
(41-346)power in the full authority, which, by gradual

[TG41-347, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 347]

(41-347)encroachments, it had attained during the reign of
(41-347)the Tudors; and he was disposed to talk high of
(41-347)his prerogative, for which he stated himself to be
(41-347)accountable to God alone; whereas it was the just
(41-347)principle of the House of Commons, that the power
(41-347)of the King, like every other power in the constitution,
(41-347)was limited by the laws, and was liable to
(41-347)be legally resisted when it trespassed beyond them.
(41-347)Such were the disputes which James held with his
(41-347)subjects. His timidity prevented him from pushing
(41-347)his claims to extremity, and although courtly
(41-347)divines and ambitious lawyers were ready to have
(41-347)proved, as they pretended, his absolute and
(41-347)indefeasible right to obedience, even in unconstitutional
(41-347)commands, he shrunk from the contest, and left
(41-347)to his son the inheritance of much discontent which
(41-347)his conduct had excited, but which did not
(41-347)immediately break out in a flame.

(41-347) Charles held the same opinions of his own rights
(41-347)as a monarch, which had been infused into him by
(41-347)his father's instructions, and he was obstinate and
(41-347)persevering where James had been timid and

(41-347)flexible. Arbitrary courts of justice, particularly
(41-347)one termed the Star-chamber, afforded the King the
(41-347)means of punishing those who opposed themselves
(41-347)to the royal will; but the violent exertion of
(41-347)authority only increased the sense of the evil, and a
(41-347)general discontent against the King's person and
(41-347)prerogative began to prevail throughout England.
(41-347) These menacing appearances were much
(41-347)increased by religious motives. The Church of
(41-347)England had been since the Reformation gradually

[TG41-348, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 348]

(41-348)dividing into two parties, one of which, warmly
(41-348)approved of by King James, and yet more keenly
(41-348)patronised by Charles, was peculiarly attached to
(41-348)the rites and ceremonies of the church, the strict
(41-348)observance of particular forms of worship, and the
(41-348)use of certain pontifical dresses when divine
(41-348)service was performed. A numerous party, called
(41-348)the Puritans, although they complied with the
(41-348)model of the Church of England, considered these
(41-348)peculiar rites and formalities, on which the High
(41-348)Churchmen, as the opposite party began to be called,
(41-348)laid such stress, as remains of Popery, and
(41-348)things therefore to be abolished.
(41-348) The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Laud, a
(41-348)man of talents and learning, was devotedly
(41-348)attached to the High Church interest, and,
(41-348)countenanced by Charles, he resolved to use all the
(41-348)powers, both of the civil and spiritual courts, to
(41-348)subdue the refractory spirit of the Puritans, and
(41-348)enforce their compliance with the ceremonies
(41-348)which he thought so essential to the well-being
(41-348)of the church. If men had been left to entertain
(41-348)calm and quiet thoughts on these points,

(41-348)they would in time have discovered, that, having
(41-348)chosen what was esteemed the most suitable rules
(41-348)for the national church, it would have been more
(41-348)wise and prudent to leave the consciences of the
(41-348)hearers to determine whether they would conform
(41-348)to them, or assemble for worship elsewhere. But
(41-348)prosecutions, fines, pillories, and imprisonments,
(41-348)employed to restrain religious opinions, only make
(41-348)them burn the more fiercely; and those who

[TG41-349, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 349]

(41-349)submitted to such suffering with patience, rather
(41-349)than renounce the doctrines they had espoused,
(41-349)were counted martyrs, and followed accordingly.
(41-349)These dissensions in church and state continued
(41-349)to agitate England from year to year; ;but it was
(41-349)the disturbances in Scotland which brought them
(41-349)to a crisis.

(41-349) The King had kept firmly in view his father's
(41-349)favourite project of bringing the Church of Scotland,
(41-349)in point of church government and church
(41-349)ceremonies, to the same model with that of
(41-349)England. But to settle a national church, with a
(41-349)gradation of dignified clergy, required large funds,
(41-349)which Scotland could not afford for such a
(41-349)purpose. In this dilemma, the King and his counsellors
(41-349)resolved, by one sweeping act of revocation,
(41-349)to resume to the crown all the tithes and benefices
(41-349)which had been conferred upon laymen at the
(41-349)Reformation, and thus obtain the funds necessary
(41-349)to endow the projected bishoprics.

(41-349) I must try to explain to you what tithes are:
(41-349)By the law delivered to the Jews, the tithes, that
(41-349)is the tenth part of the yearly produce of the
(41-349)land, whether in animals born on the soil, or

(41-349)in corn, fruit, and vegetable productions, were
(41-349)destined to the support of the priests, who
(41-349)performed the religious service in the Temple of
(41-349)Jerusalem. The same rule was adopted by the
(41-349)Christian Church, and the tithes were levied from
(41-349)the farmer or possessor of the land, for the
(41-349)maintenance of the ecclesiastical establishments. When
(41-349)the Reformation took place, the great nobles and

[TG41-350, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 350]

(41-350)gentry of Scotland got grants of these tithes from
(41-350)the crown, engaging to take upon themselves the
(41-350)support of the clergy, whom they paid at as low a
(41-350)rate as possible. Those nobles and gentry who
(41-350)held such gifts were called titulars of tithes,
(41-350)answering to the English phrase of impropriators.
(41-350)They used the privileges which they had acquired
(41-350)with great rigour. They would not suffer the
(41-350)farmer to lead a sheaf of corn from the field until
(41-350)the tithes had been selected and removed, and in
(41-350)this way exercised their right with far more
(41-350)severity than had been done by the Roman
(41-350)Catholic clergy, who usually accepted a certain
(41-350)reasonable sum of money, as a modification or
(41-350)composition for their claim, and thus left the
(41-350)proprietor of the crop to manage it as he would,
(41-350)instead of actually taking the tithes in kind. But
(41-350)the titulars, as they used their privilege with
(41-350)rigour and to the utmost, were equally tenacious
(41-350)in retaining it.
(41-350) When assembled in Parliament, or, as it was
(41-350)termed, the Convention of Estates, the Scottish
(41-350)lords were possessed of grants of tithes
(41-350)determined that, rather than yield to the
(41-350)revocation proposed by the Earl of Nithsdale, who was

(41-350)the royal commissioner, they would massacre him
(41-350)and his adherents in the face of the assembly.
(41-350)This purpose was so decidedly entertained, that
(41-350)Lord Belhaven, and old blind man, placed himself
(41-350)close to the Earl of Dumfries, a supporter of the
(41-350)intended revocation, and keeping hold of his
(41-350)neighbour with one hand, for which he apologized,

[TG41-351, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 351]

(41-351)as being necessary to enable him to support
(41-351)himself, he held in the other the hilt of a dagger
(41-351)concealed in his bosom, that, as soon as the general
(41-351)signal should be given, he might play his part in
(41-351)the tragedy by plunging it into Lord Dumfries's
(41-351)heart. Nithsdale, learning something of this
(41-351)desperate resolution, gave the proposed measure of
(41-351)revocation up for the time, and returned to court.
(41-351) The King, however, was at length able, by the
(41-351)assistance of a convention of the clergy summoned
(41-351)together by the bishops, and by the general
(41-351)clamour of the land-owners, who complained of the
(41-351)rigorous exactions of the titulars, to obtain a
(41-351)partial surrender of the tithes into the power of
(41-351)the crown. The power of the levying them in kind
(41-351)was suppressed; the landholder was invested with
(41-351)a right to retain every season's tithe upon paying
(41-351)a modified sum, and to purchase the entire right
(41-351)from the titular (if he had the means to do so) at
(41-351)a rate of purchase restricted to seven years' rent.
(41-351) These alterations were attended with the greatest
(41-351)advantages to the country in process of time,
(41-351)but they were very offensive to the Scottish
(41-351)nobility, whom they deprived of valuable rights at
(41-351)an inadequate price.
(41-351) Charles also made an attempt to reverse some of

(41-351)the attainders which had taken place in his father's
(41-351)time, particularly that of Stewart, Earl of Bothwell.
(41-351)Much of this turbulent nobleman's forfeited
(41-351)property had fallen to the lot of the Lords of
(41-351)Buccleuch and Cessford, who were compelled to
(41-351)surrender a part of their spoils. These proceedings,

[TG41-352, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 352]

(41-352)as well as the revocation of the grants of tithes,
(41-352)highly irritated the Scottish nobility, and some
(41-352)wild proposals were held among them for dethroning
(41-352)Charles, and placing the Marquis of Hamilton
(41-352)on the throne.

(41-352) The only remarkable consequence of this
(41-352)intrigue, was a trial in the long forgotten Court of
(41-352)Chivalry, the last, it may be supposed, that will
(41-352)ever take place. Donald Lord Reay affirmed, that
(41-352)Mr David Ramsay had used certain treasonable
(41-352)expressions in his, the said Donald's hearing.
(41-352)Both were summoned to appear before the High
(41-352)Constable of England. They appeared accordingly,
(41-352)in great pomp, attended by their friends.

(41-352) "Lord Reay," says an eyewitness, "was clothed
(41-352)in black velvet, embroidered with silver, carried his
(41-352)sword in a silver embroidered belt, and wore around
(41-352)his neck his badge as a Baronet of Nova Scotia.
(41-352)He was a tall, back, swarthy man, of a portly and
(41-352)stout demeanour." The defender was next ushered
(41-352)in, a fair man, and having a head of ruddy hair so
(41-352)bushy and long, that he was usually termed Ramsay
(41-352)Redhead. He was dressed in scarlet so richly
(41-352)embroidered with gold, that the cloth could scarcely
(41-352)be discerned, but he was totally unarmed. While
(41-352)they fixed their eyes on each other sternly, the
(41-352)charge was read, stating that Ramsay, the defendant,

(41-352)had urged him, Lord Reay, to engage in a
(41-352)conspiracy for dethroning the King, and placing the
(41-352)Marquis of Hamilton upon the throne. He added,
(41-352)that if Ramsay should deny this, he would prove
(41-352)him a villain and a traitor by dint of sword. Ramsay,

[TG41-353, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 353]

(41-353)for answer, called Reay "a liar and a barbarous
(41-353)villain, and protested he should die for it."
(41-353)They exchanged gloves. After many delays, the
(41-353)Court named a day of combat, assigning as the
(41-353)weapons to be used, a spear, a long sword, and a
(41-353)short sword or a dagger. The most minute
(41-353)circumstances were arranged, and provision was even
(41-353)made at what time the parties might have the
(41-353)assistance of armourers and tailors, with hammers,
(41-353)nails, files, scissors, bodkins, needles, and thread.
(41-353)But now, when you are perhaps expecting, with
(41-353)curiosity, a tale of a bloody fight, I have to
(41-353)acquaint you that the King forbade the combat, and
(41-353)the affair was put to sleep. Times were greatly
(41-353)changed since the days when almost every species
(41-353)of accusation might be tried in this manner.
(41-353) Charles visited his native country of Scotland in
(41-353)1633, for the purpose of being crowned. He was
(41-353)received by the people at first with great apparent
(41-353)affection; but discontent arose on its being observed,
(41-353)that he omitted no opportunity of pressing upon
(41-353)the bishops, who had hitherto only worn plain black
(41-353)gowns, the use of the more splendid vestments of
(41-353)the English Church. This alteration of habit
(41-353)grievously offended the Presbyterians, who saw in
(41-353)it a farther approximation to the Romish ritual;

[TG41-354, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 354]

(41-354)while the nobility, remembering that they had been
(41-354)partly deprived of their tithes, and that their
(41-354)possession of the church lands was in danger, saw with
(41-354)great pleasure the obnoxious prelates, for whose
(41-354)sake the revocation had been made, incur the odium
(41-354)of the people at large.

(41-354) It was left for Archbishop Laud to bring all this
(41-354)slumbering discontent into action, by an attempt to
(41-354)introduce into the divine service of the Church of
(41-354)Scotland a Form of Common Prayer and Liturgy
(41-354)similar to that used in England. This, however
(41-354)reasonable an institution in itself, was at variance
(41-354)with the character of Presbyterian worship, in
(41-354)which the clergyman always addressed the Deity
(41-354)in extemporaneous prayer, and in no prescribed, or
(41-354)regular form of words. King James himself, when
(41-354)courting the favour of the Presbyterian party, had
(41-354)called the English service an ill-mumbled mass;
(41-354)forgetting that the objection to the mass applies,
(41-354)not to the prayers, which must be excellent, since
(41-354)they are chiefly extracted from Scripture, but to
(41-354)the worship of the Eucharist, which Protestants

[TG41-355, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 355]

(41-355)think idolatrous, and to the service being in a
(41-355)foreign language. Neither of these objections
(41-355)applies to the English form of prayer; but the
(41-355)expression of the King was not forgotten, and he was
(41-355)reminded of it far more frequently than was
(41-355)agreeable to him.

(41-355) Upon the whole, this new and most obnoxious
(41-355)change in the form of public worship, throughout
(41-355)Scotland, where the nobility were known to be in
(41-355)a state of great discontent, was very ill-timed.

(41-355)Right or wrong, the people in general were
(41-355)prejudiced against this innovation, in a matter so
(41-355)serious as the form of devotion; and yet, such a change
(41-355)was to be attempted, without any other authority
(41-355)than that of the King and the bishops; while both
(41-355)the Parliament, and a General Assembly of the
(41-355)Church of Scotland, had a right to be consulted in
(41-355)a matter so important. Nor is it less extraordinary
(41-355)that the Government seems to have been
(41-355)totally unprovided with any sufficient force to overcome
(41-355)the opposition which was most certain to take
(41-355)place.

(41-355) The rash and fatal experiment was made, 23rd
(41-355)July, 1637, in the High Church of St. Giles,
(41-355)Edinburgh, where the dean of the city prepared to read
(41-355)the new service before a numerous concourse of
(41-355)persons, none of whom seem to have been favourably
(41-355)disposed to its reception. As the reader of
(41-355)the prayers announced the Collect for the day, an
(41-355)old woman, named Jenny Geddes, who kept a green
(41-355)stall in the High Street, bawled out -- "The deil
(41-355)colick in the wame of thee, thou false thief! dost

[TG41-356, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 356]

(41-356)thou say the mass at my lug?" With that she
(41-356)flung at the dean's head the stool upon which she
(41-356)had been sitting, and a wild tumult instantly
(41-356)commenced. The women of lower condition [instigated,
(41-356)it is said, by their superiors] flew at the dean,
(41-356)tore the surplice from his shoulders, and drove
(41-356)him out of the church. The Bishop of Edinburgh
(41-356)mounted the pulpit, but he was also assailed with
(41-356)missiles, and with vehement exclamations of "A
(41-356)Pope! a Pope! Antichrist! pull him down, stone
(41-356)him!" while the windows were broken with stones

(41-356)flung by a disorderly multitude from without.
(41-356)This was not all: the prelates were assaulted in
(41-356)the street, and misused by the mob. The life of
(41-356)the bishop was with difficulty saved by Lord
(41-356)Roxburghe, who carried him home in his carriage,
(41-356)surrounded by his retinue with drawn swords.
(41-356) This tumult, which has now something ludicrous
(41-356)in its details, was the signal for a general resistance
(41-356)to the reception of the Service-book throughout the
(41-356)whole country. The Privy Council of Scotland

[TG41-357, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 357]

(41-357)were lukewarm, or rather cold, in the cause. They
(41-357)wrote to Charles a detailed account of the tumults,
(41-357)and did not conceal, that the opposition to the
(41-357)measure was spreading far and wide.
(41-357) Charles was inflexible in his purpose, and so
(41-357)greatly incensed that he showed his displeasure
(41-357)even in trifles. It was the ancient custom, to have
(41-357)a fool, or jester, maintained at court, privileged to
(41-357)break his satirical jests at random. The post was
(41-357)then held by one Archie Armstrong, who, as he
(41-357)saw the Archbishop of Canterbury posting to court,
(41-357)in consequence of the mortifying tidings from Scotland,
(41-357)could not help whispering in the prelate's ear
(41-357)the sly question, "Who's fool now, my lord?"
(41-357)For this jest, poor Archie, having been first severely
(41-357)whipped, was disgraced and dismissed from court,
(41-357)where no fool has again been admitted, at least in
(41-357)an avowed and official capacity.
(41-357) But Archie was a more accessible object of
(41-357)punishment than the malecontents in Scotland. It
(41-357)was in vain that Charles sent down repeated and
(41-357)severe messages, blaming the Privy Council, the
(41-357)Magistrates, and all who did not punish the rioters,

(41-357)and enforce the reading of the Service-book. The

[TG41-358, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 358]

(41-358)resistance to the measure, which was at first tumultuous,
(41-358)and the work of the lower orders, had now
(41-358)assumed quality and consistency. More than thirty
(41-358)peers, and a very great proportion of the gentry
(41-358)of Scotland, together with the greater part of the
(41-358)royal burghs, had, before the month of December,
(41-358)agreed not merely to oppose the Service-book, but
(41-358)to act together in resisting the further intrusions
(41-358)of Prelacy. They were kept in union and directed
(41-358)by representatives appointed from among themselves,
(41-358)and forming separate Committees, or, as
(41-358)they were termed, Tables or Boards of
(41-358)management.

(41-358) Under the auspices of these Tables, or Committees,
(41-358)a species of engagement, or declaration, was
(41-358)drawn up, the principal object of which was, the
(41-358)eradication of Prelacy in all its modifications, and
(41-358)the establishment of presbytery on its purest and
(41-358)most simple basis. This engagement was called
(41-358)the National Covenant, as resembling those covenants
(41-358)which, in the Old Testament, God is said to
(41-358)have made with the people of Israel. The terms
(41-358)of this memorable league professed the Reformed
(41-358)faith, and abjured the rites and doctrines of the
(41-358)Romish Church, with which were classed the newly
(41-358)imposed Liturgy and Canons. This covenant, which

[TG41-359, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 359]

(41-359)had for its object to annul all of prelatie innovation
(41-359)that James's policy, and his son's violence, had been
(41-359)able to introduce into the Presbyterian Church, was

(41-359)sworn to by hundreds, thousands, and
(41-359)hundreds of thousands, of every age and
(41-359)description, vowing, with uplifted hands
(41-359)and weeping eyes, that, with the Divine assistance,
(41-359)they would dedicate life and fortune to maintain
(41-359)the object of their solemn engagement. (1st March, 1638)
(41-359) Undoubtedly, many persons who thus subscribed
(41-359)the National Covenant, did not seriously feel any
(41-359)apprehension that Prelacy would introduce Popery,
(41-359)or that the Book of Common Prayer was in itself
(41-359)a grievance which the people of Scotland did well
(41-359)or wisely to oppose; but they were convinced,
(41-359)that in thus forcing a matter of conscience upon a
(41-359)whole nation, the King disregarded the rights and
(41-359)liberties of his subjects, and foresaw, that if not
(41-359)now withstood, he was most likely to make himself
(41-359)absolute master of their rights and privileges in
(41-359)secular as well as religious affairs. They therefore
(41-359)joined in such measures as procured a general
(41-359)resistance to the arbitrary power so rashly assumed
(41-359)by King Charles.
(41-359) Mean time, while King negotiated and
(41-359)procrastinated, Scotland, though still declaring attachment

[TG41-360, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 360]

(41-360)to his person, was nearly in a state of general
(41-360)resistance.
(41-360) The Covenanters, as they began to be called,
(41-360)held a General Assembly of the Church, at which
(41-360)the Marquis of Hamilton attended as Lord
(41-360)Commissioner for the King. This important meeting
(41-360)was held at Glasgow.(21st Nov. 1638) There all the
(41-360)measures pointed at by the Covenant
(41-360)were carried fully into effect. Episcopacy
(41-360)was abolished, the existing bishops were

(41-360)deprived of their power, and eight of them
(41-360)excommunicated for divers alleged irregularities.
(41-360) The Covenanters took arms to support these
(41-360)bold measures. They recalled to Scotland the
(41-360)numerous officers who had been trained in the wars
(41-360)of Germany, and committed the command of the
(41-360)whole to Alexander Lesley, a veteran general of
(41-360)skill and experience, who had possessed the friendship
(41-360)of Gustavus Adolphus. They soon made
(41-360)great progress; for the castles of Edinburgh,
(41-360)Dalkeith, and other national fortresses, were treacherously
(41-360)surrendered to, or daringly surprised, by the
(41-360)Covenanters.
(41-360) King Charles, mean time, was preparing for the
(41-360)invasion of Scotland with a powerful army by
(41-360)land and sea. The fleet was commanded by the
(41-360)Marquis of Hamilton, who, unwilling to commence
(41-360)a civil war, or, as some supposed, not being on
(41-360)this occasion peculiarly zealous in the King's service,
(41-360)made no attempt to prosecute the enterprise.
(41-360)The fleet lay idle in the frith of Forth, while
(41-360)Charles in person, at the head of an army of

[TG41-361, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 361]

(41-361)twenty-three thousand men, gallantly equipped by
(41-361)the English nobility, seemed as much determined
(41-361)upon the subjugation of his ancient kingdom of
(41-361)Scotland, as ever any of the Edwards or Henrys
(41-361)of England had been. But the Scottish
(41-361)Covenanters showed the same determined spirit of
(41-361)resistance, which, displayed by their ancestors,
(41-361)had frustrated so many invasions, and it was
(41-361)now mingled with much political discretion.
(41-361) A great degree of military discipline had been
(41-361)introduced into the Scottish levies, considering

(41-361)how short time they had been on foot. They lay
(41-361)encamped on Dunse Law, a gently sloping hill, very
(41-361)favourable for a military display. Their camp
(41-361)was defended by forty field-pieces, and their army
(41-361)consisted of twenty-four or twenty-five thousand
(41-361)men. The highest Scottish nobles, as Argyle,
(41-361)Rothes, Cassilis, Eglinton, Dalhousie, Lindsay,
(41-361)Loudoun, Balcarras, and others, acted as colonels;
(41-361)their captains were gentlemen of high rank and
(41-361)fortune; and the inferior commissions were chiefly
(41-361)bestowed on veteran officers who had served
(41-361)abroad. The utmost order was observed in their
(41-361)camp, while the presence of numerous clergymen
(41-361)kept up the general enthusiasm, and seemed to
(41-361)give a religious character to the war.

[TG41-362, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 362]

(41-362) In this crisis, when a decisive battle was to have
(41-362)been expected, only one very slight action took place,
(41-362)when a few English cavalry, retreating
(41-362)hastily, and in disorder, from a still smaller
(41-362)number of Scots, seemed to show that the
(41-362)invaders had not their hearts engaged in the
(41-362)combat.(3rd June 1639) The King was surrounded by many
(41-362)counsellors, who had no interest to encourage the war;
(41-362)and the whole body of English Puritans considered
(41-362)the resistance of Scotland as the triumph of the
(41-362)good cause over Popery and Prelacy. Charles's
(41-362)own courage seems to have failed him, at the idea
(41-362)of encountering a force so well provided, and so
(41-362)enthusiastic, as that of the covenanters, with a
(41-362)dispirited army acting under divided councils. A
(41-362)treaty was entered into, though of an insecure
(41-362)character. The King granted a declaration, in
(41-362)which, without confirming the acts of the Assembly

(41-362)of Glasgow, which he would not acknowledge
(41-362)as a lawful one, he agreed that all matters concerning
(41-362)the regulation of church-government should
(41-362)be left to a new Convocation of the Church.
(41-362) Such an agreement could not be lasting. The
(41-362)Covenanting Lords did, indeed, disband their

[TG41-363, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 363]

(41-363)forces, and restore to the King's troops the strong
(41-363)places which they had occupied; but they held
(41-363)themselves ready to take arms, and seize upon
(41-363)them again, on the slightest notice; neither was
(41-363)the King able to introduce any considerable
(41-363)degree of disunion into so formidable a league.
(41-363) The General Assembly of the Church, convened
(41-363)according to the treaty, failed not to confirm all
(41-363)that had been done by their predecessors at Glasgow;
(41-363)the National Covenant was renewed, and
(41-363)the whole conclusions of the body were in favour
(41-363)of pure and unmingled Presbytery. The Scottish
(41-363)Parliament, on their part, demanded several
(41-363)privileges, necessary, it was said, to freedom of
(41-363)debate, and required that the Estates of the kingdom
(41-363)should be convened at least once every three
(41-363)years. On receiving these demands, Charles
(41-363)thought he beheld a formed scheme for
(41-363)undermining his royal authority, and prepared to renew
(41-363)the war.
(41-363) His determination involved, however,
(41-363)consequences more important than even the war with
(41-363)Scotland. His private economy had enabled the
(41-363)King to support, from the crown lands and other
(41-363)funds, independent of parliamentary grants, the
(41-363)ordinary expenses of the state, and he had been
(41-363)able even to sustain the charges of the first army

(41-363)raised to invade Scotland, without having recourse
(41-363)to the House of Commons. But this treasures were
(41-363)now exhausted, and it became indispensable to
(41-363)convoke a parliament, and obtain from the
(41-363)Commons a grant of money to support the war. The

[TG41-364, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 364]

(41-364)Parliament met, but were too much occupied by
(41-364)their own grievances, to take an immediate interest
(41-364)in the Scottish war, which they only viewed as
(41-364)affording a favourable opportunity for enforcing
(41-364)their own objects. They refused the supplies
(41-364)demand. The King was obliged to dissolve
(41-364)them, and have recourse to the aid of Ireland, to
(41-364)the convocation of the Church, to compulsory loans,
(41-364)and other indirect methods of raising money, so
(41-364)that his resources were exhausted by the effort.
(41-364) On hearing that the King was again collecting
(41-364)his army, and had placed himself at its head, the
(41-364)Parliament of Scotland resolved on re-assembling
(41-364)theirs. It was done with such facility, and so
(41-364)speedily, that it was plain they had been, during
(41-364)the short suspension of arms, occupied in preparing
(41-364)for a new rupture. They did not now wait till
(41-364)the King should invade Scotland, but boldly crossed
(41-364)(41-364)the Tweed, entered England, and advancing to the
(41-364)banks of the Tyne, found Lord Conway posted at
(41-364)Newburn, with six thousand men, having batteries
(41-364)of cannon in his front, and prepared to dispute the
(41-364)passage of the river. On 28th August, 1640, the
(41-364)battle of Newburn was fought. The Scots, after
(41-364)silencing the artillery by their superior fire, entered
(41-364)the ford, girdle deep, and made their way across
(41-364)the river. The English fled with a speed and
(41-364)disorder unworthy of their national reputation.

(41-364) The King, surprised at this defeat, and justly
(41-364)distrusting the faith of many who were in his
(41-364)army and near his person, directed his forces to
(41-364)retreat into Yorkshire, where he had arrived in

[TG41-365, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 365]

(41-365)person; and again, with more serious intentions of
(41-365)abiding by it, commenced a negotiation with his
(41-365)insurgent subjects. At the same time, to appease
(41-365)the growing discontent of the English nation, he
(41-365)resolved again to call a Parliament. There were,
(41-365)no doubt, in the royal camp, many persons to whom
(41-365)the presence of a Scottish army was acceptable, as
(41-365)serving to overawe the more violent royalists; and
(41-365)the Scots were easily induced to protract their stay,
(41-365)when it was proposed to them to receive pay and
(41-365)provisions at the expense of England.

(41-365) The meeting of that celebrated body called, in
(41-365)English history, the Long Parliament, took place
(41-365)on 3d November, 1640. The majority of the
(41-365)members were disaffected with the King's government,
(41-365)on account of his severity in matters of religion,
(41-365)and his tendency to despotism in state affairs.

(41-365)These malcontents formed a strong party, determined
(41-365)to diminish the royal authority, and reduce,
(41-365)if not altogether to destroy, the hierarchy of the
(41-365)church. The negotiations for peace being
(41-365)transferred from Rippon to London, the presence of the
(41-365)Scottish commissioners was highly acceptable to
(41-365)those statesmen who opposed the King; and the
(41-365)preaching of the clergymen by whom they were
(41-365)accompanied, appeared equally instructive to the
(41-365)citizens of London and their wives.

(41-365) In this favourable situation, and completely
(41-365)successful over the royal will (for Charles I could

(41-365)not propose to contend at once with the English
(41-365)Parliament and with the Scottish army), the
(41-365)peremptory demands of the Scots were neither light,

[TG41-366, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 366]

(41-366)nor easily gratified. They required that the King
(41-366)should confirm every act of the Scottish Convention
(41-366)of Estates with which he had been at war,
(41-366)recall all the proclamations which he had sent out
(41-366)against them, place the fortresses of Scotland in
(41-366)the hands of such officers as the Convention should
(41-366)approve of, pay all the expenses of the war, and,
(41-366)last and bitterest, they stipulated, that those of the
(41-366)King's counsellors who had advised the late hostilities,
(41-366)should be punished as incendiaries. While
(41-366)the Scots were discussing these severe conditions,
(41-366)they remained in their quarters in England much
(41-366)at their ease, overawing by their presence the
(41-366)King, and those who might be disposed to join
(41-366)him, and affording to the opposition party in the
(41-366)English Parliament an opportunity of obtaining
(41-366)redress for the grievances of which they, in their
(41-366)turn, complained.

(41-366) The King, thus circumstanced, was compelled
(41-366)to give way. The oppressive courts in which
(41-366)arbitrary proceedings had taken place, were abolished;
(41-366)every species of contrivance by which Charles
(41-366)had endeavoured to levy money without consent
(41-366)of Parliament, a subject on which the people of
(41-366)England were justly jealous, was declared unlawful;
(41-366)and it was provided, that Parliaments should
(41-366)be summoned every three years.

(41-366) Thus the power of the King was reduced within
(41-366)the boundaries of the constitution: but the Parliament
(41-366)were not satisfied with this general redress

(41-366)of grievances, though including all that had hitherto
(41-366)been openly complained of. A strong party

[TG41-367, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 367]

(41-367)among the members was determined to be satisfied
(41-367)with nothing short of the abolition of Episcopacy
(41-367)in England as well as in Scotland; and many, who
(41-367)did not aim at that favourite point, entertained
(41-367)fears, that if the King were left in possession of
(41-367)such powers as the constitution allowed him, he
(41-367)would find means of re-establishing and perpetuating
(41-367)the grievances which, for the time, he had
(41-367)consented to abolish.

(41-367) Gratified with a donation of three hundred thousand
(41-367)pounds, given under the delicate name of
(41-367)brotherly assistance, the Scottish army at length
(41-367)retired homeward, and left the King and Parliament
(41-367)of England to settle their own affairs. The
(41-367)troops had scarcely returned to Scotland and
(41-367)disbanded, when Charles proposed to himself a visit
(41-367)to his native kingdom. He arrived in Scotland on
(41-367)the 12th of August, 1641. There can be little
(41-367)doubt that the purpose of this royal progress was
(41-367)to enquire closely into the cause which had
(41-367)enabled the Scottish nation, usually divided into
(41-367)factions and quarrels, to act with such unanimity, and
(41-367)to try whether it might not be possible for the
(41-367)King to attach to his royal interest and person
(41-367)some of the principal leaders, and thus form a part
(41-367)who might not only prevent his English dominions
(41-367)from being again invaded by an army from Scotland,
(41-367)but might be disposed to serve him in case
(41-367)he should come to an open rupture with his English
(41-367)Parliament. For this purpose he dispensed
(41-367)dignities and gifts in Scotland with an unsparing hand;

(41-367)made General Lesley Earl Leven, raised the

[TG41-368, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 368]

(41-368)Lords Loudon and Lindsay to the same rank, and
(41-368)received into his administration several nobles who
(41-368)had been active in the late invasion of England.
(41-368)On most of these person, the King's benefits
(41-368)produced little effect. They considered him only as
(41-368)giving what, if he had dared, he would have withheld.
(41-368)But Charles made a convert to his interests
(41-368)of one nobleman, whose character and actions have
(41-368)rendered him a memorable person in Scottish
(41-368)history.

(41-368) This was James Graham, earl of Montrose; a
(41-368)man of high genius, glowing with the ambition
(41-368)which prompts great actions, and conscious of
(41-368)courage and talents which enabled him to aspire to
(41-368)much by small and inadequate means. He was a
(41-368)poet and a scholar, deeply skilled in the art of war,
(41-368)and possessed of a strength of constitution and
(41-368)activity of mind, by which he could sustain every
(41-368)hardship, and find a remedy in every reverse of
(41-368)fortune. It was remarked of him by Cardinal du
(41-368)Retz, an unquestionable judge, that he resembled
(41-368)more nearly than any man of his age those great
(41-368)heroes, whose names and history are handed down
(41-368)to us by the Greek and Roman historians. As a
(41-368)qualification to this high praise, it must be added,
(41-368)that Montrose's courage sometimes approached
(41-368)to rashness, and that some of his actions arose
(41-368)more from the dictates of private revenge, than
(41-368)became his nobler qualities.

(41-368) The young earl had attended the court of Charles
(41-368)when he came home from his travels, but not meeting
(41-368)with the attention or distinction which he was

[TG41-369, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 369]

(41-369)conscious of deserving, he withdrew into Scotland,
(41-369)and took a zealous share in forming and forwarding
(41-369)the National Covenant. A man of such talent could
(41-369)not fail to be employed and distinguished. Montrose
(41-369)was sent by the confederated lords of the
(41-369)Covenant to chastise the prelatie town of Aberdeen,
(41-369)and to disperse the Gordons, who were
(41-369)taking arms for the King under the Marquis of
(41-369)Huntly, and succeeded in both commissions. When
(41-369)the army of the Scottish Parliament entered England,
(41-369)he was the first man who forded the Tweed.
(41-369)He passed alone under the fire of the English, to
(41-369)ascertain the depth of the water, and returned to
(41-369)lead over the regiment which he commanded.
(41-369)Notwithstanding these services to the cause of the
(41-369)Covenant, Montrose had the mortification to see
(41-369)that the Earl of Argyle (the ancient feudal enemy
(41-369)of his house) was preferred to him by the heads of
(41-369)the party, and chiefly by the clergy. There was
(41-369)something in the fiery ambition, and unyielding
(41-369)purpose of Montrose, which startled inferior minds;
(41-369)while Argyle, dark, close, and crafty -- a man well
(41-369)qualified to affect a complete devotion to the ends
(41-369)of others, when he was, in fact, bent on forwarding
(41-369)his own, -- stooped lower to court popularity, and
(41-369)was more successful in gaining it.
(41-369) The King had long observed that Montrose was
(41-369)dissatisfied with the party to which he had hitherto
(41-369)adhered, and found no difficulty in engaging his
(41-369)services for the future in the royal cause. The
(41-369)noble convert set so actively about inducing others
(41-369)to follow his example, that even during the course

[TG41-370, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 370]

(41-370)of the treaty at Rippon, he had procured the
(41-370)subscription of nineteen noblemen to a bond, engaging
(41-370)themselves to unite in support of Charles. This
(41-370)act of defection being discovered by the Covenanters,
(41-370)Montrose was imprisoned; and the King, on
(41-370)coming to Scotland, had the mortification to find
(41-370)himself deprived of the assistance of this invaluable
(41-370)adherent.

(41-370) Montrose contrived, however, to communicate
(41-370)with the King from his prison in the castle of
(41-370)Edinburgh, and disclosed so many circumstances
(41-370)respecting the purposes of the Marquis of Hamilton
(41-370)and the Earl of Argyle, that Charles had
(41-370)resolved to arrest them both at one moment, and had
(41-370)assembled soldiers for that purpose. They escaped,
(41-370)however, and retired to their houses, where they
(41-370)could not have been seized, but by open violence,
(41-370)and at the risk of a civil war. These noblemen
(41-370)were recalled to court; and to show that the
(41-370)King's confidence in them was unchanged, Argyle
(41-370)was raised to the rank of marquis. This obscure
(41-370)affair was called the Incident; it was never well
(41-370)explained, but at the time excited much suspicion
(41-370)of the King's purposes both in England and Scotland,
(41-370)and aggravated the disinclination of the
(41-370)English Parliament to leave his royal power on
(41-370)the present unreduced footing.

(41-370) There can be little doubt that Montrose's disclosures
(41-370)to the King concerned the private correspondence
(41-370)which passed between the Scottish Covenanters
(41-370)and the Opposition party in the Parliament
(41-370)of England, and which Charles might hope to
(41-370)convert into an accusation of high treason against

[TG41-371, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 371]

(41-371)both. But as he did not feel that he possessed a
(41-371)party in Scotland strong enough to contend with
(41-371)the great majority of the nobles of that country, he
(41-371)judged it best to pass over all further notice of the
(41-371)Incident for the time, and to leave Scotland under
(41-371)the outward appearance at least of mutual concord.
(41-371)He was formally congratulated on departing a
(41-371)contented king from a contented people -- a state of
(41-371)things, which did not last long.

(41-371) It was, indeed, impossible that Scotland should
(41-371)remain long tranquil, while England, with whom
(41-371)she was now so closely connected, was in such dreadful
(41-371)disorder. The King had no sooner returned
(41-371)from Scotland, than the quarrel betwixt him and
(41-371)his Parliament was renewed with more violence
(41-371)than ever. If either party could have reposed
(41-371)confidence in the other's sincerity, the concessions made
(41-371)by the King were such as ought to have gratified
(41-371)the Parliament. But the strongest suspicions were
(41-371)entertained by the prevailing party, that the King
(41-371)considered the grants which he had made, as having
(41-371)been extorted from him by violence, and that
(41-371)he retained the steady purpose of reassuming, in
(41-371)its full extent, the obnoxious and arbitrary power
(41-371)of which he had been deprived for a season, but
(41-371)which he still considered as part of his royal right.
(41-371)They therefore resolved not to quit the ascendancy
(41-371)which they had attained, until they had deprived
(41-371)the King, for a season at least, of a large portion of
(41-371)his remaining prerogative, although bestowed on
(41-371)him by the constitution, that they might thus
(41-371)prevent his employing it for the recovery of those

[TG41-372, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 372]

(41-372)arbitrary privileges which had been usurped by the
(41-372)throne during the reign of the Tudors.

(41-372) While the Parliamentary leaders argued thus,
(41-372)the King, on his side, complained that no concession,
(41-372)however large, was found adequate to satisfy
(41-372)the demands of his discontented subjects. "He
(41-372)had already," he urged, "resigned all the points
(41-372)which had been disputed between them, yet they
(41-372)continued as ill satisfied as before." On these
(41-372)grounds the partisans of the Crown were alarmed
(41-372)with the idea that it was the purpose of Parliament
(41-372)altogether to abrogate the royal authority, or at
(41-372)least to depose the reigning King.

(41-372) On the return of Charles to London, the
(41-372)Parliament greeted him with a remonstrance, in which
(41-372)he was upbraided with all the real and
(41-372)supposed errors of his reign..(25th Nov.) At the same
(41-372)time, a general disposition to tumult showed itself
(41-372)throughout the city. Great mobs of apprentices
(41-372)and citizens, not always of the lowest rank, came in
(41-372)tumult to Westminster, under the pretence of
(41-372)petitioning the Houses of Parliament; and as they
(41-372)passed Whitehall, they insulted, with loud shouts,
(41-372)the guards and servants of the King. The parties
(41-372)soon came to blows, and blood was spilt between
(41-372)them.

(41-372) Party names, too, were assumed to distinguish
(41-372)the friends of the King from those who favoured
(41-372)the Parliament. The former were chiefly gay
(41-372)young men, who, according to the fashion of the
(41-372)times, wore showy dresses, and cultivated the
(41-372)growth of long hair, which, arranged in ringlets,

[TG41-373, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 373]

(41-373)fell over their shoulders. They were called
(41-373)Cavaliers. In distinction, those who adhered to the
(41-373)Parliament, assumed, in their garb and deportment,
(41-373)a seriousness and gravity which rejected all ornament.
(41-373)They were their hair, in particular, cropped
(41-373)short around the head, and thence gained the
(41-373)name of Roundheads.
(41-373) But it was the difference in their ideas of
(41-373)religious, or rather of church government, which chiefly
(41-373)widened the division betwixt the two parties. The
(41-373)King had been bred up to consider the preservation
(41-373)of the Church of England and her hierarchy, as a
(41-373)sacred point of his royal duty, since he was recognised
(41-373)by the constitution as its earthly head and
(41-373)superintendent. The Presbyterian system, on the
(41-373)contrary, was espoused by a large proportion of the
(41-373)Parliament; and they were, for the time, seconded
(41-373)by the other numerous classes of Dissenters, all of
(41-373)whom desired to see the destruction of the Church
(41-373)of England, however unwilling they might be, in
(41-373)their secret mind, that a Presbyterian church
(41-373)government should be set up in its stead. The
(41-373)enemies of the English hierarchy greatly predominating
(41-373)within the Houses of Parliament, the lords
(41-373)spiritual, or bishops, were finally expelled from
(41-373)their seats in the House of Lords, and their removal
(41-373)was celebrated as a triumph by the London
(41-373)citizens.
(41-373) While matters were in this state, the King
(41-373)committed a great imprudence. Having conceived that
(41-373)he had acquired from Montrose's discovery, or

[TG41-374, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 374]

(41-374)otherwise, certain information that five of the leading
(41-374)members of the House of Commons had been

(41-374)guilty of holding such intimate communication with
(41-374)the Scots when in arms, as might authorize a charge
(41-374)of high treason against them, he formed the highly
(41-374)rash and culpable intention of going to the House
(41-374)of Commons in person, with an armed train of
(41-374)attendants, and causing the accused members to be
(41-374)arrested. By this ill-advised measure, Charles
(41-374)doubtless expected to strike terror into the opposite
(41-374)party; but it proved altogether ineffectual.
(41-374)The five members had received private information
(41-374)of the blow to be aimed at them, and had fled into
(41-374)the City, where they found numbers willing to
(41-374)conceal, or defend them. The King, by his visit
(41-374)to the House of Commons, only showed that he
(41-374)could stoop to act almost in the capacity of a common
(41-374)constable, or catchpole; and that he disregarded
(41-374)the respect due to the representatives of the
(41-374)British people, in meditating such an arrest of their
(41-374)members in the presence of that body.
(41-374) After this very rash step on the part of the King,
(41-374)every chance of reconciliation seemed at an end.
(41-374)The Commons rejected all amicable proposals,
(41-374)unless the King would surrender to them, for a time
(41-374)at least, the command of the militia or armed force
(41-374)of the kingdom; and that would have been equivalent
(41-374)to laying his crown at their feet. The King
(41-374)refused to surrender the command of the militia,
(41-374)even for an instant; and both parties prepared to
(41-374)take up arms. Charles left London, where the

[TG41-375, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 375]

(41-375)power of the Parliament was predominant, assembled
(41-375)what friends he could gather at Nottingham,
(41-375)and hoisted the royal standard there, as the signal
(41-375)of civil war, on 25th August, 1642.

(41-375) The hostilities which ensued, over almost all
(41-375)England, were of a singular character. Long
(41-375)accustomed to peace, the English had but little
(41-375)knowledge of the art of war. The friends of the
(41-375)contending parties assembled their followers, and
(41-375)marched against each other, without much idea of
(41-375)taking strong position, or availing themselves of
(41-375)able manoeuvres, but with the simple and downright
(41-375)purpose of meeting, fighting with, and
(41-375)defeating those who were in arms on the other side.
(41-375)These battles were contested with great manhood
(41-375)and gallantry, but with little military skill or
(41-375)discipline. It was no uncommon thing, for one wing
(41-375)or division of the contending armies, when they
(41-375)found themselves victorious over the body opposed
(41-375)to them, to amuse themselves with chasing the
(41-375)vanquished part for leagues off the field of battle
(41-375)where the victory was in the mean while list for
(41-375>want of their support. This repeatedly happened
(41-375)through the precipitation of the King's cavalry; a
(41-375)fine body of men, consisting of the flower of the
(41-375)English nobility and gentry; but as ungovernable
(41-375)as they were valorous, and usually commanded by
(41-375)Prince Rupert, the King's nephew, a young man
(41-375)of fiery courage, not gifted with prudence
(41-375)corresponding to his bravery and activity.
(41-375) In these unhappy civil contentions, the ancient
(41-375)nobility and gentry of England were chiefly

[TG41-376, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 376]

(41-376)disposed to the service of the King; and the farmers
(41-376)and cultivators of the soil followed them as their
(41-376)natural leaders. The cause of the Parliament was
(41-376)supported by London, with all its wealth and its
(41-376)numbers, and by the other large towns, seaports,

(41-376)and manufacturing districts, throughout the country.
(41-376)At the commencement of the war, the
(41-376)Parliament, being in possession of most of the fortified
(41-376)places in England, with the magazines of arms and
(41-376)ammunition which they contained, having also
(41-376)numbers of men prepared to obey their summons,
(41-376)and with power to raise large sums of money to
(41-376)pay them seemed to possess great advantages over
(41-376)the party of Charles. But the gallantry of the
(41-376)King's followers was able to restore the balance,
(41-376)and proposal were made for peace on equal terms,
(41-376)which, had all parties been as sincere in seeking it,
(41-376)as the good and wise of each side certainly were,
(41-376)might then have been satisfactorily concluded.
(41-376) A treaty was set on foot at Oxford in the winter
(41-376)and spring of 1643, and the Scottish Parliament
(41-376)sent to England a committee of the persons
(41-376)employed as conservators of the peace between
(41-376)the kingdoms, to negotiate, if possible, a pacification
(41-376)between the King and his Parliament, honourable
(41-376)for the crown, satisfactory for the liberty of
(41-376)the subject, and secure for both. But the King
(41-376)listened to the warmer and more passionate
(41-376)counsellors, who pointed out to him that the Scots
(41-376)would, to a certainty, do their utmost to root out
(41-376)Prelacy in any system of accommodation which
(41-376)they might assist in framing; and that having, in

[TG41-377, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 41, p. 377]

(41-377)fact, been the first who had set the example of a
(41-377)successful resistance to the Crown, they could not
(41-377)now be expected to act as friends to the King in
(41-377)any negotiation in which his prerogative was
(41-377)concerned. The result was, that the Scottish
(41-377)Commissioners, finding themselves treated with

(41-377)coldness by the King, and with menace and scorn by
(41-377)the more vehement of his followers, left Oxford
(41-377)still more displeased with the Royal cause than
(41-377)they were when they had come thither.

[TG42-378, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 378]

(42-378) In 1643, when the advance of spring permitted
(42-378)the resumption of hostilities, it was found that the
(42-378)state of the King's party was decidedly superior
(42-378)to that of the Parliament, and it was generally
(42-378)believed that the event of the war would be decided
(42-378)in the Royal favour, could the co-operation of the
(42-378)Scots be obtained. The king privately made
(42-378)great offers to the Scottish nation, to induce them
(42-378)to declare in his favour, or at least remain neuter
(42-378)in the struggle. He called upon them to remember
(42-378)that he had gratified all their wishes, without
(42-378)exception, and reminded them that the late peace
(42-378)between England and Scotland provided, that
(42-378)neither country should declare war against the
(42-378)other without due provocation, and the consent of
(42-378)Parliament. But the members of the Scottish
(42-378)Convention of Estates were sensible, that if they

[TG42-379, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 379]

(42-379)should assist the King to conquer the English
(42-379)Parliament, for imitating their own example of
(42-379)insurrection, it would be naturally followed by their
(42-379)undergoing punishment themselves for the lesson
(42-379)which they had taught the English. They feared
(42-379)for the Presbyterian system, -- some of them, no
(42-379)doubt, feared for themselves, -- and all turned a
(42-379)deaf ear to the King's proposals.
(42-379) On the other hand, a deputation from Parliament

(42-379)pressed upon the Scottish Convention another
(42-379)clause in the treaty of peace made in 1641, namely,
(42-379)that the Parliament of either country should send
(42-379)aid to each other to repel invasion or suppress
(42-379)internal disturbances. In compliance with this
(42-379)article, the English Commissioners desires the
(42-379)assistance of a body of Scottish auxiliaries. The
(42-379)country being at this time filled with disbanded
(42-379)officers and soldiers who were eager for employment,
(42-379)the opportunity and the invitation were
(42-379)extremely tempting to them, for they remembered
(42-379)the free quarters and good pay which they had
(42-379)enjoyed while in England. Nevertheless, the

[TG42-380, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 380]

(42-380)leading members of the Convention of Estates
(42-380)were aware, that to embrace the party of the
(42-380)Parliament of England, and despatch to their assistance
(42-380)a large body of auxiliary forces, selected, as
(42-380)they must be, from their best levies, would
(42-380)necessarily expose their authority in Scotland to
(42-380)considerable danger; for the King's friends who
(42-380)had joined in the bond with Montrose, were men
(42-380)of power and influence, and, having the will, only
(42-380)waited for the opportunity, to act in his behalf;
(42-380)and might raise, perhaps, a formidable insurrection
(42-380)in Scotland itself, when relieved from the
(42-380)superiority of force which at present was so great
(42-380)on the side of the Convention. But the English
(42-380)Commissioners held out a bait which the Convention
(42-380)found it impossible to resist.
(42-380) From the success which the ruling party had
(42-380)experienced in establishing the Church of Scotland
(42-380)on a Presbyterian model, and from the great
(42-380)influence which the clergy had acquired in the

(42-380)councils of the nation by the late course of events,
(42-380)both the clergy and laity of that persuasion had
(42-380)been induced to cherish the ambitious desire of
(42-380)totally destroying the hierarchy of the Church of
(42-380)England, and of introducing into that kingdom a
(42-380)form of church government on the Presbyterian
(42-380)model. To accomplish this favourite object, the
(42-380)leading Presbyterians in Scotland were willing to
(42-380)run every risk, and to make every exertion.
(42-380) The Commissioners of England were most ready
(42-380)to join with this idea, so far as concerned the
(42-380)destruction of Prelacy; but they knew that the

[TG42-381, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 310]

(42-381)English Parliament party were greatly divided
(42-381)among themselves on the propriety of substituting
(42-381)the Presbyterian system in its place. The whole
(42-381)body of Sectarians, or Independents, were totally
(42-381)opposed to the introduction of any national church
(42-381)government whatever, and were averse to that of
(42-381)Presbytery in particular, the Scottish clergy
(42-381)having, in their opinion, shown themselves disposed
(42-381)to be as absolute and intolerant in their church
(42-381)judicatories as the bishops had been while in
(42-381)power. But, with a crafty policy, the Commissioners
(42-381)conducted the negotiation in such a manner
(42-381)as to give the Scottish Convention reason to
(42-381)believe, that they would accomplish their favourite
(42-381)desire of seeing the system which they so much
(42-381)admired acknowledged and adopted in England,
(42-381)while, in fact they bound their constituents, the
(42-381)English Parliament, to nothing specific on the
(42-381)subject.
(42-381) The Commissioners proposed to join with the
(42-381)Scottish nation in a new edition of the Covenant,

(42-381)which had before proved such a happy bond of
(42-381)union among the Scots themselves. In this new
(42-381)bond of religious association, which was called the
(42-381)Solemn League and Covenant, it was provided,
(42-381)that the church government of Scotland should be
(42-381)supported and maintained on its present footing;
(42-381)but with regard to England, the agreement was
(42-381)expressed with studied ambiguity -- the religious
(42-381)system of England, it was provided, should be
(42-381)reformed "according to the word of God, and the
(42-381)example of the best reformed churches." The

[TG42-382, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 382]

(42-382)Scots, usually more cautious in their transactions,
(42-382)never allowed themselves to doubt for a moment,
(42-382)that the rule and example to be adopted under this
(42-382)clause must necessarily be that of Presbytery, and
(42-382)under this conviction, both the nobles and the
(42-382)clergy hastened with raptures, and even with tears
(42-382)of joy, to subscribe the proposed League. But
(42-382)several of the English Commissioners enjoyed in
(42-382)secret the reserved power of interpreting the clause
(42-382)otherwise, and of explaining the phrase in a sense
(42-382)applicable to their own ideas of emancipation from
(42-382)church government of every kind.
(42-382) The Solemn League and Covenant was sworn
(42-382)to the Scotland with general acclamation, as was
(42-382)received and adopted by the English Parliament
(42-382)with the same applause, all discussion of the dubious
(42-382)article being cautiously avoided. The Scots
(42-382)proceeded, with eager haste, to send to the assistance
(42-382)of the Parliament of England a well-disciplined
(42-382)army of upwards of twenty thousand men,
(42-382)under the command of Alexander Lesley, Earl of
(42-382)Leven. An officer of character, named Baillie, was

(42-382)Leven's lieutenant, and David Lesley, a man
(42-382)greater military talents than either, was his major-
(42-382)general. Their presence contributed greatly to
(42-382)a decisive victory which the Parliament
(42-382)force gained at Marston Moor; and
(42-382)indeed, as was to be expected from their
(42-382)numbers and discipline, quickly served to give that
(42-382)party the preponderance in the field.(3d July, 1644)
(42-382) But while the Scottish auxiliaries were actively
(42-382)serving the common cause of the Parliament in

[TG42-383, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 383]

(42-383)England, the courageous and romantic enterprise
(42-383)of the Earl of Montrose, advanced by the King to
(42-383)the dignity of marquis, broke out in a train of
(42-383)success, which threatened to throw Scotland itself
(42-383)into the hands of the King and his friends. This
(42-383)nobleman's bold genius, when the royalist party in
(42-383)Scotland seemed totally crushed and dispersed,
(42-383)devised the means of assembling them together, and
(42-383)of menacing the Convention of Estates with the
(42-383)destruction of their power at home, even at the
(42-383)moment when they hoped to establish the Presbyterian
(42-383)Church in both kingdoms, by the success of
(42-383)the army which they had despatched in England.
(42-383) After obtaining his liberation from imprisonment,
(42-383)Montrose had repaired to England, and suggested
(42-383)to the King a plan of operations to be executed by
(42-383)a body of Irish, to be despatched by the Earl of
(42-383)Antrim from the county of Ulster, and landed in
(42-383)the West Highlands. With these he proposed to
(42-383)unite a force collected from the Highland clans,
(42-383)who were disinclined to the Presbyterian government,
(42-383)great enemies to the Marquis of Argyle, and
(42-383)attached to the Royal cause, because they regard

(42-383)the King as a chieftain whose clan was in rebellion
(42-383)against him, and who, therefore, deserved the
(42-383)support of every faithful mountaineer. The promise
(42-383)of pay, to which they had never been accustomed,
(42-383)and the certainty of booty, would as Montrose
(42-383)judiciously calculated, readily bring many chieftains
(42-383)and clans to the Royal Standard. The
(42-383)powerful family of the Gordons, in Aberdeenshire,
(42-383)who, besides enjoying almost princely authority

[TG42-384, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 384]

(42-384)over the numerous gentlemen of their family, had
(42-384)extensive influence among the mountain tribes in
(42-384)their neighbourhood, or, in the Scottish phrase,
(42-384)"could command a great Highland following,"
(42-384)might also be reckoned upon with certainty; as
(42-384)they had been repeatedly in arms for the King,
(42-384)had not been put down without a stout resistance,
(42-384)and were still warmly disposed towards the Royal
(42-384)cause. The support of many of the nobility and
(42-384)gentry in the north, might also be regarded as
(42-384)probable, should Montrose be able to collect a
(42-384)considerable force. The Episcopal establishment, so
(42-384)odious to the lords and barons of the southern and
(42-384)western parts of Scotland, was popular in the north.
(42-384)The northern barons were displeased with the
(42-384)extreme strictness of the Presbyterian clergy, and
(42-384)dissatisfied with the power they had often assumed
(42-384)of interfering with the domestic arrangements of
(42-384)families, under pretext of maintaining moral discipline.
(42-384)Finally, there were in all parts of Scotland
(42-384)active and daring men disappointed of obtaining
(42-384)employment or preferment under the existing
(42-384)government, and therefore willing to join in any
(42-384)enterprise, however desperate, which promised a

(42-384)change.

(42-384) All this was known to the Convention of
(42-384)Estates; but they had not fully estimated the magnitude
(42-384)of the danger. Montrose's personal talents
(42-384)were, to a certain extent, admitted; but ordinary
(42-384)men were incapable of estimating such a character
(42-384)as his; and he was generally esteemed a vain,
(42-384)though able young man, whose remarkable ambition

[TG42-385, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 385]

(42-385)was capable of urging him into rash and
(42-385)impracticable undertakings. The great power of the
(42-385)Marquis of Argyle was relied upon as a sufficient
(42-385)safeguard against any attempt on the west Highlands,
(42-385)and his numerous, brave, and powerful clan
(42-385)had long kept all the other tribes of that country
(42-385)in a species of awe, if not of subjection.

(42-385) But the character of the Highlanders was
(42-385)estimated according to a sort of calculation, which
(42-385)time had rendered very erroneous. In the former
(42-385)days of Scotland, when the Lowlands were
(42-385)inhabited by men as brave, and much better armed and
(42-385)disciplined than the mountaineers, the latter had
(42-385)indeed often shown themselves alert as light troops,
(42-385)unwearied in predatory excursions; but had been
(42-385)generally, from their tumultuary charge, liable to
(42-385)defeat, either from a steady body of spearmen, who
(42-385)received their onset with lowered lances, or from
(42-385)an attack of the feudal chivalry of the Lowlands,
(42-385)completely armed and well mounted. At Harlaw,
(42-385)Corrichie, Glenlivat, and on many other occasions,
(42-385)the irregular forces of the Highlands had been
(42-385)defeated by any inferior number of their Lowland
(42-385)opponents.

(42-385) These recollections might lead the governors of

(42-385)Scotland, during the civil war, to hold a Highland
(42-385)army in low estimation. But, if such was their
(42-385)opinion, it was adopted without considering that
(42-385)half a century of uninterrupted peace had
(42-385)rendered the Lowlander much less warlike, while the
(42-385)Highlander, who always were armed, was familiar
(42-385)with the use of the weapons which he constantly

[TG42-386, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 386]

(42-386)wore, and had a greater love for fighting than the
(42-386)Lowland peasant, who, called from the peaceful
(42-386)occupations of the farm, and only prepared by a
(42-386)few days' drill, was less able to encounter the
(42-386)unwonted dangers of a field of battle. The burghers,
(42-386)who made a formidable part of the array of the
(42-386)Scottish army in former times, were not still
(42-386)more unwarlike than the peasant, being not only
(42-386)without skill in arms, and little accustomed to
(42-386)danger, but deficient also in the personal habits of
(42-386)exercise which the rustic had preserved. This
(42-386)great and essential difference between the
(42-386)Highlander and Lowlander of modern days, could
(42-386)scarcely be estimated in the middle of the
(42-386)seventeenth century, the causes by which it was brought
(42-386)about being gradual, and attracting little attention.
(42-386) Montrose's first plan was to collect a body of
(42-386)royalist horse on the frontiers of England, to burst
(42-386)at once into the centre of Scotland at their head,
(42-386)and force his way to Stirling, where a body of
(42-386)cavaliers had promised to assemble and unite with
(42-386)him. The expedition was disconcerted by a sort
(42-386)of mutiny among the English horse who had
(42-386)joined him; in consequence of which, Montrose
(42-386)disbanded his handful of followers, and exhorted
(42-386)them to make their way to the King, or to the

(42-386)nearest body of men in arms for the royal cause,
(42-386)while he himself adopted a new and more desperate
(42-386)plan. He took with him only two friends, and
(42-386)disguised himself as the groom of one of them,
(42-386)whom he followed, ill mounted and worse dressed,
(42-386)and leading a spare horse. They called themselves

[TG42-387, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 387]

(42-387)gentlemen belonging to Leven's army; for,
(42-387)of course, if Montrose had been discovered by the
(42-387)Covenanting party, a rigorous captivity was the
(42-387)least he might expect. At one time he seemed on
(42-387)the point of being detected. A straggling soldier
(42-387)passed his two companions, and coming up to
(42-387)Montrose, saluted him respectfully by his name and
(42-387)title. Montrose tried to persuade him that he was
(42-387)mistaken; but the man persisted, though with the
(42-387)utmost respect and humility of deportment. "Do
(42-387)I not know my noble Lord of Montrose?" he
(42-387)said; "But to your way, and God be with you."
(42-387)The circumstance alarmed Montrose and his
(42-387)companions; but the poor fellow was faithful, and
(42-387)never betrayed his old leader.
(42-387) In this disguise he reached the verge of the
(42-387)Highlands, and lay concealed in the house of his
(42-387)relation, Graham of Inchbraco, and afterwards, for
(42-387)still greater safety, in an obscure hut on the Highland
(42-387)frontier, while he despatched spies in very
(42-387)direction, to bring him intelligence of the state of
(42-387)the Royalist party. Bad news came from all quarters.
(42-387)The Marquis of Huntly had taken arms
(42-387)hastily and imprudently, and had been defeated and
(42-387)compelled to fly; while Gordon of Haddow, the
(42-387)most active and gallant gentleman of the name,
(42-387)was made prisoner, and, to strike terror into the

(42-387)rest of the clan, was publicly executed by order of
(42-387)the Scottish Parliament.

(42-387) Montrose's spirit was not to be broken even by
(42-387)this disappointment; and, while anxiously awaiting
(42-387)further intelligence, an indistinct rumour reached

[TG42-388, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 388]

(42-388)him that a body of soldiers from Ireland had landed
(42-388)in the West Highlands, and were wandering in the
(42-388)mountains, followed and watched by Argyle with
(42-388)a strong party of his clan. Shortly after, he learned,
(42-388)by a messenger despatched on purpose, that this
(42-388)was the promised body of auxiliaries sent to him
(42-388)from Ulster by the Earl of Antrim. Their
(42-388)commander was Alaster MacDonald, a Scoto-Irishman,
(42-388)I believe, of the Antrim family. He was
(42-388)called Coll Kittoch, or Colkitto, from his being
(42-388)left-handed; a very brave and daring man, but
(42-388)vain and opinionative, and wholly ignorant of regular
(42-388)warfare. Montrose sent orders to him to march
(42-388)with all speed into the district of Athole, and
(42-388)despatched emissaries to raise the gentlemen of that
(42-388)country in arms, as they were generally well
(42-388)affected to the King's cause. He himself set out to
(42-388)join this little band, attired in an ordinary Highland
(42-388)garb, and accompanied only by Inchbraco as
(42-388)his guide. The Irish were surprised and disappointed
(42-388)to see their expected general appear so
(42-388)poorly dressed and attended; nor had Montrose
(42-388)greater reason to congratulate himself on the
(42-388)appearance of his army. The force which was assembled
(42-388)did not exceed fifteen hundred Irish, instead
(42-388)of the thousands promised, and these were but
(42-388)indifferently armed and appointed, while only a
(42-388)few Highlanders from Badenoch were yet come to

(42-388)the appointed rendezvous.

(42-388) These active mountain warriors, however, few
(42-388)as they were, had, a day or two before, come to
(42-388)blows with the Covenanters. Macpherson of

[TG42-389, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 389]

(42-389)Cluny, chief of his name, had sent out a party of
(42-389)men, under MacPherson of Invereshie, to look out
(42-389)for Montrose, who was anxiously expected in the
(42-389)Highlands. They beheld the approach of a
(42-389)detached body of horse, which they concluded was
(42-389)the escort of their expected general. But when
(42-389)they drew nearer, the Macphersons found it to be
(42-389)several troops of the cavalry of the Covenanters,
(42-389)commanded by Colonel Herries, and quartered in
(42-389)Glencairn, for the purpose of keeping the
(42-389)Highlanders in check. While the horsemen were
(42-389)advancing in formidable superiority of numbers,
(42-389)Invereshie, who was drawing up his Highlanders for
(42-389)action, observed one of them in the act of stooping;
(42-389)and as he lifted his stick to strike him for such
(42-389)conduct in the face of the enemy, the Highlander
(42-389)arose, and proved to be MacPherson of Dalifour,
(42-389)one of the boldest men of the clan. Much surprised,
(42-389)Invereshie demanded how he, of all men,
(42-389)could think of stooping before an enemy. "I was
(42-389)only fastening a spur on the heel of my brogue,"
(42-389)said Dalifour, with perfect composure. "A spur!
(42-389)and for what purpose, at such a time and place as
(42-389)this?" asked Invereshie. "I intend to have a good
(42-389)horse before the day is over," answered the clansman
(42-389)with the same coolness. Dalifour kept his
(42-389)word; for the Lowland horse, disconcerted by a
(42-389)smart fire, and the broken nature of the ground,
(42-389)being worsted in the first onset, he got possession

(42-389)of a charger, on which he followed the pursuit, and
(42-389)brought in two prisoners.

(42-389) The report of this skirmish gave a good specimen

[TG42-390, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 390]

(42-390)to Montrose of the mettle of the mountaineers,
(42-390)while the subsequent appearance of the Athole-men,
(42-390)eight hundred strong, and the enthusiastic
(42-390)shouts with which they received their general, soon
(42-390)gave confidence to the light-hearted Irishmen.
(42-390)Montrose instantly commenced his march upon
(42-390)Strathern, and crossed the Tay. He had scarce
(42-390)done so, when he discovered on hill of
(42-390)Buchanty a body of about four hundred men, who, he
(42-390)had the satisfaction to learn by his scouts, were
(42-390)commanded by two of his own particular friends,
(42-390)Lord Kilpont and Sir John Drummond. They
(42-390)had taken arms, on hearing that a body of Irish
(42-390)were traversing the country; and learning that
(42-390)they were there under Montrose's command, for
(42-390)the King's service, they immediately placed themselves
(42-390)and their followers under his orders.

(42-390) Montrose received these succours in good time,
(42-390)for while Argyle pursued him with a large body
(42-390)of his adherents, who had followed the track of
(42-390)the Irish, Lord Elcho, the Earl of Tullibardine,
(42-390)and Lord Drummond, had collected an army of
(42-390)Lowlanders to protect the city of Perth, and to
(42-390)fight Montrose, in case he should descend from the
(42-390)hills. Montrose was aware, that such an enterprise
(42-390)as he had undertaken could only be supported
(42-390)by an excess of activity and decision. He therefore
(42-390)advanced upon the forces of Elcho, whom he
(42-390)found, on 1st September, 1644, drawn up in good
(42-390)order in a large plain called Tibbermuir, within

(42-390)three miles of Perth. They were nearly double
(42-390)Montrose's army in number, and much encouraged

[TG42-391, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 391]

(42-391)by numerous ministers, who exhorted them to fight
(42-391)valiantly, and promised them certain victory.
(42-391)They had cannon also, and cavalry, whereas
(42-391)Montrose had no artillery, and only three horses, in his
(42-391)army. After a skirmish with the cavalry of his
(42-391)opponents, who were beaten off, Montrose charged
(42-391)with the Highlanders, under a heavy fire from his
(42-391)Irish musketeers. They burst into the ranks of
(42-391)the enemy with irresistible fury, and compelled
(42-391)them to fly. Once broken, the superiority of
(42-391)numbers became useless, as the means of supporting a
(42-391)main body by reserves was not then known or
(42-391)practised. The Covenanters fled in the utmost
(42-391)terror and confusion, but the light-footed
(42-391)Highlanders did great execution in the pursuit. Many
(42-391)honest burghers, distressed by the extraordinary
(42-391)speed which they were compelled to exert, broke
(42-391)their wind, and died in consequence. Montrose
(42-391)sustained little or no loss.
(42-391) The town of Perth surrendered, and for this act
(42-391)a long string of reasons were given, which are
(42-391)rather amusingly stated in a letter from the
(42-391)ministers of that town; but we have only space to
(42-391)mention a few of them. First, it is alleged, that
(42-391)out of Elcho's defeated army, only about twelve of
(42-391)the Fifeshire men offered themselves to the

[TG42-392, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 392]

(42-392)magistrates in defence of the town, unarmed, and
(42-392)and most of them were pot-valiant from liquor.

(42-392)Secondly, it is affirmed, that the citizens had concealed
(42-392)themselves in cellars and vaults, where they lay
(42-392)panting in vain endeavours to recover the breath
(42-392)which they had wasted in their retreat, scarcely
(42-392)finding words enough to tell the provost "that
(42-392)their hearts were away, and that they would fight
(42-392)no more though they should be killed." Thirdly, the
(42-392)letter states, that if the citizens had had the
(42-392)inclination to stand out, they had not means of
(42-392)resistance, most of them having flung away their weapons
(42-392)in their flight. Finally, the courage of the defenders
(42-392)were overpowered by the sight of the enemy,
(42-392)drawn up like so many hellhounds before the gates
(42-392)of the town, their hands deeply dyed in the blood
(42-392)recently shed, and demanding, with hideous cries,
(42-392)to be led to further slaughter. The magistrates
(42-392)perhaps deserve no blame, if they capitulated in
(42-392)such circumstances, to avoid the horrors of a storm.
(42-392)But their conduct shows, at the same time, how
(42-392)much the people of the Lowlands had degenerated
(42-392)in point of military courage.
(42-392) Perth consequently opened its gates to the victor.
(42-392)But Argyle, whose northern army had been

[TG42-393, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 393]

(42-393)augmented by a considerable body of cavalry, was not
(42-393)approaching with a force, against which Montrose
(42-393)could not pretend to defend an open town. He
(42-393)abandoned Perth, therefore, and marched into
(42-393)Angus-shire, hoping he might find adherents in
(42-393)that county. Accordingly, he was there joined by
(42-393)the old Earl of Airlie and two of his sons, who
(42-393)never forsook him in success or disaster.
(42-393) This accession of strength was counterbalanced
(42-393)by a shocking event. There was a Highland

(42-393)gentleman in Montrose's camp, named James Stewart
(42-393)of Ardvoirlich, whose birth had been attended with
(42-393)some peculiar circumstances, which, though they
(42-393)lead me from my present subject, I cannot refrain
(42-393)from noticing. While his mother was pregnant,
(42-393)there came to the house of Ardvoirlich a band of
(42-393)outlaws, called Children of the Mist, Macgregors,
(42-393)some say, others call them Macdonalds of
(42-393)Ardnamurchan. They demanded food, and the lady
(42-393)caused bread and cheese to be placed on the table,
(42-393)and went into the kitchen to order a better meal to
(42-393)be made ready, such being the unvarying process
(42-393)of Highland hospitality. When the poor lady
(42-393)returned, she saw upon the table, with its mouth
(42-393)stuffed full of food, the bloody head of her brother,
(42-393)Drummond of Drummondernoch, whom the
(42-393)outlaws had met and murdered in the wood. The
(42-393)unhappy woman shrieked, ran wildly into the
(42-393)forest, where, notwithstanding strict search, she
(42-393)could not be found for many weeks. At length
(42-393)she was secured, but in a state of insanity, which

[TG42-394, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 394]

(42-394)doubtless was partly communicated to the infant of
(42-394)whom she was shortly after delivered. The lad,
(42-394)however, grew up. He was an uncertain and
(42-394)dangerous character, but distinguished for his
(42-394)muscular strength, which was so great, that he
(42-394)could, in grasping the hand of another person,
(42-394)force the blood from under the nails. This man
(42-394)was much favoured by the Lord Kilpont, whose
(42-394)accession to the King's party was lately mentioned;
(42-394)indeed, he was admitted to share that young nobleman's
(42-394)tent and bed. It appears that Ardvoirlich
(42-394)had disapproved of the step which his friend had

(42-394)taken in joining Montrose, and that he had
(42-394)solicited the young lord to join him in deserting from
(42-394)the royal army, and, it is even said, in murdering
(42-394)the general. Lord Kilpont rejected these proposals
(42-394)with disdain; when, either offended at his
(42-394)expressions, or fearful of being exposed in his
(42-394)treacherous purpose, Ardvoirlich stabbed his
(42-394)confiding friend mortally with his dagger. He then
(42-394)killed the sentinel who kept guard on the tent, and
(42-394)escaped to the camp of Argyle, where he received
(42-394)preferment. Montrose was awaked by the tumult
(42-394)which this melancholy event excited in the camp,
(42-394)and rushing into the crowd of soldiers, had the
(42-394)unhappiness to see the bleeding corpse of his noble
(42-394)friend, thus basely and treacherously murdered.
(42-394)The death of this young nobleman was a great loss
(42-394)to the royal cause.

[TG42-395, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 395]

(42-395) Montrose, so much inferior in numbers to his
(42-395)enemies, could not well form any fixed plan of
(42-395)operations. He resolved to make up for this, by
(42-395)moving with the most extraordinary celerity from
(42-395)one part of the country to another, so as to strike
(42-395)severe blows where they were least expected, and
(42-395)take the chance of awakening the drooping spirit
(42-395)of the Royalists. He therefore marched suddenly
(42-395)on Aberdeen, to endeavour to arouse the Gordons
(42-395)to arms, and defeat any body of Covenanters
(42-395)which might overawe the King's friends in that
(42-395)country. His army was now, however, greatly
(42-395)reduced in numbers; for the Highlanders, who
(42-395)had not idea of serving for a whole campaign, had
(42-395)most of them returned home to their own districts,
(42-395)to lodge their booty in safety, and get in their

(42-395)harvest. It was, on all occasions, the greatest
(42-395)inconvenience attending a Highland army, that
(42-395)after a battle, whether they won the day or lost
(42-395)it, they were certain to leave their standard in
(42-395)great numbers, and held it their undoubted right
(42-395)to do so; insomuch, that a victory thinned their
(42-395)ranks as much as a defeat is apt to do those of
(42-395)other armies. It is true, that they could be
(42-395)gathered again with equal celerity; but this humour,
(42-395)of deserting at their pleasure, was a principal reason

[TG42-396, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 396]

(42-396)why the brilliant victories of Montrose were
(42-396)productive of few decided results.
(42-396) On reaching Aberdeen, Montrose hastened to
(42-396)take possession of the bridge of Dee, the principal
(42-396)approach to that town, and having made good this
(42-396)important point, he found himself in front of an
(42-396)army commanded by Lord Burleigh. He had the
(42-396)mortification also to find, that part of a large body
(42-396)of horse in the Covenanting army were Gordons,
(42-396)who had been compelled to take arms in that
(42-396)cause by Lord Lewis Gordon, the third son of
(42-396)the Marquis of Huntly, a wild and wilful young
(42-396)man, whose politics differed from those of his
(42-396)father, and upon whom he had once committed a
(42-396)considerable robbery.

[TG42-397, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 397]

(42-397) Finding himself greatly inferior in horse, of
(42-397)which he had not fifty, Montrose intermingled
(42-397)with his cavalry some of his musketeers, who, for
(42-397)breath and speed, could keep up with the
(42-397)movements of such horses as he possessed. The

(42-397)Gordons, not perhaps very favourable to the side on
(42-397)which they ranked, made an ineffectual attack
(42-397)upon the horse of Montrose, which was repelled.
(42-397)And when the mingled musketeers and cavalry in
(42-397)their turn advanced on them, Lord Lewis's men
(42-397)fled, in spite of his own personal exertions; and
(42-397)Montrose, we are informed, found it possible to
(42-397)move his handful of cavalry to the other wing of
(42-397)his army, and to encounter and defeat the horse
(42-397)of the Covenanters on both flanks successively,
(42-397)with the same wearied party of riders. The terror
(42-397)struck into his opponents by the novelty of
(42-397)mixing musketeers with cavalry, contributed not
(42-397)a little to this extraordinary success. While this
(42-397)was passing, the two bodies of infantry cannonaded
(42-397)each other, for Montrose had in the field the guns
(42-397)which he took at Tibbermuir. The Covenanters
(42-397)had the superiority in this part of the action, but
(42-397)it did not daunt the Royalists. The gaiety of an

[TG42-398, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 398]

(42-398)Irishman, whose leg was shot off by a cannon-
(42-398)ball, so that it hung only by a bit of skin, gave
(42-398)spirit to all around him. -- "Go on," he cried,
(42-398)"this bodes me promotion; as I am now
(42-398)disabled for the foot service, I am certain my lord
(42-398)the marquis will make me a trooper." Montrose
(42-398)left the courage of his men no time to subside -- he
(42-398)led them daringly up to the enemy's teeth, and
(42-398)succeeded in a desperate charge, routing the
(42-398)Covenanters, and pursuing them into the town and
(42-398)through the streets.(14th Sept. 1644) Stormed as it was
(42-398)by such a tumultuary army, Aberdeen
(42-398)and its inhabitants suffered greatly.
(42-398)Many were killed in the streets; and the cruelty

(42-398)of the Irish in particular was so great, that they
(42-398)compelled the wretched citizens to strip themselves
(42-398)of their clothes before they killed them, to prevent
(42-398)their being soiled with blood! The women durst
(42-398)not lament their husbands or their fathers slaughtered
(42-398)in their presence, nor inter the dead, which
(42-398)remained unburied in the streets until the Irish
(42-398)departed. Montrose necessarily gave way to acts
(42-398)of pillage and cruelty, which he could not prevent,
(42-398)because he was unprovided with money to pay his
(42-398)half-barbarous soldiery. Yet the town of Aberdeen
(42-398)had two reasons for expecting better treatment: --

[TG42-399, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 399]

(42-399)First, that it had always inclined to the
(42-399)King's party; and, secondly, that Montrose himself
(42-399)had, when acting for the Covenanters, been
(42-399)the agent in oppressing for its loyalty the very
(42-399)city which his troops were now plundering on the
(42-399)opposite shore.
(42-399) Argyle always continued following Montrose
(42-399)with a superior army, but, it would appear, not
(42-399)with a very anxious desire to overtake him. With
(42-399)a degree of activity that seemed incredible,
(42-399)Montrose marched up the Spey, hoping still to raise
(42-399)the Gordons. But that clan too strongly resented
(42-399)his former conduct towards them, as General for
(42-399)the Covenant, besides being sore with recollections
(42-399)of their recent check at the Bridge of Dee; and,
(42-399)on all these accounts, declined to join him. On the
(42-399)other hand, the men of Moray, who were very
(42-399)zealous against Montrose, appeared on the northern
(42-399)bank of the Spey to oppose his passage. Thus
(42-399)hemmed in on all sides, and headed back like an
(42-399)animal of chase from the course he intended to

(42-399)pursue, Montrose and his little army showed an
(42-399)extremity of courage. They hid their cannon in a
(42-399)bog, destroyed what they had of heavy baggage,
(42-399)entered Badenoch, where the Clan Chattan had
(42-399)shown themselves uniformly friendly, and descended
(42-399)from thence upon Athole, and so on to Angus-shire.
(42-399)After several long and rapid marches, Montrose
(42-399)returned again into Strathbogie, re-crossing
(42-399)the great chain of the Grampians; and, clinging
(42-399)still to the hope of being able to raise the gentlemen
(42-399)of the name of Gordon, who were naturally

[TG42-400, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 400]

(42-400)disposed to join the royal standard, again repaired
(42-400)to Aberdeenshire.
(42-400) Here this bold leader narrowly escaped a great
(42-400)danger. His army was considerably dispersed,
(42-400)and he himself lying at the castle of Fyvie, when
(42-400)he found himself at once threatened, and nearly
(42-400)surrounded, by Argyle and Lothian, at the head of
(42-400)very superior forces. A part of the enemy had
(42-400)already occupied the approach to Montrose's position
(42-400)by means of ditches and enclosures, through
(42-400)which they had insinuated themselves, and his own
(42-400)men were beginning to look out of countenance,
(42-400)when Montrose, disguising his apprehensions, called
(42-400)to a gay and gallant young Irish officer, as if he
(42-400)had been imposing a trifling piece of duty, --
(42-400)"What are you doing, O'Kean? can you not chase
(42-400)these troublesome rascals out of the ditches and
(42-400)enclosures?" O'Kean obeyed the command in the
(42-400)spirit in which it was given; and, driving the enemy
(42-400)before him, got possession of some of their gun-
(42-400)powder, which was much needed in Montrose's
(42-400)army. The remark of the Irishman on this occasion,

(42-400)who heavily complained of the neglect of the
(42-400)enemy in omitting to leave a supply of ball,
(42-400)corresponding to the powder, showed the confidence
(42-400)with which Montrose had been able to inspire his
(42-400)men.

(42-400) The Earl of Lothian, on the other side, came
(42-400)with five troops of horse upon Montrose's handful
(42-400)of cavalry, amounting scarcely to fifty men. But
(42-400)Montrose had, on the present occasion, as at the
(42-400)Bridge of Dee, sustained his troopers by mingling

[TG42-401, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 401]

(42-401)them with musketry. So that Lothian's men,
(42-401)receiving an unexpected and galling fire, wheeled
(42-401)about, and could not again be brought to advance.
(42-401)Many hours were spent in skirmishing, with
(42-401)advantage on Montrose's part, and loss on that of
(42-401)Argyle, until at length the former thought it most
(42-401)advisable to retreat from Fyvie to Strathbogie.

(42-401) On the road he was deserted by many Lowland
(42-401)gentlemen who had joined him, and who saw his
(42-401)victories were followed with no better results than
(42-401)toilsome marches among wilds, where it was nearly
(42-401)impossible to provide subsistence for man or horse,
(42-401)and which the approach of winter was about to
(42-401)render still more desolate. They left his army,
(42-401)therefore, promising to return in summer; and of
(42-401)all his Lowland adherents, the old earl Airlie
(42-401)and his sons alone remained. They had paid
(42-401)dearly for their attachment to the Royal
(42-401)cause, Argyle having plundered their
(42-401)estates, and burnt their principal mansion, the
(42-401)"Bonnie house of Airlie," situated on the river
(42-401)Isla, the memory of which conflagration is still
(42-401)preserved in Scottish Song.(June, 1640)

(42-401) But the same circumstances which wearied out
(42-401)the patience of Montrose's Lowland followers,
(42-401)rendered it impossible for Argyle to keep the field;
(42-401)and he sent his army into winter quarters, in full
(42-401)confidence that his enemy was cooped up for the
(42-401)season in the narrow and unprovided country of
(42-401)Athole and its neighbourhood, where he might be
(42-401)suffered to exist with little inconvenience to the

[TG42-402, Tales of a Grandfather, Chap. 42, p. 402]

(42-402)rest of Scotland, till spring should enable the
(42-402)Covenanters to attack him with a superior force.
(42-402)In the mean time, the Marquis of Argyle returned
(42-402)to his own domains.