

## THE CONNECTION OF SCOTLAND WITH THE PILGRIMS OF GRACE.

BY W. HYLTON DYER LONGSTAFFE, F.S.A.<sup>1</sup>

It may seem unnecessary on the present occasion to detail the circumstances of the northern kingdom of Britain at the time of the rebellion against the English king, called the Pilgrimage of Grace. It is sufficient to observe that, although, while Henry VIII. was breaking the fall of the ancient hierarchy in his own peculiar way, the clergy of James V. induced him to string the bow tightly, there were circumstances which deterred the latter from giving any active assistance to the so-called Pilgrims, who vainly attempted to sustain the monastic system. The red field of Flodden was fresh in the memory of the Scottish ecclesiastics, and tyrannical as they were, they must have been thoroughly aware that they were treading upon volcanic ground. The Reformation had already made gigantic strides in Scotland, and a withdrawal of the national military in an unpopular cause might have opened a crater in their own land. Thus the State, under ecclesiastical guidance, contented itself with an unrelaxing vigilance in support of the Romish power at home, a vigilance, however, which ultimately tended only to increase the severity and secure the perpetuity of its fall. There was another reason for James's acquiescence. He was engaged in negotiations with France for a matrimonial alliance, and Henry at present was on a very good footing with his neighbour Francis. He had, therefore, substantial grounds for depending upon the inaction of the Scotch sovereign, although he had grave complaints against him touching the usage of his sister, the Queen Dowager of Scotland, and on more accounts than one must have been conscious of a want of mutual confidence. But Herbert's statement that Sir Ralph Sadler was sent into Scotland to secure its rest, and to reside there until James returned to his kingdom, is inaccurate. He seems merely to have gone north in January, 1536-37, for the purpose of claiming English refugees, and ascertaining

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the sentiments of the queen-mother. He returned with fresh grievances, and was despatched to remonstrate with James in France, whither he arrived about March 27, 1537, some time before James's return.

The King of Scotland had succeeded in obtaining the hand of the eldest daughter of the French king, the princess Magdalene, and his father-in-law requested a passage through England for the young couple. Henry seems to have had grave doubts of the propriety of suffering his nephew to proceed through the embers of rebellion. James was, in spite of national jealousies, not unpopular with the ultramontane section of the English Romanists. The tenor of his government was well known, and he had resisted all Henry's attempts to change his feelings on the subject of church government. Rather perplexed with the request of his brother of France, Henry asked the opinion of his northern lieutenant, the Duke of Norfolk, one of the heroes of Flodden, who, on the 11th of February, answered in a characteristic and amusing manner. He saw no harm in the Scotch king's coming, save its great expense to the king and to the nobles *en route*, of whom, he with great simplicity remarks, *he himself would be one of the greatest sufferers*. He, however, suggests that the visit might be of some service. And in this way. He thought that the strangeness of James not writing himself to his uncle and the head of his blood proceeded from what would "never be *plucked* from that nation, that is, most high pride of all sorts of people. Now," said Norfolk, "if this pride were *possible* to be *allayed*, or somewhat *mitigated*, what he would see in this realm, might do much thereunto, or at least make him to take heed how he should attempt any war against the same, it being furnished as well with plenty of tall men, as with another sort of riches than his own. Nay," continued the old fox, "it might be so ordered with provision made for the *show* of the same, *that it would be nothing pleasant for him to look upon*." In fine, Norfolk considered that James had "a very enemy's heart," and that his personal application for a safe conduct should, at all events, be a *sine quâ non*. He (Norfolk) understood that false reports of the rebellion had reached France, and had therefore written to a bishop there showing that all things were of as good sort as he could wish them, and trusted shortly to see them to be.

The Council's objections to the coming of James were almost as singular as Norfolk's. They recounted his various discourtesies, and the grief of honouring a man whom the English did not love. He must come as the *vassal* of England's king, for never came a king of Scotland *in peace* to England, but as such. For Henry's honour, he must have presents everywhere. By these he might conceive glory, and it was not for his grace's honour to put into glory "so mean a king," who might practise mischief on the way. Moreover, the king having, in deference to the wishes of the pilgrims, determined to repair to York in the summer, to hold a parliament, to crown Jane Seymour, and establish the country in quiet, the requested passage would hinder Henry's own purposes, and so waste the north parts, and impoverish his subjects there, that he could not have victuals and necessaries for the furniture of his own train, since already "horsemeat could not be had there for money."<sup>2</sup>

The continued poverty of purse which arose from Henry's wasteful magnificence and dispersal of the enormous revenues which sacrilege had given him, was probably the king's own most cogent reason for refusing leave for his nephew's passage, as the expenses of repressing the late rising had left his treasury very bare; but, from whatever motive, he declined the French king's request. The refusal naturally increased the feelings in Scotland which the flight of many of the pilgrims into that country had produced. "What news?" said the Chancellor of Scotland to Ray, the pursuivant of Berwick, when he presented a letter to the Council on April 23. "I know of none," answered the herald. "Then what is the cause ye send your friars to us?" said Master Otterburn. "We sent none," quoth the herald; "we had liever keep them ourself." "If," replied Otterburn, "they had tarried with you, ye had made martyrs of them."

<sup>2</sup> The scarcity of provisions in the northern counties of England has not, perhaps, received its due attention. Before the Pilgrimage of Grace, in the early part of 1536, a meeting between James and Henry had been contemplated. The former wished to meet at Newcastle at Michaelmas, as he could not be provided honorably till that time. Henry's ambassador, Lord William Howard, answered that his master could not be furnished honourably with carriage, vic-

tuals, or lodging between York and Newcastle, and that the great carriage and train, that ordinarily belonged to his Court, was not able to pass in return in the winter time. Fourteen days before Michaelmas as to time, and York as to place, were each required by Henry, but James naturally eschewed the journey between Newcastle and York which Henry declined; nevertheless, this refusal was one of the sore points between the kings.

"Nay," interposed the Chancellor, "but patriarchs." "What ships have you sent forth from Newcastle?" resumed Otterburn. Ray answered that he knew of none. Otterburn rejoined that four had gone from that place, and some further conversation on the diplomatic relations with England followed, the Scots believing that ships had been sent to intercept and seize James on his voyage. If the queen-mother spoke correctly, they had sent "*Rosey Herald*" into France, with instructions to oversee England on his road, and inform James of its condition. To effect an interview with her majesty, Ray had to change apparel, and put on *a cloak and hat after the Scottish fashion*. She sent her advice to Norfolk to be "sure of the commons," if war was intended to be had with Scotland. "Hath your grace," inquired Ray, "any suspect or knowledge that they are not sure enough?" She merely answered, "Nay, but I pray you show this unto him." The next day, the herald had a conference with the Bishop of Aberdeen touching a friendly difference between him and Norfolk as to the abolition of the Pope's authority. "My lord," said Ray, "why for this cause should ye have any grudge towards us?" "Nay," answered the bishop, "not for that, but for the cruelty of you, that put down your own poor commons."

In May, James was on the seas with his young queen. Norfolk was at Bridlington, spoiling the monastery there, and sending its choicer goods to Sheriff Hutton. He heard that the King of Scotland rode at anchor within half a mile of Scarborough, about six o'clock at night, and that divers English fishermen went on board his ship, one of whom reported him as saying, "Ye Englishmen would have let me of my return; and if ye had not been, I had been at home forty days past. But now I am here, and will be shortly at home, whoso sayeth nay." The interview was more minutely detailed afterwards by James Crayne, an English gentleman on board, who was intimate with the vice-admiral of France, and bore credences to be declared to Sadler, upon a token, that when Sadler was in France, he inquired for this James Crayne at his own house in Rouen. The credences were an account of the interviews with Englishmen on the voyage. Crayne and others came on land at a village near Scarborough, the name of which he did not know, to buy provisions. Twelve of the commons of the village and vicinity

came on board the king's ship, and fell on their knees before him, thanking God for his healthful and sound arrival. They showed how they had long looked for him, and how they were oppressed, slain, and murdered. They desired him for God's sake to come in, and he should have all. After these departed, a gentleman of the same country came and desired to speak with the king. Crayne the spy feared that he came for the same purpose as the other Englishmen, and so contrived that the king set sail without any communication with him. Norfolk understood that the fleet consisted of three ships with four tops, and divers with three tops ; in all were seen seventeen sail. When the king weighed anchor he went northward with a scanty breeze, but next morning the wind was "very strenable," and Norfolk was in some hopes of the royal travellers landing in Yorkshire near him. "If God," writes the duke, "would have sent such good fortune, I would have so honestly handled him, that he should have drunk of my wine at Sheriff Hutton, and the queen also, before his return into Scotland."

James sailed on until he came to another town, distant from the village aforesaid a great space. Crayne and his company being here under similar circumstances to those which led them to the Scarborough village, other ten persons came on board to the king, and promised plainly that if he would take it upon him to come in, all should be his. The name of this place was also unknown to Crayne, according to his own account—which is remarkable, if true—but he perceived that there was a church there, dedicated to Saint Andrew, and that the parson or vicar was a chaplain to King Henry. The village was afterwards discovered to be Whitburn, near Sunderland, in the county of Durham. Dr. Cuthbert Marshall, its rector, was, I believe, as stated, a royal chaplain, and he was a loyal man. Robert Hodge, the parish priest, acting under him, was the offender. Two boats of Scotchmen and Frenchmen had landed, and the priest told Crayne that there was ill news, for men were killed and hanged up, and the Duke of Norfolk dealt very cruelly ; and he wished the Duke to be hanged on one side the tree, and the Lord Cromwell on the other. He wished, too, that the King of Scots had come five months before, and hinted that there was as good landing there for men as in any part of England.

James was not in a position, on a marriage trip, to accept the invitations of the English traitors, even if he had as much confidence in the prospects of success as they had. But they would not be antidotes to the vinegar which the compulsory voyage must have thrown on the royal temper. The passage was a stormy and dangerous one, and the young queen never recovered from its effects. When James was opposite the Berwick frontier, or a little beyond, he said among his gentlemen that, if he lived one year, he would himself break a spear on an Englishman's breast. He entered Leith Harbour on Whitsun-Eve, with ten great ships of France, and four Scotch ships.

The English pursuivant Ray was again at that time in Edinburgh, with instructions to report that in England the rumour of offensive military proceedings on the part of Scotland was not believed by wise men, and that Henry's queen was thought to be pregnant with a nail for the coffin of the Scotch succession. He was to enquire how the Scots were affected towards insurrection, and to make great *cracks* about the riches and power of England. When Crayne arrived, and saw by Henry's arms "in the box" upon Ray's heraldic breast that he was an Englishman, he showed him the credences for Sadler, and cautioned him about the Bishop of Limoges, who came with James, and would probably pass in embassy to Henry. He was the most crafty man in all France, and either he or *his son* would report his experience of England to James before returning to France. Crayne professed that he would have given 20*l.* to have himself come through England to show his mind further.

Meanwhile, the state of the north of England was satisfactory on the whole, and in this month of May, Sadler went to Scotland with a present and instructions for a long sermon to James. He was told by Henry to begin by mentioning the report which Lancaster Herald had made of his kind nephew's good disposition, and that he (Henry) would open his mind; and that his new fortifications were merely for defence against the Bishop of Rome and his adherents, who intended his destruction by hook or by crook, by *phas* or *nephas*. He was loth to offend his nephew, who, in his simplicity, and by not attributing to himself any learning in religion, continued in the persuasion that the Bishop was

Christ's vicar on earth ; but for God's glory he prayed him to join to his "simplicity columbine" the prudence of a serpent, and not to think himself, as his clergy wished him to be, "as brute as a stock, or to mistrust that his wits, which he received of God, were not able to perceive Christ's word." He cautioned James against the publication of the Pope's cruel bull against him, and after some more rounds at the clergy, assured James that he loved him as his own child, as he would have shown if evil reports had not prevented him.

The king now determined not to come down to York this year, and his reasons are amusing. There was an important embassy from the Emperor : armies were gathering near Calais : it was thought that Queen Jane had counted wrongly by a month, and any sudden rumours in the king's absence might endanger her issue ; and his delay having arisen by the waste state of the north, that reason still prevented him from staying long in any one place, and, in fact, from proceeding northward from York at all. Thus the northernmost people would not have any "fruition of his presence," whereas next year he would pass as far as Berwick. All this Norfolk was to *say*, but the real reason he was to keep to himself, and it was that the far journey and the heat might *increase a humour fallen into the King's legs*.

In July, Crayne had arrived in England, and was sent all along the coast from Flamborough northward. When he came to Whitburn, he identified it, and its church dedicated to Saint Andrew. Its priest was seized, and brought by the Sheriff of Durham before Norfolk, at Sheriff Hutton (Aug. 1). At first he stuck firmly to an accusation that it was Crayne who spoke traitorous words, and those to himself. One said *Yea*, the other *Nay*, until Norfolk, fairly perplexed, ordered Crayne out of the room, and cajoled the priest by promising to be a suitor for his pardon. He made a full confession, exculpating his rector entirely. Norfolk then sent the sheriff home to attach "a fellow with a foul sauslyme face," to whom Crayne charged a marvellously seditious speech, but knew not his name or dwelling. He was captured and sent to Sheriff Hutton, as were three others who had been in the boat of offence at Whitburn. Norfolk, who was in bad health, departed from the north in October, being suc-

ceeded by the new Council of the North, under the able presidency of the amiable Bishop Tunstall of Durham. Soon after, we find him in the possession of two friars from Canterbury and Old Lynne, who, during the rebellion, entered into the house of the Grey Friars in Newcastle, whence they were expelled by Norfolk, and went into Scotland, but soon fell into such "very misery and great penury," that they came back, and were captured. They now said that they would forsake the Bishop of Rome, and Tunstall wished them to be received to mercy, though he saw the inconvenience of the step, because they had returned after they were commanded to leave the kingdom, and, if they were taken in, probably others in a similar position might follow. So that there was some truth in the taunts of the Scotch councillors to Ray, but they do not appear to have treated the exiles with much kindness, notwithstanding their zeal for the ancient hierarchy.

In March, 1539, a French ship, laden with Scotch goods, was driven into the Tyne. The servants of the Earl of Westmoreland (who had notice from an Englishman just arrived from Scotland, that an English priest was in the vessel) rode all night from Brancepeth or Raby, and found a priest lately taken out of Hexham prison (who tried to pervert his custodiers on the way to York), and two Irish monastics hidden under the baggages in the hold. Seditious letters from rebels in Ireland to the Pope and Cardinal Pole also turned up.

In December, 1539, Dr. Hilliard, "late chaplain to the Bishop of Durham," received a privy token from the ejected Prior of Mountgrace in Yorkshire, commending him to the Prioress of Coldstream's good offices towards procuring him an audience with the Scotch Cardinal Beaton. The Doctor had counselled several religious houses not to surrender, and was compelled to retreat into Scotland for safety. His old servant, Robert Veale, who had accompanied him from London to Auckland, broke down at the latter place, from a horse's stroke, and the Doctor sent for George Bishop of Auckland to accompany him towards Newcastle, preaching. At Coldstream Hilliard crossed the Tweed, and informed the Prioress that others of his sort would follow. But the servants of the Bailiff of Cornhill would not allow Bishop to follow his companion. He had to return, and was strictly

examined ; whilst Veale was committed to York Castle, and confessed his errand into Scotland. The Prior of Mount-grace was in keeping of the Council of the North, and the Prioress of Coldstream was not true to her order, for she gave secret information to England. The English Court now made great efforts to obtain refugees. Nicholas Musgrave, who had been concerned in the western disturbances, and Leech, one of the Lincolnshire rebels, had been in Edinburgh ; and Dr. Hilliard was especially sought after. Even the offer of a notable Scotch fugitive in exchange was made in vain. In February, 1540, James positively declined to give him up, stating that he never meddled with faulty churchmen, but left them to the law of "Hali-kirk," which he would maintain, but that as to other fugitives, he would be glad to exchange. It must not, however, be supposed that, in this procedure, James acted upon a lofty sense of right and wrong. He did not dissolve his monasteries, but he was bought by the clergy's settlement of a substantial income upon him for a number of years, and with true national caution, in April, 1541, solicited the Pope's confirmation of the grant. His Holiness was, however, still unsubdued and undegraded by the revolutions in the Church, and scrupled to grant the request.

In July, 1541, Henry VIII. left his capital to pay his long-promised visit to the north, having agreed with James of Scotland to meet him at York, and, on the 16th August, entered Yorkshire. There was no lack of pomp on his progress ; but one great object of his visit entirely failed, for the Scottish king, after continual excuses, at last plainly apologised for his absence. Henry was excessively exasperated. His attempts to break the alliance between James and his Church had only led to jokes from the Scotch king and refusal to confiscate, though he swore he would make some of the monks amend their lives. He had married, for his second wife, Mary of Guise, who had refused the hand of the redoubtable Henry. And now, after a promise of some kind to meet Henry, had, after former refusals, been elicited from the unwilling James, the latter failed in performance. A renewal of the old claims of England to the Scottish crown, and a desultory renewal of hostilities between the countries, mixed with attempts to make matters up, were the result, and in connection with the Pilgrimage of Grace, the last

singular notices of its exiles unfold a strange tale. It shall be given chronologically, and the depositions of both sides shall be credited, as their general accuracy seems to be obvious.

On Nov. 14, 1542, Somerset Herald and Ray, Berwick pursuivant, two English officers at arms, arrived at Edinburgh with letters to the Scotch king from the Duke of Norfolk. James was absent hawking, and his council stated that they were to receive all letters. The heralds delivered their epistle, and were assigned lodgings and good cheer, wine being sent them by a Scotch herald every day. They found that Dr. Hilliard and other refugees were still in Scotland, especially John Priestman and William Leech, who had lived there for more than six years in great indigence and dread of their lives, having been engaged in the opening insurrection of Lincolnshire. They had no support from England, and subsisted wholly on James's bounty, which, however, according to the exiles' own account, was not very voluntary or liberal, and, after the army of Scotland was "sealed," they perceived a decline of favour with the Scotch lords. Conferring as to the cause, they concluded that any cruel or mischievous deed to Englishmen would restore them to credit. The king had returned to Edinburgh, and the two exiles, before taking any measures, procured an interview with him. They insinuated that the English heralds were spies, and pity it were if they should go unpunished. James vouchsafed no answer, but looked toward them, and with his hand made a certain sign. It was enough. They gathered that he "forced not, though they had a shrewd turn." They next went to the king's secretary, and cunningly asked him for some subsistence, or leave to depart to serve in foreign wars, being sure, they said, that when the wars between England and Scotland broke up, they would be delivered to the King of England. The secretary promised them wages *shortly*, and emphatically said, "Fear not ; nor have no such doubt ; for, if you had killed the King of England himself, you should not be delivered into England." Then they proceeded to the cardinal, praying him to be good to them. The cardinal promised fairly, but added the vile innuendo, that "they had been long succoured in Scotland, and that the time was now of service." He asked them what they could do, and one of them was summoned into the council. But no rewards or

wages were given them up to the time fixed for the Englishmen's return. Their poverty was great, and they became certain that they were being starved into the commission of some cruel deed. This cruel deed assumed a definite shape, and they conceived, rightly or wrongly, that the Court expected the slaughter of the inoffensive heralds at their hands. No man, indeed, promised them reward for the act, nor gave them a comfortable word of encouragement; but, according to their own account, they perceived "as well by the Scots' fashions, that they would have such a thing done, as though they commanded them expressly to do it." Leech had a brother in Scotland, who, according to Priestman, refused to co-operate with them; but Ray, one of the heralds, declared this other Leech a participator in the events which followed.

If the Scotch Court really acted as is described, it did not represent Scotch feeling, for a Scotch pursuivant, who must have perceived that the exiles were bent on some desperate enterprise, came with some of his nation and warned his unsuspecting brethren of England against their own countrymen, with a kind "Take heed." The two heralds immediately required a safeguard, and the friendly pursuivant, whose name was Dingwell, was appointed to go with them. On November 25, they received a reply to the letter they had brought, and because Henry had only written through his lieutenant, James answered through *his*. The heralds received a present of twenty crowns, with the mortifying remark, that this was the lieutenant's reward, and that if they had come from the English king, they should have had a Scottish king's reward. In company with Dingwell they left Edinburgh for a day's journey to Dunbar.

Meanwhile, as they afterwards deposed, the two refugees hired a lad to run on foot with them and procure them horses, the lad being ignorant of their purpose. They intended to slaughter Somerset and his fellows within the "bounde rodde" of Berwick, in greater bravado of England; but their horses failed them, and they made up their mind to do it earlier. The heralds arrived within two miles of Dunbar. It waxed near even, and darkness was throwing a mantle on the earth. Somerset and his boy rode first, and were followed by Ray and the Scotch pursuivant. Suddenly the two refugees appeared on horseback. The lad on foot

was with them, as they maintained ; but, according to Ray, the third person was Leech's brother. Riding past Ray and the pursuivant, they came up with Somerset in silence. According to Ray, they spoke to Somerset not a word, but one of them ran him through with a lance-staff behind, another pierced him to the heart with a dagger in front, and a third struck Somerset's boy on the face with his sword and brought him to the ground. On the contrary, the refugees, who declared Leech's brother to be absent, said that Leech required Somerset to yield, and, on his refusal, a mutual encounter happened, in which, after a long struggle with daggers, Somerset was slain ; and that, during this engagement, Priestman attacked Somerset's young man, who cried in vain for help to Ray, who, for fear of losing the treasonable letters they supposed him to possess, fled with speed of horse.

Now, if Leech's brother was really absent, Ray might possibly be led by the rapidity of action into the erroneous belief that three men made the attack. Priestman might assault Somerset with a lance in silence, and run off to attack his boy, while Leech summoned Somerset to surrender. But if the companion of the refugees was indeed passive, and if Somerset was never wounded by more than one of the assailants at once, why did not Ray and the Scotch pursuivant, who had purposely been sent as a safeguard, rush to the defence of their comrades ? Were they then *both* cowards ? This could hardly be.

On the fall of Somerset's boy the refugees alighted, and their horses ran away. Their companion ran after the steeds, and then Ray and the pursuivant ventured to come up : another proof that the comrade of the refugees can scarcely have been passive before. "Fye on you, traitors !" they exclaimed, "ye have done a shameful act." The refugees' footman, who ran after the horses, rode away with them as fast as he could, according to the assassins, but Ray stated that he returned. The refugees left Somerset dead, and ran after Somerset's horses, and were long in getting them. While they were so employed, Ray fled, and the refugees leaping upon the new horses, one of them said, "Fie, we have lost the other heretic." Ray heard this, spurred his horse and escaped. The exiles then returned to the dead Somerset, spoiled him, and gave his boy three more wounds. The Scotch pursuivant had not departed, and, according to the

narration of himself and the wounded boy, confirming Ray's statement that three persons were actively employed as murderers, the three men bid him bear witness to the Council and all other, that John Priestman, William Leech, and his brother, banished Englishmen, had slain Somerset, and no Scotchman had done it.

Vengeance was not delayed upon the King of Scotland and his Court. It was poured out that very day, when the indignation of the nobles against court minionship produced the disgraceful rout of Solway Moss.

Next morning (Nov. 26), Ray, who had fled to Ennerwik Castle, desired his host to obtain for him an interview with the king and council. We can readily understand the feelings which prompted them to substitute for the interview a guard of twenty men for his conveyance to England. On the following day the laird of the castle executed the order, but not before Ray had taken the guard to Somerset's body, caused it to be decently buried in Dunbar church, and provided surgical aid for the wounded boy. James and his council now became terrified at the prospect of Henry's revenge. Although the intended murder was foreseen at Court, as the friendly warning to the victims manifests, and although by the farce of sending a single herald as a safeguard, it was permitted, James now wrote letters professing indignation, and stating that the assassins had been dragged out of sanctuary and committed to Edinburgh Castle for punishment. He, moreover, desired Henry's safe-conduct for fourteen persons to go and declare the verity of the slaughter so that punishment might follow. Henry passionately answered that no declaration could be satisfactory until the murderers were given up. "Nephew," said he, "this slaughter is so cruel, so abominable, and so barbarous, as howsoever other things stand between us, we cannot choose but most heartily wish and desire that it may appear both to us and to the world that it hath been committed against your will." But before this reply reached Scotland, the causes of the dismal overthrow at Solway Moss, and apprehension of the consequences of the murder, had afflicted a mind "predisposed to a savage melancholy" with immoderate grief, and, seven days after the birth of his beautiful and hapless daughter, James V. died of a broken heart.

Such is the wild tragedy which concludes our knowledge

of the Pilgrims of Grace. On James's death, the Scottish council desired peace, and delivered up the assassins, Leech and Priestman, who possessed some grounds of excuse, and were very repentant. Leech's brother was also given up at the "bounde rodde" of Berwick, where the murder was to have been committed. Leech himself was executed in May following. With all James's faults, the independence he had shown in the protection (such as it was) of the refugees, contrasts with subsequent acts of the governments of Scotland. His death, indeed, opened out a new era which prepared the way for the union of the crowns. Destructive inroads were made into Scotland in the last days of Henry, and in his son Edward's reign, but, generally, England found that gold transmitted to the capital did more for her interest than steel thrown into the frontiers of Scotland; and very much of the old Bruce spirit, fortunately as it ultimately proved, disappeared at Solway Moss. Its continuance might have compelled the carrying out of Henry VIII's will, and the rejection of the Scottish succession; and, had the Stuarts been supplanted by a race more conciliatory to the middle classes of England, the destruction of the despotic rule of the Tudors might have been delayed until the days, and for the atrocities, of the French Revolution.

\* \* \* The materials of the preceding Memoir will be found scattered over the divisions of the State Papers printed by the Record Commission. The arrangement into those divisions must be objectionable to historians generally, but to antiquaries in the Northern Marches they are peculiarly perplexing. There is no distinction, as would naturally be expected, between papers relating to the affairs of Scotland and those of Northern England. The dates given to these papers also continually require careful verification.