THE DEATH OF SIR ANTHONY D'ARCES DE LA BASTIE.

AN EPISODE IN SCOTTISH HISTORY.

Amongst the incidents of Scotch history the historian must pass over with a paragraph, but which might be expanded into a novel or crystallised in a ballad, is the death of the French knight, Antoine d'Arce de la Bastie, who was slain by David Hume of Wedderburn and his brothers in a stony field in a marsh, near part of the estate of Broomhouse, in the parish of Edrom, in Berwickshire, in the year 1517. The place is marked by a cairn, which was long known as De la Bastie's tomb, and is still called "Battie's Bog." Leaving the novel to the many practitioners of that branch of literature, and the ballad to the rarer class which still pursues this difficult form of poetic art, let us try to tell in plain prose the story of the tragedy, its antecedents and consequences.

The time within which the action lies is the latter part of the reign of James IV. and the minority of James V., the decade between 1507 and 1517. The scene opens in the fertile plains of Southern France, then shifts to Scotland, Italy, Denmark, and closes on a bleak moor of the Scottish Lowlands. The actors are nobles, knights, and gentlemen of France and Scotland. The drama begins with chivalric tournaments, and ends in a dastardly murder. Thanks to the fuller publication of both Scottish and English Records, much more is known of this tragedy and its hero than when Mr Hill Burton wrote that the only acknowledgment "of De la Bastie's existence having anything of an official character consists of entries in the Scotch Treasurer's accounts," though well aware how much still lay hid in the Scottish Record Office: he adds, "research may perhaps afford new light to clear up the affair." Aided by the Record publications, Wilson de la Colombiere's heraldic works, the 'History of the Humes,' by David Hume of Godercroft, less known than it should be because written in Latin, and some unpublished sources, for which we are indebted to Mr Dickson, Curator of the Scottish Records, the story can now be told with more minuteness than was formerly possible, and so as to leave little doubt as to its character. It is a story worth clearing up. For although an episode, it was an episode of critical importance, and forms a landmark in the history of Scotland.

Antoine d'Arces de la Bastie was Seigneur of La Bastie sur Melans in Dauphiné, not far from Grenoble. This was the country of the Chevalier Bayard, where the neighbourhood to Italy, as well as the temperament of men born under the Southern sun, made the natives fonder of the chivalric form of the military art than in any other part of France. La Bastie, who was born in the reign of Louis XI. or Charles VIII., early distinguished himself as a knight-errant, and became known as the Chevalier Blanc, because he fought in white armour, and not from the colour of his shield, for the blazon of his family was not argent, but "azure à franc quartier d'or."

A contemporary and compatriot describes him as—
“A man of middle height and strong frame, endowed, besides other advantages, with large shoulders, denoting force, who traversed Spain, Portugal, England, and Scotland, to defy those who by their own wish or the will of their lady were disposed to fight à outrance. Everywhere his challenge was declined [échoué] by the kings of these countries, except in Scotland, where the cousin of James IV. josted against him, but Antoine d’Arces threw him. Such was the love this prince had for him that sometimes he slept in the royal chamber. Loaded with presents, he returned to France with a suite of twenty-five horses. He had as his companion his compatriot Gaspard de Montauban, afterwards Baron of Aix, and it is from him and other companions of D’Arces that I got these details.”

The many corruptions of the form of De la Bastie’s name,—Bawtie, Bautie, De la Beauté, La Bastide, Darsey, Tillibatie, for which last Pitscottie is responsible, though Miss Strickland outdoes even Pitscottie, and calls him M. du Barody,—prove how widely it spread by the mouths of the people, and also how ignorant many who used it were of French. We adopt the form La Bastie as the most convenient, though not the most accurate. Drummond of Hawthornden, followed by Pinkerton and Tytler, dates the first visit of La Bastie to Scotland, and his duel with Lord Hamilton, the first Earl of Arran, in 1503, when tournaments were held in Edinburgh in honour of the marriage of James with Margaret Tudor. But the Treasurer’s Accounts and the contemporary chronicle of Bernard André of Toulouse, the historian of Henry VII., enable us to fix the date as 1506-7. André, after describing the detention of the Earl of Arran and his brother, Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavel, in England in January 1508, says:

“It was he who fought a duel with that strenuous knight La Bastide in Scotland, as we have written the year before;” but the passage referred to is unfortunately missing in the MS. of the annalist. Bishop Lesley, almost a contemporary, as well as Sir James Balfour, both give 1506-7 as the date of the duel. Lesley even specifies 24th September as the day when La Bastie came to the king; and Balfour names Falkland as the place where he fought Arran. The Treasurer’s Accounts show that his lodgings were paid in Edinburgh from Michaelmas, the 29th of September, 1506, to Candlemas, the 2d of February, 1507, and he may well have paid a visit to Falkland in September 1506.

Scottish authors naturally do not admit that La Bastie was the victor. According to Balfour, “Lord Hamilton one day at Falkland was adjudged to have the honour, which La Bastie did impute to his awin indisposition of bodey that day.” The Treasurer’s Accounts fully corroborate the generous reception La Bastie met with from the chivalrous and too liberal Scottish king. He and his retinue were entertained at the royal expense during their whole stay in Scotland. The feet of his horse were bathed with wine. French saddles were furnished for their horses when they left, and velvet to cover his own saddle. Besides payments of 160 and 400 French crowns, equal in Scots money to £392, he received goblets which had belonged to Andrew Foreman, then Bishop of Moray as well as Archbishop of Bourges, afterwards Archbishop of St Andrews, and which were regilt for his use; a silver vessel of Flemish workmanship valued at £100; a salt-cellar of gold,
the queen's gift to the king at New Year 1504; a stoup and flagon of silver imported from abroad, and ten silver goblets, the Bishop of Moray's New Year's gift to the king. La Bastie must have left Scotland with kindly feelings for a Court where he had been so richly rewarded, and with an exaggerated estimate of its wealth. These entries extend from 20th December 1506 to 5th February 1507, about which date he left by way of Haddington, where his expenses were paid, and thence, no doubt, to Dunbar, then a frequent east-coast port for France. The great tournament of the year did not take place till the end of June, so La Bastie cannot have been present; but there had no doubt been trial combats earlier, one of which was probably that of the French knight with Arran. Another may have been with James himself; for on 17th January, Moncur, the king's armourer, got seven French crowns for "ane breichin of pleit," or plaited horse-collar for the king, and four for one for the French knight. La Bastie certainly took part in another favourite trial of strength with James. On 25th January a smith got 14s., "when the king and the French knight straick at the steddie." (stithy). One of his comrades, Aymon de Salvaing, "Le Chevalier Hardy," or "Tartarin," "The Tartar" of Dauphiné, as he was more familiarly styled—a more noble specimen of his class than his modern namesake of Tarascon—also received a present of arms from James, according to documents which had been seen by Mark Wilson de la Colombiere, a gentleman of Dauphiné, of Scottish origin, naturalised in France, who wrote the curious books, 'La Science Héroïque,' and 'La Vraie Théâtre d'Honneur.' No notice of this knight appears in the Scottish Accounts, unless Salvaing is the brother of La Bastie who is mentioned in them—a brother in arms though not in blood.

The visit of La Bastie to Scotland in 1506-7 was a consequence of the challenge or cartel which he and three other knights of Dauphiné—Gaspar de Montauban, Seigneur of Aix, Aymon de Salvaing, Seigneur of Boissieu—a cousin of the Chevalier Bayard, with whom he often jousted—and Imbaud Rivoire, Seigneur of Romanieu—had issued on 8th January of that year. It is dated 1505, but the year, according to the style of Dauphiné, then began at Christmas. Its terms have been preserved by Wilson de la Colombiere in his 'Science Héroïque,' who introduces it and the challenge of the Savage Knight for the Black Lady, to which we shall presently refer, to illustrate the form of combat, "à écu pendant," with a remark we hope our readers may repeat, that "we ought to be very glad to have these challenges, as they have never been printed, and are to be found only in two or three cabinets of France."

They are indeed singular documents, and transport us to the beginning of the sixteenth century, the epoch when the decline of chivalry began. It had now become knight-errantry, a fashion rather than a passion, but still retained much of the language and some of the sentiment of its earlier and brighter day. The "Challenge de l'Écu pendant" is thus explained in a passage of 'La Science Héroïque,' which we regret to have to abridge:

"Before gunpowder was unfortunately invented, warriors, using only force and address, drew no advantage from these diabolical firearms, which poor mortals have since
used for their destruction, but contenting themselves with the sword and the lance, exhibited their courage with equal arms, and a freedom full of honour and probity, alike in battles and single combats. Not willing to remain idle in time of peace, they went travelling in foreign countries, and visited the most renowned Courts, defying the most valiant to joustings, according to their cartels, and with leave of the king or prince, for the love of their ladies or the honour of their king and country. One form was to guard the passage of a road or bridge, and another to hang their shields on trees. They obliged all the knights who wished to ride by the passage, or who touched their shields on the trees, to fight. If there were several challengers, there were as many shields, and the knight who touched the shield had to fight its owner. The one who was vanquished was bound to give a prize to the victor, and to disclose his name and country."

After describing several of these challenges from the 'Memoirs of Olivier de la Marche,' Wilson gives that of La Bastie and his comrades. It began by a solemn invocation:

"In honour and praise of God our Creator, Jesus Christ our Redeemer, and his most glorious and sacred mother, S. Michael, S. George, S. Julian, S. Barbe, and the whole celestial Court of Paradise, and also for the exaltation of all nobility, considering that the very noble and excellent exercise of arms leads noble persons to high renown and perpetual memory. For which cause I, Antoine d'Areas, Seigneur of La Bastie in Dauphiné, purpose to visit, with the leave of the most high, powerful, and excellent Princess, my sovereign lady and mistress, Queen of France and Duchess of Brittany, the Kings, Dukes, and Counts of England, Spain, Scotland, and Portugal, for my pleasure, and following the virtues and prowess of the ancient valorous knights of past times, whose virtuous renown flourishes in all noblesse to the present hour."

It then declares that La Bastie will carry on his neck a white challenge (Emprise blanche). This was the scarf of his lady, perhaps Anne of Brittany. Whoever touched it was to be bound to fight him, with the arms described in detail, on horses barded, and the riders in war-harness from head to foot of such pieces as they please, provided they are not cramped or fixed in any manner of way to the saddle. The horses are reserved—that is, not to be touched with the lance or sword, under the penalty of 500 crowns and forfeiture of the arms, unless it was an accidental shock. The lances are to be of tempered iron, the long swords (estoces) and short swords (épées) sharp and pointed. La Bastie will himself provide a choice of weapons. The gentlemen who have touched the challenge are, two days before the combat, to bring their armorial shield, marked by their timbres or crests, to the officers of arms. The challengers will carry the same arms against all comers for five weeks, at the pleasure and will of the king of the country. We can still see a representation of the armour of these knights and the caparisons of their horses in the pages of 'La Science Héroïque,' where a figure is given of Aymon de Salvain dressed for a tournament in 1505. The knight sits erect on his horse, with its fore-legs curvetting in the air. His right arm, drawn back at full length, holds his short sword ready to strike, while his left is on the reins. A dagger hangs by his side. He wears a shirt of chain-armour, a breast-plate and surcoat, on which his armorial bearings, the two-headed eagle, is emblazoned. His legs, from thigh to toe, are covered with plate-armour. The eagle also surmounts his helmet, to which it is attached by
two mantelets or lambeaux, and appears again on the head of his horse, whose neck is protected by plate-armour, and whose caparisons, both in front and rear hanging to the hoofs, have the eagle embroidered on them.

On 22d January 1507, a similar but more wordy challenge was issued from Edinburgh, and certified by Marchmont Herald on the command of James IV. A copy of it was sent to France, for "two quires of gold were paid for" by the Treasurer "to illumyne the articles sent to France for the justing of the Wild Knight for the Black Lady." This may have been the copy of which Wilson de la Colombiere gives the terms.

The Savage Knight, on behalf of the Black Lady (Le Chevalier Sauvage à la Dame Noire), with two seconds, challenged all comers to meet him at Edinburgh on 1st August, or within five weeks of that date. The place of arms is described in allegoric language as—

"The Field of Remembrance between the Castle of the Maidens and the Secret Pavillon, and in the field will be the Tree of Hope, which grows in the Garden of Patience, and bears Leaves of Pleasure, the Flower of Noblesse, and the Fruit of Honour; and at the foot of this tree there will be attached for five weeks five shields, one after the other, in each week—the first white, the second grey, the third green, the fourth purple, and the fifth gold—to each of which will be attached a letter in gold, crowned with the name of the Savage Knight and his lady, and of the other knights and their ladies."

There were various places near Edinburgh where tournaments were held, but this one was the level ground on the south of the Castle, near the place still called the King's Stables, a portion of which was, when Maitland wrote his 'History of Edinburgh' in 1753, still an open and fair green "of about the length of one hundred and fifty yards, and breadth of about fifty yards, where the feats of arms might be seen by the royal and other spectators from the walls and windows of the Castle;" and no doubt the Savage Knight himself occupied the secret or private pavilion on the other side of the field.

The tournament was to be fought in a greater variety of ways than that of 1507. There were first to be six courses in the lists, and as many more as the judges and ladies might wish; second, a combat without lists, in war-harness, for the same number of courses; third, one on foot, in white armour, with a shield, demi-lance, and sword, to the number of seven strokes at least with the sword; and fourth, one with a lance, short dagger, and two-handed sword, to the number of four strokes at least.

All comers were on the first day of the tourney to go straight to the tree and touch the white shield, as a sign they accepted the challenge of the Savage Knight in honour of the Black Lady.

The combatants were to be accompanied by trumpeters and players on all instruments, and men dressed as savages, with goat-skins and harts' horns, sent, as the Treasurer's Accounts inform us, from the forest of Athole by Sir William Murray of Tullibardine. The Black Lady was, we learn from the same source, when the tournament came off, dressed in silk damask powdered with gold spangles, and attended by two damsels in green Flemish taffeta, and drawn in a chariot to the field, accompanied by the kings of arms and heralds. The knights were then to declare what
arms they would use, and deliver their shields, emblazoned with their arms and marked by their crests and names, that they might be received according to their rank. Provision was made, as in the challenge of La Bastie, for the weapons, and each combatant might fight in as many of the challenges as he chose. If any combatant thought the challenges were not reasonable, and should suggest others, the Savage Knight and his two comrades would take pains to fulfil his wish. After the whole tournament was over, the prizes, of which the chief was a gold ring, to be given to the knight's lady, were to be delivered according to the award of the judges and the ladies.

Who was the Savage Knight, and who was the Black Lady, and what was the occasion of this curious variety in tournaments? M. Francisque Michel treats it as an error of Tytler that James IV. was himself the Savage Knight. But the error, if error it be, is not Tytler's, for Lesley expressly says: "This symmer in the moneth of May and June there were gret attournements and justinge in Edinburgh be ane quha callit himself the Wyld Knycht, and rancontered be the Frencsche men with counterfeiting of the Round Tabill of King Arthur of Ingland. This wyld knycht was the king himself; quha wes vailizant in armis, and 'coule very well exercise the same," or, as the version recently published by the Scottish Text Society has it, "that tyme he would be callit a knycht of King Arthuris, brocht up in the woods." We cannot doubt this is the correct explanation. The publication of the challenge by the Marchmont Herald was a blind to conceal the king, whose identity, however he was disguised, would be guessed by most present, and who would reveal himself to all at the moment of victory. The revival of the glories of Arthur and the Round Table was a favourite pastime of James IV., who named his son, who died young, after the British hero; and the institution of the Order of the Thistle may probably be assigned to this date, and not, as was afterwards fabled, to the reign of Achaius, the contemporary of Charlemagne. The Black Lady was one of the Moorish women captured by the Bartons in a Portuguese vessel, not improbably the one whom the king had baptised under the name of Elen.

The poem by Dunbar "Of ane Blak-Moir" refers to the same tournament:—

"Lang heff I maid of ladyes quhytt,
Now of ane blak I will indytt,
That landet furth of the last schippis;
Quom fain wald I desclywe perfytt,
My ladye with the mekle lippis."

In another stanza the Savage Knight is introduced in one of the puns so characteristic of Dunbar:—

"Quhen scho is claid in reche apperral
Scho blinkis als brycht as ane tar barrell;
Quhen scho was born, the sone tholit elippis,
The wycht be fain faucht in bir querrell:
My ladye with the mekle lippis."

To choose such a lady as patroness of a tournament might well appear, as it did to the satiric muse of Dunbar, a travesty of chivalry; but the king and his courtiers no doubt treated it as a good joke—a kind of "high jinks" of the sixteenth century. It must have drawn crowds, as a popular cricket or football match does in the present day.

John Major more plainly than
Dunbar denounces the tournament:—

"I abhor this dangerous game of jousting with the spear merely for the sake of making a show. And a confession before such tournaments has in it something vulpine, for the intention is immediately to commit an unlawful deed. I do not, however, deny the right to joust with blunted spears to exercise the skill of the combatants."

In fact, deaths at tournaments were as rare as in modern sports, and perhaps not more frequent than in the hunting-field.

The date when the tournament for the Black Lady was to be held was, we have seen, 1st August 1507; but La Bastie and his comrades did not come to Scotland till the following summer, availing themselves of a year during which the challenge was to remain open, and the actual date of the combat was in the end of May 1508. That La Bastie returned to Scotland at this time is proved by the Treasurer's Accounts between 16th May and 5th June 1508.

In the spring of this year Louis XII. sent the venerable Bernard Stewart, Marshal d'Aubigny, and John Sellat, President of the Court of Toulouse, as ambassadors to solicit the aid of James IV. in his Italian war, and to consult him on the question whether his eldest daughter should marry Charles King of Castile, then a boy of eight; or Francis Valois, Dauphin of France. D'Aubigny died at Corstorphine on 8th June; and Dunbar, who had written his welcome, and designed a longer poem on his military exploits, composed his elegy. Shortly after his death James selected Gavin Dunbar (not Douglas, as M. Michel supposes) along with La Bastie as his envoys to reply to the requests of Louis. Dunbar, who afterwards became Bishop of Aberdeen, is described as Archdeacon of St Andrews, Dean of Moray, and Secretary of the Royal Council; and La Bastie, as "a French subject and a Scottish knight who spoke French," which probably Dunbar did not. The letters of credence to Louis, Anne of Brittany, and to Cardinal d'Amboise have been preserved. From these it appears that La Bastie had been detained in Scotland, and did not sail on 27th May, as Lesley says, along with the archdeacon. For this detention James makes apologies, and declares that La Bastie had showed himself a faithful servant of Anne, to his own glory and honour, referring no doubt to his conduct in the tournament. Whether the expression "a Scottish knight" indicates that he had already entered into the Scottish service, or only that he had been knighted in Scotland, is not certain; but the latter is more probable, for he is still styled in later correspondence with the Danish king, and in letters to Francis I. after his death, "the French ambassador." The advice of James was that the princess should marry the heir to the French crown rather than a foreign king. "Why mycht not," he wrote in Lesley's Scottish version of his letter, "his daughter be his wyfe quhom her father proposes to make his heir?" The advice was the wish of Louis, and in 1514 Claude of France married Francis Count of Angoulême and Duke of Valois, who as nearest heir in the male line succeeded Louis in the crown as Francis I. on New Year's Day 1515.

After his return to France La Bastie took part in the Italian war of Louis XII. The first blow in the campaign against Venice in 1509 was the capture on 15th
April of the Castle of Triviglio, on the left bank of the Adda, by his advance-guard under M. de Chaumont, governor of the Milanese. For this assault La Bastie and his friend Imboud de Rivoire had been detached in command of five hundred foot. But the Venetians recovered the castle on the 8th of May, and La Bastie and his comrades were sent prisoners to Venice, so he was not present at the victory of Agnadello on the 14th. He came twice from Venice to Louis XII. to negotiate his own ransom, and the second time he did not return, for “the Venetians had not told him to do so when he departed,” is the naive and somewhat ambiguous expression of Imbaud de Rivoire. After Louis quitted Italy, La Bastie remained with the French auxiliaries of the Emperor Maximilian, and commanded the light cavalry. He was again made prisoner, but discharged. When Genoa revolted from the French in the end of June 1512, La Bastie was “one of the captains and brave French gentlemen of good family,” according to Brantome, who fought in the last desperate campaign of 1513, in which the defeat of Louis de la Tremouille on the 6th of June near Novara by the Swiss drove the French out of Italy.

The catastrophe of Flodden on 9th September deprived Louis of his only royal ally, and left Scotland with an infant king. Although Margaret Tudor succeeded to the regency under her husband's will, the French party in Scotland at once wrote to John Stuart, Duke of Albany, the nearest male of the royal blood, urging him to come to govern Scotland. Albany was on his mother's side French. He had married her niece, Anne de la Tour d'Auvergne, one of two co-heiresses of John, Count of Boulogne and Auvergne. The other married Lorenzo de Medicis the Younger, nephew of Leo X., and died in giving birth to her daughter, who was to become the tragic Italian Queen of France, Catherine de Medicis. Albany had lived all his life in France, where he held, besides large fiefs of his wife, the high office of admiral. He was reluctant to leave, and Henry VIII. did all he could to prevent him. But Albany was also reluctant to abandon his chance of the Scottish Crown, which was then separated from him by only a single infant's life, for his elder brother, by a daughter of the Earl of Orkney, he maintained was illegitimate, and soon after he came to Scotland he obtained a declaration from Parliament to that effect, and that he was himself next to the Crown. He took a middle course, and instead of coming in person sent a representative. The representative chosen was the knight of Dauphiné, already so well known in Scotland, and who had gained a European reputation, in almost the only way then possible, by feats of arms. La Bastie, like a soldier, started on a moment's notice, and, accompanied by Arran—who had sailed to France as admiral of the Scottish fleet destined to co-operate with the army of Flodden, but which ingloriously did nothing except burn and sack Carrickfergus in Ulster—Lord Fleming the vice-admiral, and Cumming the Lyon King, landed at Dunbarton on 3d November. Shortly after his arrival in Scotland, La Bastie was sent in January 1514 on a mission to Denmark, whose new king, Christian II., already struggling with the rebellious Swedes, was anxious to renew his alliance with Scotland and France, and to cement the
latter by marriage with a French princess. The Government of Scotland was equally desirous to obtain Danish aid in case Henry VIII. should renew his attacks on the Borders. Andrew Brownhill, a famous merchant captain of the west, as the Bartons were of the east coast, was the Scottish envoy, and La Bastie accompanied him to explain the conditions relating to France. The letter, in name of James, describes La Bastie as “a veteran knight who had been most dear to his father, and does not cease to deserve well of himself.” On his return, Christian was thanked for his magnificent reception of La Bastie, in a letter which states that Albany was daily expected, and that a Council of the nobles had been summoned. It also mentions that La Bastie was by command of the most Christian king to settle in Scotland, where he would faithfully treat for and procure an answer to the requests of Christian. The Council met at Perth on 26th November 1513, when La Bastie and James Ogilvie, afterwards Abbot of Dryburgh, expressed the wish of Louis XII. to renew the league with Scotland, and inquired whether they wished that the Duke of Albany should come to Scotland. The Lords, after the ambassadors had removed, declared that the league should be renewed, and that they desired Albany’s speedy arrival. Ogilvie, Sir Patrick Hamilton, and the Lyon King were accordingly sent to summon Albany to Scotland. His coming was delayed by the sudden turn of events, which led Louis XII. to make peace with Henry VIII., and marry his sister Mary. The death of the French monarch within a few months of marriage gave Albany the opportunity, and the hasty marriage of Margaret to Angus increased the urgency for his coming. He landed at Dumbarton on 16th May 1514. La Bastie had already received on 19th November 1513 the Castle of Dunbar in name of Albany, whose father had held it as part of the earldom of March. La Bastie was present at the examination of Gavin Douglas before the Council on 6th July 1515, shortly before the meeting of the Parliament, and the solemn inauguration of Albany as Regent.

During the following year, we learn from the Exchequer Accounts that considerable sums were allowed both to Albany and La Bastie for furnishing and provisioning the Castle of Dunbar. La Bastie himself received £108, 10s., and £195, 13s, for household utensils and clothing, amongst which there were “a piece of white cloth of twenty-four ells, five ells of russet, and three ells of thick linen,” as well as “a pair of long boots.” His wife—a Norman lady of the name of Ferrier—had come with him and remained till after his death, when her expenses were paid till her departure. He had under him Sebastian Ferres, a Portuguese baron, as lieutenant, and a Frenchman, Captain St Jakkes. A French architect or master-mason superintended the fortifications; and the garrison, like those of Dumbarton and Inchgarvey, was wholly or chiefly French. Albany himself visited Dunbar soon after his arrival in Scotland, as appears from entries of ale and coals furnished them, and entered in his household books. He remained in Scotland barely two years, returning to France in the end of May 1517; but during this period his energetic government had obtained possession of the person of the young king, forced the queen-
mother and Angus to fly to England, quelled two risings of Arran, and executed Lord Hume, the Chamberlain, and his brother, who had imprudently come within his power at Edinburgh. As lieutenant of Albany and Warden of the Marches, La Bastie showed, as was admitted on all hands, the same activity as the Regent himself in the first term of his regency. He put down the freebooters of the Borders, and more than once met Dacre at the days of truce, as they were called, during which the English and Scottish Wardens forgot for a time their own hostilities to administer common justice on those whose hands were against every man. Even after he settled in Scotland the spirit of the knight-errant led La Bastie to yearn for adventure, and a letter by La Bastie and other knights, who desired "to accomplish their duty by deeds of chivalry upon the infidels," was sent by the French ambassador, Villemesme, to the Court of France. One creditable incident of his government has been preserved by Sir David Lindsay. When the young king was in his fifth year, in 1516 or 1517, David Meldrum, the gallant squire of Olesh, in Fife, whose romantic adventures form the subject of one of the most spirited of Lindsay's poems, was cruelly assaulted and mained as he rode from Edinburgh to Leith by Stirling of Keir, his rival, or the friend of his rival, in the affections of a young lady. La Bastie at once avenged the crime, and executed justice on the assailant.

Quhilk wes to our young king tutour, And of all Scotland Governour. Our king was but fyte yeiris of age, That time quhen done was the outrage. Quhlen this gude knicht the Squire saw, Thus lyand in till his deid thraw, Wo is me! quod he, to see this sicht, On thee, quhilk worthie wes and wicht, Wald God that I had bene with thee, As thow in France was anis with me; Into the land of Picardy, Quhair Ingles men had greit invy, To have me slane, sa thay intendit, Bot manfullie thow me defendit, With that he gave his hors the sparris, And spedelie flaw ouir the furris. He and his gaird with all thair micht, They ran till thai ouirtuik the knicht. Quhlen he approcht he lichtit doun, And like ane valzand campioun, He tak the tyrane presonar, And send him backward to Dunbar; And thair remainit in presoun, Ane certaine time in that dungeon

It was the execution of the Humes which lead to the death of La Bastie. He had been appointed by Albany to succeed Hume in the office of Warden of the Eastern Marches, and both he and his lieutenant, Sebastian Ferres, received portions of the forfeited estates. He had taken old Lady Hume, the mother of the Chamberlain, from her house, and carried her on a trotting horse to Dunbar, where she was kept for six weeks on bread and water.

We are accustomed to associate the clan feeling with the Celt. But it was if possible more intense in the Border families, who lived in the same neighbourhood, intermarried with the same houses, used the same arms and battle-cries, and fought for each other in the same forays. The smaller number of these clans, as in the case of modern sects, made the tie of common blood closer and stronger.
With a feeling akin to the Corsican vendetta or the Afghan blood-feud, it was deemed a sacred duty of a clansman of the Border to avenge the death of one of their near kin. The execution of Lord Hume and his brother, under circumstances which might well be thought the result of treachery, made every Hume eager for revenge. One of their nearest kinsmen was David Hume of Wedderburn in Berwickshire, whose elder brother George had been forced to fly to England on account of a homicide, and whose younger brothers, John and Patrick Hume, lived with their widowed mother in the Castle of Polwarth. Of the events which led to the tragedy and its incidents we have short narratives by Lesley, Pitscottie, and Buchanan, contemporaries, though young at the time, and a much fuller account by David Hume of Godscroft, who, though he lived a century later, had access to contemporary papers of the Wedderburn family. We follow the latter narrative, which appears in the main truthful, though told as favourably as possible for the Humes. It agrees substantially with Buchanan, but differs from Lesley, who makes a stratagem on the part of David Hume the occasion of the affair, and attributes the murder to a mature plot. After dwelling on the insult, which the occupation of Dunbar by the French vice-regent brought daily under the eyes of the Humes, the place of whose slaughtered chief La Bastie usurped, he adds that their indignation increased when it was discovered that La Bastie had written to France there was no need for Albany to return, as he would himself put everything in Scotland at the beck of the French. Yet no one dared to act until a chance op-
threatening voice and visage, declared that unless the siege was raised it would be the worse for the Humes. Hume said he had come under a safe-conduct, and would go home, where he would act as he chose. The recollection of his kinsman's slaughter, of his office held by La Bastie, a man so much his inferior in rank, the ruin of his family and his country, the dishonour of his clan, filled his thoughts, and he determined not to let the opportunity slip. La Bastie, though he had spoken fiercely, had not struck a blow. Hume and "his murdered man" rode on together, La Bastie in front. They had now reached the moor of Fogo, about six miles from Langton, where William Cockburn and Hume's brothers were. He had sent a secret message to them to ride round the country with drawn swords, making as much noise as possible, as was the custom of the Borderers to frighten their enemies and warn their friends. They at once obeyed, mounted their best steeds, and with drawn swords rode out shouting "Wedderburn!" At first there were only eighteen, until their retainers joined them. La Bastie had a troop of fifty, part French, part Scots of Teviotdale and the Merse; but the men of the Merse went over to Hume's side and the rest dispersed. One of them, Mark Ker of Littledean, seized the reins of Hume's horse, and exhorted him to do nothing against La Bastie, as it would be a disgrace to attack him in Hume's own country; but Hume threatened Ker with his sword, and he too rode off. La Bastie, when he saw what had happened, tried to make terms with Hume, but in vain. Alone as he now was, nothing remained but flight. He was mounted on a high-spirited horse which had belonged to Lord Hume the Chamberlain, and if it had been saddled and bridled in the Scottish manner it would have saved him. But he had loaded it with heavy trappings and reins with iron curbs after the French fashion, and it could not be put to full speed. He got away, however, and crossed the ford called Cornford, between Langton and Duns, before the men from Langton could intercept him. Hence he rode through Duns, and was overtaken in a stony field in marshy ground, between Duns and the village of Preston, by a youth of the name of Trotter or Dickson, who came within a few paces with his sword drawn. La Bastie defended himself stoutly, but having his eyes on his assailant more than the ground, his horse stumbled on a stone and threw him. He rose and guarded himself on foot against his assailant, till John and Patrick Hume, coming up, slew him. His body was buried where he fell; but his head was cut off and carried by David Hume, tied by its long tresses to his saddle-bow, to Duns, where it was hung at the market-cross and afterwards carried to Hume Castle, where the tresses of La Bastie were preserved till 1810, when Miss Jean Hume, its owner, threw them into the fire. "in remorse, it may be hoped," says M. Michel, for her ancestor's deed. Before his death he implored Hume to spare him for the charity of D'Arces, which was a proverb or dictum in his family. But his implacable foes knew no charity. Their conduct recalls the tale in the Orkney Saga six centuries before, of the old Norse Jarl Sigurd, who rode with the head of his fallen foe, Melbrigde "of the Tooth," at his saddle until the tooth wounded his leg, from which he died.

The death of La Bastie, a foreign
ambassador, and the representative of the regency, raised general excoriation throughout Europe, and at first in Scotland. Francis I. dispatched Alan Stewart, who had been captain of Milan under D'Aubigny, and afterwards became keeper of Dumbarton Castle, to demand satisfaction. Even Dacre, though suspected of complicity with the Humes, and whose life was spent in bloodshed, was ashamed. The Scottish Estates assured Francis that no death since that of James IV. had caused more displeasure. Beaton the Chancellor, Forman, Archbishop of St Andrews, and Arran, wrote to the same purpose. Arran, appointed Warden of the Marches, marched with a large force and guns to the Merse to reduce the castles of the Humes. When he reached Lauer the houses of Langton and Wedderburn surrendered. The Humes were forfeited, and fled to England, where David Hume, to ingratiate himself with the English Warden, seized a French envoy.

Another of the sudden changes in Scottish affairs now took place. The queen-mother regained some authority in the absence of Albany, who returned to France in June 1517. She petitioned Dacre to allow David Hume, who had married the sister of her husband Angus, to return, and received a cold, perhaps dissimulating, answer. He soon came back, however, and recovered Wedderburn by a stratagem, threatening to execute before its walls some of the garrison he had seized at the market of Duns, and soon after Hume Castle also surrendered to him.

On 21st July 1520, when Angus had acquired possession of Edinburgh after the fight of "Cleanse the Causeway," a party of the Humes came there headed by George, brother of Alexander Lord Hume, and David Hume of Wedderburn, and took down the heads of Lord Hume and his brother William from the Tolbooth, where they had stood since their execution by Albany in 1516. On 25th July they were buried with solemn obsequies in the graveyard of the Black Friars.

While we lament the fate of the brave knight of Dauphiné, who proved himself capable of government as well as of war, we must acknowledge that he played a game in which life was the forfeit. "Le Mort à tort et le battu paye l'amende." La Bastie left a son, John d'Arcès, to continue his line, fulfilling the motto of his house, "Le Buis est vert, mais les feuilles sont arçés."—"The wood is green, but the leaves are burnt." His grandson, inheriting the passion for the duel, killed a German, Schomberg, in single combat in the reign of Henry III., one of the first in which the seconds fought, and himself met the same fate at Blois in 1581.

The death of La Bastie was not, as Dacre thought, or pretended to think, when he first wrote of it to Wolsey, and as some historians have repeated, the result of chance-medley. This may have been the occasion, but the cause lay deeper. It was the outward and visible sign of the breach of the old ties that had so long bound Scotland to France, and of the rise of the English party amongst the nobility and gentry, especially in the Lowlands, which in the next generation supported the Reforma- tion, and in those that followed promoted the Union of the two nations north and south of the Tweed.