

LIFE

OF

LIFE

OF

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

10

HER GRACE

CHARLOTTE-ANNE,

DUCHESS OF BUCCLEUCH AND QUEENSBERRY,

THIS WORK

IS, BY PERMISSION,

MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

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PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

THE first edition of this work being now out of print, the author, in preparing a second, has carefully revised the whole of the text, and flatters himself that the various alterations and corrections he has made will be found not unimportant. He has been enabled to enrich the contents with several new and valuable historical facts; and he has particularly directed his attention to the improvement of his style.

The success which has attended this, his first effort in biography, is, of course, his best recompence for the pains he has taken with his subject; but he is well aware, that the popularity which these Memoirs have the

good fortune to enjoy, is mainly to be attributed to the interest inseparably connected with the fate of one, whose graces of mind and person have hitherto been too much obscured by the breath of calumny, but whose innocence it is at once a duty and a pleasure to defend.

EDINBURGH, *October*, 1830.

PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

A NEW work on the subject of Mary Queen of Scots runs an imminent risk of being considered a work of supererogation. No period of British history has been more elaborately illustrated than that of her life and reign. She ascended the Scottish throne at a time replete with interest—when the country had awakened from the lethargy of ages, and when the gray dawn of civilization, heralding the full sunshine of coming years, threw its light and shade on many a bold and prominent figure, standing confessed in rugged grandeur as the darkness gradually rolled away. It was a time when national and individual character were alike

strongly marked—a time when Knox preached, Buchanan wrote, Murray plotted, and Bothwell murdered. The mailed feudal barons—the unshrinking Reformers, mailed in mind, if not in body—the discomfited, but the still rich and haughty ecclesiastics of the Romish faith, contemporaries and followers of the stern Cardinal Beaton,—all start forth so vividly before the mind's eye, that they seem subjects better suited for the pencil of a Salvator Rosa, than for the sober pen of History. Mary herself, with her beauty and her misfortunes, shining among the rest like the creation of a softer age and clime, fills up the picture, and rivets the interest. She becomes the centre round which the others revolve; and their importance is measured chiefly by the influence they exercised over her fate, and the share they had in that strange concatenation of circumstances, which, as if in mockery of the nobility of her birth, and the splendour of her expectations, rendered her life miserable, and her death ignominious.

There is little wonder if such a theme, though in itself inexhaustible, should have exhausted the energies of many. Notwithstanding all that has been written concerning it, the leading events of Mary's reign still give rise to frequent doubts and discussions; and

the question regarding her character, which has so long agitated and divided the literary world, remains undetermined. It is, indeed, only they who have time and inclination to dismantle the shelves of a library, and pore over many a contradictory volume — examine many a perplexing hypothesis — and endeavour to reconcile many an inconsistent and distracting statement, — who are entitled to pronounce upon her guilt or innocence.

Not that it is meant to be asserted, that unpublished manuscripts and documents, calculated to throw new light upon the subject, slumber in the archives of Government, or among the collections of the learned, which have hitherto escaped the notice of the antiquarian and the scholar. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe, that all the papers of value which exist, have already been found, and given to the world. After the voluminous publications of Anderson, Jebb, Goodall, Haynes, Hardwicke, Strype, Sadler, and Murdin, it is by no means probable, that future historians will discover additional materials to guide them in their narrative of facts. But few are disposed to wade through works like these; and they who are, find, that though they indicate the ground on which the superstructure of truth may be raised, they afford at

the same time, from the diffuseness and often contradictory nature of their contents, every excuse to those who wander into error. The consequence is, that almost no two writers have given exactly the same account of the principal occurrences of Mary's life ; and it is this fact which would lead to the belief, that there is still an opening for an author, who would endeavour, with impartiality, candour, and decision, to draw the due line of distinction between the prejudices of the one side, and the prepossessions of the other,—who would expose the wilful misrepresentations of party spirit, and correct the involuntary errors of ignorance,—who would aim at being scrupulously just, but not unnecessarily severe—consistent, but not indifferent—-independent, but not violent.

It seems to be a principle of our common nature, to be ever anxious to wage an honourable warfare against doubt ; and no one is more likely to fix the attention, than he who undertakes to prove what has been previously disputed. It is this principle which has attached so much interest to the life of the Queen of Scots, and induced so many writers (and some of no mean note) to investigate her character both as a sovereign and a woman. It may seem a bold, but it is a conscientious opinion,

that no single author, whether an accuser or a defender, has done all that he might have done. To arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, the works of several must be consulted; and, even after all, the mind is often left tossing amidst a sea of difficulties. The talents of many who have broken a lance in the Marian controversy, are undoubted; but, if we attend for a moment to its progress, the reasons why it is still involved in obscurity may probably be discovered.

The ablest literary man in Scotland, contemporary with Mary, was George Buchanan. The Earl of Murray was his patron, and Secretary Cecil his admirer. The first publication regarding the Queen, came from his pen; it was written with consummate ability, but with a dishonest, though not unnatural, leaning to the side which was the strongest at the time, and which his own interests and views of personal and family aggrandizement pointed out as the most profitable. The eloquence of his style, and the confidence of his statements, gave a bias to public opinion, which feebler spirits laboured in vain to counteract.—Less powerful as an author, but not less virulent as an enemy, Knox next appeared in the lists, and, unfurling the banner of what was then considered religion, converted every remain-

ing doubt into conviction, by appealing to the bigotry and the superstition of the uninformed multitude. Yet Knox was probably conscientious, if the term be of any value when applied to one who did not believe that the Church of Rome possessed a single virtuous member.—In opposition to the productions of these authors, is the “Defence of Mary’s Honour,” by Lesley, Bishop of Ross, an able but somewhat declamatory work, and as liable to suspicion as the others, because written by an avowed partizan and active servant of the Queen. A crowd of inferior compositions followed, useful sometimes for the facts they contain, but all so strongly tinctured with party zeal, that little reliance is to be placed on their accuracy. Among these may be enumerated the works of Blackwood and Caussin, who wrote in French,—of Conæus, Strada, and Turner, (the last under the assumed name of Barnestaple,) who wrote in Latin,—and of Antonio de Herrera, who wrote in Spanish.

The calamities which, after the lapse of a century, again overtook the house of Stuart, recalled attention to the discussions concerning Mary; and, though time had softened the asperity of the disputants, the question was once more destined to become connected with party prejudices. From the publication of

Crawford's "Memoirs," in 1705, down to the appearance of Chalmers's "Life of Mary," in 1818, the history of the Queen of Scots has continued one of those standard subjects which has given birth to a new work at least every five years. A few of the more important may be mentioned. In 1725, Jebb published his own Life of Mary, and his Collection, in two volumes folio, of works which had previously appeared both for and against her. The former production is of little value, but the latter is exceedingly useful, and indeed no one can write with fairness concerning Mary, without consulting it. Lives of the Queen by Heywood and Freebairn, shortly succeeded, both of whom were anxious to vindicate her, but, in their anxiety, overshot the mark. In 1728, Anderson's Collections were presented to the public, containing many papers of interest and value, which are not to be found elsewhere. But they are often disingenuously garbled, that Mary may be made to appear in an unfavourable light; and a more recent author informs us, that they were, in consequence, "sold as waste paper, leaving the editor ruined in his character, and injured in his prospects."

In Scotland, the Rebellion of 1715 powerfully revived the animosities which had never

lain entirely dormant since the establishment of a new dynasty, in 1688; and the transition from Charles to his ancestor Mary, was easy and natural. The second Rebellion, in 1745, did not diminish the interest taken in the Queen of Scots, nor the ardour with which the question of her wrongs or crimes was agitated. In 1754, Mr Goodall, librarian to the Faculty of Advocates, made a valuable addition to the works already extant on the subject, in his "Examination" of the letters attributed to Mary. His habits of laborious research, combined with no inconsiderable powers of reasoning, enabled him not only to bring together many original papers, not before published, but to found on these much acute argument, and deduce from them many sound conclusions. Goodall's work will never be popular, because it is full of ancient documents, which one is more willing to refer to than read; but, as may be remarked of Jebb and Anderson, he who means to write of Mary, should not commence until he has also carefully perused the "Examination."

Four years posterior to Goodall's two volumes, appeared Robertson's "History of Scotland." Of course, the leading events of Mary's reign were narrated at length, but too much with the frigidity which Robertson

imagined constituted historical dignity, and which was continually betraying a greater anxiety about the manner than the matter. Accordingly, what his style gained in constraint, his subject lost in interest. No one has said so much of Queen Mary, to so little definite purpose, as Robertson—no one has so entirely failed in making us either hate or love her. Besides, he was inclined to think her guilty, on the authority of Buchanan, and has consequently thrown a false gloss over her character from beginning to end. He was supported in his opinions, it is true, by the historian Hume; but the latter having devoted most of his attention to the history of England, cannot be supposed to have been sufficiently versed in the affairs of Scotland, to be entitled to speak with authority concerning them. Yet, from the reputation which these two writers have acquired, and deservedly, upon other grounds, they have done more mischief to Mary than perhaps any of her calumniators, the multitude being too often inclined to forget, when once thoroughly *juratus in verba magistri*, that he who distinguishes himself in one department, may be, and commonly is, deficient in another.—In 1760, the credit both of Robertson and Hume was a good deal shaken, by Tytler's "Enquiry into the evidence against

Mary." This work is neither historical nor biographical, but argumentative and controversial. It is founded upon Goodall, to whom Tytler confesses his obligations, but the reasonings are much more lucidly and popularly arranged; and, though not so complete or so full of research as it might have been, it is, upon the whole, the ablest and most convincing production which has yet appeared on the side of the Queen of Scots.

Of the five works of greatest consequence which have appeared since Tytler's, only one has ventured to tread in the footsteps of Buchanan. The first in order of date is the French "*Histoire d'Elizabeth*," in five volumes, by Mademoiselle de Keralio, who devotes a large portion of her book to Mary, and, with a degree of talent that does honour to the sex to which she belongs, vindicates the Scottish Queen from the obloquy which her rival, Elizabeth, had too great a share in casting upon her.—Nearly about the same time, was published Dr Gilbert Stuart's "*History of Scotland*." It came out at an unfortunate period, for Robertson had pre-occupied the field; and it was hardly to be expected, that a writer of inferior note would dispossess him of it. But Dr Stuart's history, though too much neglected, is, in many essential parti-

culars, superior to Robertson's, not perhaps in so far as regards precision of style, but in research, accuracy, and impartiality. It would be wrong to say, that Stuart has committed no mistakes, but they are certainly fewer and less glaring than those of his predecessor.—Towards the end of the last century, Whittaker stood forth as a champion of the Queen of Scots, and threw into the literary arena four closely printed volumes. They bear the stamp of great industry and enthusiasm; but his materials are not well digested, and his violence often weakens his argument. The praise of ardour, but not of judgment, belongs to Whittaker: he seems to have forgotten, that there may be bigotry in a good as well as in a bad cause: in his anxiety to maintain the truth, he often plunges into error; and, in his indignation at the virulence of others, he not unfrequently becomes still more virulent himself. Had he abridged his work by one third, it would have gained in force what it lost in declamation, and would not have been less conclusive, because less confused and verbose.—Whittaker was followed, early in the present century, by Mr Malcolm Laing, who, with a far clearer head, if not with a sounder heart, has, in his “Preliminary Dissertation” to his “History of Scotland,” done much more

against Mary than Whittaker has done for her. Calm, collected, and well-informed, he proceeds, as might be expected from an adept in the profession to which he belonged, from one step of evidence to another, linking the whole so well together, that it is, at first sight, extremely difficult to discover a flaw in the chain. Yet flaws there are, and serious ones; indeed, Mr Laing's book is altogether a piece of special pleading, not of unprejudiced history. His ingenuity, however, is great; and his arguments carry with them such an air of sincerity, that they are apt to be believed almost before the judgment acknowledges them to be correct. It is to be feared, that he is powerful only to be dangerous,—that he dazzles only to mislead.—The author whose two large quarto, or three thick octavo volumes, brings up the rear of this goodly array, is Mr George Chalmers. There was never a more careful compiler,—a more pains-taking investigator of public and private records, deeds, and registers,—a more zealous stickler for the accuracy of dates, the fidelity of witnesses, and the authenticity of facts. His work, diffuse, tedious, and ill-arranged though it be, full of perpetual repetitions, and abounding in erroneous theories, (for it is one talent to ascertain truth, and another to draw inferences,) is

nevertheless a valuable accession to the stock of knowledge previously possessed on this subject. His proofs are too disjointed to be conclusive, and his reasonings too feeble to be convincing; but the materials are better than the workmanship, and might be moulded by a more skilful hand into a shape of much beauty and excellence.*

Such is an impartial view of the chief works extant upon Mary Queen of Scots; and it would appear, in consequence, that something is still wanting to complete the catalogue. Three causes may be stated in particular, why so many persons of acknowledged ability should have devoted their time and talents to the investigation, without exhausting it.

First, Several of the works we have named are Histories; and these, professing, as they do, to describe the character of a nation rather than of an individual, cannot be supposed to descend to those minutiae, or to enter into those personal details, necessary for presenting the vivid portraits in which biography delights. History is more conversant with the genus or the species; and is addressed more to the

* Miss Benger's Life of Mary should be added to the list given above. It relates principally to her residence on the Continent, and the earlier part of her career in Scotland.

judgment than to the feelings. There is in it a spirit of generalization, which, though it expands the mind, seldom touches the heart. Its views of human nature are on a comprehensive scale; it traces the course of empires, and marks the progress of nations. If, in the great flood of events, it singles out a few crowned and conspicuous heads, making them the beacons by which to guide its way, it associates itself with them only so long as they continue to exercise an influence over the destiny of others. It is alike ignorant and careless of those circumstances which make private life happy or miserable, and which exercise an influence over the fate of those who have determined that of so many others. Neither Hume, nor Robertson, nor Stuart, nor Keralio, therefore, have said all of Mary that they might have said;—they wrote history, not biography.

Second, Many of the productions we have named, are purely controversial, consisting almost entirely of arguments founded upon facts, not of facts upon which to found arguments. Among these may be particularly included Tytler, Whittaker, and Laing, works which do not so much aim at illustrating the life and character of Mary, as of settling the abstract question of her guilt or innocence.

They present, therefore, only such detached portions of her history as bear upon the question of which they treat. To become intimately acquainted with Mary, we must have recourse to other authors; to form an estimate of her moral character these might suffice, were it fair to be guided on that subject by the opinions of others.

Third, In the few works, in which historical and biographical research are blended with argumentative deductions, erroneous theories have been broached, which, failing to make good their object, either excite suspicion, or lead into error. Thus, Goodall and Chalmers have laid it down as a principle, that, in order to exculpate Mary, it was necessary to accuse her brother, the Earl of Murray, of all sorts of crimes. By representing Bothwell as an inferior tool in his hands, they have involved themselves in improbabilities, and have weakened the strength of a good cause by a mistaken mode of treatment. Indeed this remark applies, with a greater or less degree of force, to all the vindications of Queen Mary which have appeared. Her defenders transfer the burden of Darnley's murder from Bothwell, the actual perpetrator of the deed, to one who may have been accessory to it, but certainly more remotely; and they thus confirm

the suspicion against the person they wish to defend, by unjustly accusing another, whom they cannot prove to be criminal. The learning of Goodall and Chalmers is thus rendered comparatively useless, and their labour has been nearly lost.

If the author of the following "Life of Mary Queen of Scots" has been able, in any measure, to execute his own wishes, he would trust, that, by a careful collation of all the works to which he has referred, and an examination of several documents not yet published collectively, he has succeeded in separating much of the ore from the dross, and in giving a freshness—perhaps, in one or two instances, an air of originality—to his production. He has affected neither the insipidity of neutrality, nor the bigotry of party zeal. His desire was to concentrate all that could be known of Mary, in the hope that a light might thus be thrown on the obscurer parts of his subject, sufficient to reanimate the most indifferent, and satisfy the most scrupulous. He commenced his readings with an unbiassed mind, and was not aware, at the outset, to what conviction they would bring him. But, if a conscientious desire to disseminate truth be estimable, it is hoped that this desire will be found to characterize these Memoirs. Little more need be added.

The biography of a Queen, who lived two hundred and fifty years ago, cannot be like the biography of a contemporary or immediate predecessor ; but the inherent interest of the subject will serve as an excuse for many deficiencies. Omissions may, perhaps, be pardoned, if there are no misrepresentations ; and the absence of minute cavilling and trifling distinctions, may not be complained of, if the narrative leads, by a lucid arrangement, to satisfactory general deductions. Fidelity is at all times preferable to brilliancy, and a sound conclusion to a plausible hypothesis.

INTRODUCTION.

DURING the reigns of James IV. and James V. Scotland emerged from barbarism into comparative civilization. Shut out, as it had previously been, from almost any intercourse with the continent of Europe, both by the peculiarities of its situation, its incessant wars with England, and its intestine commotions, it had long continued in all the ignorance and darkness of those remote countries, which even Roman greatness, before its dissolution, found it impossible to retain within the pale of its conquests. The refinement, too, which must always more or less attend upon the person of a king, and shelter itself in the stronghold of his court, was little felt in Scotland. Though attached, from

long custom, to the monarchical form of government, the sturdy feudal barons, each possessing a kind of separate principality of his own, took good care that their sovereign's superior influence should be more nominal than real. Distracted also by perpetual jealousies among themselves, it was only upon rare occasions that they would assemble peaceably together, to aid the king by their counsel, and strengthen his authority by their unanimity. Hence, there was no standard of national manners—no means of fixing and consolidating the wavering and turbulent character of the people. Each clan attached itself to its own hereditary chieftain; and whatever his prejudices or follies might be, was implicitly subservient to them. The feuds and personal animosities which existed among the leaders, were thus invariably transmitted to the very humblest of their retainers; and a state of society was the consequence, pregnant with civil discord and confusion, and ready, on the slightest impulse, to break out into anarchy and bloodshed.

Many reasons have been assigned why the evils of the feudal system should have been more severely felt in Scotland than elsewhere. The leading causes, as given by the best historians, seem to be,—1st, The geographical nature of the country, which made its baronial fast-

nesses almost impregnable ;—2d, The want of large towns; in consequence of which, the vassals of different barons were prevented from mingling together, and rubbing off, in the collision, the prepossessions they mutually entertained against each other;—3d, The division of the inhabitants, not only into the followers of different chiefs, but into clans, which resembled so many great families, among all whose branches a relationship existed, and who looked with jealousy upon the increasing strength or wealth of any other clan ;—4th, The smallness of the number of Scottish nobles, a circumstance materially contributing to enhance the weight and dignity of each ;—5th, The frequent recourse which these nobles had, for the purpose of overawing the crown, to leagues of mutual defence with their equals, or bonds of reciprocal protection and assistance with their inferiors;—6th. The unceasing wars which raged between England and Scotland, and which were the perpetual means of proving to the Scottish king, that the very possession of his crown depended upon the fidelity and obedience of his nobles ; whose good will it was, therefore, necessary to conciliate upon all occasions, by granting them whatever they chose to demand ;—and, 7th, The long minorities to which the misfortunes of its kings exposed the country at an early period of its

history, when the vigour and consistency, commonly attendant upon the acts of one mind, were imperatively required; but instead of which, the contradictory measures of contending factions, or of regents, hastily elected, and as hastily displaced, were sure to produce an unnatural disorganization in the government, from which it could be redeemed only by still more unnatural convulsions.

The necessary consequences of these political grievances were, of course, felt in every corner of the country. It is difficult to form any accurate estimate, or to draw any very minute picture of the state of manners and nicer ramifications of society at so remote a period. But it may be asserted generally, that the great mass of the population was involved in poverty, and sunk in the grossest ignorance. The Catholic system of faith and worship, in its very worst form, mixed up as it was with the national superstitions, so prevalent among the vulgar, was sufficient not only to exclude every idea of rational religion, but to produce the very lowest state of mental degradation. Commerce was comparatively unknown,—agriculture but very imperfectly understood. If the wants of the passing hour were supplied, however sparsely, the enslaved vassal was contented,—almost the only happiness of his life consisting in that

animal gratification afforded him by the sports of the chase, or the bloodier diversion of the field of battle. Education was neglected and despised even by the wealthy, few of whom were able to read, and almost none to write. As for the middle and lower ranks, fragments of rude traditionary songs constituted their entire learning, and the savage war-dance, inspired by the barbarous music of their native hills, their principal amusement. At the same time, it must not be supposed, that virtue and intelligence were altogether extinct among them. There must be many exceptions to all general rules, and however unfavourable the circumstances under which they were placed for calling into activity the higher attributes of man's nature, it should not be denied, that their chronicles record not unfrequent examples of patience, perseverance, fortitude, and fidelity.

It has been said, that under the reigns of the Fourth and Fifth James, the moral and political aspect of the Scottish horizon began to brighten. This is to be attributed partly to the beneficial changes which the progress of time was effecting throughout Europe, and which gradually extended themselves to Scotland,—and partly to the personal character of these two monarchs. France, Germany, and England, had made considerable strides out of the gloom of the dark

ages, even before the appearance of Francis I. Charles V. and Henry VIII. James IV. naturally of a chivalric and ardent disposition, was extremely anxious to advance his own country in the scale of nations ; and whilst, by the urbanity of his manners, he succeeded in winning the affections of his nobles, he contrived also to find a place in the hearts of his inferior subjects, even beside that allotted to their own hereditary chieftain,—an achievement which few of his predecessors had been able to accomplish. The unfortunate battle of Flodden is a melancholy record both of the vigour of James's reign, and of the national advantages which his romantic spirit induced him to risk in pursuit of the worthless phantom of military renown.

James V. had much of the ardour of his father, combined with a somewhat greater share of prudence. He it was who first made any successful inroads upon the exorbitant powers of his nobility ; and though, upon more occasions than one, he had to pay dearly for his determination to vindicate the regal authority, he was, nevertheless, true to his purpose to the very last. There seem to be three features in the reign of this prince, which particularly deserve attention. The first is, the establishment of a more extensive intercourse than had hitherto subsisted between Scotland and foreign

nations,—particularly with France. The inexhaustible ambition of Charles V. which aimed at universal empire, and which probably would have accomplished its design, had he not met with a rival so formidable as Francis I. was the means of convincing the other states of Europe, that the only security for their separate independence, was the preservation of a balance of power. Italy was thus roused into activity, and England, under Henry VIII. took an active share in the important events of the age. To the continental powers, against whom that monarch's strength was directed, it became a matter of no small moment to secure the assistance of Scotland. Both Francis and Charles, therefore, paid their court to James, who, finding it necessary to become the ally of one or other, prudently rejected the empty honours offered him by the Emperor, and continued faithful to France. He went himself to Paris in 1536, where he married Magdalene, daughter of Francis. She died, however, soon after his return home; but, determined not to lose the advantages resulting from a French alliance, he again married, in the following year, Mary of Lorraine, daughter to the Duke of Guise, and the young widow of the Duke of Longueville. Following the example of their king, most of the Scotch nobility visited France, and as many

as could afford it, sent their sons thither to be educated; whilst, on the other hand, numerous French adventurers landed in Scotland, bringing along with them some of the French arts and luxuries. Thus the manners of the Scotch gradually began to lose a little of that unbending severity, which had hitherto rendered them so repulsive.

The second peculiarity in the reign of James V. is the countenance and support he bestowed upon the clergy. This he did not from any motives of bigotry, but solely as a matter of sound policy. He saw that he could not stand alone against his nobles, and he was, therefore, anxious to raise into an engine of power, a body of men, whose interests he thus identified with his own. It is remarkable, that even in the most flourishing days of Catholicism, when the Pope's ecclesiastical authority extended itself everywhere, Scotland alone was overlooked. The king was there always the head of the church, in as far as regarded all ecclesiastical appointments: the patronage of his bishopricks and abbeys was no slight privilege to the Scottish monarch, denied as it was to other kings of more extensive temporal jurisdiction. James converted into benefices several of the forfeited estates of his rebellious nobles, and raised the clergy to a pitch of authority they had never before

possessed in Scotland. He acted upon principle, and perhaps judiciously ; but he was not aware, that, by thus surrounding his priests with wealth and luxury, he was paving the way for their utter destruction, and a new and better order of things.

It will be useful to observe, as the third characteristic of this reign, the encouragement James gave to the arts and sciences. For the first time, education began to take some form and system. He gave stability to the universities, and was careful to select for them the best teachers. He was fond of drawing to his court men of learning and genius. He was himself a poet of considerable ability. He had likewise devoted much of his attention to architecture—his fondness for which elegant study was testified by his anxiety to repair, or rebuild, most of the royal palaces. He established, too, on a permanent footing, the Court of Session, or College of Justice ; and though his reign, as a whole, was not a happy one, it probably redounded more to the advantage of his country than that of any of his predecessors.

At his death, which took place, in 1542, at the early age of 30, accelerated by the distress of mind occasioned by the voluntary defeats which his refractory nobles allowed themselves to sustain, both at Falla and Solway Moss,

Scotland speedily fell into a state of confusion and civil war. The events which followed are indissolubly connected with the subject of these Memoirs, and are related at length in the succeeding pages.

LIFE
OF
MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

CHAPTER I.

SCOTLAND AND ITS TROUBLES AFTER THE DEATH
OF JAMES V.

JAMES V. left, as an inheritance to his kingdom, an expensive and destructive war with England. He likewise left a treasury well stored with gold, and a coinage in good condition, produced from the mines which he had worked in Scotland. But the foreign relations of the country soon ceased to receive that attention which they demanded. The long minority that was necessarily to ensue, as Mary, his only surviving lawful child, was but a few days old when James died, awakened hopes and wishes in the ambitious which superseded all other considerations. For a time, England was forgotten; and the prize of the Regency became a bone of civil contention and discord.

There were three persons who aspired to that office, and the pretensions of each had their sup-

porters, as interest or good sense might dictate. The first was the Queen-dowager, a lady who inherited many of the peculiar virtues, as well as some of the failings, of the illustrious house of Guise, to which she belonged. She possessed a bold and masculine understanding, a perseverance to overcome difficulties, and a fortitude to bear up against misfortunes, not often met with among her sex. She was indeed superior to most of the weaknesses of the female character ; and having, from her earliest years, deeply studied the science of government, she felt herself not unprepared to cope with the craftiest of the Scottish nobility. Besides, her intimate connexion with the French court, coupled with the interest she might naturally be supposed to take in the affairs of a country over which her husband had reigned, and which was her daughter's inheritance, seemed to give her a claim of the strongest kind.

The second aspirant was Cardinal David Beaton, at that time the undoubted head of the Catholic party in Scotland. He was a man whose talents were universally recognized, and who, had he been less tinctured with bigotry, and less devoted to the intolerant principles of the Church of Rome, might probably have filled with *éclat* the high rank at which he aimed. He endeavoured to put his title to it on the most unexceptionable footing, by producing the will of James V. in his favour. But, as this will was dated only a short period before the King's death, it was suspected that the Prelate had himself written it, and obtained the King's signature, at a time when his bodily weakness had impaired his mental faculties. Beaton was, moreover, from his violence and

rigour, particularly obnoxious to all those who favoured the Reformation.

James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, and next heir to the throne, was the third candidate, and the person upon whom the choice of the people ultimately fell. In more settled times, this choice might possibly have been judicious; but Arran was of far too weak and irresolute a character to be able to regulate the government with that decision and firmness which the existing emergency required. He had few opinions of his own, and was continually driven hither and thither by the contradictory counsels of those who surrounded him. He was, however, at the head of the Reformers, and was thus backed by a very influential party.

The annexation of Scotland to the crown of England, either by conquest or the more amicable means of marriage, had, for many years, been the object nearest the heart of Henry VIII. That his father, also, Henry VII. had directed his attention to this subject, is evident from the answer he made to such of his Privy Council as were unwilling that he should give his daughter Margaret in marriage to James IV. on the ground that the English Crown might, through that marriage, devolve to a King of Scotland. "Whereunto the King made answer, and said, 'What then? for if any such thing should happen, (which God forbid,) yet I see our kingdom should take no harm thereby, because England should not be added unto Scotland, but Scotland unto England, as to the far most noble head of the whole island; for so much as it is always so, that the lesser is wont, for honour's

sake, to be adjoined to that which is far the greater."* That Henry VII. argued correctly, the accession of James VI. and subsequent events, have sufficiently proved.

Henry VIII. though aiming at the same object as his father, thought it more natural that Scotland should accept of an English, than England of a Scottish King. Immediately, therefore, after the birth of Mary, he determined upon straining every nerve to secure her for his son Edward. For this purpose, he concluded a temporary peace with the rebellious Arran, and sent back into Scotland the numerous prisoners who had surrendered themselves at Solway Moss, upon an understanding that they should do all they could to second his views with their countrymen. His first proposals, however, were so extravagant, that the Scottish Parliament would not listen to them for a moment. He demanded not only that the young Queen should be sent into England, to be educated under his own superintendance, but that her future father-in-law, should, in the mean time, be allowed an active share in the government of Scotland. Having subsequently consented to depart considerably from the haughty tone in which these terms were dictated, a treaty of marriage was agreed to, at the instigation of Arran, whom Henry had won to his interests, in which it was promised, that Mary should be sent into England at the age of ten, and that six persons of rank should be delivered as hostages for the fulfilment of this promise.

*Polydore, lib. 26, quoted by Leslie. "Defence of Mary's Honour," Preface, p. xv.—Apud Anderson vol. 1.

It may easily be conceived, that whatever the Regent, together with some of the reformed nobility and their partizans, might think of this treaty, the Queen-mother and Cardinal Beaton, who had, for the present, formed a coalition, could not be very well satisfied with it. Henry, with all the hasty violence of his nature, had, in a fit of spleen, espoused the reformed opinions; and if Mary became the wife of his son, it was evident that the interests both of the House of Guise and of the Catholic religion in Scotland, would suffer a fatal blow. The most forcible representations, therefore, of the inevitable ruin which this alliance would bring upon Scotland, were immediately set afloat. The country, it was alleged, would be converted by it into a mere province of its ancient and inveterate enemy, and would lose for ever the friendship of France, its constant ally. By these arguments, the heads of the Catholic party succeeded in effecting a change in public opinion; and the result was, that Arran found himself at length obliged to yield to their superior influence, and not only to deliver up to Beaton and Mary of Lorraine, the young Queen, but to refuse to ratify the engagements he had entered into with Henry. The Cardinal now carried every thing before him, having either won over or intimidated nearly all his opponents. The Earl of Lennox alone, a nobleman whose pretensions were greater than his power, could not forgive Beaton for having used him merely as an inferior agent in his intrigues to gain the ascendancy over Arran. Lennox had himself aspired at the Regency, alleging that his title, as presumptive heir to the Crown, was a more

legitimate one than that of the House of Hamilton, to which Arran belonged. But the crafty Cardinal encouraged these hopes for a time, only to extinguish them ultimately; and at the very moment that Lennox considered his success certain, he found himself farther from the object of his wishes than ever.

Enraged at being thus foiled, Lennox set on foot a secret correspondence with Henry, promising that monarch his best support, should he determine upon avenging the insult he had sustained, through the vacillating conduct of the Scots. Henry gladly availed himself of the offer, and sent a considerable force, under the Earl of Hartford, to the North, by sea, which, having landed at Leith, and plundered that place, as well as the neighbouring city of Edinburgh, again took its departure for England, without attempting to penetrate farther into the country. This was an unprofitable and ill-advised expedition, for it only tended to exasperate the minds of the Scotch, without being of any service to Henry. The Earl of Huntly well remarked concerning it, that, even although he might have had no objections to the proposed match, he had a most especial dislike to the manner of wooing.

Lennox now found himself deserted in the midst of his former friends, and went prudently into voluntary exile, by retiring into England. Here Henry, in reward of his former services, gave him his niece, the Lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage. She was the daughter, by her second marriage, of Henry's sister, the Lady Margaret, wife of James IV. who, after the death of that prince, espoused Archibald Earl of Angus.

By this alliance, Lennox, though it was impossible for him to foresee such a result, became the father of Henry Darnley, and a long line of Kings.

About this period, an event well known in Scottish history, accomplished by means only too frequently resorted to in those unsettled times, facilitated the conclusion of a short peace with England. Cardinal Beaton, elated by the success of his measures, and anxious, now that all more immediate danger was removed, to re-establish on a firmer basis the tottering authority of the Romish Church, determined upon striking awe into the people, by some memorable examples of severity towards heretics. About the end of the year 1545, he made a progress through several parts of his diocess, accompanied by the Earl of Argyle, who was then Lord Justice General, and other official persons, for the purpose of trying and punishing offenders against the laws of the Church. At Perth, several of the heges were found guilty of arguing or disputing concerning the sense of the Holy Scriptures, in opposition to an Act of Parliament, which forbade any such freedom of speech, and five men and one woman were condemned to die. Great intercession was made for them, but in vain; the men were hanged, and the woman was drowned. Still farther to intimidate the Reformers, a yet more memorable instance of priestly persecution and cruelty was presented to them a few months afterwards. George Wishart was at this time one of the most learned and zealous of all the supporters of the new doctrines in Scotland. He had been educated at the University of Cambridge,

and had, in his youth, officiated as one of the masters of the grammar school at Montrose. His talents and perseverance rendered him particularly obnoxious to the Cardinal, who, having contrived to make him his prisoner, carried him to his castle at St Andrews. An Ecclesiastical Court was there assembled, at which Wishart was sentenced to be burnt; and to give a clearer idea of the spirit of the times, it may be stated, that on the day on which this sentence was to be put in execution, Beaton issued a proclamation, forbidding any one, under pain of church censure, to offer up prayers for so notorious a heretic. When Wishart was brought to the stake, and after the fire had already begun to take effect, it is said that he turned his eyes towards a window in the castle, overlaid with tapestry, at which the Cardinal was sitting, viewing with complacency the unfortunate man's sufferings, and exclaimed, — "He who, from yonder high place, beholdeth me with such pride, shall, within few days, be in as much shame as now he is seen proudly to rest himself." These words, though they met with little attention at the time, were spoken of afterwards as an evident and most remarkable prophecy.

It was not long after this martyrdom that Cardinal Beaton was present at the marriage of one of his own illegitimate daughters, to whom he gave a dowry of 4000 merks, and whose nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence. Probably he conceived, that the more heretics he burned, the more unblushingly he might confess his own sins against both religion and common morality.

On the prelate's return to St Andrews, Norman Lesly, a young man of strong passions, and eldest son to the Earl of Rothes, came to him to demand some favour, which the Cardinal thought proper to refuse. The particulars of the quarrel which ensued, are not precisely known, but it must have been of a serious kind; for Lesly, taking advantage of the popular feeling which then existed against the Cardinal, determined upon seeking his own revenge by assassinating him. He associated with himself several accomplices, who undertook to second him in this design.

Early on the morning of the 29th of May, 1546, having entered the castle by the gate, which was open to admit some workmen who were repairing the fortifications, he and his assistants proceeded to the door of the Cardinal's chamber, at which they knocked. Beaton asked, "Who is there?"—Norman answered, "My name is Lesly,"—adding, that the door must be opened to him, and those that were with him. Beaton began to fear the worst, and attempted to secure the door. But Lesly called for fire to burn it; upon which the Cardinal, seeing all resistance useless, permitted them to enter. They found him sitting on a chair, pale and agitated; and as they approached him, he exclaimed,—“I am a Priest—ye will not slay me!” Lesly, however, losing all command of his temper, struck him more than once, and would have proceeded to farther indignities, had not James Melville, one of the assassins,—“a man,” says Knox, “of nature most gentle and most modest,”—drawn his sword, and presenting the point to the Cardinal, advised him to repent of his sins, informing him, that no hatred he

bore his person, but simply his love of true religion, induced him to take part against one whom he looked upon as an enemy to the Gospel. So saying, and without waiting for an answer, he stabbed him twice or thrice through the body. When Beaton's friends and servants, alarmed by the noise, collected without, the conspirators lifted up the deceased Prelate, and shewed him to them from the very window at which he had sat on the day of Wishart's execution. Beaton, at the time of his death, was fifty-two. He had long been one of the leading men in Scotland, and had enjoyed the favour of the French King, as well as that of his own sovereign, James V. An attempt was made by the Regent to punish his murderers, but they finally escaped into France. *

There is good reason to believe that Henry VIII. secretly encouraged Lesly and his associates in this dishonest enterprize. But if such be the case, that monarch did not live long enough to reap the fruits of its success. He died only a few months later than the Cardinal; and, about the same time, his cotemporary, Francis I.

* Knox seems not only to justify the assassination of Cardinal Beaton, but to hint that it would have been proper to have disposed of his successor in the same way. "These," says he, "*are the works of our God*, whereby he would admonish the tyrants of this earth, that, in the end, he will be revenged of their cruelty, what strength soever they make in the contrary. But such is the blindness of man, as David speaks, that the posterity does ever follow the footsteps of their wicked fathers, and principally in their impiety. For how little differs the cruelty of that bastard, that yet is called Bishop of St Andrew's, from the cruelty of the former, we will after hear." — *KNOX'S Hist. of the Reformation*, p. 65.

was succeeded on his throne by his son Henry II. These changes did not materially affect the relative situation of Scotland. They might, perhaps, have opened up still higher hopes to the Queen-dowager, and the French party; had not the Duke of Somerset, who was appointed Lord Protector during the minority of Edward VI. announced his determination to follow out the plans of the late monarch, and compel the Scotch to agree to the alliance which he had proposed.

In prosecution of this design, he led a powerful army into Scotland, and the result was the unfortunate battle of Pinkie. The Earl of Arran, whose exertions to rescue the country from this new aggression, were warmly seconded by the people, collected a force sufficiently numerous to enable him to meet and offer battle to Somerset. The English camp was in the neighbourhood of Prestonpans, and the Scotch took up very advantageous ground about Musselburgh and Inveresk. Military discipline was at that time but little understood in this country; and the reckless impetuosity of the Scotch infantry was usually attended either with immediate success or by throwing their whole battle into confusion, with irretrievable and signal defeat. The weapons to which they principally trusted, were, in the first place, the pike, with which, upon joining with the enemy, all the fore-rank, standing shoulder to shoulder together, thrust straight forwards, whilst they who stood in the second rank, projected their pikes over the shoulders of their comrades in advance. The length of these pikes, or spears, was eighteen feet six inches. They seem to have been used principally on the first onset, and were

probably speedily relinquished for the more efficient exercise of the sword, which was broad and thin, and of excellent temper. It was employed to cut, or slice with, not to thrust; and, as a defence against any similar weapon of the enemy, a large handkerchief was wrapt twice or thrice about the neck, and a buckler invariably carried on the left arm.*

For some days, the two armies continued in sight of each other, without coming to any general engagement. The hourly anxiety which prevailed at Edinburgh, regarding the result, may be easily imagined. To inspire the soldiers with the greater courage, it was enacted, that the heirs of those who fell upon this occasion in defence of their country, should for five years be free from government taxes, and the usual assessments levied by landlords. At length, on Saturday the 10th of September, 1547, the Scots, misled by a motion in the English army, which they conceived indicated a design to retreat, rashly left their superior ground, and crossing the mouth of the Esk at Musselburgh, gave the Protector battle in the fields of Pinkie, an adjoining country seat. They were here so exposed, that the English fleet, which lay in the bay, was enabled, by firing upon their flank, to do them much mischief. The Earl of Angus and the van-guard, were all at once assailed by a flight of arrows, a raking fire from several regiments of foreign fusileers, and a discharge of cannon. Unable to advance, Angus attempted to change his position for a more advantageous one. The main body imagined he

* DALYELL'S "*Fragments of Scottish History.*"

was falling back upon them in confusion ; and to heighten their panic, a vigorous charge, which was at this moment made by the English cavalry, decided the fortune of the day. After a feeble resistance, the Scotch fled towards Dalkeith, Edinburgh, and Leith, and being hotly pursued by their enemies, all the three roads were strewed with the dead and dying. In this battle, the Earl of Arran lost upwards of 8000 men ; among whom was Lord Fleming, together with many other Scottish noblemen and gentlemen.

The English army advanced immediately upon Leith, which they took and pillaged ; and would have entered Edinburgh, had they not found it impossible to make themselves masters of the Castle. The fleet ravaged the towns and villages on the coasts of the Forth, and proceeded as far north as the River Tay, seizing on whatever shipping they could meet with in the harbours by which they passed.

But instead of obtaining, by these violent measures, the ultimate object of his desires, Somerset found himself farther from his point than ever. The Scotch, enraged against England, threw themselves into the arms of France ; and the Protector, understanding that affairs in the south had fallen into confusion in his absence, was obliged to return home, leaving strong garrisons in Haddington, and one or two other places, which he had captured. The Earl of Arran, and Mary of Guise, sent the earliest intelligence to Henry II. of all that took place ; and, sanctioned by the Scottish Parliament, offered to conclude a treaty of marriage, between his infant son, the Dauphin Francis, and the young Queen. They,

moreover, agreed to send Mary into France, to be educated at the French Court, until such time as the nuptials could be solemnized. This proposal was every way acceptable to Henry, who, like his father Francis, perfectly understood the importance of an alliance with Scotland, as the most efficient means of preventing the English from invading his own dominions. He sent over an army of 6000 men to the aid of the Regent; and, on the return of the vessels which brought these troops, Mary was conveyed into France. To strengthen his interests in Scotland, the French King took this opportunity of bestowing on the Earl of Arran, the title of the Duke of Chatelherault, together with a pension of some value. During a period of two years, a continual series of skirmishings were carried on between the Scotch, supported by their French allies, and the English; but without any results of much consequence on either side. In 1550, a general peace was concluded; and the marriage of the Scottish Queen was never afterwards made the ground of war between the two countries.

From this period, till Mary's return to her own country, the attention of Scotland was entirely engrossed with its own affairs, which were important, because connected with the rise, progress, and establishment of the Reformation. As this effected no slight change in the political aspect of the country, and exercised a material influence over Mary's future destiny, it will be proper to give some account of the events which led to it. These details will be found in the following chapter, and the narrative, in as far as regards Queen Mary, will then be preserved unbroken.

CHAPTER II.

SCOTLAND AND THE SCOTTISH REFORMERS, UNDER
THE REGENCY OF THE QUEEN-DOWAGER.

IT was in the year 1517, that Luther first stated his objections to the validity of the indulgences granted so liberally by Pope Leo X. From this year, they who love to trace causes to their origin, date the epoch of the Reformation. It was not, however, till a considerably later period, that the new doctrines took any deep root in Scotland. In 1552, the Duke of Chatelherault, wearied with the fatigues of government, and provoked at the opposition he was continually meeting with, resigned the regency in favour of the Queen-mother. Mary of Guise, by a visit she had shortly before paid to the French Court, had paved the way for this accession of power. Her brothers, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, were far from being satisfied with the state of parties in Scotland. Chatelherault they knew to be of a weak and fluctuating disposition; and it seemed to them necessary, both for the preservation of the ancient religion, and to secure the allegiance of the country to their niece, the young Queen, that a stronger hand, guided by a

sounder head, should hold the reins of state. Upon their sister's fidelity they knew they could depend; and it was principally through the influence of French gold and French intrigue, that she was raised to the regency.

The inhabitants of Scotland were at this time divided into two great classes, — those who were still staunch to the Church of Rome, and those who were determined on effecting a reformation. At the head of the former was John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, who, upon the murder of Cardinal Beaton, had obtained that dignity through the Duke of Chatelherault, whose natural brother he was. He was greatly the Duke's superior in courage and sagacity, and was deeply imbued with the prelatical spirit of ambition, then so prevalent. His brother's resignation of the regency provoked him exceedingly, the more especially as Mary, to strengthen her own authority, found it necessary, at first, to treat the Reformers mildly. He was consoled, however, by the death of Edward VI. in 1553, and the accession of the young king's eldest sister, Mary, to the English throne, — as bigoted and determined a Catholic as ever lived.

The man who had placed himself at the head of the Reformers, and who, although young, had already given Hamilton and his party good cause to tremble at his increasing authority, was James Stuart, the eldest of Mary's three illegitimate brothers, — and one who occupies a most important station in the history of his country. His father made him, when only seven years old, Prior, or Commendator of St Andrews, an office which entitled him, though a layman, to the full

income arising from that rich benefice. It was soon discovered, however, that he had views far beyond so comparatively humble a rank. Even when a boy, it was his ambition to collect around him associates who were devoted to his service and desires. He went over with Mary to France, in 1548, but remained there only a short time; and, at the age of twenty-one, he was already looked up to by the Scottish Reformers as their chief. His knowledge was extensive, and considerably in advance of the times in which he lived: His personal bravery was undoubted, and his skill in arms so great, that few of his military enterprises were unsuccessful: His passions, if they were strong, seem also to have been deep, and entirely under his own command. Whatever may be thought of the secret motives which actuated him, he was seldom betrayed into any outward symptoms of violence. He thus contrived to hold a steady course, amidst all the turbulence and convulsions of the age in which he lived; whilst the decorum and propriety of his manners, so different from the ill-concealed dissoluteness of many of his cotemporaries, endeared him the more to the stern followers of Luther. It is curious to observe the very opposite views which different historians have taken of his character, more especially when they come to speak of him as the Earl of Murray and the Regent of Scotland. It would be improper and unnecessary to anticipate these discussions at present, since it is hoped the reader will be able to form his own estimate upon this subject, from the facts he will find recorded in these Memoirs.

It must be evident, that, with two such men,

each at the head of his own party, the country was not likely to continue long in a state of quietness. The Queen Regent soon found it necessary, at the instigation of the French Court, to associate herself with the Archbishop of St Andrews;—in opposition to which coalition, a bond was drawn up, in 1557, by some of the principal Reformers, in which they announced their resolution to form an independent congregation of their own, and to separate themselves entirely from the “congregation of Satan, with all the superstitious abomination and idolatry thereof.” Articles, or Heads of a Reformation, were soon afterwards published, in which it was principally insisted, that on Sunday and other festival days, the common-prayer should be read openly in the parish churches, along with the lessons of the Old and New Testaments; and that preaching and interpretation of the Scriptures in private houses should be allowed.

In the following year, one of the first outrages which the Reformers committed in Scotland, took place in Edinburgh. On occasion of the annual procession through the city, in honour of the tutelar saint, St Giles, the image of that illustrious personage, which ought to have been carried by some of the priests, was amissing,—the godly having, beforehand, according to John Knox, first drowned the idol in the North Loch, and then burned it. It was, therefore, necessary to borrow a smaller saint from the Gray Friars, in order that this “great solemnity and manifest abomination” might proceed. Upon the day appointed, priests, friars, canons, and “rotten Papists,” assembled, with tabors, trumpets, banners, and bagpipes. At this sight, the hearts of

the brethren were wondrously inflamed; and they resolved, that this second Dagon should suffer the fate of the first. They broke in upon the procession; and, though the Catholics made some slight resistance, they were soon obliged to surrender the image into the hands of the Philistines, who, taking it by the heels, and knocking, or, as the reformed historian says, *dadding* its head upon the pavement, soon reduced it to fragments, only regretting, that "the young St Giles" had not been so difficult to kill as his father. The priests, alarmed for their personal safety, sought shelter as quickly as possible, and gave Knox an opportunity of indulging in some of that austere mirth which is peculiarly remarkable, because so foreign to his general style. "Then might have been seen," says he, "so sudden a fray as seldom has been seen among that sort of men within this realm; for down goes the cross, off go the surplices, round caps, and cornets with the crowns. The Gray Friars gaped, the Black Friars blew, and the priests panted and fled, and happy was he that first got the house; for such a sudden fray came never among the generation of Antichrist within this realm before." The magistrates had some difficulty in prevailing upon the mob to disperse, after they had kept possession of the streets for several hours; and the rioters escaped without punishment; for "the brethren assembled themselves in such sort in companies, singing psalms, and praising God, that the proudest of the enemies were astounded."*

* KEITH, p. 68. — KNOX'S *History*, p. 94-6.

The Commissioners who, about this time, were sent into France, and the motive of their embassy, will be spoken of afterwards. But the remarkable circumstance, that four of them died when about to return home,—one at Paris, and three at Dieppe,—had a considerable influence in exciting the populace to still greater hatred against the French party,—it being commonly suspected that they had come by their death unfairly. The Congregation now rose in their demands; and, among other things, insisted that “the wicked and scandalous” lives of churchmen should be reformed, according to the rules contained in the New Testament, the writings of the ancient fathers, and the laws of Justinian the Emperor. For a while, the Queen Regent temporized; but, finding it impossible to preserve the favour of both parties, she yielded at length to the solicitations of the Archbishop of St Andrews, and determined to resist the Reformers vigorously. In 1559, she summoned all the ministers of the Congregation, to appear before her at Stirling. This citation was complied with, but not exactly in the manner that the Queen wished; for the ministers came, not as culprits, but as men proud of their principles, and accompanied by a vast multitude of those who were of the same mode of thinking. The Queen, who was at Stirling, did not venture to proceed to Perth; and the request she made, that the numbers there assembled should depart, leaving their ministers to be examined by the government, having been refused, she proceeded to the harsh and decisive measure of declaring them all rebels.

The consternation which this direct announce-

ment of hostilities occasioned among them, was still at its height, when the great champion of the Scottish Reformation, John Knox, arrived at Perth. This celebrated divine had already suffered much for "the good cause;" and though his zeal and devotion to it were well known, it was not till latterly that he had entertained much hope of its final triumph in his native country. He had spent the greater part of his life in imprisonment or exile; he had undergone many privations, and submitted to many trials. But these were the daily food of the Reformers; and, whilst they only served to strengthen them in the obduracy of their belief, they had the additional effect of infusing a morose acerbity into dispositions not naturally of the softest kind. Knox had returned only a few days before from Geneva, where he had been solacing his solitude by writing and publishing that celebrated work, which he was pleased to entitle, "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women." This treatise, directed principally against Mary of England, not forgetting Mary Queen of Scots and her mother of Guise, rather overshot its own purpose, by bringing the Reformer into disrepute with Elizabeth, who came to the crown soon after its appearance. To pacify that Queen—for it appears even Knox could temporize occasionally—he gave up his original intention of blowing his trumpet thrice, and his first blast was his last.*

The day after the ministers and their friends had been declared rebels, Knox delivered at Perth

* M'CRIE'S *Life of Knox*, vol. i. p. 222.

what Keith terms, "that thundering Sermon against Idolatry." The tumult which ensued at the conclusion of this discourse, has been attributed by some historians to accident ; but Keith's suspicion, that Knox had a direct intention to excite it, seems well founded, when we consider the ferment in which the minds of his audience were at the time, and the peculiar style in which he addressed them. Buchanan is of the same opinion, though he would naturally have leant to the other conclusion. He says that Knox, "in that ticklish posture of affairs, made such a pathetic sermon to the multitude who were gathered together, that he set their minds, which were already fired, all in a flame." If, in addition to this, the usual manner of Knox's eloquence be considered, it will hardly be questioned but that the outrage of that day was of his doing. His vehemence in the pulpit was at all times tremendous ; indeed, in as far as the effect he produced upon his hearers was concerned, he seems to have trusted almost as much to the display of his physical as of his mental energies. Many years after the period now alluded to, when he was in his old age, and very weak, Melville tells us, that he saw him every Sunday go slowly and feebly, with fur about his neck, a staff in his hand, and a servant supporting him, from his own house, to the parish church in St Andrews. There, after being lifted into the pulpit, his limbs for some time were so feeble, that they could hardly support him ; but ere he had done with his sermon, he became so active and vigorous, that he was like "to ding the pulpit in blads, and flie out of

it."* What he must have been, therefore, in his best days, may be more easily imagined than described.

On the present occasion, after Knox had preached, and the greater part of the congregation had retired, it appears that some "godly men" still remained in the church. A priest had the imprudence to venture in among them, and to commence saying mass. A young man called out, that such idolatry was intolerable; upon which it is said that the priest struck him. The young man retorted, by throwing a stone, which injured one of the pictures. The affair soon became general. The enraged people fell upon the altars and images, and in a short time nothing was left undemolished but the bare walls of the church. The Reformers throughout the city, hearing of these proceedings, speedily collected, and attacking the monasteries of the Gray and Black Friars, along with the costly edifice of the Carthusian Monks, left not a vestige of what they considered idolatrous and profane worship in any of them. The example thus set at Perth, was speedily followed almost everywhere throughout the country.

These outrages greatly incensed the Queen Regent, and were looked upon with horror by the Catholics in general. To this day, the loss of many a fine building and work of art, through the zeal of the early Reformers, is a common subject of regret and complaint. It is to be remembered, however, that no revolution can be effected without paying a price for it. If the Reformation was a benefit, how could the Catholic superstition be

* M'CRIE'S *Life of Knox*, vol. ii. p. 206.

more successfully attacked, than by knocking down those gorgeous temples, which were of themselves sufficient to render invincible the pride and inveterate bigotry of its votaries? The saying of John Knox, though a homely, was a true one, — “Pull down their nests, and the rooks will fly away.” It is not improbable, as M^cCrie conjectures, that had these buildings been allowed to remain in their former splendour, the Popish clergy might have long continued to indulge hopes, and to make efforts, to be restored to them. If victories over a political enemy are celebrated with public rejoicings, we should be slow to rob of its due praise the far more important victory over those who had so long held in thralldom the human mind, even although some statues were mangled, some pictures torn, and some venerable towers overthrown.

With as little delay as possible, the Queen Regent appeared with an army before Perth, and made herself mistress of the town. The Reformers, however, were not to be intimidated; and their strength having, by this time, much increased, it was deemed prudent by the Regent not to push matters to an extremity. Both parties agreed to disband their forces, and to refer the controversy to the next Parliament. As was to be expected, this temporary truce was not of long duration. Incessant mutual recrimination and aggression, soon induced both sides to concentrate their forces once more. Perth was re-taken by the Reformers, who shortly afterwards marched into Edinburgh. After remaining there for some time, they were surprised by a sudden march which the Queen made upon them from

Dunbar, and were compelled to fall back upon Stirling.

A belief was at this time prevalent at the court of France, that the Prior of St Andrews, who was the principal military leader of the Congregation, had views of a treasonable nature even upon the crown itself, and that he hoped the flaw in his legitimacy might be forgotten, in consideration of his godly exertions in support of the true faith. To avert this danger, a new reinforcement of French soldiers arrived at Leith, which they fortified; and the French ambassador was commanded to inform the Prior, that the King, his master, would rather spend the crown of France, than not be revenged of the seditious persons in Scotland.

The civil war now raged with increased bitterness, and with various success, but without any decisive advantage on either side for some time. The Reformers applied for assistance to Queen Elizabeth, who favoured their cause for various reasons, and would, no doubt, much rather have seen Murray in possession of the Scottish crown, than her own personal rival, Mary. The Congregation having found it impossible, by their own efforts, to drive the French out of Leith, the English Queen, in the beginning of the year 1560, fitted out a powerful fleet, which, to the astonishment of the Queen Regent and her French allies, sailed up the Firth of Forth, and anchored in the Roads, before even the purpose for which it had come was known. A treaty was soon afterwards concluded at Berwick between the Lords of the Congregation and Elizabeth's Commissioner, the Duke of Norfolk, by which it was agreed, on the

part of the former, that no alliance should ever be entered into by them with France ; and on that of the latter, that an English army should march into Scotland early in spring, for the purpose of aiding in the expulsion of the French troops.

This army came at the time appointed, and was soon joined by the forces of the Reformers. The allies marched directly for Leith, which they invested without loss of time. The siege was conducted with great spirit, but the town was very resolutely defended by the French. So much determination was displayed upon both sides, that it is difficult to say how the matter might have ended, had not the death of the Queen Regent, which took place at this juncture, changed materially the whole aspect of affairs. She had been ill for some time, and, during her sickness, resided in the Castle of Edinburgh. Perceiving that her end was approaching, she requested an interview with some of the leaders of the Congregation. The Duke of Chatelherault, the Prior of St Andrews, or the Lord James, as he was commonly called, and others, waited upon her in her sick-chamber. She expressed to them her sincere grief for the troubles which existed in the country, and advised that both the English and French troops should be sent home : She entreated that they would reverence and obey their native and lawful sovereign, her daughter Mary : She told them how deeply attached she was to Scotland and its interests, although by birth a Frenchwoman ; and, at the conclusion, she burst into tears, kissing the nobles one by one, and asking pardon of all whom she had in any way offended. The day after this interview, Mary of Guise died.

Her many excellent qualities were long remembered in Scotland ; for even those who could not love, respected her. In private life, if this term can be used with propriety when speaking of a Queen, she appears to have been most deservedly esteemed. She set an example, to all the ladies who attended her, of piety, modesty, and becoming gravity of deportment : she was exceedingly charitable to the poor ; and had she fallen upon better days, her life would have been a happier one for herself, and her memory more generally prized by posterity. Her body was carried over to France, and buried in the Benedictine Monastery at Rheims.*

* It is worth while observing with what a total want of all Christian charity Knox speaks of the death of Mary of Guise. Alluding to her burial, he says — “ The question was moved of her burial the preachers boldly gainstood that any superstitious rites should be used within that realm, which God of his mercy had begun to purge, and so was she clapped in a coffin of lead, and kept in the Castle from the 9th of June until the 19th of October, when she, by Pinyours, was carried to a ship, and so carried to France. What pomp was used there, we neither hear nor yet regard, but in it we see that she, that delighted that others lay without burial, got it neither so soon as she herself (if she had been of the counsel in her life) would have required it, neither yet so honourable in this realm as sometimes she looked for. It may perchance be a pronosticon, that the Guisean blood cannot have any rest within this realm.” Elsewhere he says — “ Within few days after, began her belly and loathsome legs to swell, and so continued till that God did execute his judgment upon her.” And again, — “ God, for his mercy’s sake, rid us of the rest of the Guisean blood ! Amen.” As Keith remarks, it was not by this spirit that the Apostles converted the world. — KEITH, p. 129.

Very soon after the death of the Queen Regent, Commissioners arrived both from France and England, with full powers to conclude a treaty of peace. By the loss of their sister, the Princes of Lorraine had been deprived of their chief support in Scotland, and, being actively engaged in schemes of ambition nearer home, they found it necessary to conciliate, as they best could, the predominating party there. The important treaty of Edinburgh, which will be mentioned frequently hereafter, was concluded on the 14th June, 1560. It was signed on the part of France by the two plenipotentiaries, Monluc, Bishop of Valence, and the Sieur Derandon, reckoned two of the best diplomatists of the day; and, on the part of England, by Wotton, Dean of Canterbury, and Elizabeth's prime minister, Cecil, one of the ablest men of that or any age. The interests of the Congregation were intrusted principally to Lord James. In consequence of this treaty, the French troops were immediately withdrawn. The fortifications of Leith and Dunbar were destroyed, and a Parliament was held, whose acts were to be considered no less valid, than if it had been called by the express commands of the Queen. In this Parliament, the adherents of the Congregation were found greatly to outnumber their adversaries. An act of oblivion and indemnity was passed for all that had taken place within the two preceding years; and, for the first time, the Catholics, awed into silence, submitted to every thing which the Reformers proposed. A new Confession of Faith was sanctioned; the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts was abolished; and the exercise of worship, according to

the rites of the Romish Church, was prohibited under severe penalties—a third act of disobedience being declared capital.

Thus the Reformation finally triumphed in Scotland. Though as yet only in its infancy, and still exposed to many perils, it was nevertheless established on a comparatively firm and constitutional basis. The Catholics, it is true, aware of the school in which Mary had been educated, were far from having given up all hope of retrieving their circumstances; and they waited for her return with the utmost impatience and anxiety. But they ought to have known, that whatever might have been Mary's wishes, their reign was over in Scotland. A sovereign may coerce the bodies, but cannot change the minds of his subjects. The people had now begun to think for themselves; and a belief in the mere mummeries of a fantastic system of Christianity, and of the efficacy of miracles performed through the agency of blocks of wood and stone, was never again to form a portion of their faith. A brief account of one of the last, and not least ludicrous attempts which the Popish clergy made to support their sinking cause, will form an appropriate conclusion to this chapter.

There was a chapel in the neighbourhood of Musselburgh, dedicated to the Lady of Loretto, which, from the character of superior sanctity it had acquired, had long been the favourite resort of religious devotees. In this chapel, a portion of the Catholic priests undertook to put their religion to the test, by performing a miracle. They fixed upon a young man, who was well known as a common blind beggar, in the streets

of Edinburgh, and engaged to restore to him, in the presence of the assembled people, the perfect use of his sight. A day was named, on which they calculated they might depend on this wonderful interposition of divine power in their behalf. From motives of curiosity, a great crowd was attracted at the appointed time to the chapel. The blind man made his appearance on a scaffold, erected for the occasion. The priests approached the altar, and, after praying very devoutly, and performing other religious ceremonies, he who had previously been stone blind, opened his eyes, and declared he saw all things plainly. Having humbly and gratefully thanked his benefactors, the priests, he was permitted to mingle among the astonished people, and receive their charity.

Unfortunately, however, for the success of this deception, a gentleman from Fife, of the name of Colville, determined to penetrate, if possible, a little farther into the mystery. He prevailed upon the subject of the recent experiment to accompany him to his lodgings in Edinburgh. As soon as they were alone, he locked the chamber door, and either by bribes or threats, contrived to win from him the whole secret. It turned out, that, in his boyhood, this tool in the hands of the designing had been employed as a herd by the nuns of the Convent of Sciennes, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. It was remarked by the sisterhood, that he had an extraordinary facility in "flying up the lid of his eyes, and casting up the white." Some of the neighbouring priests, hearing accidentally of this talent, imagined that it might be applied to good account. They accordingly took him from

Sciennes to the monastery near Musselburgh, where they kept him till he had made himself an adept in this mode of counterfeiting blindness, and till his personal appearance was so much changed, that the few who had been acquainted with him before, were unable to recognize him. They then sent him into Edinburgh to beg publicly, and make himself familiarly known to the inhabitants, as a blind mendicant. So far every thing had gone smoothly, and the scene at the Chapel of Loretto might have had its effect on the minds of the vulgar, had not Colville's activity discovered the gross imposture. As he belonged to the Congregation, he instantly took the most effectual means to make known the deceit. He insisted upon the blind man's appearing with him next day at the Cross of Edinburgh, where the latter repeated all he had previously told Colville, and confessed the iniquity of his own conduct, as well as that of the priests. To shelter him from their revenge, Colville immediately afterwards carried him off to Fife; and the story, with all its details, being speedily disseminated, exposed the Catholic clergy to more contempt than ever.

CHAPTER III.

MARY'S BIRTH, AND SUBSEQUENT RESIDENCE AT THE FRENCH COURT, WITH A SKETCH OF THE STATE OF SOCIETY AND MANNERS IN FRANCE DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

MARY STUART, Queen of Scots, was the third child of James V. and his wife, Mary of Guise. That lady had borne him previously two sons, both of whom died in infancy. Mary came into the world on the 7th of December, 1542, in the Palace of Linlithgow.* She was only seven days old when she lost her father, who, at the time of her birth, lay sick in the Palace of Falkland. James died, as he had lived, with a kingly and gallant spirit. In the language of Pitscottie, he turned him upon his back, and looked and beheld all his nobles and lords about him, and, giving a little smile of laughter, kissed his hand, and offered it to them. When they had pressed it to their lips for the last time, he tossed up his arms, and yielded his spirit to God. James was considered one of the most handsome men of his day. He was above the middle stature; his hair

* By the kindness of Mr Brown of Glasgow, the ingenious delineator of the Royal Palaces of Scotland, we are enabled to give, as the vignette to the present volume, a view of this Palace, exhibiting the window of the very room where Mary was born, which is the large one on the first floor, immediately under the flight of birds.

flowed luxuriantly over his shoulders in natural ringlets, and was of a dark yellow, or auburn colour; his eyes were gray, and very penetrating; his voice was sweet toned; and the general expression of his countenance was highly prepossessing. He inherited a vigorous constitution and kept it sound and healthy by constant exercise, and by refraining from all excesses in eating or drinking. He was buried in the Royal Vault in the Chapel of Holyroodhouse, where his embalmed body, in a state of entire preservation, was still to be seen in the time of the historian Keith.

The young Queen was crowned by Cardinal Beaton at Stirling, on the 9th of September, 1543. Her mother, who watched over her with the most careful anxiety, was informed of a report which became prevalent, that the infant was sickly, and not likely to live. To disprove this calumny, she desired Janet Sinclair, Mary's nurse, to unswaddle her in the presence of the English ambassador, who wrote to his own court that she was as goodly a child as he had seen of her age.

Soon after her birth, the Parliament nominated Commissioners, to whom they intrusted the charge of the Queen's person, leaving all her other interests to the care of her mother. The two first years of her life Mary spent at Linlithgow, where it appears she had the small-pox, a point of some importance, as one of her historians remarks, in the biography of a beauty and a queen.* The disease must have been of a particularly gentle kind, having left behind no visible

* SADLER'S *State Papers and Letters*, vol. i. p. 263.

traces. During the greater part of the years 1545 and 1546, she resided at Stirling Castle, in the keeping of Lords Erskine and Livingstone. Here she received the first rudiments of education from two ecclesiastics, who were appointed her preceptors, more, however, as matter of form, than from any use they could be of to so mere a child. When the internal disturbances of the country rendered even Stirling Castle a somewhat dangerous residence, Mary was removed to Inchmahome, a sequestered island in the Lake of Monteith. That she might not be too lonely, and that a spirit of generous emulation might present her with an additional motive for the prosecution of her studies, the Queen-dowager selected four young ladies of rank as companions and playmates for her daughter. They were each about her own age, and either from chance, or because the conceit seemed natural, they all bore the same surname. The four Maries were, Mary Beaton, a niece of Cardinal Beaton, Mary Fleming, daughter of Lord Fleming, Mary Livingstone, whose father was one of the young Queen's guardians, and Mary Seaton, daughter of Lord Seaton.

After Mary had remained upwards of two years in this island, her guardians thought it expedient, for reasons which have been already explained, (the principal of which was her being betrothed to the Dauphin,) that she should be removed to France. She was, accordingly, in the fifth year of her age, taken to Dumbarton, where she was delivered to the French Admiral, whose vessels were waiting to receive her. She left Scotland, attended by the Lords Erskine and

Livingstone, her three natural brothers, and her four Mariés.

The thirteen happiest years of Mary's life were spent in France. She sailed from Dumbarton towards the end of July, 1548, and, after a tempestuous voyage, landed at Brest on the 14th of August. She was there received, by Henry II.'s orders, with all the honours due to her rank and royal destiny. She travelled, with her retinue, by easy stages, to the palace at St Germain en Laye; and to mark the respect that was paid to her, the prison gates of every town she came to were thrown open, and the prisoners set free. Shortly after her arrival, she was sent, along with the king's own daughters, to one of the first convents in France, where young ladies of distinction were instructed in the elementary branches of education.

The natural quickness of her capacity, and the early acuteness of her mind, now began to manifest themselves. She made rapid progress in acquiring that species of knowledge suited to her years; and, charmed with the gentle manners of her teachers, her lively imagination began to attach a more than ordinary interest to the calm and secluded life of a nunnery. It was even whispered, that she had already expressed a wish to separate herself for ever from the world; and it is not impossible, that had this wish been allowed to foster itself silently in her bosom, Mary might ultimately have taken the veil; in which case, her life would have been a blank in history. But these views were not consistent with the more ambitious projects entertained by Henry and her uncles of Lorraine. As soon as

they were informed of the bent which her mind appeared to be taking, she was again removed from the convent to the palace. To reconcile her to parting with the holy sisters, Henry, whose conduct towards her was always marked by affection and delicacy, selected, from all the noble Scotch families then residing in France, a certain number of the younger scions to constitute her future household. The tears which Mary shed, however, on leaving the convent, proved the warmth of her young heart. That her feelings were not of merely momentary duration, is evinced by the frequent visits she subsequently paid to this asylum of her childhood, and by the altar-piece she embroidered with her own hands for its chapel.

In no country of Europe was education better understood than it then was in France. Francis I. who remodelled, upon a magnificent scale, the University of Paris, only followed the example which had already been set him by Louis XII. The youth of all countries flocked to the French schools. The liberal principles which induced the government to maintain, at its own expense, professors, who lectured to as many students as chose to hear them, was amply repaid by the beneficial consequences arising from the great influx of strangers. A competent knowledge of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Mathematics, Moral Philosophy, and Medicine, could be acquired in France for literally nothing. Nor was it necessary, that he who sought for the blessings of education, should profess any particular system of religious faith. The German Protestant, and the Spanish Catholic, were allowed, in these noble

institutions, to take their seat side by side. Henry supported the church as an engine of state, whilst he detested the arrogant pretensions and empty insolence of many of the clergy, and was determined that they should not interfere, in these seminaries, with the more enlightened views which he himself entertained. His opinions were founded on those of his illustrious father, who used to remark, that monks were better at teaching linnets to whistle, playing at dice, tipping, and gormandizing, than in doing good either to religion or morality.

The host of authors, and men of genius, who flourished in France about this period, was the natural consequence of the patronage they received. "Learning," says Miss Benger, "far from being the badge of singularity, had become the attribute of a superior station." "There was," observes the ingenious Pasquier, "a glorious crusade against ignorance." Many of the names then celebrated have since, it is true, passed into oblivion; but the multitude who cultivated letters, shew the spirit of the times. Beza, Seve, Pelletier, and others, led the van in the severer departments of intellect; whilst Bellay, Ronsard, and Jodelle, preceded a crowd of followers, in the cultivation of poetry, and the softer arts of composition.

Nor must the great statesmen and warriors, whose presence lent a lustre to the court, be forgotten in this view of the existing pre-eminence of France. The two Houses of Bourbon and Guise, had each given birth to many names destined for immortality. The present chiefs of Bourbon were Anthony, Duke of Navarre, and

Louis, known in the history of the world as the first Prince of Condé. There were six brothers of the Guises, of whom, the two most illustrious were Francis, Duke of Guise, and Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine. The others, also, enjoyed the very highest offices in the church or state; one was a Cardinal; and another a Grand Prior; a third, the Duke d'Aumale, commanded the army then in Italy; and the fourth, the Marquis d'Elbeuf, was intrusted with the charge of the French troops in Scotland. But he who held the balance of power between all these contending interests, was the great Montmorency, Constable of France. He had, by this time, grown gray in the service of the French monarchs. Louis XII. had acknowledged his virtues, and Francis I. looked to him for advice and aid in every emergency. Henry felt almost a filial affection and reverence for so distinguished a statesman and patriot; and Diana de Poitiers herself, the fascinating widow of the Duke de Valentinois, frequently found that she possessed less influence with the monarch than the venerable and unostentatious Montmorency, who, in addition to the weight attached to his own character, was at all times surrounded by a formidable phalanx of friends and supporters. Of these, his own sons were not the least considerable; and his nephews, the two Colignys, need only to be mentioned, to awaken recollections of some of the most prominent events of French history.

Neither must the two ladies who held the highest places in the French Court be forgotten. The sister and the wife of Henry II. resembled each other but faintly, yet they each secured

the admiration of the country. The Princess Margaret had established herself, by her patronage of every liberal art, and her universal beneficence, in the hearts of the whole people. Her religion did not degenerate into bigotry, and her charity, whilst it was at all times efficient, was without parade. She became afterwards the Duchess of Savoy; but, till past the meridian of life, she continued constantly at her brother's Court,—a bright example of all that was virtuous and attractive in female character. To her, France was indebted for discovering and fostering the talents of its great Chancellor, Michel L'Hopital; and the honourable name by which she was commonly known was that of Minerva. The king's wife, Catherine de Medicis, was more respected for her talents than loved for her virtues. But, as yet, the ambition of her nature had not betrayed itself, and little occasion had been afforded for the exercise of those arts of dissimulation, or the exposure of that proneness to jealousy and resentment, which at a later period became so apparent. She was still in the bloom of youth, and maintained a high character, not without much show of reason.

Such being the general aspect of the country and the Court, it cannot fail to become evident, that so far from being a just cause of regret, nothing could have redounded more to Mary's advantage than her education and residence in France. If bigotry prevailed among the clergy, it was not countenanced at the Court, for Henry was professedly liberal, and his sister Margaret was suspected of leaning to the Reformed opinions. If Parisian manners were known to be too

deeply tinctured with licentiousness, the palace of Catherine must be excepted from the charge ; for even the deportment of De Poitiers herself was grave and decorous, and, for his sister's sake, the king dared not have countenanced any of those grosser immoralities in which Henry VIII. of England so openly indulged.

The Cardinal of Lorraine, who was at the head of the Parisian University, quickly discovering Mary's capabilities, directed her studies with the most watchful anxiety. She was still attended also by the two preceptors who had accompanied her from Scotland, and before she was ten years old, had made good progress in the French, Latin, and Italian languages. French was ever afterwards as familiar to her as her native tongue ; and she wrote it with a degree of elegance which no one could surpass. Her acquaintance with Latin was not of that superficial kind common in the present day. This language was then regarded as almost the only one on whose stability any reliance could be placed ; and it was, consequently, deemed indispensable, that all who aspired at future fame, should be able to compose in it fluently. Mary's teacher was the celebrated George Buchanan, who happened to be then in France, and who, whatever other praise he may be entitled to, was unquestionably one of the best scholars of his time. The young Queen's attention was likewise directed to rhetoric, by Fauchet, author of a treatise on that subject, which he dedicated to his pupil ; to history, by Pasquier ; and to the delightful study of poetry, for which her genius was best suited, and for which she retained a predilection all her life, by Ronsard.

Nor must it be imagined that Mary's childhood was exclusively devoted to these more scholastic pursuits. She and her young companions, the Scotch Maries, and the daughters of Henry, were frequently present at those magnificent galas and fêtes, in which the King himself so much delighted, and which were so particularly in unison with the taste of the times, though no where conducted with so much elegance and grace, as at the French Court. The summer tournaments and fêtes champêtres, and the winter festivals and masquerades, were attended by all the beauty and chivalry of the land. In these amusements, Mary, as she grew up, took a lively and innocent pleasure. The woods and gardens, also, of Fontainbleau, afforded a delightful variation from the artificial splendours of Paris. In summer, sailing on the lakes, or fishing in the ponds; and in winter, a construction of fortresses on the ice, a mimic battle of snow-balls, or skating, became royal pastimes. Mary's gait and air, naturally dignified and noble, acquired an additional charm from the attention she paid to dancing and riding. The favourite dance, at the time, was the Spanish minuet, which Mary frequently performed with her future consort, to the admiration of the whole court. In the livelier gaillarde, she was unequalled, as was confessed even by the beautiful Anne of Este, who, in a *pas de deux*, acknowledged that she was eclipsed by Mary.

The activity of her body, indeed, kept, upon all occasions, full pace with that of her mind. She was, in particular, fond of hunting; and she and her maids of honour were frequently seen

following the stag through the ancestral forests of France. Her attachment to this amusement, which continued all her life, exposed her, on several occasions, to some danger. So early as the year 1559, when hunting in France, some part of her dress was caught by the bough of a tree, and she was cast off her horse when galloping at full speed. Many of the ladies and gentlemen in her train passed by without observing, and some so near, as actually to tread on her riding-dress. As soon as the accident was discovered, she was raised from the ground ; but, though the shock had been considerable, she had too heroic a spirit to complain, and, readjusting her hair, which had fallen into confusion, she again mounted her horse, and rode home smiling at the adventure.*

Another, but more sedentary, amusement with Mary, was the composition of devices. To excel in these, required some wit and judgment. A device was the skilful coupling of a few expressive words with any engraved figure or picture. It was an art intimately connected with the science of heraldry, and seems to have suggested the modern seal and motto. The composition of these devices was, as it is somewhere called, only "an elegant species of trifling ;" but it had something intellectual in it, which the best informed ladies of the French court liked. An old author, who writes upon this subject, elevates it to a degree of importance rather amusing:—"It delights the eye," he says, "it captivates the imagination, it is also profitable and useful ; and,

* WHITTAKER, vol. IV. p. 144.

therefore, surpasseth all other arts, and also painting, since this only represents the body and exquisite features of the face, whereas a device exposes the rare ideas and gallant sentiments of its author ; it also excels poetry, in as much as it joineth profit with pleasure, since none merit the title of devices unless they at once please by their grace, and yield profit by their doctrine."

Mary's partialities were commonly lasting, and when in very different circumstances, she frequently loved to return to this amusement of her childhood. Some of the emblems she invented, betray much elegance and sensibility of mind. On the death of her husband, Francis, she took for her device a little branch of the liquorice-tree, whose root alone is sweet, all the rest of the plant being bitter, and the motto was, *Dulce meum terra tegit*. On her cloth of state was embroidered the sentence, *En ma fin est mon commencement* ; " a riddle," says Haynes, " I understand not ;" but which evidently meant to inculcate a lesson of humility, and to remind her that life, with all its grandeur, was the mere prologue to eternity. The French historian, Mezeray, mentions also, that Mary had a medal struck, on which was represented a vessel in a storm, with its masts broken and falling, illustrated by the motto, *Nunquam nisi rectam* ; indicating a determination rather to perish than deviate from the path of integrity.* When she was in England, she embroidered, for the Duke of Norfolk, a hand with a sword in it, cutting vines, with the motto, *Virescit vulnere virtus*. In

* MEZERAY, *Histoire de France*, tom. iil. p. 50.

these and similar fancies, she embodied strong and often original thoughts with much delicacy.

In the midst of these occupations and amusements, Mary was not allowed to forget her native country. Frequent visits were paid her from Scotland, by those personally attached to herself or her family. In 1550, her mother, Mary of Guise, came over to see her, accompanied by several of the nobility. The Queen-dowager, a woman of strong affections, was so delighted with the improvement she discovered in her daughter's mind and person, that she burst into tears of joy; and her Scottish attendants were hardly less affected by the sight of their future sovereign. Henry, with his young charge, was at Rouen, when the Queen-dowager arrived. To testify his respect for her, he ordered a triumph to be prepared, which consisted of one of those grotesque allegorical exhibitions then so much in vogue; and, shortly afterwards, the two Queens made a public entry into Paris. Mary of Guise had there an opportunity of seeing, likewise, her son by her first husband, the Duke de Longueville, Mary's half-brother, who seems to have spent his life in retirement, as history scarcely notices him. It may well be conceived, that the widow of James V. returned even to the regency of Scotland with reluctance, since she purchased the gratification of her ambition by a final separation from her children.*

It was about the same time that Mary first saw Sir James Melville, who was only a few years older than herself, and who was sent over in the train of the Bishop of Monluc, when he returned,

* MISS BENDER'S *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 189, et. seq.

after signing the Treaty of Edinburgh, to be one of Mary's pages of honour. Sir James was afterwards frequently employed by the Queen as her foreign ambassador, and his name will appear more than once in the sequel. He is mentioned at present for the purpose of introducing an amusing anecdote, which he gives us in his own Memoirs, and which illustrates the state of manners at that period. Upon landing at Brest, the Bishop proceeded direct to Paris. But Sir James, who was young, and could hardly have endured the fatigue of this mode of travelling, was intrusted to the care of two Scotch gentlemen, who had come over in the same ship. Their first step was to purchase three little "naigies," on which they proposed riding to Paris, any thing in the shape of a *diligence* being out of the question. To ensure greater safety on the journey, three others were permitted to join the party,—two Frenchmen, and a young Spaniard, who was on his way to the college at Paris. On the evening of the first day, they arrived at the town of Landerneau, where all the six were lodged in one room, containing three beds. The two Frenchmen slept together in one, the two Scotsmen in another, and Melville and the Spaniard in the third. The company, on the whole, does not appear to have been of the most respectable kind, for, as Melville lay awake, he heard "the twa Scotchmen devising how they were directed to let him want naething; therefore, said they, we will pay for his ordinair all the way, and shall count up twice as meikle to his master, when we come to Paris, and sae shall win our ain expenses." The ~~two~~ Frenchmen, on their part, thinking that

nobody in the room understood French, said to each other, "These strangers are all young, and know not the fashion of the hostelries; therefore, we shall deal and reckon with the hosts at every repast, and shall cause the strangers pay more than the custom is, and that way shall we save our expenses." At all this, Melville, as he tells us, could not refrain from "laughing in his mind," but was determined to be upon his guard. "Yet the twa Scotch young men," he adds in his antique phraseology, "would not consent that I should pay for myself, hoping still to beguile the Bishop, but the Spaniard and I writ up every day's compt." The Frenchmen being also foiled in their swindling intentions, had recourse to a still bolder manœuvre. One day, as the party were riding through a wood, two other Frenchmen, who had joined them a short time before, suddenly leapt off their horses, and, drawing their swords, demanded that the others should deliver up their purses. Melville and his Scotch friends, however, were not to be thus intimidated. They also drew their swords, and prepared for resistance; on seeing which, the Frenchmen affected to make a joke of the whole affair, saying that they merely wanted to try the courage of the Scotchmen, in case they should have been attacked by robbers. "But the twa last loons," says Melville, "left us at the next lodging; and the twa Scotch scholairs never obtenit payment frae the Bishop for their pretendit fraud." Sir James arrived in safety at Paris, having taken thirteen days to ride from Brest to the capital.*

* MELVILLE'S *Memoirs of his own Life*, p. 12.

Thus diversified by intercourse with her friends and with her books, by study and recreation, Mary's early life passed rapidly away. It has been already seen, that whatever could have tended to corrupt the mind or manners was carefully removed from the young Queen. As soon as Mary entered upon her teens, she and her companions, the two young princesses, Henry's daughters, spent several hours every day in the private apartment of Catherine de Medicis, whose conversation, as well as that of the foreign ambassadors and other persons of distinction who paid their respects to her, they had thus an opportunity of hearing. Conæus mentions, that Mary was soon observed to avail herself, with great earnestness, of these opportunities of acquiring knowledge; and it has been hinted, that the superior intelligence she evinced, in comparison with Catherine's own daughters, was the first cause of exciting that Queen's jealousy. It was, perhaps, at some of these conferences that Mary imperceptibly imbibed, from her future mother-in-law, and her not unfrequent visitor, Nostradamus, a slight portion of that tendency to superstitious belief then so prevalent. One of the most remarkable characters about Henry's Court, was Nicholas Cretin, or Nostradamus, as he was more commonly called, who combined in his own person the three somewhat incongruous professions of physician, astrologer, and philosopher. He asserted, that he was not only perfectly acquainted with the laws of planetary influence, but that, by the inspiration of divine power, he could predict the events of futurity. The style of his prophecies was, in general, sufficiently obscure; yet such was the

reverence paid to learning in those days, (and Nostradamus was a profound scholar,) that he was courted and consulted even by the first statesmen in France. Mary had far too lively a fancy to escape the infection; and the force of this early bias continued to be felt by her more or less all her life.

CHAPTER IV.

MARY'S MARRIAGE, PERSONAL APPEARANCE, AND
POPULARITY.

THE time now approached when Henry began to think of confirming the French authority in Scotland, by consummating the contract of marriage, which had so long existed between Francis and Mary. This was not, however, to be done without considerable opposition from several quarters. The Constable Montmorency, and the House of Bourbon, already trembled at the growing influence of the Guises, plainly foreseeing, that as soon as the niece of the Duke and Cardinal of Lorraine became wife to the Dauphin, and, on Henry's death, Queen of France, their own influence would be at an end. It is not improbable that Montmorency aimed at marrying one of his own sons to Mary. At all events, he endeavoured to persuade Henry that he might find a more advantageous alliance for Francis. The Guises, however, were not thus to be overreached; and the King more willingly listened to their powerful representations in favour of the match, as it had long been a favourite scheme with himself. It would be uncharitable to ascribe to the agency

of any of those who opposed it, an attempt which was made by a person of the name of Stuart, a Scottish archer in the King's guards, to poison Mary. Stuart being detected, was tried, condemned, and executed, but made no confession which could lead to any discovery of his motives. It is most likely, that he had embraced the reformed religion, and was actuated by a fanatical desire to save his country from the dominion of a Catholic Princess.

Francis, the young Dauphin, who was much about Mary's own age, was far inferior to her, both in personal appearance and mental endowments. He was of a very weakly constitution; and the energies of his mind seem to have been repressed by the feebleness of his body. But if unable to boast of any distinguishing virtues, he appears to have been undegraded by the practice of any vice. He was amiable, timid, affectionate, and shy. He was aware of his want of physical strength, and feared lest the more robust should make it a subject of ridicule. He seems to have loved Mary with the tenderest affection, being probably anxious to atone to her, by every mark of devotion, for the sacrifice he must have been aware she was making, in surrendering herself to him in all the lustre of her charms. And there is good reason to believe that Mary really loved Francis in return. They had been playmates from infancy; they had prosecuted all their studies together; and though Francis cared little for the pleasures of society, and rather shunned than encouraged those who wished to pay their court to him, Mary was aware that, for this very reason, he was only the more sincere in his

passion for her. It was not in Mary's nature to be indifferent to those who evinced affection for her; and if her fondness for Francis was mingled with pity, it has long been asserted, that "pity is akin to love."

On the 24th of April, 1558, the nuptials took place. In December of the preceding year, a letter from Henry had been laid before the Scotch Parliament, requesting that some individuals of rank should be sent over from Scotland, as Commissioners to witness the marriage; and in compliance with this desire, the Lord James, Prior of St Andrews, and eight other persons of distinction, arrived at the French Court in March, 1558.* Their instructions commanded them to guard against French encroachments on the rights and privileges of Scottish subjects; and, that no doubt might remain regarding the right of succession to the Scottish throne, they were to obtain from the King of France a ratification of his former promise, to aid and support the Duke of Chatelherault in his claims upon the crown

* In transcribing dates, it may be proper to mention, that we do not observe the old division of the year. Down till 1563, the French began the year at Easter; but it was then altered to the 1st of January, by the Chancellor L'Hopital. In Scotland, till 1599, and in England, till 1751, the year began on the 25th of March. Thus, in all the State Papers and letters of the age, written between the 1st of January and the 25th of March, the dates invariably belong to what we should now consider the preceding year. It is useful to be aware of this fact; though it is unnecessary for a writer of the present day to deviate from the established computation of time. — ANDERSON'S *Collections*, vol. i. preface, p. li.; and LAING, vol. i. p. 266.

in case Mary died without issue. They were also to require a declaration to a similar effect from the Queen and Dauphin. All these demands were at once complied with.

It has been alleged, however, that a very gross deceit was practised, upon this occasion, by the French Court. It is said, that though, to satisfy the Scotch Commissioners, all their requests were ostensibly granted, Henry took secret measures to render these grants entirely inefficacious. Mary, it is asserted, signed, on the 4th of April, three papers, in the first of which, she made over the kingdom of Scotland in free gift to the King of France, to be enjoyed by him and his heirs, should she die without children; in the second, (lest it might not be deemed expedient to insist upon the first,) she assigned to the King of France the possession of Scotland, after her decease without children, till he should be reimbursed of a million pieces of gold, or any greater sum which he should be found to have expended on her during her residence in France; and, in the third, she protested, that whatever declarations she might subscribe, in compliance with the desire of the Scottish Parliament, touching the lineal succession of her crown, the genuine sense of her mind was contained only in the two preceding papers.* If this dishonourable transaction really took place, whilst it cannot involve Mary, a young and inexperienced girl of fifteen, in any serious blame, it certainly reflects much discredit both upon Henry and his advisers of the house of Guise. There is good reason, however, to believe,

* KEITH, p. 73.

that these instruments, though they unquestionably exist, are forgeries. It was not an unusual trick in those times, for the Reformers to stir up jealousy against a Catholic sovereign, by alleging, that he had promised away his country to some well known papist. The Prince of Condé, in December 1568, was not aware of the authenticity of any such papers; for, if he had been, he would undoubtedly have alluded to them, as an additional argument to secure Elizabeth's assistance towards establishing the Protestant religion in France. On the contrary, he trumped up a ridiculous story, to which no one has ever given any credit, that Mary had ceded her right to the crown of England in behalf of the King of France's brother, Henry, Duke of Anjou. After Mary's death it was confidently reported, and with equal falsehood, that, by her testament, she had left England to the King of Spain, unless her son became a Roman Catholic. There is, besides, internal evidence of a striking nature, that these deeds were forgeries; for the discovery of which we are indebted to the industry and research of Goodall.*

Some of the provisions in the marriage-contract between Francis and Mary, are sufficiently remarkable to deserve being recorded. The jointure assigned by it to the Queen, provided her husband died King of France, is 60,000 livres, or a greater sum, if it should be found that a greater

* GOODALL'S *Examination*, vol. i. p. 159, et seq. The motto which Goodall put upon his title page,

“Pandere res altà teriâ et caligine mersas,”

he has, in more than one instance, amply justified.

had ever been given to a Queen of France. If her husband died only Dauphin, the jointure was to be 30,000 livres. The eldest son of the marriage was to be King of France and Scotland; and if there were no sons, the eldest daughter was to be Queen of Scotland only, with a portion of 400,000 crowns, as a daughter of France,—every younger daughter being allowed 300,000 crowns. Should her husband die, Mary was to be at liberty either to remain in France or return to Scotland, with an assurance that her jointure would be always duly paid. The Dauphin was to bear the name and title of King of Scotland, and to enjoy all the privileges of the crown-matrimonial.

The marriage, for which so many preparations had thus been made, was solemnized in the church of Notre Dame, the ceremony being performed by the Cardinal of Bourbon, Archbishop of Rouen. The festivities were graced by the presence of all the most illustrious personages of the Court; and when Francis, taking a ring from his finger, presented it to the Archbishop, who, pronouncing the benediction, placed it on the young Queen's finger, the vaulted roof of the Cathedral rung with congratulations, and the multitude without rent the air with joyful shouts. The spectacle was altogether one of the most imposing which, even in that age of spectacles, had been seen in Paris. The procession, upon leaving the church, proceeded to the palace of the Archbishop, where a magnificent collation was prepared. As it moved along, largess was proclaimed among the people, in the name of the King and Queen of Scots. In the afternoon, the royal party returned to the palace of the Tournelles—Catherine de

Medicis and Mary sitting together in the same palanquin, and a cardinal walking on each side. Henry and Francis followed on horseback, with a long line of princes and princesses in their train. The chronicler of these nuptials is unable to restrain his rapture, when he describes the manner in which the palace had been prepared for their reception. Its whole appearance, he tell us, was "light and beautiful as Elysium." During supper, which was served upon a marble table in the great hall, the King's band of "one hundred gentlemen" poured forth delicious strains of music. The members of Parliament attended in their robes ; and the princes of the blood performed the duty of servitors—the Duke of Guise acting as master of the ceremonies. The banquet being concluded, a series of the most magnificent masks and mummeries, prepared for the occasion, was introduced. In the pageant, twelve artificial horses, of admirable mechanism, covered with cloth of gold, and ridden by the young heirs of noble houses, attracted universal attention. They were succeeded by six galleys, which sailed into the hall, each rich as Cleopatra's barge, and bearing on its deck two seats, the one filled by a young cavalier, who, as he advanced, carried off from among the spectators, and gently p'aced in the vacant chair, the lady of his love. The rejoicings concluded with a splendid tournament.

During the whole of these solemnities, every eye was fixed on the youthful Mary ; and, inspired by those feelings which beauty seldom fails to excite, every heart offered up prayers for her future welfare and happiness. She was now at that age when feminine loveliness is perhaps

most attractive. It is not to be supposed, indeed, that, in her sixteenth year, her charms had ripened into that full-blown maturity which they afterwards attained ; but they were, on this account, only the more fascinating. Some have conjectured that Mary's beauty has been extolled far beyond its real merits ; and it cannot be denied that many vague and erroneous notions exist regarding it. But that her countenance possessed in a pre-eminent degree the something which constitutes beauty, is sufficiently attested by the unanimous declaration of all contemporary writers. It is only, however, by carefully gathering together hints scattered here and there, that any accurate idea can be formed of the lineaments of a countenance which has so long ceased to exist, unless in the fancy of the enthusiast.

Mary's features were more Grecian than Roman, though without the insipidity that would have attached to them, had they been exactly regular. Her nose exceeded a little the Grecian proportion in length. Her hair was very nearly of the same colour as James V's—dark yellow, or auburn, and, like his, clustered in luxuriant ringlets. Her eyes—which various writers, misled by the thousand blundering portraits of her scattered everywhere, conceive to have been gray, or blue, or hazel—were of a chestnut colour,—darker, yet matching well with her auburn hair. Her brow was high, open, and prominent. Her lips were full and expressive, as the lips of the Stuarts generally were ; and she had a small dimple in her chin. Her complexion was clear and healthy, though there was not a great deal of colour in her cheeks. Her mother

was a woman of large stature, and Mary was also above the common size. Her person was finely proportioned, and her carriage exceedingly graceful and dignified. *

In this description of Mary's personal appearance, we have consulted all the authors who have alluded to the subject, but have placed our chief reliance on the research and accuracy of Chalmers. It will be observed that our account differs, in many essential particulars, from that of Robertson, who says—"Mary's hair was black, though, according to the fashion of that age, she frequently wore borrowed locks, and of different colours. Her eyes were a dark gray; her complexion was exquisitely fine; and her hands and arms remarkably delicate, both as to shape and colour. Her stature was of an height that rose to the majestic." Where Robertson discovered that Mary's hair was black, or her eyes gray, he does not mention. That her eyes were *not* black, we have the direct testimony of Beal, Clerk to the Privy Council of England, who was ordered by Cecil to be present at the death of the Scottish Queen, and who describes her as having "chestnut-coloured eyes." As to her hair, and other features, Melville, in his Memoirs, unquestionably implies that the former was auburn; and having no express evidence regarding other particulars, we can arrive at correct conclusions only by a reference to the best authenticated portraits which have been preserved of Mary. We confess, at the same time, that this is a criterion by which opinions

* Mezeray, Castelnau, Brantome, Thuanus, Chalmers, Miss Benger.

should be very sparingly formed. There are few persons in the whole range of history, of whom likenesses have been more eagerly sought after; and, in proportion to the anxiety manifested to secure these, has been the temptation to mislead and deceive. Almost all the paintings said to be originals of Mary Queen of Scots, are the impositions of picture dealers. When the demand for these paintings became general, it was not at all unusual to despatch emissaries over the Continent to pick up every picture, the costume and general appearance of which in the least resembled the Scottish Queen. During Mary's life, and for some time after her death, the fame of her beauty, and the interest attached to her fortunes, induced numerous ladies of rank, who flattered themselves that they resembled her, to have portraits painted in the style, then well understood by the phrase *à la Mary Stuart*. There was, in particular, a celebrated continental beauty of those days—a Countess of Mansfeldt, who resembled Mary in many particulars; and all whose portraits, (nor were they few in number,) when they afterwards came into the hands of the picture dealers, were affirmed to be Maries.* Thus, in the lapse of years, the truth became so involved in uncertainty, that even Robertson, allowing himself to be too hastily misled, has lent his name to the dissemination of error.

Horace Walpole, after having made extensive inquiries on this subject, has recorded, that he never could ascertain the authenticity and origin-

* This fact is mentioned on the authority of a living artist of celebrity.

ality of any portrait of Mary, except that in the possession of the Earl of Morton, which was painted when she was at Lochleven. Chalmers, in order to come as near the truth as possible, employed Mr Pailou, an artist of ability, to compare the picture belonging to the Earl of Morton, with two or three other undoubted originals which have been discovered since Walpole wrote. Pailou commenced by sketching the outline of his picture from Lord Morton's original. He then proceeded to the examination of three genuine portraits of Mary, one in the Church of St Andrew in Antwerp; another in the Scotch College at Douay; and a third in the Scotch College at Paris. Neither did he forget the profile heads of Mary struck upon her coins, nor the marble figure representing her, on her tomb in Henry VII's Chapel, which Walpole thought a correct likeness. Mr Pailou thus made Lord Morton's picture the basis of his own, but, as he advanced, constantly referred to the others, "till he got the whole adjusted and coloured." Though we cannot exactly approve of thus cooking up a picture from various different sources, and should be inclined to think, that too much was left by such a mode of procedure to the arbitrary taste of the artist, we nevertheless feel satisfied that Mr Pailou has hit upon a tolerably accurate likeness. His picture, engraved by Scriven, forms the frontispiece to the second volume of Chalmers's work. The brow, eyes, mouth, and chin, he has given with great success. But the painting is far from being without faults: the face is a good deal too round and plump; the nose is represented as slightly aquiline—a decided mistake; and

the neck is much too short,—at least so it appears in the engraving.

The portrait of Mary, which forms the frontispiece to the present volume, and on which we place greater reliance than on any with which we are acquainted, is an engraving executed expressly for this work, from an original picture of much merit. * It was painted when Mary was in France, by an Italian artist of eminence, who flourished as her contemporary in the sixteenth century, and whose name is on the canvass. It would have been impossible to say at what precise age it represented Mary, though, from the juvenility of the countenance, it might have been concluded that it was taken a year or two before she became Dauphiness, had not the painter fortunately obviated the difficulty, by inserting, immediately after his own signature, the date, which is 1556, when she was just fourteen. It is upon this picture that we chiefly founded our description of Mary's personal appearance. What gives us the greater confidence in its authenticity and accuracy, is, that it corresponds very exactly with two other portraits, now in this country, and believed, on good grounds, to be originals. This is a strong circumstance, for it is a very common and just remark, that almost no two likenesses of Mary agree. The paintings

* This picture originally belonged to Lord Robert Stuart, Earl of Orkney, one of Mary's natural brothers, and is now in the possession of William Trail, Esq. of Woodwick, Orkney, into whose family it came, together with other relics of the Earl, by the marriage of an ancestor of Mr Trail to one of his descendants. *Vide* APPENDIX, A.

to which we allude are, first, one at the seat of Logie Almond, which represents Mary at the same age, but in a religious habit. It gives precisely the same view of the left side of the face as the engraving of this volume does of the right. From the style and other circumstances, it is not improbable, that both pictures were painted by the same artist. The second is in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Hamilton, and is in one of the private apartments at Hamilton Palace. It represents Mary at a somewhat more advanced period of life, but the features are quite the same. There is still a third picture, said to be an original, in the collection of the Marquis of Salisbury, at Hatfield House, and which has been engraved for Miss Benger's Memoirs, which very closely resembles our own. To be yet more assured, we have carefully examined the heads upon Mary's gold and silver coins. Some of these are inaccurate, but they have all a general resemblance to each other. A silver coin, of 1561, and the gold real, stamped in 1562, agree minutely with our picture.* It is unnecessary to make any apology to the reader for having entered thus circumstantially into a subject of so much general interest. †

* Since the publication of the first edition of these Memoirs, we learn that there are, in Lord Ennismore's gallery at Convamore, two paintings by an Italian artist, the one of Elizabeth, and the other of Mary, and that the latter is almost a *facsimile* of the one we have given.

† It is to the kindness of John Watson Gordon, Esq. deservedly one of the most eminent portrait painters in Scotland, that we are indebted, both for the use of the painting from which the engraving has been made, and for

With regard to the asseverations of contemporary writers, as to the effects which Mary's beauty produced, many of them are almost too extravagant to be believed. They prove, nevertheless, that, whatever beauty may be, whether a mere fortunate arrangement of material atoms, or a light suffused upon the face, from the secret and ethereal mind, it was a gift which Nature had lavishly bestowed on Mary. A year or two previous to her marriage, when walking in a religious procession, through the streets of Paris, with a lighted torch in her hand, a woman among the crowd was so struck with her appearance, that she could not help stopping her to ask.—“Are you not indeed an angel?” Brantome, with more questionable sincerity, compares her, at the age of fifteen, to the sun at mid-day. He tells us, also, that the brother of Francis, afterwards Charles IX, never saw a picture of Mary, without lingering to gaze upon it, declaring passionately, that he looked upon Francis as the happiest man on earth, to possess a creature of so much loveliness. Nay, Brantome even goes the length of asserting, that no one ever saw Mary who did not lose his heart to her. He is pleased, likewise, with some naiveté, to pay her several high compliments at the expense of her native country. It appears that Mary, amidst all the gaities of the French Court, had not for-

several of the facts we have stated above. Mr Gordon has executed several copies of the picture—all of them exceedingly beautiful and accurate—possessing the merits, without any of the duskiness which time has thrown over the original.

got her native country. She delighted to testify her regard for Scotland in various ways; and, among others, by frequently wearing in public the graceful Highland costume. The rich and national Stuart tartan became her exceedingly; and Brantome, who seems to have been greatly puzzled by the novelty of the dress, is nevertheless forced to declare, that, when arrayed after "the barbarous fashion of the savages of her country, she appeared a goddess in a mortal body, though in a most outré and astonishing garb." Mary herself was so fond of this costume, that she wore it in one of the portraits which were taken of her in France. If she appeared so beautiful thus "*habillée à la sauvage*," exclaims Brantome, "what must she not be in her rich and lovely robes made *à la Française, ou l'Espagnole*, or with a bonnet *à l'Italienne*; or in her flowing white dress, contending in vain with the whiteness of her skin!" Even when she sung, and accompanied herself upon the lute, Brantome found occasion to discover a new beauty,— "her soft snowy hand and fingers, fairer than Aurora's." "Ah, royaume d'Escosse!" he touchingly adds, "Je croy que, maintenant, vos jours sont encore bien plus courts qu'ils n'estoient, et vos nuits plus longues, puisque vous avez perdu cette Princesse qui vous illuminoit!" The historian, Castelnau, in like manner, pronounces Mary "the most beautiful and accomplished of her sex;" and Mezeray tells us, that "Nature had bestowed upon her every thing that is necessary to form a complete beauty;" adding, that, "by the study of the liberal arts and sciences, especially painting, music, and poetry, she had so

embellished her natural good qualities, that she appeared to be the most amiable Princess in Christendom."

On the occasion of her marriage, not only were the brains of all the jewellers, embroiderers, and tailors of Paris put in requisition, but a whole host of French poets felt themselves suddenly inspired. Epithalamiums poured in from all quarters, spiced with flattery of all kinds, few of which have been borne down the stream of time so honourably for their author's abilities as that of Buchanan, who, having long struggled with poverty, had at last risen to independence under the patronage of Cardinal Lorraine. This poem is well known, but is not more complimentary than that of Joachim du Bellay, who, after comparing Mary to Venus, concludes his song with these lines :—

“ Par une chaîne à sa langue attachée,
Hercule à soi les peuple attiroit ;
Mais celleci tire ceux qu'elle voit,
Par une chaîne à ses beaux yeux attachée.”

Homage so general cannot have been entirely misplaced, or very palpably exaggerated.

In Scotland, through the instigation of the Queen Regent, Mary's nuptials, which were far from being agreeable to a numerous party, were celebrated with probably less sincere, and certainly much more homely expressions of pleasure. Orders were sent to the different towns “ to make fyres and processions general.” Mons-Meg, the celebrated great gun of Edinburgh Castle, was fired *once* ; and there is a charge of ten

shillings in the Treasurer's accounts of that year, paid to certain persons for bringing up the cannon "to be schote, and for the finding and carrying of her bullet, after she was schote, frae Wardie Muir to the Castel of Edinburgh,"—a distance of about two miles. A play was also enacted, but of what kind it is difficult to say, at the expense of the city of Edinburgh.

CHAPTER V.

MARY THE QUEEN DAUPHINESS, THE QUEEN, AND
THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF FRANCE.

SHORTLY after the espousals, Mary and her husband retired to one of their princely summer residences. Here she unostentatiously discharged the duties of a respectful and attentive wife, in a manner which gained for her the admiration of all who visited them. Delightful as society and amusements must, at that age, have been to her, she readily accommodated herself to the peculiar temper of Francis, and seemed willing, for his sake, to resign all the gaities of the court.

But the intriguing and restless ambition of her uncles could not allow her to remain long quiet. About this time, Mary Tudor, who had succeeded Edward VI on the English throne, died ; and although the Parliament of that country had declared that the succession rested in her sister Elizabeth, it was thought proper to claim for Mary Stuart a prior right. The ground upon which her friends built this claim was the following. Henry VIII married for his first wife Catharine of Arragon, widow of his brother Arthur, and by her he had one child, Mary. Pretending, after having lived with her eighteen

years, that his conscience rebuked him for making his brother's wife the partner of his bed, he procured a divorce from Catharine, for the purpose of marrying Anne Boleyn, by whom he had also one daughter, Elizabeth. Growing tired of this new wife, she was sent to the scaffold, to make way for Jane Seymour, by whom he had one son, Edward. Of this uxorious monarch's other three wives, it is unnecessary to speak. Henry had procured from the British Parliament a solemn act, declaring both his daughters illegitimate, and he left his crown to Edward VI, who accordingly succeeded him. Upon Edward's death, the Parliament, rescinding their former act, in order to save the nation from a civil war, called to the throne Henry's eldest daughter, Mary, — not, however, without a protest being entered in behalf of the Scottish Queen by her guardians. Upon Mary's death, the opportunity again occurred of pressing the claims of the daughter of James V. The mother of that king, the wife of James IV, was the eldest daughter of Henry VII, and sister, consequently, of Henry VIII. Henry was, therefore, Mary's maternal grand-uncle; and if his wives, Catharine and Anne Boleyn, were legally divorced, she had certainly a better right to the English Crown than any of their illegitimate offspring. Soon after the accession, however, of Edward VI, the Parliament, complying with the voice of the whole nation, had declared them legitimate; and as Elizabeth now quietly took possession of the throne, and could hardly by any chance have been dispossessed, it was, to say the least, not well advised to push Mary forward as a rival claimant.

For various reasons, however, this was the policy which the Guises chose to pursue. Nor did they proceed to assert her right with any particular delicacy or caution. Whenever the Dauphin and his Queen came into public, they were greeted as the King and Queen of England; and the English arms were engraved upon their plate, embroidered upon their scutcheons and banners, and painted on their furniture.* Mary's favourite device, also, at this time, was the two crowns of France and Scotland, with the motto, *Aliamque moratur*, meaning that of England. The prediction made by the Duke of Alva, on observing this piece of empty parade, was but too fatally fulfilled,—“ That bearing of Mary Stuart's,” said he, “ will not be easily borne.”

About this time, Mary seems to have been

* The coat of arms borne by Francis and Mary is worth describing. The coat was borne Baron and Femme;—the first contained the coat of the Dauphin, which occupied the upper half of the shield, and consisted of the arms of France. The lower half was impaled quarterly. In *one* and *four* the arms of Scotland, and in *two* and *three* those of England. Over the whole was half an escutcheon, the sinister half being obscured or cut off, to denote that the English Crown was in the possession of another, to the bearer's prejudice. Under the arms were four lines in French, thus quaintly translated by Strype, in his “ *Annals of Queen Elizabeth* ”—

“ The arms of Mary, Queen Dauphiness of France,
The noblest lady in earth for till advance,
Of Scotland Queen, and of England, also
Of France, as God hath providet it so.”

KETH, p. 114. CHALMERS, vol. ii. p. 413. A painting, containing these arms, and the above motto, is preserved in Mary's apartments at Holyroodhouse.

attacked with the first serious illness which had overtaken her in France. It was not of that acute description which confined her to bed, but was a sort of general debility, accompanied with a tendency to frequent fainting. It is mentioned, in Forbes's State Papers, that, on one occasion, to prevent her from swooning in church, her attendants were glad to bring her wine from the altar. There were persons at the French Court who would have felt little grief had this illness ended fatally, considering how serious a blow Mary's death would have been to the too predominating influence of the House of Guise. In England, the news would have been particularly agreeable to Elizabeth, whose ambassador at Paris eagerly consoled her with the intelligence that Mary was not expected to be of long continuance. The natural strength of her constitution, however, soon restored her to her former health and spirits.

But it was destined that there should occur another and more unexpected death at the French Court. Henry II, while exhibiting his prowess at a tournament, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth to Philip of Spain, in July 1559, received a wound on the head from the spear of his antagonist, the Count Montgomery, which, though apparently not of much consequence at first, occasioned his dissolution eight days afterwards. A considerable change immediately took place in the aspect of the Court. The stars of the Duchess de Valentinois, and of the Constable Montmorency, set at once; and that of Catharine de Medicis, though not entirely obscured, shone lower in the horizon. She was

now only the second lady in France, Mary Stuart taking the precedence. The Guises reigned along with her, and the House of Bourbon trembled. Catharine, who could bear no superior, more especially one young enough to be her own daughter, could ill disguise her chagrin. As a guardian, however, of her late husband's younger sons, the presumptive heirs to the crown, she was entitled to maintain her place and authority in the government. There is a curious little anecdote of her, which shews how much the change in her situation was preying on her mind. As she was leaving the Palace of the Tournelles, to accompany Francis to the Louvre, where he was to appear as the new sovereign, she fell into a reverie, and, in traversing the gallery, took a wrong turn, and was entirely separated from her party before she discovered her mistake. She soon overtook them, however, and as they passed out, said to Mary,—“ Pass on, madam, it is now your turn to take precedence.” Mary accepted the courtesy, but, with becoming delicacy, insisted that Catharine should enter the carriage first.* There is something more affecting in the change which Henry's death produced in the condition of the venerable Montmorency and his family. He, whom three monarchs had loved and respected, who had given dignity to their counsels, and ensured success to their arms, was not considered worthy of remaining in the palace of the feeble and entrammelled Francis. With a princely retinue, he retired honourably to his mansion at Chantilly.

* MISS BEMBER, vol. ii. p. 7.

Mary was now at the very height of European grandeur. The Queen of two powerful countries, and the heir-presumptive of a third—in the flower of her age—and, from her superior mental endowments, much more worshipped, even in France, than her husband, she affords at this period of her history as striking an example as can be found of the concentration of all the blessings of fortune in one person. She stood unluckily on too high and glorious a pinnacle to be able to retain her position long, consistent with the *vices vitæ mortalium*. Although she conducted herself with a prudence and propriety not a little remarkable, considering her youth, and the susceptibility of her nature, she began to be regarded with suspicion at once by France, England, and Scotland. In France, she was obliged to bear the blame of many a display of bigotry and over-severity in the government of her uncles;—in England, Elizabeth took every opportunity to load with opprobrium a sister Queen, whose descent, birth, station, and accomplishments, were so much calculated to eclipse her own, and, consequently, to awaken her bitterest jealousy,—in Scotland, the Reformers, instigated by James Stuart, who, with ulterior views of his own, was contented, in the meantime, to act as the tool of Elizabeth, laboured to make it be believed, that Mary was an uncompromizing and narrow-minded Catholic.

In September, 1559, Francis was solemnly crowned at Rheims; and, during the remainder of the season, he and Mary, attended by their nobles, made various progresses through the country. In December, Francis, whose health

was evidently giving way, went, by the advice of his physicians, to Blois, celebrated for the mildness of its climate. It affords a very vivid idea of the ignorant superstition of the French peasantry, to learn, that, on his journey thither, every village through which he passed was deserted. An absurd story had been circulated, and was universally believed, that the nature of Francis's complaints were such, that they could be cured only by the royal patient bathing in the blood of young children. Francis himself, although probably not informed of the cause, observed with pain that he was everywhere shunned; and, notwithstanding the soothing tenderness of Mary, who accompanied him, is said to have exclaimed to the Cardinal Lorraine, "What have I done to be thus shunned and detested? They fly me; my people abhor me! It is not thus that the French used to receive their King."*

Misfortunes, it is said, never come singly. Whilst Mary was performing the part of an affectionate nurse to her afflicted husband, she sustained an irretrievable loss in the death of her mother, the Scottish Regent, in June, 1560; and in December following, Francis died at Orleans, in the 17th year of his age, and the 17th month of his reign.† Feeling that his

* Miss BENDER, vol. II. p. 43.

† Miss Benger erroneously antedates the death of Francis, stating it to have taken place on the 28th of November. See her *Memoirs*, vol. II. p. 74. Chalmers, who is the very historian of dates, gives a copy of the inscription on the tomb of Francis, which of course settles the point; vol. II. p. 124. Miss Benger does not appear to have seen this inscription.

exhausted constitution was sinking rapidly, and that his death was at hand, almost the last words he spoke were to testify his affection for Mary, and his sense of her virtues. He earnestly beseeched his mother to treat her as her own daughter, and his brother to look upon her as a sister. He was a prince, says Conæus, in whom, had he lived, more merit would probably have been discovered than most people suspected.* The whole face of things in France was, by this event, instantly changed again. Francis the Little, as he was contemptuously termed by the French, in opposition to his father, Francis the Great, was succeeded by his younger brother, Charles IX. He being still a minor, his mother, Catharine, contrived to get herself appointed Regent, and thus became once more Queen of France, the nobility, as Chalmers remarks, being more inclined to relish a *real* minority, than an imaginary *majority*. Catharine's jealousy of Mary Stuart, of course, extended itself, with greater justice, to her uncles of Guise. It was now their turn to make way for Montmorency; and the Cardinal of Lorraine, one of the most intriguing statesmen of the age, retired, in no very charitable mood of mind, to his archbishoprick at Rheims, where, in a fit of spleen, he declared his intention of devoting himself entirely to religion.

There is something exceedingly naive and amusing in Sir James Melville's account of this "gret changement." "The Queen-mother," says he, "was blyth of the death of King Francis, her son, because she had na guiding of him, but only

* CONÆUS in *Jebb*, vol. ii. p. 19.

the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal, his brother, by raisoun that the Queen, our maistress, was their sister's dochter. Sa, the Queen-mother was content to be quit of the government of the house of Guise; and for their cause (sake) she had a great mislyking of our Queen." Of Montmorency, who, as soon as he heard of the illness of Francis, commenced his journey toward the Court, he says,—“ The Constable, also chargit to come to the Court, looked for na less, and seamed to be seak, making little journees, caried in a horse-litter, drew time sae lang by the way, that the King, in the meantime, died. Then he lap on horsbak, and cam freely to the Court, and comandit, like a Constable, the men of war that gardit the Croun, by the Duke of Guise comandment, to pack them aff the toun. The Queen-mother was also very glaid of his coming, that, by his authority and frendship with the King of Navarre, she mycht the better dryve the house of Guise to the door.” Of Mary, who, it may well be supposed, felt this change more than any one, Melville says,—“ Our Queen also, seeing her friends in disgrace, and knawing herself no to be weil liked, left the Court, and was a sorrowful widow when I took my leave at hir, in a gentilman's house, four myle fra Orleans.” To this “gentilman's house,” or chateau, in the neighbourhood of Orleans, Mary had retired to shed in private those tears, which the death of her husband called forth. In losing Francis, she had lost the playmate of her childhood, the husband of her youth, and what, by many women, would be considered as serious a loss as either, the rank and title of Queen of France. It was

here, probably, that she composed those verses to the memory of her deceased husband, which her biographers have so frequently copied, and which are so full of gentle and unaffected feeling.

Mary, however, was at this time a personage of too much importance in the politics and affairs of Europe, to be left long unmolested in the indulgence of that sincere, but commonly temporary, sorrow of a widow of eighteen. New suitors were even now beginning to form hopes of an alliance with her; and two of the earliest in the field were, Don Carlos of Spain, and the King of Navarre. But Mary was determined to listen to no proposals of a matrimonial nature, till she had arranged the plan of her future life. France was no longer for her the country it had once been. Her affectionate father-in-law, Henry, and her amiable, though weak, husband, Francis, both of whom secured for her the first rank in the State, were dead; her mother would never visit her more, for her tomb had already been erected at Rheims; and her proud uncles had been banished from the Court. Mary had too high a spirit, and knew her own superiority too well, to brook for a moment the haughty control of Catharine de Medicis. She felt that not all the blood of all the merchants of Italy could ever elevate the Queen-dowager to an equality with one who, as it is said she herself once expressed it, drew her descent from a centenary line of kings. Catharine felt this painfully, and the more so, that when Mary once more made her appearance at Court, she perceived, in the words of Miss Benger, that "the charms of her conversation, her graceful address, her capt

vating accomplishments, had raised the *woman* above the *Queen*."

In the meantime, the news of the death of Francis was received with any thing but sorrow by the Reformed party in Scotland. Knox declared triumphantly that "his glory had perished, and that the pride of his stubborn heart had vanished into smoke." The Lord James, Mary's natural brother, was immediately deputed by the Congregation to proceed to France, to ascertain whether the Queen intended returning to her native country, and if she did, to influence her as much as possible in favour of the true gospel and its friends. Nor were the Catholics inactive at this critical juncture. A meeting was held, at which were present the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Bishops of Aberdeen, Murray, and Ross, the Earls of Huntly, Athol, Crawford, and Sutherland, and many other persons of distinction, by whom it was determined to send, as *their* ambassador, to Mary, John Lesly, afterwards Bishop of Ross, and one of the Queen's staunchest friends, both during her life and after it. He was, of course, instructed to give her a very different account of the state of matters from that she was to receive from the Lord James. He was to speak to her of the power and influence of the Catholic party; and to contrast their fidelity both to her and to her mother, with the rebellious proceedings of those who supported the Covenant.

The Lord James went through England, that he might consult with Elizabeth on his way; and Lesly sailed from Aberdeen for Holland. Both made good speed; and Lesly arrived at

Vitry, in Champagne, where Mary was then residing, only one day before the Prior of St Andrews. He lost no time in gaining admission to the Queen; and though there is little doubt that his views were more sincere and honourable than those of her brother, it is, at the same time, very questionable, whether the advice he gave her was judicious; and it is probably fortunate that Mary's good sense and moderation led her to reject it. Lesly commenced with cautioning her against the crafty speeches which he knew the Lord James was about to make to her, assuring her that his principal object was to insinuate himself into her good graces, to obtain the chief management of affairs, and crush effectually the old religion. The Prior, Lesly affirmed, was not thus warm in the cause of the Reformers from any conviction of its truth, but simply from his desire to make it a stepping-stone for his own ambition. For these reasons, he advised her to bring with her to Scotland an armed force, and to land at Aberdeen, or some northern port, where the Earl of Huntly and her other friends would join her with a numerous army, at the head of which she might advance towards Edinburgh, and defeat, at once, the machinations of her enemies. The Queen, in reply to all this, merely desired that Lesly should remain with her till she returned to Scotland, commanding him to write, in the meantime, to the Lords and Prelates who sent him, to inform them of her favourable sentiments towards them, and of her intention to come speedily home.*

* KEITH, p. 157 and 160.

The day after Lesly's audience, Mary's old friend, the Lord James, (for it will be remembered, that, thirteen years before, he had come to France with her, and he had, in the interval, paid her one or two visits,) was admitted to an interview with his sister. He was particularly anxious to retain the favourable place which he flattered himself he held in her estimation; and, though so rigid a Reformer among his Scottish friends, his conscience does not seem to have prevented him from paying all the court he could to his Catholic Sovereign. In the course of his conversation with her, he carefully avoided every subject which might have been disagreeable to Mary. He beseeched her to believe, that she would not find the remotest occasion for any foreign troops in Scotland, as the whole nation was prepared faithfully to obey her. This assurance was true, as it turned out; but it is not quite certain whether the Prior of St Andrews was, at the time, thinking so much of its truth, as of its being convenient, for various reasons, that Mary should have no standing force, at her command, in her own kingdom. She gave to her brother the same general sort of answer that she had previously given to Lesly. Nevertheless, she was secretly disposed to attribute greater weight to his arguments, and treat him with higher consideration, for a reason which Melville furnishes. It appears that the French noblemen, who, on the conclusion of peace with England, had returned from Scotland, had all assured her, that she would find it most for her interest to associate in her councils the leaders of the Reformers, particularly the Prior himself,—

the Earl of Argyle, who had married her natural sister, the Lady Jane Stuart,—and Maitland of Lethington.

It is worthy of notice, that, affairs of state having been discussed, the Prior ventured, at this interview, to speak a word or two for his own interest. He requested that the Earldom of Murray might be conferred on him, and the Queen promised to attend to his request on her return to Scotland. Having thus prudently discharged his commission, the Lord James took his leave, visiting Elizabeth on his way home, as he had already done before passing over into France. About the same time, many of the Scottish nobility, in anticipation of her speedy return, came to pay their duty to the Queen, and among them was the celebrated Earl of Bothwell, to whom Mary gave a formal audience, little conscious of the part he was afterwards to play.

CHAPTER VI.

MARY'S RETURN TO SCOTLAND, AND PREVIOUS
NEGOTIATIONS WITH ELIZABETH.

ELIZABETH being informed of Mary's intended movements, thought the opportunity a favourable one for adjusting with her one or two of their mutual disagreements. Mary's refusal to ratify the celebrated treaty of Edinburgh, had particularly galled the English Queen. Most of the essential articles of that treaty had already been carried into effect ; and as Francis and Mary had sent their ambassadors into Scotland with full powers, they were bound, according to the ordinary laws of diplomacy, to agree to whatever concessions their plenipotentiaries made. But, as Robertson has remarked, Cecil " had proved greatly an overmatch for Monluc." In the sixth article, which was by far the most offensive to the Scottish Queen, he had got the French delegates to consent to a declaration, that Francis and Mary should abstain from using and bearing the title and arms of the kingdom of England, not only during the life of Elizabeth, but "*in all times coming.*" There was here so palpable a departure from law and justice, that, if there was

ever a case in which a sovereign was justified in refusing to sanction the blunders of his representative, it was this. Robertson's observations on the point are forcible and correct. "The ratification of this article," says he, "would have been of the most fatal consequence to Mary. The Crown of England was an object worthy of her ambition: Her pretensions to it gave her great dignity and importance in the eyes of all Europe: By many, her title was esteemed preferable to that of Elizabeth: Among the English themselves, the Roman Catholics, who formed at that time a numerous and active party, openly espoused this opinion; and even the Protestants, who supported Elizabeth's throne, could not deny the Queen of Scots to be her immediate heir: A proper opportunity to avail herself of all these advantages, could not, in the course of things, be far distant, and many incidents might fall in to bring this opportunity nearer than was expected. In these circumstances, Mary, by ratifying the article in dispute, would have lost that rank which she had hitherto held among the neighbouring princes; the zeal of her adherents must have gradually cooled; and she might have renounced, from that moment, all hopes of ever wearing the English Crown."

In fairness, therefore, Mary cannot be blamed for her conduct regarding this treaty although, as has been already said, she allowed herself to be persuaded to a very great imprudence, when she advanced what she declared to be a present and existing claim on the English Crown. This was an aggravation of the offence, which Elizabeth could never pardon. She determined to retort

upon Mary as efficiently, though not quite so directly. She found means to hint to her friends in Scotland, that it would not be disagreeable to her, were the Earl of Arran, eldest son of the Duke of Chatelherault, and, after his father, presumptive heir to the throne, to propose himself to her as a husband. But as Elizabeth had never any serious intention of accepting of Arran's proposals, and could not long continue to deceive him and the country, she was resolved upon taking another and much more unjustifiable method of harassing Mary.

Knowing that she possessed the command of the seas, the English Queen imagined that she had it in her power to prevent, if she chose, Mary's return to her own kingdom. Before granting her, therefore, as in common courtesy she was bound to do, a free passage, she determined on seizing the opportunity for again demanding the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. With this view, she desired Sir Nicolas Throckmorton, her ambassador at Paris, to wait on the Queen of Scots, ostensibly to congratulate her on her recovery from an attack of the ague, but in reality to press this matter upon her attention. The audience which Mary granted to Throckmorton upon this occasion, together with another which she gave him a few weeks afterwards, introduce us to her, for the first time, acting for herself, in her public and important capacity of Queen of Scotland. All historians unite in expressing their admiration of the talented and dignified manner in which she conducted herself, though only in her nineteenth year. We have fortunately a full account of both conferences, furnished by Sir

Nicolas Throckmorton himself, in his letters to the Queen of England.

The ambassador, on his first interview, having expressed Elizabeth's happiness at Mary's recovery, proceeded to the old subject, the treaty of Edinburgh. Mary, in reply, said, that she begged to thank the Queen, her good sister, for her congratulations, and though she was not yet in perfect health, she thanked God for her evident convalescence. As to the treaty of Edinburgh, she begged to postpone giving any final answer in the affair, until she had taken the advice of the nobles and estates of her own realm. "For though this matter," she said, "doth touch me principally, yet doth it also touch the nobles and estates of my realm; and, therefore, it is meet that I use their advice therein. Heretofore they have seemed to be grieved that I should do any thing without them, and now they would be more offended if I should proceed in this matter of myself without their advice." She added, that she intended to return home soon, and that she was about to send an ambassador to Elizabeth, to require of her the common favour of a free passage, which princes usually ask of each other in such cases. In a spirit of conciliation and sound policy, she concluded with these words:—"Though the terms wherein we have stood heretofore have been somewhat hard, yet I trust, that from henceforth we shall accord together as cousins and good neighbours. I mean to retire all the Frenchmen from Scotland who have given jealousy to the Queen, my sister, and discontent to my subjects; so that I will leave nothing undone to satisfy all parties, trusting the Queen, my good sister, will

do the like, and that from henceforth none of my disobedient subjects shall find aid or support at her hands." Seeing that Mary was not to be moved from the position she had taken regarding this treaty, Throckmorton went on to sound her upon the subject of religion. His object was to ascertain what course she intended to pursue towards the Scottish Reformers. Mary stated to him distinctly her views upon this important matter, and there was a consistency and moderation in them, hardly to have been expected from the niece of the Cardinal of Lorraine. "I will be plain with you," said she to the ambassador: "the religion which I profess I take to be the most acceptable to God; and, indeed, I neither know, nor desire to know, any other. Constancy becometh all people well, but none better than princes, and such as have rule over realms, and especially in matters of religion. I have been brought up in this religion, and who might credit me in any thing if I should shew myself light in this case?"—"I am none of those," she added, "that will change their religion every year; *but I mean to constrain none of my subjects, though I could wish that they were all as I am; and I trust they shall have no support to constrain me.*" It will be seen, in the sequel, whether Mary ever deviated for a moment from the principles she here laid down. Throckmorton ventured to ask, if she did not think many errors had crept into her church, and whether she had ever seriously weighed the arguments in support of the Reformed opinions? "Though I be young, and not well learned," she replied modestly, "yet have I heard this matter oft disputed by my uncle, my Lord

Cardinal, with some that thought they could say somewhat in the matter; and I found no great reason to change my opinion. But I have oft heard him confess, that great errors have come into the church, and great disorder among the ministers and clergy, of which errors and disorders he wished there might be a reformation." Here this conference concluded.*

Elizabeth, as soon as she understood that Mary waited for the advice of her Privy Counsellors and her Parliament, before ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, addressed a letter to the "States of Scotland," as she was pleased to term them, but, in point of fact, only to her old allies the Lords of the Congregation. The object of this letter was to convey, in haughty and even insolent terms, a threat, that, unless they secured their Queen's assent to the treaty, they might cease to look for any aid or protection from her. In other words, its meaning was this:—Through my interference, you have been able to establish the new Gospel; your Queen you know to be a Catholic; and as it is not unlikely that she may associate in her councils your old enemies the Catholic nobility, it is to me you must trust to enable you to rebel successfully against your lawful sovereign. But I have no intention to give you my support for nothing; and unless your reformed consciences will permit of your insisting that Mary Stuart shall sign away her hereditary right of succession to the English throne, I shall henceforth have nothing more to do with you. What other interpretation can be put on such expressions as the

* KEITH, p. 165, et seq.

following, couched in terms the meaning of which sophistry itself could not hide? "In a matter so profitable to both the realms, we think it strange that your Queen hath no better advice; and therefore we do require ye all, being the States of that realm upon whom the burden resteth, to consider this matter deeply, and to make us answer whereunto we may trust. And if you shall think meet, she shall thus leave the peace imperfect, by breaking of her solemn promise, contrary to the order of all princes, we shall be well content to accept your answer, and shall be as careless to see the peace kept, as ye shall give us cause; and doubt not, by the grace of God, but whosoever of ye shall incline thereto, shall soonest repent. You must be content with our plain writing."

To this piece of "plain writing," the Reformers, probably at the instigation of the Lord James, sent a submissive and cringing answer. "Your Majesty," they say, "may be well assured, that in us shall be noted no blame, if that peace be not ratified to your Majesty's contentment."—"The benefit that we have received is so recent, that we cannot suddenly bury it in forgetfulness. We would desire your Majesty rather to be persuaded of us, that we, to our powers, will study to leave it in remembrance to our posterity." In other words,—Whatever our own Queen Mary may determine on doing, we shall remain steady to your interests, and would much rather quarrel with her than with you. To this state of mind had Elizabeth's machinations contrived to bring the majority of the young Queen's subjects. *

* KEITH, p. 167, et seq.

In the meantime, Mary had sent an ambassador into England to demand a safe-conduct for her approaching voyage. This was expressly refused; and Throckmorton was again ordered to request an audience with her, to explain the motives of the refusal. "In this conference," observes Robertson, "Mary exerted all that dignity and vigour of mind of which she was so capable, and at no period of her life were her abilities displayed to greater advantage." Throckmorton once more referred to the endless subject of the treaty of 1560, or, as it is more commonly called, the treaty of Edinburgh, as the apology his mistress offered for having, with studied disrespect, denied, in the presence of a numerous audience, the suit made by Mary's ambassador,—a direct breach of courtly etiquette. Before answering Throckmorton, Mary commanded all her attendants to retire, and then said,—“ I like not to have so many witnesses of my passions as the Queen, your mistress, was content to have, when she talked with M. D'Oysel. There is nothing that doth more grieve me, than that I did so forget myself, as to require of the Queen, your mistress, the favour which I had no need to ask. I may pass well enough home into my own realm, I think, without her passport or licence; for, though the late King, your master, used all the impeachment he could, both to stay me and catch me, when I came hith'r, yet you know, M. l'Ambassadeur, I came hither safely, and I may have as good means to help me home again, if I could employ my friends.” “ It seemeth,” she added, with much truth, “ that the Queen, your mistress, maketh more account

of the amity of my disobedient subjects, than she doth of me, their sovereign, who am her equal in degree, though inferior in wisdom and experience, her nighest kinswoman, and her next neighbour." She then proceeded to state again very forcibly, her reasons for refusing to ratify the treaty. It had been made, she said, during the life of Francis II, who, as her lord and husband, was more responsible for it than she. Upon his death, she ceased to look for advice to the council of France, neither her uncles, nor her own subjects, nor Elizabeth herself, thinking it meet that she should be guided by any council but that of Scotland. There were at present none of her ministers with her; the matter was important; it touched both them and her; and she, therefore, considered it her duty to wait till she should get the opinions of the wisest of them. As soon as these were obtained, she undertook to send Elizabeth whatever answer might appear to be reasonable. "The Queen, your mistress," observed Mary, "saith that I am young; she might say that I were as foolish as young, if I would, in the state and country that I am in, proceed to such a matter of myself, without any counsel; for that which was done by the King, my late lord and husband, must not be taken to be my act; and yet I will say, truly, unto ye, and as God favours me, I did never mean otherwise, unto the Queen, your mistress, than becometh me to my good sister and cousin, nor meant her any more harm than to myself. God forgive them that have otherwise persuaded her, if there be any such."

It may seem strange, that, as the sixth article

was the only one in the whole treaty of Edinburgh which occasioned any disagreement, it was not proposed to make some alteration in it, which might have rendered the treaty satisfactory to all parties. Mary would have had no objection to have given up all claim upon the Crown of England, during the lifetime of Elizabeth, and in favour of children born by her in lawful wedlock, —if, failing these children, her own right was acknowledged. There could have been little difficulty, one would have thought, in expressing the objectionable article accordingly. But this amendment would not, by any means, have suited the views of Elizabeth.* To have acknowledged Mary's right of succession would have been at once to have pointed out, to all the Catholics of Europe, the person to whom they were to pay their court, on account not only of her present influence, but of the much greater which awaited her. Besides, it might have had the appearance of leaving it doubtful, whether Elizabeth's possession of the throne was not conceded to her, more as a favour than as a right. This extreme jealousy on the part of the English Queen, originated in Mary having imprudently allowed herself to be persuaded to bear the arms of

* Robertson says, that the amendment would not have been approved of by "either Queen." He alleges that Mary had only "suspended" the prosecution of her title to the English Crown, and that "she determined to revive her claim, on the first prospect of success." That Robertson has, in this instance, done injustice to Mary, is evident, from the exact consistency of her future conduct with what is stated in the text.

England, diversely quartered with her own, at the time Elizabeth was first called to the crown. At the interview we have been describing, Throckmorton, being silenced with regard to the ratification of the treaty, thought he might, with propriety, advert to this other subject of complaint.

“ I refer it to your own judgment, madam,” said he, “ if any thing can be more prejudicial to a prince, than to usurp the title and interest belonging to him.” Mary’s answer deserves particular attention. “ M. l’Ambassadeur,” said she, “ I was then under the commandment of King Henry, my father, and of the king, my lord and husband ; and whatsoever was then done by their order and commandments, the same was, in like manner, continued, until both their deaths ; *since which time, you know I neither bore the arms, or used the title of England.* Methinks,” she added, “ these my doings might ascertain the Queen, your mistress, that that which was done before, was done by commandment of them that had power over me ; and also, in reason, she ought to be satisfied, seeing I now order my doings, as I tell ye.” With this answer Throckmorton took his leave.*

* KEITH, p. 170, et seq. Robertson says, that, at the period of these conferences, Mary was only in her eighteenth year, but as they both took place in 1561, she must have been in her nineteenth year, which Keith confirms, who says, (p. 178,) “ The readers having now perused several original conferences, will, I suppose, clearly discern the fine spirit and genius of that princess, who was yet but in the nineteenth year of her age.”

Seeing that matters could not be more amicably adjusted, Mary prepared to return home, independent of Elizabeth's permission. Yet it was not without many a bitter regret that she thought of leaving all the fascinations of her adopted country, France. When left alone, she was frequently found in tears; and it is more than probable, that, as Miss Bengier has expressed it, "there were moments when Mary recoiled with indescribable horror from the idea of living in Scotland; where her religion was insulted, and her sex contemned; where her mother had languished in misery, and her father sunk into an untimely grave." At last, however, the period arrived when it was necessary to bid a final adieu to the scenes and friends of her youth. She had delayed from month to month, as if conscious that, in leaving France, she was about to part with happiness. She had originally proposed going so early as the spring of 1561, but it was late in July before she left Paris; and as she lingered on the way, first at St Germain, and afterwards at Calais, August was well advanced before she set sail. The spring of this year, says Brantome poetically, was so backward, that it appeared as if it would never put on its robe of flowers; and thus gave an opportunity to the gallants of the Court to assert, that it wore so doleful a garb to testify its sorrow for the intended departure of Mary Stuart.* She was accompanied as far as St Germain by Catharine de Medicis, and nearly all the French Court. Her six uncles, Anne of Este, and many other ladies and gentlemen of

* BRANTOME in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 82.

distinction, proceeded on with her to Calais. The historians, Castelnau and Brantome, were both of the Queen's retinue, and accompanied her to Scotland. At Calais she found four vessels, one of which was fitted up for herself and friends, and a second for her escort; the two others were for the furniture she took with her.

Elizabeth, meanwhile, was not inattentive to the proceedings of the Scottish Queen. Through the agency of her minister, Cecil, she had been anxiously endeavouring to discover whether she would render herself particularly obnoxious either to Catharine de Medicis, or the leading men in Scotland, by making herself mistress of Mary's person on her passage homewards, and carrying her a prisoner into England. Her ambassador, Throckmorton, had given her good reason to believe that Catharine was not disposed to be particularly warm in Mary's defence.* As to Scotch interference, Camden expressly informs us, that the Lord James, when he passed through England on his return from France, warned Elizabeth of Mary's movements, and advised that she should be intercepted. This assertion, though its truth has been doubted, is rendered exceedingly probable by the contents of two letters, which have been preserved. The first is from

* KETH. p. 175. Throckmorton writes, " Thereto the Queen-mother said, The King, my son, and I, would be glad to do good betwixt the Queen, my sister, your mistress, and the Queen, my daughter, and shall be glad to hear that there were good amity betwixt them; for neither the King, my son, nor I, nor any of his Council, will do harm in the matter, or shew ourselves other than friends to them both."

Throckmorton, who assures Elizabeth that the Lord James deserves her most particular esteem ; —“ Your Majesty,” he says, “ may, in my opinion, make good account of his constancy towards you ; and so he deserveth to be well entertained and made of by your Majesty, as one that may stand ye in no small stead for the advancement of your Majesty’s desire. Since his being here, (in France,) he hath dealt so frankly and liberally with me, that I must believe he will so continue after his return home.”* The other letter is addressed to Sir William Cecil, by Maitland of Lethington, one of the ablest men among the Scotch Reformers, and the personal friend and coadjutor of the Lord James. In this letter he says, —“ I do also allow your opinion anent the Queen, our sovereign’s journey towards Scotland, whose coming hither, if she be enemy to the religion, and so affected towards that realm as she yet appeareth, shall not fail to raise wonderful tragedies.” He then proceeds to point out, that, as Elizabeth’s object, for her own sake, must be to prevent the Catholics from gaining ground in Scotland, her best means of obtaining such an object, is to hinder a queen from returning into the kingdom, who “ shall so easily win to her party the whole Papists, and so many Protestants as be either addicted to the French faction, covetous, inconstant, uneasy, ignorant, or careless.” —“ So long as her Highness is absent,” he adds, “ in this case there is no peril ; but you may judge what the presence of a prince, being craftily counselled, is able to bring to pass.” —

* KEITH, p. 164.

“For my opinion,” he concludes, “anent the continuance of amity betwixt these two realms, there is no danger of breach, so long as the Queen is absent; but her presence may alter many things.”*

To make assurance doubly sure, Cecil desired Randolph, the English resident in Scotland, to feel the pulse of the nobility. On the 9th of August, 1561, only a few days before Mary sailed from France, Randolph wrote from Edinburgh an epistle to Cecil, in which he assures him, that it will be a “stout adventure for a *sick crazed woman*,” (a singular mode of designating Mary,) “to venture home to a country so little disposed to receive her.”—“I have shewn your Honour’s letters,” he says, “unto the Lord James, Lord Morton, Lord Lethington; *they wish, as your Honour doth, that she might be stayed yet for a space; and if it were not for their obedience sake, some of them care not tho’ they never saw her face.*” And again—“Whatsoever cometh of this, he (Lethington) findeth it ever best that she come not.” Knox also, it seems, had been written to, and had expressed his resolution to resist to the last Mary’s authority. “By such letters as ye have last received,” says Randolph, “your Honour somewhat understandeth of Mr Knox himself, and also of others, what is determined,—he himself to abide the uttermost, and others never to leave him, until God hath taken his life.”—“His daily prayer is, for the maintenance of unity with England, and that God will never suffer men to be so ungrate as by any persuasion

* KEITH, *Appendix*, p. 92.

that have saved their lives, and restored their country to liberty.”*

Elizabeth having thus felt her way, and being satisfied that she might with safety pursue her own inclinations, was determined not to rest contented with the mere refusal of passports. Throckmorton was ordered to ascertain exactly when and how Mary intended sailing. The Scottish Queen became aware of the drift, from some questions he put to her, and said to him cuttingly,—“ I trust the wind will be so favourable, as I shall not need to come on the coast of England; and if I do, then M. l’Ambassadeur, the Queen, your mistress, shall have me in her hands to do her will of me; and if she be so hard-hearted as to desire my end, she may then do her pleasure, and make sacrifice of me. Peradventure, that casualty might be better for me than to live.” Throckmorton, notwithstanding this reproof, made good his point, and was able to inform Elizabeth that Mary would sail either from Havre-de-Grace or Calais, and that she would first proceed along the coast of Flanders, and then strike over to Scotland. For the greater certainty, he suggested the propriety of some spies being sent across to the French coast, who would give the earliest intelligence of her movements. Profiting by this and other information, all the best historians of the time agree in stating, that Elizabeth sent a squadron to sea with all expedition. It was only a thick and unexpected fog which prevented these vessels from falling in with that in

* ROBERTSON, *Appendix*, No. V,—from the Cotton Library.

which Mary sailed. The smaller craft, which carried her furniture, they did meet with, and, believing them to be the prize they were in search of, they boarded and examined them. One ship they detained, in which was the Earl of Eglinton, and some of Mary's horses and mules, and, under the pretence of suspecting it of piracy, actually carried it into an English harbour. The affectation of "clearing the seas from pirates," as Cecil expresses it, was a mere after-thought, invented to do away with the suspicion which attached itself to this unsuccessful attempt. Its real purpose was openly talked of at the time. Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, in a speech he made at a meeting of the Privy Council, in 1562, said frankly,—“Think ye that the Scottish Queen's suit, made in all friendly manner, to come through England at the time she left France, and the denial thereof, unless the treaty were ratified, is by them forgotten, or else your sending of your ships to sea at the time of her passage?” Camden, Holinshed, Spottiswoode, Stranguage, and Buchannan, all speak to the same effect; and Elizabeth's intentions, though frustrated, hardly admit of a doubt.*

On the 15th of August, 1561, Mary sailed from the harbour of Calais,—not without shedding, and seeing shed, many tears. She did not, however, part with all the friends who had accompanied her to the coast. Three of her uncles,—the Duke d'Aumale, the Marquis D'Elbeuf, and the Grand Prior,—the Duke Danville,

* KEITH, p. 178; CHALMERS, vol. ii. p. 418; STRANGUAGE, p. 9, and FULLBAIN, p. 19.

son to Montmorency, and afterwards Constable of France, one of the most ardent and sincere admirers that Mary perhaps ever had,—and many other persons of rank, among whom was the unfortunate poet Chatelard, who fluttered like a moth round the light in which he was to be consumed,—sailed with her for Scotland. Just as she left the harbour, an unfortunate accident happened to a vessel, which, by unskilful management, struck upon the bar, and was wrecked within a very short distance of her own galley. “This is a sad omen,” she exclaimed, weeping. A gentle breeze sprang up; the sails were set, and the little squadron got under way, consisting, as has been said, of only four vessels, for Mary dreaded lest her subjects should suppose that she was coming home with any military force. The feelings of “*La Reine Blanche*,” as the French termed her, from the white mourning she wore for Francis, were at all times exceedingly acute. On the present occasion, her grief amounted almost to despair. As long as the light of day continued, she stood immoveable on the vessel’s deck, gazing with tearful eyes upon the French coast, and exclaiming incessantly,—“Farewell, France! farewell, my beloved country!” When night approached, and her friends beseeched her to retire to the cabin, she hid her face in her hands, and sobbed aloud. “The darkness which is now brooding over France,” said she, “is like the darkness in my own heart.” A little afterwards, she added,—“I am unlike the Carthaginian Dido, for she looked perpetually on the sea, when *Æneas* departed, whilst all my regards are for the land.” Having caused a bed to be

made for her on deck, she wept herself asleep, previously enjoining her attendants to waken her at the first peep of day, if the French coast was still visible. Her wishes were gratified; for during the night the wind died away, and the vessel made little progress. Mary rose with the dawn, and feasted her eyes once more with a sight of France. At sunrise, however, the breeze returned, and the galley beginning to make way, the land rapidly receded in the distance. Again her tears burst forth, and again she exclaimed,—“Farewell, beloved France! I shall never, never, see you more.” In the depth of her sorrow, she even wished that the English fleet, which she concluded had been sent out to intercept her, would make its appearance, and render it necessary for her to seek for safety, by returning to the port from whence she had sailed. But no interruption of this kind occurred.*

It is more than likely, that it was during this voyage Mary composed the elegant and simple little song, so expressive of her genuine feelings on leaving France. Though familiarly known to every reader, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of inserting it here.

Adieu, plaisant pays de France !
 O ma patrie,
 La plus chérie,
 Qui a nourri ma jeune enfance !
 Adieu, France ! adieu, mes beaux jours !
 La nef qui déjout mes amours,
 N'à cy de moi que la moitié ,

* BRANTOME in Jebb, vol. II. p. 483, et seq. , KEITH, p. 179 ; and FREEBAIRN, p. 16, et seq.

Une parte te reste ; elle est tienne ;
 Je la fie à ton amitié,
 Pour que de l'autre il te souviennne ! *

Brantome, who sailed in the same vessel with Mary, and gives a particular account of all the events of this voyage, mentions, that the day before entering the Frith of Forth, so thick a mist came on, that it was impossible to see from the poop to the prow. By way of precaution, lest they should run foul of any other vessel, a lantern was lighted, and set at the bow. This gave Chatelard occasion to remark, that there was little need of an additional light, so long as Mary Stuart remained on deck, and kept her eyes open. When the mist, at length, cleared away, they found their vessel in the midst of rocks, from which it required much skill and no little labour to get her clear. Mary declared, that, so

* Several translations of this song have been attempted, but no translation can preserve the spirit of the original.

Adieu, thou pleasant land of France !
 The dearest of all lands to me,
 Where life was like a joyful dance —
 The joyful dance of infancy.
 Farewell my childhood's laughing wiles !
 Farewell the joys of youth's bright day !
 The bark that bears me from thy smiles,
 Bears but my meaner half away.
 The best is thine, — my changeless heart
 Is given, beloved France ! to thee ;
 And let it sometimes, though we part,
 Remind thee, with a sigh, of me !

Mary was not the only one who commemorated in verse her departure from France. Numerous *Vaudevilles* were written upon the occasion, several of which are preserved in the *Anthologie Française*.

far as regarded her own feelings, she would not look upon shipwreck as a great calamity; but that she would not wish to see the lives of the friends who were with her, (among whom not the least dear were her four Maries,) endangered, for all the kingdom of Scotland. She added, that as a bad omen had attended her departure, so this thick fog seemed to be but an evil augury at her arrival. At length, the harbour of Leith appeared in sight, and Mary's eye rested, for the first time, upon Arthur's Seat and the Castle of Edinburgh.

CHAPTER VII.

MARY'S ARRIVAL AT HOLYROOD, WITH SKETCHES OF
HER PRINCIPAL NOBILITY.

MARY landed in Scotland with a mind full of anxiety and uncertainty. She came, alone and unprotected, to assume the government of a country which had long been distinguished for its rebellious turbulence. The masculine spirit of her father had quailed before the storm. Her mother, whose intellectual energy she well knew, had in vain attempted to bring order out of confusion, and, harassed and fatigued, had at length surrendered her life in the struggle. For the last two years, it is true, the country had enjoyed, not peace and tranquillity, but a cessation from an actual state of warfare. Nevertheless, the seeds of discontent, and of mutual distrust and hatred, were as abundant as ever. Mary's religion was well known; and her confirmed devotion to it was, by one party, magnified into bigotry, and pronounced criminal, whilst, by another, it was feared she would shew herself too lukewarm in revenging the insults which the ancient worship had sustained. Such being the state of things, how could a young, and comparatively inexpe-

rienced queen, just nineteen years of age, approach her kingdom otherwise than with fear and trembling?

Contrasted, too, with her former situation, that which she was now about to fill appeared particularly formidable. In France, even during the life of her husband, and while at the very height of her power, few of the severer duties of government rested upon her. She had all the essential authority, without much of the responsibility of a sovereign. Francis consulted her on every occasion, and followed her advice in almost every matter in which she chose to interfere; but it was to him, or her uncles of Guise, that the nation looked, when any of the state machinery went wrong. It would be very different in Scotland. By whatever counsel she acted, the blame of all unpopular measures would be sure to rest with her. If she favoured the Protestants, the Catholics would renounce her; if she assisted the Catholics, the Protestants would again be found assembling at Perth, listening, with arms in their hands, to the sermons of John Knox, pulling down the remaining monasteries, and subscribing additional covenants. Is it surprising, then, that she experienced the difficulty of steering her course between the rocks of Scylla and the whirlpools of Charybdis? If misfortunes ultimately overtook her, the wonder unquestionably ought to be, not that they ever arrived, but that they should have been guarded against so long. Nothing but the wisest and most temperate policy could have preserved quietness in a country so full of the elements of internal discord. Mary's system of government,

throughout all its ramifications, must have been such as no queen of her age could have established, had there not been more than an empty compliment in those lines of Buchanan, in which he addresses his royal mistress as one

“ Quæ sortem antevenis meritis, virtutibus annos,
Sexum animis, morum nobilitate genus.”

There is, besides, a natural feeling of loyalty, which, though it may be evanescent, hardly fails to be kindled in the breasts of the populace of any country, at the sight of their native sovereign. The Scots, though they frequently were far from contented with the measures pursued by their monarchs, have been always celebrated for their attachment to their persons. Mary, on her first landing, became aware of this truth. As soon as it was known that she intended returning from all the splendours of France, to the more homely comforts of the land of her birth, the people, flattered by the preference she was about to shew them, abated somewhat of their previous asperity. They were the more pleased that she came to them, not as the Queen of France, who might have regarded Scotland as only a province of her empire, but as their own exclusive and independent sovereign. They recollected that she had been at the disposal of the Estates of the country, from the time she was seven days old, and they almost felt as if she had been a child of their own rearing. They knew, also, that she had made a narrow escape in crossing the seas; and the confidence she evidently placed in them, by casting anchor in Leith Roads, with only two galleys, did not pass unnoticed. But she had

arrived sooner than was expected; for so little were they aware of her intended motions, that, when her two ships were first observed in the Frith from the Castle of Edinburgh, no suspicion was entertained that they carried the Queen and her suite. It was not till a royal salute was fired in the Roads, that her arrival was positively known, and that the people began to flock in crowds to the shore.

On the 20th or 21st of August, 1561, the Queen landed at Leith. Here she was obliged to remain the whole day, as the preparations for her reception at Holyroodhouse were not completed. The multitude continued in the interval to collect at Leith, and on the roads leading to the Palace. On the road between Leith and Restalrig, and from thence to the Abbey, the different trades and corporations of Edinburgh were drawn up in order, lining the way with their banners and bands of music. Towards evening, horses were brought for the Queen and her attendants. When Mary saw them, accustomed as she had been to the noble and richly caparisoned steeds of the Parisian tournaments, she was struck both with the inferiority of their breed, and the poorness of their furnishings. She sighed, and could not help remarking the difference to some of her friends. "But they mean well," said she, "and we must be content." As she passed along, she was every where greeted with enthusiastic shouts of applause—the involuntary homage which the beauty of her countenance, the elegance of her person, and the graceful dignity of her bearing, could not fail to draw forth. Bonfires were lighted in all direc-

tions ; and though illuminations were then but indifferently understood in Scotland, something of the kind seems to have been attempted. On her arrival at the Palace, all the musicians of Edinburgh collected below her windows, and, in strains of most discordant melody, continued all night to testify their joy for her return. Among the musical instruments, the bagpipes were pre-eminently distinguished, which, not exactly suiting the uncultivated taste of Brantome, he pathetically exclaims, " He ! quelle musique ! et quel repos pour sa nuit ! " Some of the more rigid Reformers, willing to yield in their own way to the general feeling, assembled together in a knot, and sung psalms in her honour.*

It is worth while remarking here, how Knox, in his History of the Reformation, betrays his chagrin at the affectionate manner in which Mary was received. " The very face of the heavens, at the time of her arrival," he says, " did manifestly speak what comfort was brought into this country with her, by sorrow, dolor, darkness, and all impiety ; for, in the memory of man, that day

* JEBB, vol. ii. p. 484 ; KEITH, p. 180, MISS BENDER, vol. ii. p. 125. In an anonymous French work, entitled, "*Histoire de Marie Stuart, Reine d'Ecosse et de France*," &c. respectably written on the whole, there is an amusing mistake concerning the locality of Holyroodhouse. In tom. 1 p 181, it is said, " The Queen landed at Leith, and then departed for L'Islebourg," (the name anciently given to Edinburgh,) " a celebrated abbey a mile or two distant. In this abbey Mary remained for three weeks, and, in the month of October, 1561, took her departure for Edinburgh." This departure for Edinburgh alludes to the visit which Mary paid, a short time after her arrival, to the Castle.

of the year was never seen a more dolorous face of the heavens, than was at her arrival, which two days after did so continue ; for, besides the surface wet, and the corruption of the air, the mist was so thick and dark, that scarce could any man espy another the length of two pair of butts. The sun was not seen to shine two days before, nor two days after. That forewarning gave God to us ; but, alas ! the most part were blind.* Knox proceeds to reprobate, in the severest terms, the unhallowed amusements which Mary permitted at Holyroodhouse. “ So soon as ever her French fillocks, fiddlers, and others of that band, got the house alone, there might be seen skipping not very comely for honest women. Her common talk was, in secret, that she saw nothing in Scotland but gravity, which was altogether repugnant to her nature, for she was brought up in joyeusitye.” If Knox really believed in the omens he talks of, or thought the less of a young and beautiful woman for indulging in innocent recreation, it says little for his good sense : if he did not give any credence to the one, and saw no sin in the other, his candour and sincerity cannot be very highly praised.

M^cCrie, the able but too partial biographer of

* The day that his late Majesty George IV. arrived at Leith, in August, 1822, (whose landing and progress to Holyroodhouse, though much more brilliant, resembled, in some respects, that of his ancestor Mary,) was as wet and unfavourable as the weather so piously described by Knox. Was this a “ forewarning ” also of the “ comfort ” our gracious sovereign brought into the country ? If Knox believed in *warnings*, there is no telling what conclusions might have been deduced from them.

Knox, and the defender of all his errors and failings, speaking of Mary at this period, says,—“Nursed from her infancy in a blind attachment to the Roman Catholic religion, every means had been employed, before she left France, to strengthen this prejudice, and to inspire her with aversion to the religion which had been embraced by her people. She was taught, that it would be the glory of her reign to reduce her kingdom to the obedience of the Romish See, and to co-operate with the Popish Princes on the Continent in extirpating heresy. With these fixed prepossessions, Mary came into Scotland, and she adhered to them with singular pertinacity to the end of her life.”* The whole of these assertions are founded on error. We have seen, that Mary was *not* nursed in a blind attachment to the Catholic religion—some of her best friends, and even one or two of her preceptors, being attached to the new opinions. We have seen, that, so far from having any “prejudice” strengthened before she left France, she was expressly advised to give her support to the Reformers, and we have heard, from her own lips, her mature determination to tolerate every species of worship throughout her kingdom. That she ever thought of “co-operating with the Popish Princes of the Continent, that she might reduce her kingdom to the obedience of the Romish See, and extirpate heresy,” will be discovered immediately to be an eminently preposterous belief, when we find her intrusting the reins of government to the leaders of the Reformed party. To a system of moderation,

* M'CBIE'S *Life of Knox*, vol. II. p. 22.

much beyond that of the age in which she lived, Mary adhered, "with singular pertinacity, to the end of her life." M'Crie, in proof of his gratuitous assertions, affirms, that she never examined the subjects of controversy between the Papists and Protestants. This also is incorrect, as he would have known, had he read that letter of Throckmorton's, in which, as has been seen, she informed the ambassador of the frequent opportunities she had enjoyed of hearing the whole matter discussed in the presence of the Cardinal Lorraine; and the confession which that discussion extorted, both from the Cardinal and herself, of the necessity of some reformation among the Catholics, though not to the extent which the Protestants pushed it. M'Crie farther objects, that Mary never went to hear Knox, or any of the Reformed divines preach. Knox, from the invariable contempt with which he affected to treat Mary, no doubt particularly deserved such a compliment; and as to the other divines, by all of whom she was hated, what would have been the use of leaving her own chapel to listen to sermons which could not have altered the firm conviction of her mind, and which, consequently, it would have been hypocrisy to pretend to admire? We return from this digression.

The nobility, who now flocked to Holyrood from all parts of the country, constituted that portion of the inhabitants of Scotland, who, for many centuries, had exercised almost unlimited influence over their native sovereigns. Their mutual dissensions during the late long minority, had a good deal weakened their respective strength; and the progress of time was gradually softening

the more repulsive features of the feudal system. But still the Scottish barons deemed themselves indispensable to the councils of their monarch, and entitled to deliver opinions, which they expected would be followed on every affair of state. They collected at present, under the influence of a thousand contending interests and wishes. With some of the more distinguished figures in the group, it will be necessary to make the reader better acquainted.

Of the Lord James, who was now shortly to become the Earl of Murray, the title by which he is best known in Scottish history, a good deal has already been said. That he must secretly have regretted his sister's return to Scotland, may be safely concluded, from the facts formerly stated. He was too skilful a politician, however, to betray his disappointment. Had he openly ventured to oppose Mary, the result would have been at all events uncertain, and his own ruin might have been the ultimate consequence in the kingdom. Mary, indeed, trusted too implicitly to his advice, and left too much to his control; yet it is difficult to see how she could have managed otherwise. It is but fair, also, to add, that, for several years, Murray continued to keep his ambition (which, under a show of moderation, was in truth enormous) within bounds. Nor does there appear to be any evidence sufficient to stamp Murray with that deeper treachery and blacker guilt, which some writers have laid to his charge. The time, however, is not yet arrived for considering his conduct in connection with the darker events of Mary's reign. The leading fault of his administration is, that it was double-faced. In

all matters of importance, he allowed himself to be guided as much by the wishes of Elizabeth, secretly communicated to him, as by those of his own sovereign. He probably foresaw, that, if he ever quarrelled with Mary, it would be through the assistance of the English Queen alone he could hope to retrieve his fortunes. This subservience to Elizabeth, among those in whom she confided, was the leading misfortune of Mary's reign. Had her counsellors been unbiassed, and her subjects undistracted by English intrigue, her prudent conduct would have got the better of the internal dissensions in her kingdom, and she would have governed in peace, perhaps in happiness. But it was Elizabeth's jealous and narrow-minded policy to prevent, if possible, this consummation. With infinite art, and, if the term is not debased by its application, with no little ability, she accomplished her wishes, principally through the agency of the ambitious and the self-interested among Mary's ministers. One of these the Earl of Murray unquestionably was. At the time of which we are writing, he was in his thirty-first year, possessing considerable advantages both of face and person, but of reserved, austere, and rather forbidding manners. Murray's mother, who was the Lady Margaret Erskine, daughter of Lord Erskine, had married, subsequent to her connection with James V, Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven. Murray had also, as has been mentioned, several illegitimate brothers, particularly Lord John and Lord Robert, and one sister, Jane, who married the Earl of Argyle, and to whom Mary became very sincerely attached.

Associated with the Earl of Murray, both as a leader of the Reformers, and as a servant of Elizabeth, but not allowing his ambitious views to carry him quite so far as the Earl, was William Maitland of Lethington, Mary's Secretary of State. He was the eldest son of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, and was about five years older than Murray. He had been educated at the University of St Andrews, and had travelled a good deal on the Continent, where he studied civil law. John Knox, in his History, claims the honour of having converted Maitland to the reformed opinions. Whether this be true or not, it is certain that, after having for some time co-operated with Mary of Guise, he finally deserted her, and continued to act with the reformers, as Secretary of State, an office to which he had been appointed for life, in 1558. It has been already seen, that a close and confidential intercourse subsisted between him and Cecil; and that he too would have been glad had Mary's return to Scotland been prevented. That Maitland possessed an acute and suitable genius, there can be no doubt; that he had cultivated his mind to good purpose, and understood the art of composition as well as any man of the age, is undeniable. That his manners were more polished than those of most of the Scottish nobility, is also true; but that his talents were of that high and exquisite kind, which Robertson and some other historians have described, does not appear. During his political career, many instances occur, which seem to imply a vacillating and unsteady temperament, a fault which can hardly be forgiven in a statesman.

James Douglas, Earl of Morton, another associate of Murray, was one of the most powerful and least respectable of those who had embraced the Reformation. Restless, factious, crafty, avaricious, and cruel, nothing could have saved him from general odium, but his pretended zeal for religion. This was a cloak for many sins; by flattering the vanity of Knox and the other gospel ministers, he contrived to cover the hollowness of his character, and to patch up a reputation for sanctity. In consequence of the rebellion of the Earl of Angus, his uncle, during the reign of James V, Morton had been obliged to spend several years in England, where he lived in great poverty. But the only effect adversity had produced upon him, was a determination to be more rapacious, when he recovered his power. His ambition was of a more contracted and selfish kind than Murray's, and he had not so cool a head, or so cautious a hand.

The Duke of Chatelherault, Mary's nearest relation, being advanced in years, had retired from public life. The Earl of Arran, his son, who, it will be remembered, had been induced to propose himself as a husband for Elizabeth, was of a weak, and almost crazed intellect. Indeed, it was not long before the increasing strength of the malady made it necessary to confine him. He came to Court, however, upon Mary's arrival, and, having been unsuccessful with Elizabeth, chose to fall desperately in love with his own Queen. But Mary had always an aversion to him, originating, no doubt, in the want of delicacy towards her, which had characterized his negotiations with Elizabeth, and confirmed by his own

presuming and disagreeable manners. His father's natural brother, the Archbishop of St Andrews, is the only other member of the family worth mentioning. He was still stanch to the Roman Catholic party; but had of late seen the wisdom of remaining quiet, and though he became rather a favourite with Mary, it does not appear that he henceforth took a very active interest in public affairs.*

James Hepburne, Earl of Bothwell, though some of the leading features of his character had hardly shewn themselves at the period of which we speak, merits nevertheless, from the part he subsequently acted, especial notice at present. He had succeeded his father in his titles and estates in the year 1556, when he was five or six-and-twenty years of age. He enjoyed not only large estates, but the hereditary offices of Lord High Admiral of Scotland, Sheriff of Berwick, Haddington, and Edinburgh, and Bailie of Lauderdale. With the exception of the Duke of Chatelherault, he was the most powerful nobleman in the southern districts of Scotland. Soon after coming to his titles, he began to take an active share in public business. In addition to his other offices, he was appointed the Queen's Lieutenant on the Borders, and Keeper of Hermitage Castle, by the Queen Regent, to whom he always remained faithful, in opposition to the Lord James,

* Miss Benger (vol. ii. p. 132,) erroneously supposes, that the Archbishop of St Andrews had died before Mary's return to Scotland. She should have known that it was he who presided at the baptism of James VI, of which ceremony she gives so particular an account. See KEITH, p. 360, and CHALMERS, vol. i. p. 196.

and what was then termed the English faction. He went over to France, on the death of Francis II, to pay his duty to Mary, and, on his return to Scotland, was, by her, intrusted with the discharge of an important commission regarding the government. Though all former differences were now supposed to have been forgotten, there was not, nor did there ever exist, a very cordial agreement between the Earls of Murray and Bothwell. They were both about the same age, but their dispositions were very different. Murray was self-possessed, full of foresight, prudent, and wary : Bothwell was bold, reckless, and extravagant. His youth had been devoted to every species of dissipation ; and, even in manhood, he seemed more intent on pleasure than on business. This was a sort of life which Murray despised, and perhaps he calculated that Bothwell would never aim at another. But, though guided by no steady principles, and devoted to licentiousness, Bothwell was nevertheless not the mere man of pleasure. He was all his life celebrated for daring and lawless exploits, and vanity or passion were continually carrying him out of his depth. Unlike Murray, who, when he had an end in view, made his advances towards it as cautiously as an Indian hunter, Bothwell dashed right through, as careless of the means by which he was to accomplish his object, as of the consequences that were to ensue. His manner was of that frank, open, and uncalculating kind, which frequently catches a superficial observer. They who did not study him more closely, were apt to imagine that he was merely a blustering, good-natured, violent, headstrong man, whose manners must inevitably have

degenerated into vulgarity, had he not been nobly born, and accustomed to the society of his peers. But much more serious conclusions might have been drawn by those who had penetration enough to see under the cloak of dissoluteness, in which he wrapped himself and his designs. With regard to his personal appearance, it seems to have been any thing but prepossessing. Brantome says, that he was one of the ugliest men he had ever seen, and that his manners were correspondently outré.* Buchanan, who must have known Bothwell well, and who draws his character with more accuracy than was to be expected from so partial a writer, says, in his "Detection,"—"Was there in him any gift of eloquence, or grace of beauty, or virtue of mind, garnished with the benefits which we call of fortune? As for his eloquence and beauty, we need not make long tale of them, since both they that have seen him can well remember his countenance, his gait, and the whole form of his body, how gay it was: they that have heard him are not ignorant of his rude utterance and blockishness." As to Bothwell's religious opinions, Buchanan remarks very truly, that, wavering between the different factions, and despising either side, he counterfeited a love of both.† Such was the man of which we shall have occasion to say so much in the course of these Memoirs.

In the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, remained unaltered all the characteristics of the ruder

* JEBB, vol. II. p. 486, CHALMERS, vol. II. p. 202.

† BUCHANAN'S *Detection*, in ANDERSON'S *Collections*, vol. II. p. 52 and 58.

feudal chiefs, rendered still more repulsive by their bigoted zeal in favour of the reformed opinions. They were men of coarse and contracted minds, fit instigators to villany, or apt tools in the hands of those who were more willing to plan than to execute.

Opposed to all these nobles, was the great lay head of the Catholic party in Scotland. John, Earl of Huntly. His jurisdiction and influence extended over nearly the whole of the north of Scotland, from Aberdeen to Inverness. He was born in 1510, and had been a personal friend and favourite of James V. He ranked in Parliament as the Premier Earl of Scotland, and, in 1546, was appointed Chancellor of the kingdom. He was always opposed to the English party, and had been taken prisoner at the battle of Pinkie, fighting against the claims of Edward VI. He made his escape in 1548, and, as a reward for his services and sufferings, obtained, in the following year, a grant of the Earldom of Murray, which, however, he again resigned in 1554. He continued faithful to the Queen Regent till her death. Upon that occasion, we have seen that he and other nobles sent Lesly, with certain proposals, to Mary. He was an honourable man, and a good subject, though the termination of his career was most unfortunate. The respect which his memory merits, is founded on the conviction, that he had too great a love for his country and sovereign ever to have consented to have made the one little better than tributary to England, or to have betrayed the other into the hands of her deadliest enemy.

Such were the men who were now to become

Mary's associates and counsellors. The names of most of them occur as members of the Privy Council which she constituted shortly after her return. It consisted of the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earl of Huntly, the Earl of Argyle, the Earl of Bothwell, the Earl of Errol, Earl Marschall, the Earl of Athol, the Earl of Morton, the Earl of Montrose, the Earl of Glencairn, the Lord Erskine, and the Lord James Stuart. In this Council, the influence of the Lord James, backed as it was by a great majority of Protestant nobles, carried every thing before it.

Elizabeth, finding that Mary had arrived safely in her own country, and had been well received there, lost no time in changing her tone towards the Scottish Queen. The English resident in Scotland was the celebrated Randolph, whom Elizabeth kept as a sort of accredited spy at Mary's Court. He has rendered himself notorious by the many letters he wrote to England upon Scottish affairs. He had an acute, inquisitive, and gossiping turn of mind. His style is lively and amusing, and though the office he had to perform is not to be envied, he seems to have entered on it *con amore*, and with little remorse of conscience. His epistles are mostly preserved, and are valuable from containing pictures of the state of manners in Scotland at the time, not to be found any where else, though not always to be depended on as accurate chronicles of fact. To Randolph, the Queen of England now wrote, desiring him to offer her best congratulations to Mary upon her safe arrival. She sent him also a letter which he was to deliver to Mary, in which she disclaimed ever having had the most distant

intention of intercepting her on her voyage. Mary answered Elizabeth's letter with becoming cordiality. She, likewise, sent Secretary Maitland into England, to remain for some time, as her resident at Elizabeth's Court. She was well aware for what purposes Randolph was ordered to continue in Edinburgh; and said, that as it seemed to be Elizabeth's wish that he should remain, she was content, but that she would have another in England as crafty as he. Maitland was certainly as crafty, but his craftiness was, unfortunately, too frequently directed against Mary herself.

CHAPTER VIII.

JOHN KNOX, THE REFORMERS, AND THE TURBULENT
NOBLES.

MARY had been only a few days in Scotland when she was painfully reminded of the excited and dangerous state of feeling which prevailed on the important subject of Religion. Her great and leading desire was to conciliate all parties, and to preserve, unbroken, the public peace. With this view, she had issued proclamations, charging her subjects to conduct themselves quietly; and announcing her intention to make no alteration in the form of religion as existing in the country at her arrival. Notwithstanding these precautions, the first breach of civil order took place at the very Palace of Holyrood. Mary had intimated her intention to attend the celebration of a solemn mass in her chapel, on Sunday, the 24th of August, 1561, the first Sunday she spent in Scotland. The Reformers, as soon as they got the upper hand, had prohibited this service under severe penalties, and these principles of intolerance they were determined to maintain. Mary had not interfered with their mode of worship; but this was not enough: they considered themselves called upon to interfere with hers. In

anticipation of the mass, for which she had given orders, the godly, Knox tells us, met together, and said,—“ Shall that idol be suffered again to take place within this realm? It shall not.” They even repented that they had not pulled down the chapel itself at the time they had demolished most of the other religious houses; for the sparing of any place where idols were worshipped was, in their opinion, “ the preserving the accursed thing.” When Sunday arrived, a crowd collected on the outside of the chapel; and Lord Lindsay, whose bigotry has been already mentioned, called out, with fiery zeal,—“ The idolatrous priests shall die the death, according to God’s law.” The Catholics were insulted as they entered the chapel, and the tumult increased so much, that they feared to commence the service. At length, the Lord James, whose superior discrimination taught him, that his party, by pushing things to this extremity, were doing their cause more harm than good, stationed himself at the door, and declared he would allow no evil-disposed person to enter. His influence with the godly was such, that they ventured not to proceed to violence against his will. He was a good deal blamed, however, by Knox for his conduct. When the service was concluded, Lord James’s two brothers were obliged to conduct the priests home, as a protection to them from the insults of the people; and, in the afternoon, crowds collected in the neighbourhood of the palace, who, by their disloyal language and turbulent proceedings, signified to the Queen their disapprobation that she had dared to worship her God in the manner which seemed to herself most

consistent, both with the revealed and natural law. Many of Mary's friends, who had accompanied her from France, were so disgusted with the whole of this scene, that they announced their intention of returning sooner than they might otherwise have done. "Would to God," exclaims Knox, "that altogether, with the mass, they had taken good-night of the realm for ever!"

On the following Sunday, Knox took the opportunity of preaching, what Keith might have termed, another "thundering sermon" against idolatry. In this discourse he declared, that one mass was more fearful to him than ten thousand armed enemies landed in any part of the realm on purpose to suppress the whole religion. No one will deny, that the earlier Reformers of this and all other countries looked, naturally and properly, upon Popish rites with far greater abhorrence than is done by the strictest Protestants of more modern times. Nor is it wonderful that the ablest men among them, (and John Knox was one of those,) should have given way so far to the feelings of the age, as to be unable to draw the exact line of distinction between the improvements of the new gospel, and the imperfections of the old. The faith which they established was of a purer, simpler, and better kind than that from which they separated themselves. Yet, making all these allowances, there does seem to have been something unnecessarily overbearing and illiberal in the spirit which animated Knox and some of his followers. When contrasted with the mildness of Mary, at least, and even with the greater moderation observed in some of the other countries of Europe, where the Reformation was

making no less rapid progress, the anti-Catholic ardour of the good people of Scotland must be allowed to have overstepped considerably the just limits of Christian forbearance. It is useful also to observe the inconsistencies which still existed in the Reformed faith. Whilst the Catholic religion was reprobated, Catholic customs, springing out of that religion, do not seem to have called forth any censure. On the very day on which Knox preached the sermon already mentioned, a great civic banquet was given by the city of Edinburgh to Mary's uncles, the Duke D'Anville, and other of her French friends; and, generally speaking, Sunday was, throughout the country, the favourite day for festivities of all kinds.

The attention paid to her relations pleased Mary; but her pleasure was rendered imperfect, by perceiving how powerful and unlooked for an enemy both she and they had to encounter in John Knox. Aware of the liberal manner in which she had treated him and his party, she thought it hard that he should so unremittingly exert his influence to stir up men's minds against her. That this influence was of no insignificant kind, is attested by very sufficient evidence. Knox was not a mere polemical churchman. His friends and admirers intrusted to him their temporal as well as spiritual interests. He was often selected as an umpire in civil disputes of importance; and persons whom the Town Council had determined to punish for disorderly conduct, were continually requesting his intercession in their behalf. When differences fell out even among the nobility, he was not uncommonly employed to adjust them. He was, besides, at that time

the only established clergyman in Edinburgh who taught the Reformed doctrines. There was a minister in the Canongate, and another in the neighbouring parish of St Cuthberts, but Knox was *the* minister of Edinburgh. He preached in the church of St Giles, which was capable of holding three thousand persons. To this numerous audience he held forth twice every Sunday, and thrice on other days during the week. He was regular, too, in his attendance at the meetings of the Synod and the General Assembly, and was frequently commissioned to travel through the country to disseminate gospel truth. In 1563, but not till then, he had a colleague appointed.

Animated by a sincere desire to soften, if possible, our Reformer's austere temper, Mary requested that he might be brought into her presence, two days after he had delivered his sermon against idolatry. Knox had no objection whatever to this interview. It was calculated to give his friends a still higher opinion of the importance attached to his character and office; and from the manner in which he determined to carry himself through it, he hoped to strengthen his reputation for bold independence of sentiment, and undeviating adherence to his principles. This was so far well; but Knox unfortunately mingled rudeness with his courage, and stubbornness with his consistency.

Mary opened the conversation by expressing her surprise that he should have formed so very unfavourable an opinion of herself, and requested to know what could have induced him to commence his calumnies against her so far back as 1559, when he published his book upon the

“ monstrous government of women.”* Knox answered, that learned men in all ages considered their judgments free, and that, if these judgments sometimes differed from the common judgment of mankind, they were not to blame. He then ventured to compare his “ First Blast of the Trumpet” to Plato’s work “ On the Commonwealth,” observing, with much self-complacency, that both these books contained many new sentiments. He added, that what he had written was directed most especially against Mary, “ that wicked Jezabel of England.” The Queen, perceiving that this was a mere subterfuge, said, “ Ye speak of women in general.” Knox confessed that he did so, but again went the length of assuring her, though the assurance seems to involve a contradiction, that he had said nothing “ intended to trouble her estate.”

Satisfied with this concession, Mary proceeded to ask, why he could not teach the people a new religion without exciting them to hold in contempt the authority of their sovereign? Knox

* This is apparently the first time Mary had ever expressed to Knox her sentiments regarding this pamphlet. He had been treated less ceremoniously by Elizabeth. But, knowing the respect in which she was held by the Protestants, he saw it for his interest to attempt to pacify her, and wrote to her several conciliatory letters. Elizabeth put a stop to them, by desiring Cecil to forward to Knox the following laconic epistle, which merits preservation as a literary curiosity. — “ Mr Knox ! Mr Knox ! Mr Knox ! there is neither male nor female · all are one in Christ, saith Paul. Blessed is the man who confides in the Lord ! I need to wish you no more prudence than God’s grace ; whereof God send you plenty. W. CECIL.” CHALMERS, vol. ii. p. 494.

found it necessary to answer this question in a somewhat round-about manner. "If all the seed of Abraham," said he, "should have been of the religion of Pharaoh, what religion should there have been in the world? Or if all men, in the days of the Roman Emperors, should have been of the religion of the Roman Emperors, what religion should have been on the face of the earth? Daniel and his fellows were subject to Nebuchadnezzar and unto Darius, and yet they would not be of their religion."—"Yea," replied Mary promptly, "but none of these men raised the sword against their princes."—"Yet you cannot deny that they resisted," said Knox, refining a little too much; "for those who obey not the commandment given them, do in some sort resist."—"But yet," said the Queen, perceiving the quibble, "they resisted not with the sword." The Reformer felt that he had been driven into a corner, and determined to get out of it at whatever cost. "God, madam," said he, "had not given unto them the power and the means."—"Think ye," asked Mary, "that subjects having the power may resist their princes?"—"If princes exceed their bounds, madam," said Knox, evidently departing from the point, "no doubt they may be resisted even by power." He proceeded to fortify this opinion with arguments of no very loyal kind; and Mary, overcome by a rudeness and presumption she had been little accustomed to, was for some time silent. Nay, Randolph, in one of his letters, affirms, that he "knocked so hastily upon her heart, that he made her weep." At length she said, "I perceive, then, that my subjects shall obey you, and not me, and will do

what they please, and not what I command ; and so must I be subject to them, and not they to me." Knox answered, that a subjection unto God and his Church was the greatest dignity that flesh could enjoy upon the face of the earth ; for it would raise it to everlasting glory. " But you are not the Church that I will nourish," said Mary ; " I will defend the Church of Rome, for it is, I think, the true Church of God." Knox's coarse and discourteous answer shews that he was alike ignorant of the delicacy with which, in this argument, he should have treated a *lady*, and of the respect a *queen* was entitled to demand. " Your *will*, madam," said he, " is no reason ; neither doth your thought make the Roman harlot to be the true and immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ. Wonder not, madam, that I call Rome a harlot, for that Church is altogether polluted with all kinds of spiritual fornication, both in doctrine and manners." Whilst this speech must have deeply wounded the feelings of Mary, a sincere Catholic as she was, it cannot entitle the Reformer to any praise on the score of its bravery and independence. Knox knew that the whole country would, in a few days, be full of his conference with the Queen. By yielding to her, he had nothing to gain ; and, as his reputation was his dearest possession, he hoped to increase it by an unmanly display of his determined zeal. Mary, perceiving what sort of a man she had to deal with, soon afterwards broke off the conversation. *

* KNOX'S *History of the Reformation*, p. 287, et seq. ; KEITH, p. 188. It is worth observing, that Knox is the

On the same day that the Queen gave Knox this audience, she made her first public entry into Edinburgh. She rode up the Carongate and High Street, to the castle, where a banquet had been prepared for her. She was greeted, as she passed along, with every mark of respect and loyalty; and pains had been taken to give to the whole procession as striking and splendid an air as possible. The town had issued proclamations, requiring the citizens to appear in their best attire, and advising the young men to assume a uniform, that they might make "the convoy before the court more triumphant." When Mary left the castle after dinner, on her way back, a pageant which had been prepared, was exhibited on the Castle Hill. The Reformers could not allow this opportunity to pass, without reminding her that she was now in a country where their authority was paramount. The greater part of this pageant represented the terrible vengeance of God upon idolaters. It was even, at one time, intended to have had a priest burned in effigy; but the Earl of Huntly declared, he would not

only person who gives us any detailed account of these interviews, and he, of course, represents them in as favourable a light for himself as possible. "The report," says Randolph, "that Knox hath talked with the Queen, maketh the Papists doubt what will become of the world." — "I have been the more minute in the narrative of this curious conference," says M'Crie, "because it affords the most satisfactory refutation of the charge that Knox treated Mary with rudeness and disrespect." Different persons have surely different modes of defining rudeness and respect.

allow so gross an insult to be offered to his sovereign.

Soon after paying this compliment to the City of Edinburgh, Mary determined upon making a progress through the country, that she and her subjects might become better acquainted with each other. She made this progress upon horseback, accompanied by a pretty numerous train. There appears at the time to have been only one wheeled carriage in Scotland. It was a chariot, (as it is called in the treasurer's books,) probably of a rude enough construction, which Margaret of England brought with her when she married James IV. Mary, no doubt, knew that it would have been rather adventurous to have attempted travelling on the Scotch roads of that day in so frail and uncertain a vehicle. It is not, however, to be supposed, that a Queen such as Mary, with her lords and ladies well mounted around her, could pass through her native country without being the object of universal admiration, even without the aid of so wonderful a piece of mechanism as a coach or chariot. Her first stage was to the Palace of Linlithgow. Here she remained a day or two, and then proceeded to Stirling. On the night of her arrival there, she made a very narrow escape. As she lay in bed asleep, a candle, that was burning beside her, set fire to the curtains; and had the light and heat not speedily awakened her, when she immediately exerted her usual presence of mind, she might have been burned to death. The populace said at the time, that this was the fulfilment of a very old prophecy, that a Queen should be burned at Stirling. It was only the

bed, however, not the Queen, that was burned ; so that the prophet must have made a slight mistake. On the Sunday she spent at Stirling, the Lord James, finding, perhaps, that his former apparent defence of the mass had hurt his reputation among the Reformers, corrected the error, by behaving with singular impropriety in the Royal Chapel. He was backed by the Lord Justice General, the Earl of Argyle, in conjunction with whom, he seems to have come to actual blows with the priests. This affair was considered good sport by many. " But there were others," says Randolph, alluding probably to Mary, " that shed a tear or two." " It was reserved," Chalmers remarks, " for the *Prime Minister* and the *Justice General*, to make a riot in the house which had been dedicated to the service of God, and to obstruct the service in the Queen's presence."*

Leaving Stirling, Mary spent a night at Lesly Castle, the seat of the Earl of Rothes, a Catholic nobleman. On the 16th of September, she entered Perth. She was everywhere welcomed with much apparent satisfaction ; but, in the midst of their demonstrations of affection, her subjects always took care to remind her that they were Presbyterians, and that she was a Papist. In the very pious town of Perth, pageants greeted her arrival, somewhat similar to those which had been exhibited to her on the Castle Hill at Edinburgh.

* Keith supposes, erroneously, that this disturbance took place in the Chapel at Holyrood. Randolph, his authority, though his expressions are equivocal, undoubtedly alludes to the Royal Chapel at Stirling. KEITH, p. 189-90.

Mary was not a little affected by observing this constant determination to wound her feelings. In riding through the streets of Perth, she became suddenly faint, and was carried from her horse to her lodging. Her acute sensibility often produced similar effects upon her health, although the cause was not understood by the unrefined multitude. With St Andrews, the seat of the Commendatorship of the Lord James, she seems to have been most pleased, and remained there several days. She returned to Edinburgh by the end of September, passing, on the way, through Falkland, where her father had died. Knox was much distressed at the manifestation of the popular feeling in favour of Mary during this journey. He consoles himself by saying, that she polluted the towns through which she passed with her idolatry, and, in allusion to the accident at Stirling, remarks, "Fire followed her very commonly on that journey."*

It was, perhaps, to counteract, in some degree, the impression which Mary's affability and beauty had made upon her subjects, that, soon after her return to Edinburgh, a very singular proclamation was issued by the civil authorities of that town. It was couched in the following terms:—"October 2, 1561. On which day the Provost, Bailies, Council, and all the Deacons, perceiving the Priests, Monks, Friars, and others of the wicked rabble of the Anti-Christ the Pope, to resort to this town, contrary to the tenor of a previous proclamation; therefore, ordain the said proclamation, charging all Monks, Friars, Priests, Nuns,

* KNOX, p. 292.

Adulterers, Fornicators, and all such filthy persons, to remove themselves out of this town and bounds thereof, within twenty-four hours, under the pain of carting through the town, burning on the cheek, and perpetual banishment.* The insult offered to the sovereign of the realm, by thus attempting to confound the professors of the old religion with the most depraved characters in the country, was too gross to be allowed to pass unnoticed. Mary did not bring these bigoted magistrates to trial,—she did not even imprison them; but with much mildness, though with no less firmness, she ordered the Town Council instantly to deprive the Provost and Bailies of the offices they held, and to elect other better qualified persons in their stead.†

During the remainder of the year 1561, the only public affairs of consequence, were the appoint-

* KEITH, p. 192.

† It is worth while attending to the very partial and grossly perverted account which KNOX gives of this proclamation. He actually introduces into his History an edition of it, fabricated by himself, and then proceeds to find fault with the Magistrates for yielding to "*Jezabel's*" commands, remarking, in allusion to a counter proclamation which the Queen issued, and which intimated, that the town should be patent to all her lieges until they were found guilty of some offence,—“The Queen took upon her greater boldness than she and Balaam's bleating priests durst have attempted before. And so murderers, adulterers, thieves, whores, drunkards, idolaters, and all malefactors, got protection under the Queen's wings, under colour that they were of her religion. And so got the Devil freedom again, whereas before he durst not have been seen by daylight upon the common streets. Lord deliver us from that bondage!” KNOX, p. 292-3.

ment of the Lord James as the Queen's Lieutenant on the Borders, where he proceeded to hold courts, and endeavoured, by great severity, and many capital punishments, to reduce the turbulent districts to something like order; and the renewal, on the part of Queen Elizabeth, of the old dispute concerning the treaty of Edinburgh. Mary, having now had the benefit of advice from her Council, without directly refusing what Elizabeth asked, gave her, in pretty plain terms, to understand, that she could never think of signing away her hereditary title and interest to the Crown of England. "We know," she says, in a letter she wrote to Elizabeth on the subject, "how near we are descended of the blood of England, and what devices have been attempted to make us, as it were, a stranger from it. We trust, being so nearly your cousin, you would be loth we should receive so manifest an injury, as entirely to be debarred from that title, which, in possibility, may fall to us."

Most of Mary's French friends had, by this time, returned home. Her uncle, the Marquis D'Elbeuf, however, remained all winter with her. In losing the Duke D'Anville, Mary lost one of her warmest admirers, but it appears, that from his being already married, (though he could have obtained a divorce,) and from other considerations, Mary rejected his addresses. Many foreign princes were suing for the honour of her alliance, among whom were Don Carlos of Spain, the Archduke Charles of Austria, the King of Sweden, the Duke of Ferrara, and the Prince of Condé; but Mary did not yet see the necessity of an immediate marriage. Among her own subjects,

there were two who ventured upon confessing their attachment, and nourished some hopes that she might be brought to view it propitiously. These were the Earl of Arran, already mentioned, and Sir John Gordon, second son of the Earl of Huntly. The former of these Mary never liked; and though the latter far excelled him in accomplishments, both of body and mind, she does not seem to have given him encouragement either. Inspired by mutual jealousy, these noblemen, of course, detested each other; but Arran was the more factious and absurd of the two. Having taken offence at some slights which he supposed had been offered him, he had retired to St Andrews, where he was believed, by those who knew his restless temperament, to be hatching sedition. Upon one occasion—a Sunday night in November—just before the Queen had retired to bed, a report was suddenly spread through the palace, that Arran had crossed the water at the head of a strong body of retainers, and was marching direct for Holyroodhouse, with the intention of carrying off Mary to Dumbarton Castle, which was in the possession of his father, or to some other place of strength. This report, which gained credit, it was scarcely known how, excited the greatest alarm. Mary's friends collected round her with as much speed as possible; the gates were closed, and the Lords remained in arms within the court all night. Arran did not make his appearance, and the panic gradually subsided, though the nobles determined to keep guard every night for some time. This is the foundation of the assertion made by some writers, that Mary established a

perpetual body-guard, which, unfortunately, she never did during the whole of her reign. The Duke of Chatelherault, who came to Court soon after, alleged, that the rumour which had gained credence against his son, was only a manœuvre of his enemies; and though his son's conduct was, on all occasions, sufficiently outré, it is not unlikely that this allegation was true.

Another tumult, which soon afterwards occurred, shows how difficult it was, at this time, to preserve quietness and good order. It had been reported among the more dissolute nobles, that the daughter of a respectable merchant in Edinburgh was the *chère amie* of the Earl of Arran. Bothwell, always at home in any affair of this kind, undertook to introduce the Marquis D'Elbeuf to the lady, Lord John, brother of the Commendator of St Andrews, was also of the party. They went to her house the first night in masks, and were admitted, and courteously entertained. Returning next evening, they were disappointed to find, that the object of their admiration refused to receive their visits any longer. They proceeded, therefore, to break open the doors, and to create much disturbance in the house and neighbourhood. Next day the Queen was informed of their disorderly conduct, and she rebuked them sharply. But Bothwell and the Lord John, animated partly by their dislike to the house of Hamilton, and partly by a turbulent spirit of contradiction, declared they would repeat their visit the very next night, in despite of either friend or foe. Their intentions being understood, the servants of the Duke of Chatelherault and Arran thought themselves

called upon to defend a lady whom their masters patronized. They assembled accordingly with jack and spear in the streets, determined to oppose force to force. Bothwell wished for nothing better, and collected his friends about him in his own lodgings. The opposite party, however, increased much more rapidly than his, and began to collect in a threatening manner before his house. The magistrates saw the necessity of interfering; the alarm-bell was rung, and despatches were sent off to Holyrood, to know what course was to be taken. The Earls of Argyle and Huntly, together with the Lord James, joined the civic authorities, and, proceeding out to the mob, made proclamation, that all men should instantly depart on pain of death. This had the desired effect; the streets gradually became quiet, and Bothwell gave up his wild scheme. Mary, next day, ordered both the Duke of Chatellherault and the Earl of Bothwell to appear before her. The first came accompanied by a crowd of Protestants, and the latter with an equal number of Catholics. But the Queen was not to be overawed, and, having investigated the matter, Bothwell was banished from Court for ten days.*

This was only the prelude to a still more serious difference which took place between these untamed and irascible nobles. The Earl of Arran appeared before the Queen, and declared that a powerful conspiracy had been formed against the life of the Lord James, upon whom the title of Earl of Mar, as preliminary to that of Murray,

* RANDOLPH in Keith, p. 210.

had recently been conferred. This conspiracy, he said, had originated with himself and his father, who were beginning to tremble, lest the newly created Earl's influence with the Queen might induce her to set aside the Hamilton succession in favour of her illegitimate brother.* The Earl of Huntly, together with Mar's old enemy, Bothwell, had been induced by the Hamiltons to join in this plot. The intention was, to shoot the Earl of Mar when hunting with the Queen; to obtain for the Hamiltons his authority in the government; and to give the Catholic party greater weight in the state. Huntly's eldest son, the Lord Gordon, was also implicated in Arran's confession. A few days before the whole of these plans were to be carried into execution, the weak and vacillating Arran had, according to his own declaration, been seized with remorse of conscience; and, actuated by his ancient friendship for Mar, and his love for the Queen, determined on disclosing every thing.

Historians seem to have been puzzled what degree of dependence they should place upon the truth of this strange story, told by one who was already half crazed, and soon afterwards altogether insane. That there is good reason, however, for giving credit to his assertions, is evident, from the manner in which all contemporary writers speak, and the fact, that the Queen sent both him and Bothwell to prison. When

* That the Earl of Mar had really proposed some such arrangement, seems to be established on good authority. GOODALL, vol. 1. p. 199, et seq.

the affair was farther investigated, it was found to involve so many of the first nobility of the land, and, among others, Arran's own father, Chatelherault, whom he could never be expected publicly to accuse, that Mary resolved not to push matters to extremity against any one. She ordered the Duke of Chatelherault, however, to deliver up the Castle of Dumbarton; and, at the Earl of Mar's instigation, she kept Bothwell a prisoner, first in the Castle of St Andrews, and afterwards in that of Edinburgh, until he made his escape, and left the country for upwards of two years. It is remarkable, that this conspiracy should not have been hitherto dwelt upon at greater length, tending as it does to develop the secret motives by which the Earl of Mar was actuated in his subsequent feuds with the Earl of Huntly. It is worth recollecting, too, though the fact has not been previously noticed, that this was the *first* occasion on which Bothwell aimed at making himself master of the Queen's person. The design, though unsuccessful, shews the spirit which long continued to actuate him. Had Mary fallen into his hands at this period, it is not likely that she would ever have had it in her power to marry Daruley, and the whole complexion of her fate might have been changed.*

In February, 1562, Mary gave a series of splendid entertainments, on the occasion of the marriage of her favourite brother, James. He was

* FRIBAIRN'S *Translation of Bois Guilbert*, p. 32, et seq., KNON'S *History*, p. 307, CHAUMERS, vol. 1 p. 62, and vol. II. p. 212, KEITH, p. 215 and 216, and GOODALL, vol. 1. p. 191.

then in the thirty-first year of his age, and chose for his wife Lady Agnes Keith, eldest daughter of the Earl of Marschal. The marriage was solemnized in the church of St Giles; and Knox took advantage of the occasion, to offer the Lord James a wholesome, but somewhat curiously expressed advice; "for," said the preacher to him, "unto this day has the kirk of God received comfort by you, and by your labours; in the which, if hereafter you shall be found fainter than you were before, it will be said that your wife has changed your nature." Knox and his friends were subsequently much scandalized by "the greatness of the banqueting, and the vanity thereof," which characterized the honey-moon. The issue of this marriage was three daughters, two of whom married Scotch noblemen, and the third died young.*

In August, 1562, Mary commenced the progress into the North, which, in so far as some of her principal nobility were concerned, was attended with most important consequences.

* KNOX, p. 302; CHALMERS, vol. ii. p. 425.

CHAPTER IX.

MARY'S EXPEDITION TO THE NORTH.

THE Lord James, now Earl of Mar, had for some time felt, that, so long as he was regarded with suspicion by the Hamiltons, and with ill-concealed hatred by the Earl of Huntly and the Gordons, his power could not be so stable, nor his influence so extensive, as he desired. If it is true that he had already proposed to Mary to set aside the succession of the Earl of Arran, it is equally true that she had refused his request. Foiled, therefore, in this, his more ambitious aim, he saw the necessity of limiting, in the meantime, to more moderate bounds, his views of personal preferment. With regard to the Hamiltons, he had succeeded in securing their banishment from Court, and in making them objects of suspicion and dislike to the Queen. There was not, indeed, sufficient talent in the family ever to have made it formidable to him, had it not been that it was of the blood royal. Though not possessing this advantage, the Gordons were always looked upon by Mar as more dangerous rivals. He had long nursed a secret desire, at least to weaken, if not to crush altogether, the power of Huntly. In

getting himself created Earl of Mar, he had made ~~one~~ step towards his object. The lands which went along with this title were part of the royal demesnes; but had for some time been held in fee by the Earls of Huntly. Her brother had prevailed upon Mary to recall them in his favour, and he was thus able to set himself down in the very heart of a country which had hitherto acknowledged no master who did not belong to the house of Gordon. Huntly felt this encroachment bitterly; and it makes it the more probable that he had secretly joined with Arran in this plot upon Mar,—at any rate, Mar gave him full credit for having done so. Their mutual animosity being thus exasperated to the highest pitch, Huntly left the Court, and the prime minister waited anxiously for the first opportunity that might occur, to humble effectually the great leader of the Catholics.

In prosecution of his purpose, Mar now obtained a grant under the Privy Seal of the earldom of Murray. This, however, constituted only an inchoate, not a complete title. To ratify the grant, and make it legal, it was necessary to have the Great Seal also affixed to it. But the Great Seal was in the custody of Huntly, as Lord Chancellor; and as Mar well knew that the grant of this second earldom infringed upon Huntly's rights even more than the former, he saw the propriety of keeping it secret for some time. The earldom of Murray, which, with its lands and appurtenances, was bestowed upon Huntly in 1549, for his services in the war with England, had been again recalled by the crown in 1554, when Huntly fell under the displeasure of the

Queen-Regent, in consequence of his having refused to punish with fire and sword some Highland rebels. But, in 1559, the title and lands were restored, not as a free grant, but as a lease during five years, to Huntly, his wife, and heirs, on the condition of a yearly payment of 2500 merks Scots. Till 1564, therefore, Huntly was entitled to consider himself master of all the lands and revenues of this earldom. But, in 1561, the title and lands were privately conferred upon the Earl of Mar. It is true, that he might have applied thus early only to prevent himself from being anticipated, and might not have intended to encroach on Huntly's rights before the legal period of his enjoying them had expired. The advantage, however, he so eagerly took of the following incident, which occurred in the month of June, 1562, proves that Mar had never any intention to keep his title to the earldom of Murray locked up for three years.*

The father of James, Lord Ogilvy, had married one of the Earl of Huntly's sisters, who gave her some lands in liferent as her dowry. Upon her husband's death, considerations induced her to surrender the liferent to her brother, and the Earl then gave it to his son, Sir John Gordon. But Lord Ogilvy was displeased with his mother's conduct, and questioned its legality. The matter, however, was decided against him, though not before it had occasioned much bad blood between him and Sir John Gordon. These two noblemen unfortunately met on the streets of Edinburgh; and, though Sir John had married Ogilvy's sister,

* CHALMERS, vol. i. p. 78; vol. ii. p. 293, et seq.; and p. 426, et seq.

all ties of relationship were disregarded, and an affray took place, in which both were assisted by their respective servants. It does not exactly appear who was the aggressor in this scuffle, but, from the circumstances which led to it, the probability is, that it was Ogilvy. Both noblemen were severely wounded; and the magistrates, enraged at this breach of the peace, committed them to prison.* Mary, with her Court, was at Stirling, but the Earl of Mar obtained permission to depart for Edinburgh, to examine into the whole affair. The son of the Earl of Huntly was now within his power, and he saw the advantages he might derive from this circumstance. After examination, he ordered the Lord Ogilvy and his retainers to be set at liberty, but Sir John Gordon he sent to the common gaol. Sir John, not liking to trust himself in such hands, made his escape, after remaining in prison for about a month, and proceeded to his father's house in the North to recite to him his grievances.†

Such being the state of feeling subsisting between the Queen's prime minister and these great Northern chieftains, it can scarcely be allowed that Robertson expresses himself correctly, when he says, "The Queen *happened* to set out on a progress into the northern parts of

* KNOX, p. 315, GOODALL, vol. i. p. 192. Chalmers says, that Sir John Gordon's antagonist was not Lord Ogilvy, but only James Ogilvy of Cardell, a son of the deceased Alexander Ogilvy of Findlater. But, as he does not give any authority for this assertion, we have not scrupled to state the facts as detailed by Knox, Goodall, and Robertson.

† CHALMERS, vol. i. p. 80, and vol. ii. p. 298.

the kingdom." Her motions were at this time entirely regulated by the Earl of Mar, who, seeing the contempt which had been offered to her authority by the flight of his son, felt satisfied that Mary could not pass through the extensive territories of Huntly, without either giving or receiving some additional cause of offence, which would, in all probability, lead to consequences favourable to Mar's ambition. Unless this hypothesis be adopted, no rational cause can be assigned why the Queen should have chosen this particular season for her visit to the North. From the recent suspicion which had attached to the Earl of Huntly, as one of Arran's colleagues in a conspiracy against her favourite minister, and the still more recent conduct of his son, Sir John Gordon, she certainly could have no intention to pay that family the compliment of honouring them with her royal presence as a guest. North of Aberdeen, however, nearly the whole country was subservient to Huntly; and if Mary did not pass through it as a friend, she must as an enemy. This was the consideration that prompted the Earl of Mar to fix this year for the expedition. It was owing to negotiations with Elizabeth, concerning a personal interview between the two Queens, that Mary was unable to set out till towards the middle of August.

The Queen left Edinburgh on horseback, as usual, attended by a very considerable train. Among others, four members of her Privy Council went with her,—the Earls of Argyle, Morton, Marschal, and Mar,—the three first of whom had no particular liking for Huntly, and were, besides, entirely under the direction of the last. Randolph

also attended the Queen in this journey, and furnishes some details concerning it. On the 18th of August, 1562, she left Stirling; and, after a disagreeable and fatiguing journey, arrived at Old Aberdeen on the 27th. Here she remained for several days, and all the nobility in those parts came to pay their homage to her. Among the rest were the Earl and Countess of Huntly, who entreated her to honour them with a visit at Huntly Castle, informing her that they had endeavoured to make suitable preparations for her entertainment. Mary, at Mar's instigation, (for, as far as her own feelings were concerned, she must have looked with favour upon the first Catholic Peer of the realm,) received them coldly. This was but a poor return for Huntly's long tried fidelity to herself and family, for whatever quarrels he may have had with the nobility, he had always preserved inviolate his respect for the royal prerogative. His son, Sir John Gordon, also came to Aberdeen, and surrendered himself to the Queen, to be dealt with as her justice might direct. He was neither tried nor taken into custody; but, with more refined policy, he was ordered by Mar, and the rest of the Queen's Council, to proceed voluntarily to Stirling Castle, and there deliver himself, as a prisoner, to the keeper, Lord Erskine, Mar's uncle. It was, no doubt, foreseen that this order, so disproportioned in its severity to the offence which occasioned it, would not be complied with, nor was it wished that it should. Guided by similar advice, Mary refused to visit the residence of the Earl of Huntly, — a refusal which was pathetically lamented by Randolph, as it was "within three

miles of her way, and the fairest house in this country." We learn from the same authority, that there was such a scarcity of accommodation in Old Aberdeen, that Randolph, and Maitland the secretary, who had recently returned from England, were obliged to sleep together in the same bed. This is, perhaps, rendered the less remarkable, when we are informed that there were, at the University, only fifteen or sixteen scholars, which was considered a fair average attendance.

On the 1st of September, Mary left Aberdeen for Inverness; and, in the interval, the Earl of Mar, anticipating that there might be some occasion for their services, had collected a pretty strong body of men, who marched forward with the Queen and her train. In journeying northwards, she travelled by Rothemay, Grange, Balveme, and Elgin, passing very near the Earl of Huntly's castle. No entreaty would induce her to enter it; but she permitted the Earl of Argyle and Randolph to partake of its hospitality for two days. "The Earl of Huntly's house," says Randolph, "is the best furnished that I have seen in this country. His cheer is marvellous great; his mind then, such, as it appeared to us, *as ought to be, in any subject, to his sovereign.*" On the 8th of September, Mary went from Elgin to Tarnaway, the baronial residence of the earldom of Murray, and at that time in possession of a tenant of the Earl of Huntly. Information being there received that Sir John Gordon's friends and vassals, exasperated at the over-degree of rigour with which he was treated, were assembling in arms, and that Sir John, instead

of going to Stirling, had joined the rebels, a proclamation was issued, charging him to surrender, by way of forfeit, into the Queen's hands, his houses and fortresses of Findlater and Auchindoune. This proclamation was expressed with a bitterness which must have only enraged the discontents the more. It required the surrender of these strongholds with the avowed intention of breaking the power of the Gordons, and in consideration of her Majesty having heard "the many grievous complaints of the poor people of this country, hearing them to be *herreit* (robbed) and oppressed by him and his accomplices, in times by-past; and fearing the like, or worse, should be done in time coming." The same proclamation described Sir John Gordon's wife as "Lady Findlater, his *pretended* spouse."*

Fearing that even all this would not be enough to induce Huntly to take such steps as might be plausibly construed into treason, Mar now, for the first time, produced his title to the earldom of Murray, and assumed the name. The only meeting of Council held north of Aberdeen was at Tarnaway, and at the first Council after the Queen had returned to Aberdeen, we find Mar's name changed to that of Murray. Robertson, who has followed Buchanan's, or in other words, Murray's own account of the transactions in the North, referring Mar's assumption of the earldom of Murray to a later date, forgets that it must have been sanctioned by Mary and her Council; and that the only opportunity for doing so, in the interval of their departure from, and return to Aberdeen, was at Tarnaway. †

* KEITH, p. 225.

† Ibid. p. 226.

This new insult upon himself and family was, as Murray expected, deeply felt by the Earl of Huntly. He began to suspect that it was intended to ruin him ; and, in this extremity, with evident reluctance, he prepared to defend himself. Mary, meanwhile, marched forward to Inverness. " On her arrival," says Robertson, " the commanding officer in the castle, *by Huntly's orders*, shut the gates against her." The gates were shut, but certainly not by Huntly's orders ; for as soon as he heard that the castle had been summoned, he sent his express commands to the governor (who had acted upon his own responsibility) to surrender it. These commands, however, came too late ; the castle had been taken by storm, and the governor put to death. What right the Earl of Murray, or even the Queen herself, had to demand the surrender of the castle, which belonged hereditarily to Lord George Gordon, the Earl of Huntly's eldest son, does not appear. As Chalmers remarks, the whole proceeding seems to have been illegal and unwarrantable. Huntly, who was on his way to Inverness, to attempt an arrangement of these disputes, by a personal interview with the Queen, when he heard of the execution of the governor, returned to his castle.*

The Gordons were now fairly roused ; and, collecting their followers, they determined to act resolutely, but not as aggressors. Mary was made to believe, by those around her, that she was in the midst of a hostile country ; and though there was, in reality, no intention to attack her,

* CHALMERS, vol. i. p. 84 ; and vol. ii. p. 302.

every means was taken to inspire her with fear, and to convince her of the treacherous designs of the Earl of Huntly. But Mary had a courageous spirit, when it was necessary to exert it. "In all those garbrilles," says Randolph, "I never saw the Queen moved—never dismayed; nor never thought I that stomach to be in her that I find. She repented nothing, but when the Lords and others at Inverness came in the morning from the watch, that she was not a man, to know what life it was to lie all night in the fields, or to walk upon the causeway with a jack and knapsack, a Glasgow buckler and a broadsword."

On the 15th of September, the Queen returned southwards. She had with her about two thousand men, and as she advanced, their number increased to three thousand. She marched, by Kilravock and Tarnaway, to Spynie Castle. Thence, she proceeded through the country of the Gordons, crossing the Spey at Fochabers, and going by the way of Cullen and Banff. Throughout the whole course of this march, Murray took care to make her believe that she was in danger of being beset every moment. If there had been any enemy to fight with, "what desperate blows," says Randolph, "would not have been given, when every man should have fought in the sight of so noble a Queen, and so many fair ladies!" The only incidents which seem to have occurred, were summonses to surrender, given by sound of trumpet at Findlater House, and at Deckford, mansions of Sir John Gordon. The keepers of both refused; but they were not acting upon their master's authority. Having slept a night at the Laird of Banff's house, Mary returned, on

the 22d of September, to Aberdeen. Her entry into the New Town was celebrated by the inhabitants with every demonstration of respect. Spectacles, plays, and interludes were devised; a richly wrought silver cup, with five hundred crowns in it, was presented to her; and wine, coals, and wax, were sent in great abundance to her lodgings.

But the Earl of Murray was not yet of opinion that he had humbled the Gordons enough. It was true, that the lands of Sir John had been forfeited—that the castle of Lord George had been captured—and that the title and estates of the earldom of Murray had been wrested from Huntly. But that nobleman's power still remained nearly as great as ever, and it seemed doubtful whether Murray would ever be able to seat himself quietly in his new possessions, situated as they were in the very heart of the Earl's domains. The Privy Council were, therefore, prevailed upon to come to the resolution, that the Earl of Huntly, in the language of Randolph, “shall either submit himself, and deliver his disobedient son, John, or utterly to use all force against him, *for the subversion of his house for ever.*” To enforce this determination, Murray levied soldiers, and sent into Lothian and Fife for officers in whom he could place confidence, particularly Lindsay and Grange. With what show of reason the unfortunate Huntly could be subjected to so severe a fate, it is difficult to say. He had come to offer his obedience and hospitality to the Queen, on her first arrival at Aberdeen, he remained perfectly quiet during her journey through that part of the country which was subject to him; he

sent to her, after she returned to Aberdeen, the keys of the houses of Findlater and Deckford, which she had summoned unsuccessfully on her march from Cullen to Banff; and he delivered to her, out of his own castle, a field-piece which the Regent Arran had long ago given to him, and which Mary now demanded. He added, that "not only that, which was her own, but also his body and goods, were at her Grace's commands." * His wife, the Countess of Huntly, led Captain Hay, the person sent for the cannon, into the chapel at her castle, and placing herself at the altar, said to him,—“ Good friend, you see here the envy that is borne unto my husband. Would he have forsaken God and his religion, as those that are now about the Queen's grace, and have the whole guiding of her, have done, my husband had never been put at as now he is. God, and He that is upon this holy altar, whom I believe in, will, I am sure, preserve, and let our true meaning hearts be known; and as I have said unto you, so, I pray you, let it be said unto your mistress. My husband was ever obedient unto her, and so will die her faithful subject.” †

That Mary should have given her sanction to these iniquitous proceedings, can only be accounted for by supposing, what was in truth the case, that she was kept in ignorance of every thing tending to exculpate Huntly, whilst various means were invented to inspire her with a belief, that he had conceived, and was intent upon executing, a diabolical plot against herself and government. It was given out, that his object

* CHALMERS, vol. ii. p. 306.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 90.

was to seize upon the Queen's person—to marry her by force to his son, Sir John Gordon—and to cut off Murray, Morton, and Maitland, his principal enemies.* Influenced by these misrepresentations, which would have been smiled at in later times, but which, in those days, were

* “The time and place for perpetrating this horrid deed,” says Robertson, “were frequently appointed; but the executing of it was wonderfully prevented by some of those unforeseen accidents which so often occur to disconcert the schemes, and to intimidate the hearts, of assassins.” There is something strangely inconsistent between this statement, and that which Robertson makes immediately afterwards in a note, where he says —“We have imputed the violent conduct of the Earl of Huntly to a sudden start of resentment, without charging him with any premeditated purpose of rebellion.” And that Huntly did not intend to seize the Queen and her ministers, the historian farther argues upon these grounds. —“1st, On the Queen's arrival in the North, he laboured in good earnest to gain her favour, and to obtain a pardon for his son. —2d, He met the Queen, first at Aberdeen, and then at Rothiemay, whither he would not have ventured to come, had he harboured any such treasonable resolution. —3d, His conduct was irresolute and wavering, like that of a man disconcerted by an unforeseen danger, not like one executing a concerted plan. —4th, The most considerable persons of his clan submitted to the Queen, and found surety to obey her commands had the Earl been previously determined to rise in arms against the Queen, or to seize her ministers, it is probable he would have imparted it to his principal followers, nor would they have deserted him in this manner.” Yet, in direct opposition to this view of the matter, Robertson, in telling the story of Huntly's wrongs, throws upon him the whole blame, and entirely exculpates Murray. This egregious inconsistency is to be attributed entirely to the historian's too great confidence in Buchanan. ROBERTSON, vol. i. p 222, et seq.

taken more seriously, the Queen put the fate of Huntly into the hands of Murray. Soon after her return to Aberdeen, an expedition was secretly prepared against Huntly's castle. If resistance was offered, the troops sent for the purpose were to take it by force, and, if admitted without opposition, they were to bring Huntly a prisoner to Aberdeen. Intimation, however, of this enterprise and its object was conveyed to the Earl, and he contrived to baffle its success. His wife received the party with all hospitality; threw open her doors, and entreated that they would examine the whole premises, to ascertain whether they afforded any ground of suspicion. But Huntly himself took care to be out of the way, having retired to Badenoch.*

Thus foiled again, Murray, on the 15th of October, called a Privy Council, at which he got it declared, that unless Huntly appeared on the following day before her Majesty, "to answer to such things as are to lay to his charge," he should be put to the horn for his contempt of her authority, and "his houses, strengths, and friends taken from him."† However willing he might have been to have ventured thus into the lion's den, Huntly could not possibly have appeared within the time appointed. On the 17th of October, he was, therefore, denounced a rebel, in terms of the previous proclamation, and his lands and titles declared forfeited.‡ Even yet, however, Huntly acted with forbearance.

* CHAIMERS, vol. 1. p. 93, and vol. ii. p. 306

† KEITH, p. 226.

‡ CHALMERS, vol. ii. p. 307.

He sent his Countess to Aberdeen on the 20th, who requested admission to the Queen's presence, that she might make manifest her husband's innocence. So far from obtaining an audience, this lady, who was respected and loved over the whole country, was not allowed to come within two miles of the Court, and she returned home with a heavy heart. As a last proof of his fidelity, Huntly sent a messenger to Aberdeen, offering to enter into ward till his cause might be tried by the whole nobility. Even this offer was rejected; and, goaded into madness, the unfortunate Earl at length collected his followers round him, and, raising the standard of rebellion, not against the Queen, but against Murray, advanced suddenly upon Aberdeen.

This resolute proceeding excited considerable alarm at Court. Murray, however, had foreseen the probability of such a step being ultimately taken, and had been busy collecting forces sufficient to repel the attack. A number of the neighbouring nobility had joined him, who, not penetrating the prime minister's real motives, were not displeased to see so proud and powerful an earldom as that of Huntly likely to fall to pieces. On the 28th of October, Murray marched out of Aberdeen at the head of about 2000 men. He found Huntly advantageously stationed at Corrachie, a village about fifteen miles from Aberdeen. Huntly's force was much inferior to that of Murray, scarcely exceeding 500 men. Indeed, it seems doubtful whether he had advanced so much for the purpose of fighting, as for the sake of giving greater weight to his demands to be admitted into the presence of the

Queen, who, he always maintained, had been misled by false council. Perceiving the approach, however, of his inveterate enemy Murray, and considering the superiority of his own position on the hill of Fare, he relinquished all idea of retreat, and determined, at any risk, to accept the battle which was offered him. The contest was of short duration. The broadswords of the Highlanders, even had the numbers been more equal, would have been no match for the spears and regular discipline of Murray's Lowland troops. Their followers fled, but the Earl of Huntly and his two sons, Sir John Gordon, and Adam, a youth of seventeen, disdaining to give ground, were taken prisoners. The Earl, who was advanced in life, was no sooner set upon horseback, to be carried triumphantly into Aberdeen, than the thoughts of the run which was now brought upon himself and family overwhelmed him; and, without speaking a word, or receiving a blow, he fell dead from his horse.*

* KNOX, p. 320; BUCHANAN'S *History*, book xvii.; CHALMERS, vol. i. p. 95, and vol. ii. p. 309, whose authority is a letter of Randolph, preserved in the Paper Office, and written on the evening of the very day on which the battle took place. Randolph, though not on the field himself, had two servants there, and saw the dead body of the Earl when it was brought into Aberdeen. Robertson and others have said, that Huntly, who was very corpulent, was slain on the field, or trodden to death in the pursuit. Chalmers, however, has truth on his side, when he remarks, that "Doctor Robertson, who never saw those instructive letters, (of Randolph,) grossly misrepresents the whole circumstances of that affair at Corrachie. He says — Huntly advanced with a considerable force towards Aberdeen, and filled the Queen's *small court* with the

Sir John Gordon, who was pronounced the author of all these troubles, having been marched into Aberdeen, was tried, condemned, and executed. He may have been an enemy of Murray's, but so far from being a traitor to the Queen,

utmost consternation, and that Murray had only a handful of men in whom he could confide; but, by his steady courage and prudent conduct, gained a miraculous victory.' For the assertion of Murray's having only a *handful of men*, he quotes Keith, p. 230, in which there is not one word of the *force* at Corrachie on either side. The force there spoken of is what the Queen had about her *two months before*, on her first progress into the North, not on her return to Aberdeen, after new troops had been raised, and old ones summoned to that premeditated and barbarous scene." Knox is also a better authority upon this subject than Robertson. He gives the following curious account of the Earl's death and subsequent fate — "The Earl, immediately after his taking, departed this life, without any wound, or yet appearance of any stroke, whereof death might have ensued; and so, because it was late, he was cast over athwart a pair of creels, and so was carried to Aberdeen, and was laid in the tolbooth thereof, that the response which his wife's witches had given might be fulfilled, who all affirmed, (as the most part say,) that that same night he should be in the tolbooth of Aberdeen, without any wound upon his body. When his lady got knowledge thereof, she blamed her principal witch, called Janet, but she stoutly defended herself, (as the Devil can ever do,) and affirmed that she gave a true answer, albeit she spoke not all the truth, for she knew that he should be there dead." Knox, p. 328. "It is a memorable fact," Chalmers elsewhere remarks, "that Huntly and Sutherland" (who was forfeited soon afterwards, as implicated in this pretended rebellion) "were two of those nobles who had sent Bishop Lesly to France, with offers of duty and services to the Queen, while Murray, Maitland, and other considerable men, offered their duties and services to Elizabeth."

he was one of the most devoted admirers and attached subjects she ever had. Yet Murray took care to have it reported, that Sir John, before he was beheaded, confessed, that if his father had taken Aberdeen, he was determined to have "burned the Queen, and as many as were in the house with her."* So palpable a falsehood throws additional light upon the motives which instigated the prime minister throughout. With a refinement of cruelty, he insisted upon Mary giving her public countenance to his proceedings, by consenting to be present at Gordon's death. She was placed at a window, opposite to which the scaffold had been erected. Gordon, who was one of the handsomest men of his times, observed her, and fixing his eyes upon her, "gave her to understand by his looks," says Freebairn, "that her presence sweetened the death he was going to suffer, only for loving her too well." He then fell upon his knees, and prepared to lay his head upon the block. Mary, totally unable to stand this scene, was already suffused in tears; and when she was informed that the unskilful official, instead of striking off the head, had only mangled the neck, she fainted away, and it was some time before she could be recovered. † Adam Gordon was indebted to his youth for saving him from his brother's fate. He lived to be, as his father had been, one of Mary's most faithful servants. Lord Gordon, the late Earl's eldest son, who was with his father-in-law, the Duke of Chatelherault, at Hamilton, was soon afterwards seized and

* RANDOLPH in Keith, p. 230.

† Little did Mary then dream of Fotheringay.

committed to prison, Murray finding it convenient to declare him implicated in the Earl's guilt. Having remained under arrest for some months, he was tried and found guilty; but the execution of his sentence was left at the Queen's pleasure. She sent him to Dunbar Castle; and, as Murray could not prevail upon her to sign the death-warrant, he had recourse to forgery; and, had the keeper of the castle not discovered the deceit, the Lord Gordon's fate would have been sealed. Mary was content with keeping him prisoner, till a change in her administration restored him to favour, and to the forfeited estates and honours of his father.

One other incident connected with these tragical events is worth recording. Means having been taken for the preservation of Huntly's body, it was sent by sea to Leith, and lay for several months at Holyroodhouse. In the Parliament which met in May, 1563, these melancholy remains were produced, to have sentence of forfeiture pronounced against them. To obviate, if possible, this additional calamity, the Countess of Huntly, widow of the deceased, appeared before the Parliament, and, with the spirit of a Gordon, requested to be heard in her late husband's defence. The request was refused; Huntly's castles and houses were rifled of their property; his friends and vassals fined; and many escheats granted to those who had assisted in crushing this once noble family.*

* In BUCHANAN'S *Cameleon*, a severe satire, written at the request of his patron the Earl of Murray, when that nobleman quarreled with Secretary Matland, we have

Murray having now no farther occasion for the Queen's presence at Aberdeen, the Court moved southwards on the 5th of November. On her way home, she visited Dunottar Castle, Montrose, Arbroath, Dundee, Stirling, and Linlithgow. She arrived at Edinburgh on the 22d, having been absent upwards of three months. It is much to be regreted, that she ever took this northern expedition. Though she had little or no share in its guilt, she had allowed herself to be made an effectual tool in the hands of Murray, who was now more powerful than any minister of Mary's ought to have been. He had forced the

the following ridiculous account of the secret motives which led to this disastrous northern expedition. "The Queen, by advice of her uncles, devised to destroy the Earl of Murray, thinking him to be a great bridle to refrain her appetites, and impediment to live at liberty of her pleasure not that he ever used any violence anent her, but that his honesty was so great, that she was ashamed to attempt any thing indecent in his presence. She, then, being deliberate to destroy him, by the Earl of Huntly, went to the north and he in her company; and howbeit the treason was opened plainly, and John Gordon lying not far off the town, (Aberdeen,) with a great power, and the Earl of Murray expressly lodged in a house separate from all other habitation, and his death by divers ways sought,—this Cameleon, (Matland,) whether for simpleness or for lack of foresight, or for boldness of courage, I refer to every man's conscience that doth know him, he alone could see no treason, could fear no danger, and could never believe that the Earl of Huntly would take on hand such an enterprize." This statement, while it gives some notion of the dependence to be placed on Buchanan's accuracy, when influenced by party feelings, betrays, at the same time, the important secret, that Matland saw and felt the injustice of Huntly's persecution. BUCHANAN'S *Cameleon*, p. 9.

Earl of Bothwell into exile ; he had brought the Duke of Chatelherault and Arran into disgrace ; and, having accomplished the death of the courageous Huntly, he had obtained, for himself and friends, the greater part of that nobleman's princely estates and titles. Besides, he was more popular among the Reformers than ever, for the destruction of the Gordon family had been long wished for by them. In short, though without the name, he was the King of Scotland, and his sister Mary was his subject.

CHAPTER X.

CHATELARD'S IMPRUDENT ATTACHMENT, AND KNOX'S
PERSISTING HATRED.

MARY returned from her northern expedition towards the conclusion of the year 1562. The two following years, 1563 and 1564, undistinguished as they were by any political events of importance, were the quietest and happiest she spent in Scotland. Her moderation and urbanity had endeared her to her people; and, in her own well regulated mind, existed a spring of pure and abiding satisfaction. Nevertheless, vexations of various sorts mingled their bitterness in her cup of sweets. An occurrence which took place early in 1563, demands our attention first.

The poet Chatelard has been already mentioned as one of those who sailed in Mary's train, when she came from the continent. He had attached himself to the future Constable of France, the Duke D'Anville, and was a gentleman of good family and fortune, being, by the mother's side, the grand-nephew of the celebrated Chevalier Bayard. In the manly beauty of his person, he somewhat resembled his illustrious ancestor; and, besides being well versed in all the more active

accomplishments of the day, he had softened and refined his manners by an ardent cultivation of every species of belles-lettres. It was this latter circumstance that gained for him the occasional favourable notice of Mary. A poetess herself, as much by nature as by study, her heart warmed towards those who indulged in the same delightful art. Chatelard wrote both in French and Italian; and, finding that Mary deigned to read and admire his productions, he seems thenceforth to have made her the only theme of his enamoured and too presumptuous Muse. To the Queen, this was no uncommon compliment. She received it gracefully, and sometimes even amused herself with answering Chatelard's effusions. This condescension almost turned the young poet's brain. He had left Scotland with the Duke D'Anville, and Mary's other French friends, at the end of the year 1561; but he eagerly seized the opportunity afforded him, by the civil wars in France, to return before twelve months had elapsed. The Duke D'Anville allowed him to revisit Mary's Court, there is every reason to believe, to press upon her attention once more his own pretensions to her hand. But Chatelard, in the indulgence of his mad passion, forgot the duty he owed his master; and, for every word he spoke in prose for the Duke, he spoke in verse twenty for himself. Mary, long accustomed to this species of adulation, and looking upon flattery as a part of a poet's profession, smiled at the more extravagant flights of his imagination, and forgot them as soon as heard. These smiles, however, were fatal to Chatelard. "They tempted him," says Brantome, "to aspire, like Phæton,

at ascending the chariot of the sun." In February, 1562, he had the audacity to steal into the Queen's bed-chamber, armed with sword and dagger, and attempted to conceal himself till Mary should retire to rest. He was discovered by her maids of honour; and Mary, though much enraged at his conduct, was unwilling, for a first offence, to surrender him to that punishment which she knew would be inflicted were it known to her Privy Council. She was contented with reprimanding him severely, and ordering him from her presence.

This leniency was thrown away upon the infatuated Chatelard. Only two nights afterwards, the Queen having, in the interval, left Edinburgh for St Andrews, he again committed the same offence. As she went to St Andrews by the circuitous route of the Queensferry, she slept the first night at Dunfermline, and the second at Burntisland. Here Chatelard insolently followed the Queen into her bed-room, without attempting any concealment, and assigned, as the motive for his conduct, his desire to clear himself from the blame she had formerly imputed to him. Mary commanded him to leave her immediately, but he refused, and even indicated his mad and treasonable intention of proceeding to violence; upon which, the Queen saw the necessity of calling for assistance. The Earl of Murray was at hand, and came instantly. The daring boldness of Chatelard's conduct could no longer be concealed; the proper legal authorities were sent for from Edinburgh; the poet was tried at St Andrews, and was condemned to death. He was executed on the 22d of February, and con-

ducted himself bravely, but as a confirmed enthusiast, even on the scaffold. He would not avail himself of the spiritual advice of any minister or confessor ; but, having read Ronsard's Hymn on Death, he turned towards the place where he supposed the Queen was, and exclaimed, in an unfaltering voice, " Farewell, loveliest and most cruel Princess whom the world contains !" He then, with the utmost composure, laid his head upon the block, and submitted, with all resignation, to his fate. *

Mary remained at St Andrews till the middle of April, when she removed to Loch Leven, where she had better opportunities of enjoying her favourite amusements of hunting and hawking. She went thither in considerable grief, occasioned by the news she had lately received from France, of the death of two of her uncles, the Duke of Guise, and the Grand Prior. The former had been barbarously assassinated at the siege of Orleans, by a Protestant bigot of the name of

* BRANTOMI in Jebb, p. 495, et seq., CHALMERS, vol. 1, p. 101, FRIBAIRN, p. 25, and *Histoire de Marie Stuart*, tom. 1. p. 210. KNOX, as usual, gives a highly indecorous and malicious account of this affair, his drift being to make his readers believe (though he does not venture to say so in direct terms) that Mary had first tempted, and then betrayed Chatelard ; and that she was anxious to have him despatched secretly, that he might not stain her honour by a public confession. If such were really the fact, it is odd that Chatelard should have been brought to a scaffold, which was surrounded by thousands, to whom he might thus have had an opportunity of vindicating himself, but that, even according to Knox himself, he said nothing but what is narrated in the text. Vide KNOX's *History*, p. 325.

Poltrou; and the latter had been fatally wounded at the battle of Dreux.

Alluding triumphantly to the murder of the Duke of Guise, Knox expressed himself in these words,—“*God* has stricken that bloody tyrant.” This enmity to the house of Guise, which Knox carried even beyond the grave, was now no novelty. Some months before, he had taken occasion to preach a severe sermon against Mary and her friends, in consequence of an entertainment she gave at Holyrood, upon receiving news of her uncles’ successes in the French civil wars. Mary had, in consequence, sent for Knox a second time, when he repeated to her the principal part of his sermon, in a manner which made it appear not quite so obnoxious as she had been induced to believe. She had then the magnanimity to tell him, that though his words were sharp, she would not blame him for having no good opinion of her uncles, as they and he were of a different religion; she only wished that he would not publicly misrepresent them, without sufficient evidence upon which to ground his charges. Knox left Mary, “with a reasonable merry countenance,” and some one observing it, remarked, “He is not afraid!” Knox’s answer is characteristic, and does him credit,—“Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman affray me? I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been afraid above measure.”

The third time that Knox was admitted into Mary’s presence was at Loch Leven. This, as indeed every interview she had with the celebrated Reformer, and she had only four, exhibits

her character in a very favourable point of view. It appears, that whilst the Queen reserved for herself the right of celebrating mass in her own chapel, it was prohibited throughout the rest of the kingdom. Some instances had occurred, in which this prohibition had been disregarded; and, upon these occasions, the over-zealous Protestants had not scrupled to take the law into their own hands. Mary wished to convince Knox of the impropriety of this interference. He thought it necessary to defend his brethren; but his answer to the Queen's simple question, — "Will ye allow that they shall take my sword in their hands?" — though laboured, is quite inconclusive. That "the sword of justice is God's," may be a very good apophthegm, but would be a dangerous precept upon which to form a practical rule in the government of a state. Mary, however, knowing by experience that it was hopeless to attempt to change Knox's sentiments, and not wishing to enter into an argument with him, passed to other matters. Though she disliked the rudeness of his manners, she had a respect for the unbending stoicism of his principles; and having too much good sense to hold any one responsible for the peculiarities of his belief, she could not help persuading herself, that she would finally soften the asperity of those with whom she disagreed upon articles of faith alone. With this view, she conversed with Knox upon various confidential matters, and actually did succeed in winning, for the moment, the personal favour of her stern adversary. "This interview," observes Dr M'Crie, "shews how far Mary was capable of dissembling, what artifice she could employ, and what con-

descensions she could make, when she was bent on accomplishing a favourite object." There is surely something very uncharitable in the construction thus put upon the Queen's conduct. She had, no doubt, a favourite object in view; but that object was mutual reconciliation, and the establishment, as far as in her lay, of reciprocal feelings of forbearance and good will among all classes of her subjects. The "artifice" she used, consisted merely in the urbanity of her manners, and her determination to avoid all violence, in return for the violence which had been exhibited towards herself.

Soon after this conference, Mary went to Edinburgh, to open, in person, the first Parliament which had been held since her return to Scotland. Its session continued only from the 26th of May, to the 24th of June, 1563; but, during that short period, business of some importance was transacted. The Queen, on the first day, rode to the Parliament House in her robes of state,—the Duke of Chatelherault carrying the crown, the Earl of Argyle the sceptre, and the Earl of Murray the sword.* She was present on three

* Chalmers, in his account of the opening of this Parliament, seems to have committed an error. He says, (vol. i. p. 105,) "The Queen came to Parliament in her robes, and was crowned." That any coronation took place, is not at all likely. Chalmers surely had forgotten that Mary was crowned at Stirling by Cardinal Beaton just twenty years before. There was no reason why the ceremony should have been repeated. Chalmers' mistake is probably founded upon the following passage, in a letter of Randolph's, quoted by Keith, p. 239,—“The Parliament began 26th May, on which day the Queen came to

or four occasions afterwards ; but, on the first day, she made a speech to the representatives of her people, which was received with enthusiastic applause. This applause was wormwood to Knox, who, with even more than his usual discourtesy towards a sex whom he seems to have despised, says, —“ Such stinking pride of women as was seen at that Parliament, was never before seen in Scotland.” He was heartily borne out in his vituperations by the rest of the preachers. The rich attire which Mary and the ladies of her Court chose to wear, were abominations in their eyes. They held forth to their respective flocks against the “superfluity of their clothes,” the “targeting of their tails,” and “the rest of their vanity.” It was enough, they said, “to draw down God’s wrath, not only upon these foolish women, but upon the whole realm.”

At this Parliament, the earldoms of Huntly and Sutherland were declared forfeited ; an act was passed for preventing any one from summoning the lieges together without the Queen’s consent ; some judicious legislative measures, of a

it in her robes *and crowned.*” The word *was* is an interpolation of Chalmers. But, as Randolph goes on immediately to say, —“ The Duke carried the crown, Argyle the sceptre,” &c. Chalmers probably thought Mary could not at the same time wear the crown. But the crown of state, carried upon state occasions, was no doubt different from the crown made expressly to be worn by the reigning Queen. Buchanan puts the matter beyond a doubt, for he says explicitly, —“ The Queen, *with the crown on her head*, and in her royal robes, went in great pomp to the Parliament House — a new sight to many.” BUCHANAN’S *History*, book xvii.

domestic nature, were established; and an act of oblivion for all acts done from the 6th of March, 1558, to the 1st of September, 1561, was unanimously carried. This act of oblivion was declared to have no reference whatever to a similar act, sanctioned by the Treaty of Edinburgh, the ratification of which was expressly avoided by the Queen. Its object, however, was precisely the same,—namely, to secure the Reformers against any disagreeable consequences which might arise out of the violences they committed during the first heat of the Reformation.

An act of oblivion thus obtained as a free gift from Mary, and not as a consequence of his favourite Treaty of Edinburgh, was by no means agreeable to Knox. He assembled some of the leading Members of Parliament, and urged upon them the necessity of forcing from the Queen a ratification of this treaty. Even the Protestant Lords, however, felt how unjust such a demand would be. The Earl of Murray himself, one of Knox's oldest and staunchest friends, refused to ask Mary to take this step. Knox, in consequence, solemnly renounced Murray's friendship, and a coldness subsisted between them for nearly two years. Foiled in his object, the Reformer had recourse to his usual mode of revenge. He preached another "thundering sermon." The object of this sermon was to convince the people, that, as soon as a Parliament was assembled, they had the Queen in their power to make her do what they chose. "And is this the thankfulness that ye render unto your God," said he, "to betray his cause, when ye have it in your hands,

to establish it as you please?" Before concluding, he adverted to the report that her Majesty would soon be married, and called upon the nobility, if they regarded the safety of their country, to prevent her from forming an alliance with a Papist.

"Protestants as well as Papists," says Knox's biographer, "were offended with the freedom of this sermon, and some who had been most familiar with the preacher, now shunned his company." There must have been something more than usually bitter and unjust in a discourse which produced such results. It was the occasion of the last and most memorable interview which the Reformer had with Mary. As soon as she was made acquainted with the manner in which he had attacked her, she summoned him to her presence. He was accompanied to the palace by Lord Ochiltree, and some other gentlemen; but John Erskine of Dun, a man of a mild and gentle temper, was the only one allowed to enter Mary's apartment along with Knox. The Reformer found his Queen in considerable agitation. She told him she did not believe any prince had ever submitted to the usage she had experienced from him. "I have borne with you," she said, "in all your rigorous manner of speaking, both against myself, and against my uncles; yea, I have sought your favour by all possible means: I offered unto ye presence and audience whensoever it pleased ye to admonish me; and yet I cannot be quit of you." She then passionately burst into tears, so that, as Knox says with apparent satisfaction, they could scarce "get handkerchiefs to hold her eyes dry; for the

tears and the howling, besides womanly weeping, stayed her speech."

The preacher, when he was allowed to speak, complacently assured her Majesty, that when it pleased God to deliver her from that bondage of darkness and error wherein she had been nourished, she would not find the liberty of his tongue offensive. He added, that in the pulpit he was not his own master, but the servant of Him who commanded that he should speak plain, and flatter no flesh upon the face of the earth. Mary told him that she did not wish for his flattery, but begged to know what rank he held in the kingdom to entitle him to interfere with her marriage. Knox, whose self-esteem seldom forsook him, replied, that though neither an Earl, Lord, nor Baron, he was a profitable and useful member of the commonwealth, and that it became him to teach her nobility, who were too partial towards her, their duty. "Therefore, madam," he continued, "to yourself I say that which I spake in public: whensoever the nobility of this realm shall be content, and consent that you be subject to an unlawful husband, they do as much as in them lies to remove Christ, to banish the truth, to betray the freedom of this realm, and, perchance, shall in the end do small comfort to yourself." Language so unwarranted and uncalled for again drew tears from Mary; and Erskine, affected by her grief, attempted to soften down its harshness. Knox looked on with an unaltered countenance, and, comparing his sovereign to his own children, when he saw occasion to chastize them, he said,— "Madam, in God's presence I speak. I never delighted in the weeping of any

of God's creatures ; yea, I can scarcely well abide the tears of mine own boys, when mine own hands correct them. Much less can I rejoice in your Majesty's weeping ; but, seeing I have offered unto ye no just occasion to be offended, but have spoken the truth as my vocation craves of me, I must sustain your Majesty's tears, rather than dare hurt my conscience, or betray the commonwealth, by silence." That he might not be longer under the necessity of sustaining tears he could so ill abide, Mary commanded him to leave her presence, and wait her pleasure in the adjoining room.

Here his friends, who were expecting him, and who had overheard some of the conversation which had just taken place, perceiving how much he had excited the Queen's just indignation, would hardly acknowledge him. In his own words, " he stood as one whom men had never seen." His confidence, however, did not forsake him. Observing Mary's maids of honour seated together, and richly dressed, he took the opportunity, that he might not lose his time, of giving them also some gratuitous advice. " Fair ladies," he said with a smile, " how pleasant were this life of yours, if it should ever abide, and then in the end that we might pass to heaven with this gear : but fy upon that knave, Death, that will come whether we will or not ; and when he has laid on the arrest, then foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and so tender ; and the silly soul, I fear, shall be so feeble, that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, targeting, pearl, nor precious stones." Shortly afterwards, Erskine, who had somewhat pacified

the Queen, came to inform him that he was allowed to go home.*

As the Queen and Knox came just once more into public contact, and that only a few weeks after the date of the above interview, it may be as well to terminate our interference with the affairs of the Reformer in this place. The Queen having gone to Stirling, a disturbance took place one Sunday, during her absence, at the Chapel of Holyrood. Some of her domestics and Catholic retainers had assembled for the celebration of worship, after the form of the Romish Church. The Presbyterians were at the time dispensing in Edinburgh the Sacrament of the Supper, and were consequently more zealous than usual in support of their own cause. Hearing of the Catholic practices carried on at Holyrood, they proceeded thither in a body, burst into the chapel, and drove the priests from the altar. To quell the riot, the Comptroller of the Household was obliged to obtain the assistance of the Magistrates, and, even then, it was not without difficulty that the godly were prevailed upon to disperse. Two of their number, who had been more violent than the rest, had indictments served upon them for "forethought, felony, hamesucken, and invasion of the palace." Knox and his friends determined to save these two men from punishment, at whatever risk. The means they adopted to effect their purpose were of the most seditious kind. It was determined to overawe the judges by displaying the power of the accused; and, with this view, Knox wrote cir-

* KNOX'S *History of the Reformation*, p. 332, et seq.

cular letters to all the principal persons of his persuasion, requesting them to crowd to Edinburgh on the day of trial. He thus assumed to himself the prerogative of calling Mary's subjects together, in direct opposition to one of the acts of the late Parliament. When those letters were shewn to the Queen, and her Privy Council, at Stirling, they were unanimously pronounced treasonable, and Knox was summoned to appear before a convention of nobles, to be held in Edinburgh a few weeks afterwards, for the purpose of trying him. It was, however, intimated to him, that, as the Queen wished to be lenient, if he would acknowledge his fault, and throw himself upon her mercy, little or no punishment would be awarded. He obstinately refused to make the slightest concession, and, in consequence, nearly lost the friendship of Lord Herries, with whom he had been long intimate.

On the day of trial, public curiosity was much excited to know the result. The Lords assembled in the Council Chamber at Holyrood; the Queen took her seat at the head of the table, and Knox stood uncovered at the foot. The proceedings were opened by Secretary Maitland, who stated the grounds of the accusation, and explained in what manner the law had been infringed. Knox made a declamatory and very unsatisfactory reply. The substance of his defence was, that there were lawful and unlawful convocations of the people, and that, as the Act of Parliament could not apply to the assembling of his congregation every Sunday, neither could he be held to have transgressed it by writing letters to the heads of his church,

calling them together upon a matter of vital importance to their religion. The sophistry of this reasoning was easily seen through. It was answered for the Queen, that his sermons were sanctioned by government, and that their tendency was supposed to be peaceable; but that the direct purpose of the letters in question was to exasperate the minds of the lieges. One passage, in particular, was read, in which Knox said, alluding to the two persons who were indicted,—“This fearful summons is directed against them, to make, no doubt, a preparative on a few, that a door may be opened to execute cruelty upon a greater multitude.” “Is it not treason, my Lords,” said Mary, “to accuse a Prince of cruelty? I think there be acts of Parliament against such whisperers.” Knox endeavoured to evade the force of this remark by a very evident quibble. “Madam,” he said, “cast up when you list the acts of your Parliament, I have offended nothing against them; for I accuse not in my letter your Grace, nor yet your nature, of cruelty. But I affirm yet again, that the pestilent Papists, who have inflamed your Grace against those poor men at this present, are the sons of the Devil, and therefore must obey the desires of their father, who has been a liar and a man-slayer from the beginning.” More words were spoken on both sides, but nothing farther was advanced that bore directly upon the subject in hand. It is worthy of notice, however, that Knox, in the course of his defence, actually forgot himself so far as to institute a comparison between Mary and the Roman Nero. At length, having been fully heard, he was

ordered to retire, and, after some discussion, the vote of guilty or not guilty was put to the nobles. There being a considerable preponderance of Protestant Lords at the meeting, it was carried that Knox had not committed any breach of the laws. He evinces his triumph on this occasion, by remarking spitefully in his History,—"That night was neither dancing nor fiddling in the Court; for Madam was disappointed of her purpose, whilk was to have had John Knox in her will by vote of her nobility." His acquittal certainly disappointed Mary; but it only served to convince her more and more, that bigotry and justice were incompatible.

Before concluding this chapter, one of the peculiarities of the Scottish Reformer's mind deserves to be noticed. That he was a strong thinker and a bold man, cannot be denied; yet, as has been before remarked, he himself confesses that he was much addicted to superstition. This weakness, if real, lowers him considerably in the scale of intellect; and, if affected, proves that, amidst all the pretensions of his new doctrines, he still retained a taint of priestly craft. Alluding to the year of which we speak, (1563,) he has incorporated into his History the following remarkable passage:—"God from heaven, and upon the face of the earth, gave declaration that he was offended at the iniquity that was committed even within this realm; for upon the 20th day of January, there fell wet in great abundance, which, in the falling, freezed so vehemently, that the earth was but one sheet of ice. The fowls, both great and small, freezed, and could not fly; many died, and some were

taken and laid before the fire, that their feathers might resolve ; and, in the same month, the sea stood still, as was clearly observed, and neither ebbed nor flowed the space of twenty-four hours. In the month of February, the fifteenth and eighteenth days thereof, were seen in the firmament battles arrayed, spears, and other weapons, and as it had been the joining of two armies. These things were not only observed, but also spoken and constantly affirmed by men of judgment and credit. But the Queen and our Court made merry."* It would thus appear, that Knox's mind was either a strange compound of strength and imbecility, courage and fear, sound sense and superstition, or that duplicity was more a part of his character than is generally supposed.

* KNOX, p. 345.

CHAPTER XI.

THE DOMESTIC LIFE OF MARY, WITH SOME ANECDOTES
OF ELIZABETH.

THE summer and autumn of the year 1563, were spent by Mary in making various excursions through the country. She had not yet visited the west and south-west of Scotland. Shortly after the rising of Parliament, she set out for Glasgow, and from thence went on to Dumbarton and Loch-Lomond. In the neighbourhood of its romantic scenery, she spent some days, and then crossed over to Inveraray, where she visited her natural sister, the Countess of Argyle, to whom she was much attached. Upon leaving Inveraray, she passed over the Argyleshire hills, and came down upon the Clyde at Dunoon. Following the course of the river, she next visited Toward Castle, near the entrance of the Bay of Rothesay. Here she crossed the Frith of Clyde, and, landing in Ayrshire, spent several weeks in that Arcadian district of Scotland. She then went into Galloway, and, before her return to Edinburgh, visited Dumfries, and other towns in the south. Her next excursion was to Stirling, Callander, and Dumblane, in the neighbourhood of which

places she remained till late in the season. The earlier part of 1564 she spent at Perth, Falkland, and St Andrews; and, in the autumn of this year, she again went as far north as Inverness, and from thence into Ross-shire. "The object of that distant journey," says Chalmers, "was not then known, and cannot be completely ascertained." "She repassed through the country of the Gordons, which had once been held out as so frightful. She remained a night at Gartley, where there is still a ruined castle, and the parish whereof belongs even now to the Duke of Gordon. She rode forward to Aberdeen, without seeing Huntly's ghost, and went thence to Dunottar, where she remained a night, and thence, proceeding along the coast road, to Dundee. She then crossed the Tay into Fife, and, diverging for a few days to St Andrews, she returned to Edinburgh about the 26th of September, after an absence of two months."

As we are speedily to enter upon a new and more bustling, though not a happier period, of Mary's life, we should wish to avail ourselves of the present opportunity, to convey to the reader some notion of her domestic habits and amusements, and how, when left to herself, she best liked to fill up her time. The affability and gentleness of her manners, had endeared her even more than her personal attractions, to all who frequented her Court. She had succeeded, by the firm moderation of her measures, not only in giving a more than ordinary degree of popularity to her government, but, by the polished amenity of her bearing, her powers of conversation, and varied accomplishments, she had imparted to

the Court of Holyrood a refinement and elegance sought for in vain under the reign of any of her predecessors. There is a vast difference between an over-degree of luxuriousness and a due attention to the graces. Under the influence of the former, a nation becomes effeminate, and addicted to every species of petty vice ; under that of the latter, its characteristic virtues are called only more efficiently into action. The tree is not the less valuable divested of its rugged bark. It is to the example set by Mary, that we are to attribute, in a great degree, that improvement in the manners and feelings of Scotch society, which speedily placed this country more upon a par with the rest of civilized Europe. Had the precepts of John Knox been strictly followed, the blue bonnets of a rigid and unbending Presbyterianism would probably to this day have decorated the heads of two-thirds of the population. A scarcity which prevailed about the commencement of the year 1564, drew from this stern Reformer the assertion, that “ the riotous feasting and excessive banqueting used in city and country, wheresoever the profane Court repaired, provoked God to strike the staff of bread, and to give his maledictions upon the fruits of the earth.” Mary judged differently of the effects produced by these “ profane banquetings,”—and so will the political economists of more modern times.

It was only after the performance of duties of a severer kind, that Mary indulged in recreation. She sat some hours regularly every day with her Privy Council ; and with her work-table beside her, and her needle in her hand, she heard and offered opinions upon the various affairs of

state. To the poor of every description, she was, like her mother, exceedingly attentive; and she herself benevolently superintended the education of a number of poor children. To direct and distribute her charities, two ecclesiastics were appointed her *elemosynars*; and they, under her authority, obtained money from the Treasurer in all cases of necessity. She gave an annual salary also to an advocate for the poor, who conducted the causes of such as were unable to bear the expenses of a law-suit; and to secure proper attention to these causes, she not unfrequently took her seat upon the bench when they came to be heard. Her studies were extensive and regular. She was well versed in history, of which she read a great deal. Every day after dinner she devoted an hour or two to the perusal of some Latin classic, particularly Livy, under the superintendence of George Buchanan. In reward for his services, she gave him the revenue of the Abbey of Crossraguel in Ayrshire, worth about £500 a-year. This grant was probably made at the request of the Earl of Murray, who was Buchanan's patron, and to whom he always considered himself more indebted than to the Queen. Buchanan, whose talents for controversial writing it was foreseen might be useful, had also a pension of £100 a-year from Elizabeth. Mary had a competent knowledge of astronomy and geography; and her library in the Palace of Holyrood contained, among other things, two globes, which were at that time considered curiosities in Scotland,—“the ane of the heavin, and the uthar of the earth.” She had, besides, several maps, and a few pictures; in particular,

portraits of her father, her mother, her husband Francis II, and Montmorency. Being fond of all sorts of exercises, she frequently received ambassadors and others in the palace gardens. She had two of these,—the southern and the northern; and, not contented with their more limited range, she often extended her walk through the King's Park, and sometimes even along the brow of Salisbury Crags or Arthur Seat. She had gardens and parks attached to all her principal residences throughout Scotland,—at Linlithgow, at Stirling, at Falkland, at Perth, and at St Andrews. It was in one of her gardens at Holyrood that she planted a sycamore she had brought with her from France, and which, becoming in time a large and valuable tree, was an object of curiosity and admiration even in our own day. It was blown down only a few years ago, and its wood was eagerly sought after, to be made into trinkets and costly relics.

To her female followers and friends, Mary was ever attentive and kind. For her four Maries, her companions from infancy, she retained her affection during all the vicissitudes of her fortune. At the period of which we write, she still enjoyed the society of all of them; but Mary Fleming afterwards became the wife of Secretary Maitland, and Mary Livingstone of Lord Semple. Mary Beaton and Mary Seaton remained unmarried. Madame de Pinguillon, who had come with the Queen from France, and to whom she was extremely partial, continued in her service for several years, her husband being appointed Master of the Household. They both returned to

their own country when the troubles in Scotland began. There were many other ladies belonging to the Court, whose names possess no interest, because unconnected with any of the events of history.

Mary's establishment was by no means expensive or extraordinary. She does not appear to have had so great a variety of dresses as Elizabeth, yet she was not ill provided either. Her common wearing gowns, as long as she continued in mourning, which was till the day of her second marriage, were made either of camlet, or damis, or serge of Florence, bordered with black velvet. Her riding-habits were mostly of serge of Florence, stiffened in the neck and body with buckram, and trimmed with lace and ribands. In the matter of shoes and stockings, she seems to have been remarkably well supplied. She had thirty-six pair of velvet shoes, laced with gold and silver; she had ten pair of hose woven of gold, silver, and silk, and three pair woven of worsted of Guernsey. Silk stockings were then a rarity. The first pair worn in England were sent as a present from France to Elizabeth. Six pair of gloves of worsted of Guernsey are also mentioned in the catalogue, still existing, of Mary's wardrobe. She was fond of tapestry, and had the walls of her chambers hung with the richest specimens of it she could bring from France. She had not much plate; but she had a profusion of rare and valuable jewels. Her cloth of gold, her Turkey carpets, her beds and coverlids, her tablecloths, her crystal, her chairs and foot-stools covered with velvet, and garnished with fringes,

were all celebrated in the gossiping chronicles of the day.

The Scottish Queen's amusements were varied, but not in general sedentary. She was, however, a chess-player, and anxious to make herself a mistress of that most intellectual of all games. Archery was one of her favourite out-of-door pastimes, and she indulged in it frequently in her gardens at Holyrood. She revived the ancient chivalric exercise of riding at the ring, making her nobles contend against each other; and crowds frequently collected on the sands at Leith to witness their trials of skill. Tournaments Mary did not so much like, because they tempted the courageous to what she thought unnecessary danger; and when obliged to be present at them in France, it was remarked, that her superior delicacy of feeling always marred her enjoyment, from the anticipation that they might end in bloodshed. These sentiments were probably strengthened by the unfortunate manner in which Henry II met his death. The now almost obsolete, but then fashionable and healthful, amusement of hawking, was much esteemed by Mary. Her attachment to it was hereditary, for both her father and grandfather were passionately fond of it. James V kept a master falconer, who had seven others under him. In 1562, hawks of an approved kind were brought for Mary from Orkney; and in the same year, she sent a present of some of them to Elizabeth. To riding and hunting, as has been already seen, Mary had long been partial.

Within doors, Mary found an innocent gratification in dancing, masquings, and music. She

was herself, as has been seen, a most graceful dancer, moving, according to Melville, "not so high, nor so disposedly," as Elizabeth; by which we may understand that she danced, as they who have been taught in France usually do, with greater ease and self-possession, or, in other words, with less effort—less consciousness that she was overcoming a difficulty in keeping time, and executing the steps and evolutions of the dance. The masques and mummeries, which were occasionally got up, were novelties in Scotland, and excited the anger of the Reformers, though it is difficult to tell why. Randolph, describing a feast at which he was present in 1564, mentions, that, at the first course, some one, representing Cupid, made his appearance, and sung, with a chorus, some Italian verses; at the second, "a fair young maid" sung a few Latin verses; and, at the third, a figure, dressed as Time, concluded the mummy with some wholesome piece of morality. Upon other occasions, several of which will be alluded to afterwards, masques were performed upon a more extensive scale. These amusements were seldom or never allowed to degenerate into dissipation, by being protracted to untimely hours. Mary was always up before eight o'clock,—she supped at seven, and was seldom out of bed after ten.*

The Queen's taste in music had been cultivated from her earliest years. When almost an infant she had *minstrels* attached to her establishment. On her return to Scotland, she had a small band

* KEITH, p. 206 and 249; CHALMERS, vol. i. p. 65, et seq.; WHITTAKER, vol. iii. p. 334, Miss BENDER, vol. ii. p. 145, et seq.

of about a dozen musicians, vocal and instrumental, whom she kept always near her person. Five of these were violers, or players on the viol;* three of them were players on the lute; one or two of them were organists, but the organs in the chapels at Stirling and Holyrood were the only ones which had been saved from the fury of the Reformers; and the rest were singers, who also acted as *chalmers-chields*, or valets-de-chambre. Mary could herself play upon the lute and virginals, and loved to hear concerted music upon all occasions. She even introduced into her religious worship a military band, in aid of the organ, consisting of trumpet, drum, fife, bagpipe, and tabor.

It was as one skilled in music that David Rizzio first recommended himself to Mary. He came to Edinburgh towards the end of the year 1561, in the train of the ambassador from Savoy. He was a Piedmontese by birth, and had received a good education. His father was a respectable professional musician in Turin, who, having a large family, had sent his two sons, David and Joseph, to push their own way in Nice, at the court of the Duke of Savoy. They were both noticed at that court, and were taken into the service of the Duke of Moretto, the ambassador already mentioned. The knowledge which David Rizzio possessed of music, says a French writer, was the least of his talents: He had a polished and ready

* These violers were all Scotchmen, and two of them were of the name of Dow—"a name," says Chalmers, "consecrated to music." Having never heard of this consecration before, we think it not unlikely that Chalmers has mistaken Dow for Gow. *Vide* CHALMERS, vol. ii. p. 72.

wit, a lively imagination, full of pleasant fancies, soft and winning manners, abundance of courage, and still more assurance. "He was," says Melville, "a merry fallow, and a guid musician." He was, moreover, abundantly ugly, and past the meridian of life, as attested by all contemporary writers of any authority. His brother, Joseph, is scarcely mentioned in history, though it appears that he also attached himself to Mary's court. At the time of David's arrival, the Queen's three pages, or *sangsters*, who used to sing trios for her, wanted a fourth as a bass. Rizzio was recommended, and he received the appointment, together with a salary of £80. Being not only by far the most scientific musician in the Queen's household, but likewise well acquainted both with French and Italian, Rizzio contrived to make himself generally useful. In 1564 he was appointed Mary's French secretary, and in this situation he continued till his death.*

An amusing peep into the interior of both the Scottish and English courts, afforded by Sir James Melville, will form an appropriate conclusion to this chapter. Sir James returned from the continent to Scotland in May, 1564. He found the Queen at St Johnstone, and she, aware of his fidelity, requested him to give up thoughts of going back to France, where he had been promised preferment. "She was so affable," says he, "so gracious and discreet, that she won great estimation, and the hearts of many both in England and Scotland, and mine among the rest; so

* JEBB, vol. ii. p. 202; CHAIMERS, vol. i. p. 95, and vol. ii. p. 156; TYTLER'S *Enquiry*, vol. ii. p. 4, et seq.; *Histoire de Marie Stuart*, p. 218; and LAING, vol. i. p. 10.

that I thought her more worthy to be served for little profit, than any other prince in Europe for great commodity." But Mary had too proud a spirit to submit to be served for nothing. She was by nature liberal almost to a fault. Out of her French dowry she settled upon Melville a pension of a thousand merks, and in addition, she begged him to accept of the heritage of the lands of Auchtermuchty, near Falkland. These he refused, as he was unwilling that she should dismember, on his account, her own personal property; but they were subsequently given to some one less scrupulous. Sir James was soon afterwards sent by Mary on an embassy to Elizabeth, principally for the sake of expediting some matters connected with Mary's intended matrimonial arrangements.

The morning after his arrival in London, he was admitted to an audience by Elizabeth, whom he found pacing in an alley in her garden. The business upon which he came being arranged satisfactorily, Melville was favourably and familiarly treated by the English Queen. He remained at her court nearly a fortnight, and conversed with her Majesty every day, sometimes thrice on the same day. Sir James, who was a shrewd observer, had thus an opportunity of remarking the many weaknesses and vanities which characterized Elizabeth. In allusion to her extreme love of power, he ventured to say to her when she informed him she never intended to marry, "Madam, you need not tell me that; I know your stately stomach. You think, if you were married, you would be but Queen of England, and now you are King and Queen both; you may not suffer a commander."

Elizabeth was fortunately not offended at this freedom. She took Sir James, upon one occasion, into her bed-chamber, and opened a little case, in which were several miniature pictures. The pretence was to shew him a likeness of Mary, but her real object was, that he should observe in her possession a miniature of her favourite the Earl of Leicester, upon which she had written with her own hand, "My Lord's picture." When Melville made this discovery, Elizabeth affected a little amiable confusion. "I held the candle," says Sir James, "and pressed to see my Lord's picture; albeit she was loth to let me see it; at length, I by importunity obtained the sight thereof, and asked the same to carry home with me unto the Queen; which she refused, alleging she had but that one of his." At another time, Elizabeth talked with Sir James of the different costumes of different countries. She told him she had dresses of many sorts; and she appeared in a new one every day during his continuance at court. Sometimes she dressed after the English, sometimes after the French, and sometimes after the Italian fashion. She asked Sir James which he thought became her best. He said the Italian, "whilk pleasit her weel; for she delighted to show her golden-coloured hair, wearing a kell and bonnet as they do in Italy. Her hair was redder than yellow, and apparently of nature." Elizabeth herself seems to have been quite contented with its hue, for she very complacently asked Sir James, whether she or Mary had the finer hair? Sir James having replied as politely as possible, she proceeded to inquire which he considered the more

beautiful? The ambassador quaintly answered, that the beauty of either was not her worst fault. This evasion would not serve; though Melville, for many sufficient reasons, was unwilling to say any thing more definite. He told her, however, that she was the fairest queen in England, and Mary the fairest in Scotland. Still this was not enough. Sir James ventured, therefore, one step farther. "They were baith," he said, "the fairest ladies of their courts, and that the Queen of England was whiter, but our Queen was very lusome." Elizabeth next asked which of them was of highest stature? Sir James told her the Queen of Scots. "Then she said the Queen was over heigh, and that herself was neither over heigh nor over laigh. Then she askit what kind of exercises she used? I said, that as I was dispatchit out of Scotland, the Queen was but new come back from the Highland hunting; and that, when she had leisure frae the affairs of her country, she read upon guid buiks the histories of divers countries; and sometimes would play upon the lute and virginals. She spearit gin she played weel? I said reasonably for a Queen."

This account of Mary's accomplishments piqued Elizabeth's vanity, and determined her to give Melville some display of her own. Accordingly, next day one of the Lords in waiting took him to a quiet gallery, where, as if by chance, he might hear the Queen play upon the virginals. After listening a little, Melville perceived well enough that he might take the liberty of entering the chamber whence the music came. Elizabeth coquettishly left off as soon as she saw him, and, coming forward, tapped him with her hand, and

affected to feel ashamed of being caught, declaring that she never played before company, but only when alone, to keep off melancholy. Melville made her a flattering speech, protesting that the music he had heard was of so exquisite a kind, that it had irresistibly drawn him into the room. Elizabeth, who does not seem to have thought as people are usually supposed to do in polite society, that, "comparisons are odious," could not rest satisfied, without putting, as usual, the question, whether Mary or she played best? Melville gave the English Queen the palm. Being now in good humour, she resolved that Sir James should have a specimen of her learning, which it is well known degenerated too much into pedantry. She praised his French, asking if he could also speak Italian, which, she said, she herself spoke reasonably well. She spoke to him also in Dutch; but Sir James says it was not good. Afterwards, she insisted upon his seeing her dance; and when her performance was over, she put the old question, whether she or Mary danced best? Melville answered, "The Queen dancit not so high and disposedly as she did." Melville returned to Scotland, "convinced in his judgment," as he says, "that in Elizabeth's conduct there was neither plain-dealing nor upright meaning, but great dissimulation, emulation, and fear that Mary's princely qualities should too soon chase her out, and displace her from the kingdom."

Sir James, by way of contrast, concludes this subject with the following interesting account of Mary's well-won popularity, prudence, modesty, and good sense. "The Queen's Majesty, as I

have said, after her returning out of France to Scotland, behaved herself so princely, so honourably and discreetly, that her reputation spread in all countries; and she was determined, and also inclined to continue in that kind of comeliness even to the end of her life, desiring to hold none in her company, but such as were of the best quality and conversation, abhorring all vices and vicious persons, whether they were men or women; and she requested me to assist her in giving her my good counsel how she might use the meetest means to advance her honest intention; and in case she, being yet young, might forget herself in any unseemly gesture or behaviour, that I would warn her thereof with my admonition, to forbear and reform the same. Which commission I refused altogether; saying, that her virtuous actions, her natural judgment, and the great experience she had learned in the company of so many notable princes in the court of France, had instructed her so well, and made her so able, as to be an example to all her subjects and servants. But she would not have it so, but said she knew that she had committed divers errors upon no evil meaning, for lack of the admonition of loving friends, because that the most part of courtiers commonly flatter princes, to win their favour, and will not tell them the verity, fearing to tine their favour; and therefore she adjured me and commanded me to accept that charge, which I said was a ruinous commission, willing her to lay that burden upon her brother, my Lord of Murray, and the Secretary Lethington; but she said that she would not take it in so good a part of them as of me. I said, I

feared it would cause me, with time, to tine her favour ; but she said, it appeared I had an evil opinion of her constancy and discretion, which opinion, she doubted not but I would alter, after that I had essayed the occupation of that friendly and familiar charge. In the meantime, she made me familiar with all her most urgent affairs ; but chiefly in her dealing with any foreign nation. She showed unto me all her letters, and them that she received from other princes ; and willed me to write unto such princes as I had acquaintance of, and to some of their counsellors ; wherein I forgot not to set out her virtues, and would show her again their answers, and such occurrences as passed at the time between countries, to her great contentment. For she was of a quick spirit, and anxious to know and to get intelligence of the state of other countries ; and would be sometimes sad when she was solitary, and glad of the company of them that had travelled in foreign parts."*

This testimony in Mary's favour, from a contemporary author of so much respectability, is worth volumes of ordinary panegyric.

* MELVILLE'S *Memoirs*, p. 110-130. The French historian, Castelneau, speaks in exactly similar terms. When sent by the King of France as ambassador to Mary, " I found that princess," he says, " in the flower of her age, esteemed and adored by her subjects, and sought after by all neighbouring states, in so much that there was no great fortune or alliance that she might not have aspired to, not only because she was the relation and successor of the Queen of England, but because she was endowed with more graces and perfection of beauty than any other princess of her time." CASTELNAU in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 460.

CHAPTER XII.

MARY'S SUITORS, AND THE MACHINATIONS OF
HER ENEMIES.

MARY had now continued a widow for about three years, but certainly not from a want of advantageous offers. It was in her power to have formed almost any alliance she chose. There was not a court in Europe, where the importance of a matrimonial connexion with the Queen of Scotland, and heir-apparent to the English throne, was not acknowledged. Accordingly, ambassadors had found their way to Holyrood Palace from all parts of the continent. The three most influential suitors were, the Duke of Anjou, brother of Mary's late husband, Francis II, and afterwards King of France, on the death of his other brother, Charles IX; the Archduke Charles of Austria, third son of the Emperor Ferdinand; and Don Carlos of Spain, heir-apparent to all the dominions of his father, Philip II. None of these personages, however, were destined to be successful. The death of the Duke of Guise, and the greater influence which consequently fell into the hands of Catharine de Medicis, made some alteration in the Duke of Anjou's prospects,

and diminished his interest with Mary. Besides, it was considered unadvisable to marry the brother of a late husband. The Archduke Charles found, that his proposals to the Scottish Queen, excited so much the jealousy of his elder brother, Maximilian, that it became necessary for him reluctantly to quit the field. It is not improbable that Don Carlos might have been listened to, had not Mary found it necessary, for reasons which will be mentioned immediately, to give up all thoughts of a continental alliance. Had she married Carlos, she might have saved him from the untimely fate inflicted by parental cruelty in 1568.

Of the numerous sovereigns who at this time watched Mary's intentions with the most jealous anxiety, none felt so deeply interested in the decision she might ultimately come to, as Elizabeth. To her, Mary's marriage was a matter of the very last importance. If the Scottish Queen connected herself with a powerful Catholic prince, her former claims upon the English throne might be renewed; and, assisted by continental forces, she might ultimately deprive Elizabeth of her crown. Even though she should not proceed to such extremities, if she had a Catholic husband, and more especially if there were any children by the marriage, all the Catholics of Europe would rally round her, and her power would be such, that her requests would be tantamount to commands. So far as Elizabeth's own interests, and those of the kingdom over which she reigned, were involved, she was called upon to pay all due attention to the proceedings of so formidable a rival as Mary. But the English Queen's selfish

and invidious policy far over-stepped the limits marked out by the laws of self-defence. Having determined against marriage herself, she could not bear to think that the Queen of Scots should be any thing but a "barren stock" also. It made her miserable to know that her power should end with her life, whilst Mary might become the mother of a long line of kings. She hoped, however, though she did not dare to avow her object, to be able to exert such influence with Murray and the Scottish Reformers, that, through their united machinations, Mary would find it impossible ever to form another matrimonial alliance; and, with this view, her first step was to inform "her good sister," that if she married without her consent, she would have little difficulty in prevailing upon the parliament of England to set aside her succession.

Driven hither and thither by so many contrary opinions and contending interests, it was no easy matter for the Scottish Queen to come to a final determination upon this subject. Although, in her own words, "not to marry she knew could not be for her, and to defer it long many incommodities might ensue," she at the same time saw that there were insuperable reasons against a foreign alliance. The loss of her best and most powerful continental friend, the Duke of Guise, was one of these; another was, the avowed wish of Elizabeth and the English nation; and the third, and that which weighed most forcibly, the earnest entreaties of her own subjects. The great proportion of the inhabitants of Scotland were now Protestants; and to have attempted to place over them a foreign Catholic Prince,

would have been to have incurred the risk of throwing them at once into the arms of Elizabeth, and of losing their allegiance for ever. Mary was therefore willing to make a virtue of necessity, and to allow herself to be guided very much by "her good sister's discretion." This concession to the English Queen was far from being agreeable to Catharine de Medicis and the French Court. It seemed to be paving the way for a cessation of that friendship which had so long existed between France and Scotland. To avoid such consequences, Catharine, altering her policy, began to treat Mary with every mark of attention. She paid up the dowry she received from France, which had fallen into arrears, and requested Mary to exercise as much patronage and influence in that country as she chose.

Elizabeth, however, had already suggested a husband for her; and, to the astonishment of every body, had named her favourite minion, Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Although the proposal of an alliance with one of Elizabeth's own subjects, and one, too, whom she had raised from comparative obscurity, was regarded by Mary as little else than an insult, she agreed, that two commissioners upon her part, Murray and Maitland, should meet two from England, the Duke of Bedford and Randolph, to discuss the expediency of the match. At the conference, which took place at Berwick, it was stated for Mary, that she could never condescend to marry a newly-created English Earl, having so long a list of princes of the blood royal of the noblest houses of Europe among her suitors; and it was added, boldly, that Elizabeth seemed somewhat

deficient even in self-respect, when she could think of recommending such a husband for a Queen, her kinswoman. It is not at all likely, that either Elizabeth, or the Earl of Leicester, expected or wished any other answer. Elizabeth could hardly have done without her favourite; and the Earl would have fallen into irretrievable disgrace, had he dared to confess a preference for any mistress over the one he already had.

It was soon after this conference, that Randolph, by Elizabeth's directions, repaired to the Queen at St Andrews, to ascertain from her own lips what were her real sentiments on the subject of marriage. He found her living very quietly in a merchant's house, with a small train. She had been wearied with the state and show of a court, and had determined to pass some weeks in her favourite retirement of St Andrews, more as a subject than a queen. She made Randolph dine and sup with her every day during his visit; and she frequently, upon these occasions, drank to the health of Elizabeth. When Randolph attempted to introduce matters of business, Mary said to him playfully, "I sent for you to be merry, and to see how like a bourgeoisie wife I live with my little troop; and you will interrupt our pastime with your great and grave matters! I pray ye, sir, if ye be weary here, return home to Edinburgh; and keep your gravity and great embassy until the Queen come thither; for, I assure ye, you shall not get her here, nor I know not myself where she is become. Ye see neither cloth of estate, nor such appearance that you may think that there is a Queen here; nor I would not that you should think that I am she at

'St Andrews, that I was at Edinburgh." Randolph was thus, for the time, fairly bantered out of his diplomatic gravity. But one day that he rode abroad with the Queen, he renewed the subject. Mary then told him, that she saw the necessity of marrying, and that she would rather be guided in her choice by England than by France, or by any other country, after Scotland. She frankly added, that her reason for paying this deference to Elizabeth, was to obtain an acknowledgment of her right of succession to the English crown. She was making a sacrifice, she said, in renouncing the much more splendid alliances which had been offered her ; and she could not be expected to do so without a return on the part of Elizabeth. Fearful that the crafty Randolph might make a bad use of this open confession, she suddenly checked herself :—" I am a fool," she said, " thus long to talk with you ; you are too subtle for me to deal with." But Randolph finding her in a communicative mood, was unwilling that the conversation should drop so soon. Some farther discourse took place, and Mary, in conclusion, gave utterance to the following sentiments, which do honour both to her head and heart. " How much better were it," said she, " that we two, being queens, so near of kin and neighbours, and being in one isle, should be friends, and live together like sisters, than, by strange means, divide ourselves to the hurt of us both ; and to say that we may for all that live friends, we may say and prove what we will, but it will pass both our powers. You repute us poor ; but yet you have found us cumbersome enough. We have had loss ; ye have taken scaith. Why may it not

be between my sister and me, that we, living on peace and assured friendship, may give our minds, that some as notable things may be wrought by us women, as by our predecessors have been done before? Let us seek this honour against some other, rather than fall to debate amongst ourselves."*

Mary, however, was ere long convinced of Elizabeth's want of sincerity, and formed, therefore, a matrimonial plan of her own, which, she flattered herself, would be considered judicious by all parties. It will be recollected, that, during the troubles which ensued soon after Mary's birth, Matthew, Earl of Lennox, having drawn upon himself the suspicion, both of the Protestant and Catholic parties in Scotland, retired into England, where Henry VIII gave him his niece in marriage. The Lady Margaret Douglas was Henry the Eighth's grandchild by his eldest daughter the Princess Margaret, who, upon the decease of her first husband, James IV, had married the Earl of Angus, of which marriage the Lady Margaret was the issue. Lennox, belonging as he did to the house of Stuart, was himself related to the royal family of Scotland; and his wife, failing the children of Henry VIII, and the direct line of succession by her mother's first husband, James IV, in which line Mary stood, was the legal heir to the crown of England. The first child of this marriage died in infancy. The second, afterwards known as Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, was born in 1546, and was, consequently, about four years younger than Mary.

* KEITH, p. 269; CHALMERS, vol. i. p. 123.

This disparity in point of years, though unfortunate in another point of view, was not such as to preclude the possibility of an alliance between two persons, in whose veins flowed so much of the blood of the Stuarts and the Tudors.

Henry VIII had, along with his niece, bestowed upon Lennox English lands, from which he derived a yearly revenue of fifteen hundred merks : the Earl's own estates in Scotland were forfeited ; so that he thus came to be considered more an English than a Scottish subject. He had long, however, nourished the secret hope of restoring his fortunes in his native land. His wife, who was a woman of an ambitious and intriguing spirit, induced him, at an early period, to educate his son with the view of his aspiring to the hand of the Scottish Queen. On the death of Francis II, she went herself to Paris, for the purpose of ingratiating herself with Mary, and securing a favourable opinion for Darnley. Mary, probably, gave her some hope that she might, at a future date, take her proposals into consideration ; for it appears, by some papers still preserved in the British Museum, that few rejoiced more sincerely at the Queen's safe arrival in Scotland, than Lady Lennox. She is said to have fallen on her knees, and, with uplifted hands, thanked God that the Scottish Queen had escaped the English ships. For this piece of piety, and to shew her the necessity of taking less interest in the affairs of Elizabeth's rival, Cecil sent Lady Lennox to prison for some months.

Seeing the difficulties which stood in the way of all her other suitors, Mary, in the year 1564, began to think seriously of Darnley. A marriage

with him would unite, in the person of the heir of such marriage, the rival claims of the Stuarts and the Tudors upon the English succession, failing issue by Elizabeth; and it would give to Scotland a native prince of the old royal line. It was difficult to see what reasonable objections could be made to such an alliance; and that she might at all events have an opportunity of judging for herself. Mary granted the Earl of Lennox permission to return to Scotland, in 1564, after an exile of twenty years, and promised to assist him in reclaiming his hereditary rights. Elizabeth, who was well aware of the ultimate views with which this journey was undertaken, and had certainly no desire to forward their accomplishment, made nevertheless no opposition to it. With her usual sagacity, she calculated that much discord and jealousy would arise, out of the Earl's suit in favour of his son. She knew that the house of Hamilton, whose claims upon the Scottish crown were publicly recognized, looked upon the Lennox family as its worst enemies; and that the haughty nobility of Scotland would ill brook to see a stripling elevated above the heads of all of them. Besides, the principal estates of Lennox now lay in England; and, in the words of Robertson, "she hoped by this pledge to keep the negotiation entirely in her own hands, and to play the same game of artifice and delay which she had planned out, if her recommendation of Leicester had been more favourably received."

In the Parliament which assembled towards the end of the year 1564, Lennox was restored to his estates and honours. Such of his possessions

as had passed into the hands of the Earl of Argyle, were surrendered with extreme reluctance; and the Duke of Chatelherault, dreading the marriage with Darnley, continued obstinate in his hatred. The Earl of Murray, too, aware that this new connection would be a fatal blow to his influence, set his face against it from the first. Maitland, on the contrary, who felt that he had been hitherto kept too much under by the prime minister, did not anticipate with any regret the decline of his ascendancy. The Secretary, and most of the other members of the Privy Council, were assiduously courted by Lennox. He made presents both to the Queen and them of valuable jewels; but to Murray, whose enmity he knew, he gave nothing.* That Murray's weight in the government, however, had not yet

* Chalmers says, (vol. 1 p. 120,) that the "Countess of Lennox sent Murray a diamond," which, though true, is not supported by the authority he quotes—Randolph in Keith, who says, (p. 259,)—"Lennox giveth to the Queen, and most of the council, jewels; but none to Murray." The authority Chalmers ought to have quoted is Melville, (p. 127,) who, on his return from his embassy to England, brought some presents with him from Lady Lennox, who was then not aware of the precise state of parties in Scotland. "My Lady Lennox," says Melville, "sent also tokens, to the Queen, a ring with a fair diamond; an emerald to my Lord her husband, who was yet in Scotland; a diamond to my Lord of Murray; an orloge, or montre (watch) set with diamonds and rubies, to the Secretary Lethington, a ring with a ruby to my brother Sir Robert, for she was still in good hope that her son, my Lord Darnley, should come better speed than the Earl of Leicester, anent the marriage with the Queen. She was a very wise and discreet matron, and had many favourers in England for the time."

decreased, is apparent, from his procuring an enactment, to gratify the Protestants, in the Parliament of this year, making the attending of mass, except in the Queen's chapel, punishable with loss of goods, lands, and life: and the Archbishop of St Andrews having infringed this act, was imprisoned, in spite of Mary's intercession, for some months.

Early in 1565, Darnley obtained leave from Elizabeth to set out for Scotland. His ostensible purpose was to visit his father, and to see the estates to which he had been recently restored; but that his real object was to endeavour to win the good graces of Mary, was no secret. Elizabeth's wish being to involve Mary in a quarrel, as well with some of her own nobility, as with England, there was much art in the plan she laid for its accomplishment. She consented that the Earl of Lennox should go into Scotland to recover his forfeited estates, and that his son should follow him to share in his father's good fortune; she even went the length of recommending them both to the especial favour of the Scottish Queen; but of course said not a word of any suspicions she entertained of the projected alliance. As soon as it should appear that Mary's resolution was taken, she was prepared to affect the greatest indignation at the whole proceedings, and to pretend that they had been cunningly devised and executed, hoping either to break off the match altogether, or to make Mary's nuptial couch, any thing but a bed of roses. Thus was the Scottish Queen to be systematically harassed, and made miserable, to

gratify the splenetic jealousy, and lull the selfish terrors, of her sister of England.

Darnley, in the midst of a severe snow storm, travelled with all expedition to Edinburgh. Upon his arrival he found that Mary was at Wemyss Castle in Fife, whither, at his father's desire, he immediately proceeded. The impression which it is said he made upon the Queen, at even his first interview, has been much exaggerated. Chalmers, alluding principally to Robertson's account of this matter, acutely remarks, "The Scottish historians would have us believe, that Mary fell desperately in love with Darnley at first sight; they would have us suppose, as simply as themselves, that the widowed Queen, at the age of twenty-two," (it should have been twenty-three,) "who knew the world, and had seen the most accomplished gentlemen in Europe, was a boarding-school miss, who had never till now seen a man." Mary received Darnley frankly, and as one whom she wished to like; but she had been too long accustomed to admiration, to be prepared to surrender her heart at the first glance. It was not Mary's character to allow herself to be won before she was wooed. She was, no doubt, glad to perceive that Darnley was one of the handsomest young men of the day. She said playfully, that "he was the lustiest and best proportioned long man she had seen." She might have said a good deal more; for all historians agree in noticing the grace of his person, the easy elegance of his carriage, the agreeable regularity of his features, and the animated expression of his countenance, lighted up, as it was,

by a pair of dazzling eyes. He excelled, too, in all the showy and manly accomplishments so much in vogue among the young nobility. His riding and dancing were unrivalled; and, to gratify Mary, he avowed, whether real or affected, a great fondness for poetry and music. Melville says quaintly, "He was of a heigh stature, lang and small, even and brent up; well instructed from his youth in all honest and comely exercises." *

* In confirmation of the fact, that he was "well mstructed," it may be mentioned, that, at a very early age, he wrote a tale, called, "*Utopia Nova*." Some ballads are also ascribed to him; and Bishop Montague, in his Preface to the Works of James VI, mentions, that he translated Valerius Maximus into English. His only literary effort, which seems to have been preserved, is a letter he wrote, when about nine years old, from Temple Newsome, his father's principal seat in Yorkshire, to his cousin, Mary Tudor, Queen of England. It deserves insertion as a curiosity —

"Like as the monuments of ancient authors, most triumphant, most victorious, and most gracious Princess, declare, how that a certain excellent musician, Timotheus Musicus, was wont, with his sweet-proportioned and melodious harmony, to inflame Alexander the Great, Conqueror and King of Macedonia, to civil wars, with a most fervent desire, even so, I, remembering with myself oftentimes how that (over and besides such manifold benefits as your Highness heretofore hath bestowed on me,) it hath pleased your most excellent Majesty lately to accept a little plot of my simple penning, which I termed *Utopia Nova*, for the which, it being base, vile, and named, your Majesty hath given me a rich chain of gold; —the noise (I say) of such instruments, as I hear now and then, (although their melody differ much from the sweet strokes and sounds of King Alexander's Timotheus,) do not only persuade and move, yea prick and spur me

It was not, however, Darnley's exterior in which Mary and her subjects were principally interested. The bent which nature and education had given to his mind and character, was a much more important subject of consideration. With regard to his religious sentiments, they seem to have sat loosely upon him; though his mother was a Catholic, he himself professed

forward, to endeavour my wits daily (all vanities set apart) to virtuous learning and study, being thereto thus encouraged so oftentimes by your Majesty's manifold benefits, gifts, and rewards; but also I am inflamed and stirred, even now, my tender age notwithstanding, to be serving your Grace, wishing every hair in my head for to be a worthy soldier of that self same heart, mind, and stomach, that I am of. But whereas I perceive that neither my wit, power, nor years, are, at this present, corresponding unto this my good will,—these shall be therefor, (most gracious Princess,) most humbly rendering unto your Majesty immortal thanks for your rich chain, and other your Highness' sundry gifts, given unto me without any my deservings, from time to time; trusting in God one day, of my most bounden duty, to endeavour myself, with my faithful hearty service, to remember the same. And being afraid, with these my superfluous words, to inturb (God forfend!) your Highness, whose most excellent Majesty is always, and specially now, occupied in most weighty matters, thus I make an end. Praying unto Almighty God most humbly and faithfully to preserve, keep, and defend your Majesty, long reigning over us all, your true and faithful subjects, a most victorious and triumphant Princess. Amen.—From Temple Newsome, the 28th March, 1554.

Your Majesty's most bounden and obedient
subject and servant,

HENRY DARNLEY.*

* ELLIS'S Collection of "*Original Letters Illustrative of English History.*" Second Series, vol. II. p. 249.

adherence to the Established Church of England.* In Scotland, he saw the necessity of ingratiating himself with the Reformers; and he went, the very first Sunday he spent in Edinburgh, to hear Knox preach. But Darnley's great misfortune was, that, before he had learned any thing in the school of experience, and in the very heat and fire of youth, he was raised to an eminence which, so far from enabling him to see over the heads of other men, only rendered him giddy, and made his inferiority the more apparent. He was naturally of a headstrong and violent temper, which might, perhaps, have been tamed down by adversity, but which only ran into wilder waste in the sunshine of prosperity. He was passionately fond of power, without the ability to make a proper use of it. It is not unlikely that, had he continued a subject for some years longer, and associated with men of sound judgment and practical knowledge, he might have divested himself of some of the follies of youth, and acquired a contempt for many of its vices. But his honours came upon him too suddenly; and the intellectual strength of his character, never very great, was crushed under the load. Conscious of his inability to cope with persons of talent, he sought to gather round him those who were willing to flatter him on account of his rank, or to join him in all kinds of dissipation, with the view of sharing his ill-regulated liberality. Of the duties of a courtier, he knew something; but of those of a politician, he was profoundly ignorant. The polish of his manners gained him

* KEITH, p. 278.

friends at first; but the reckless freedom with which he gave utterance to his hasty opinions and ill-grounded prejudices, speedily converted them into enemies. He had only been a short time in Scotland, when he remarked to one of Murray's brothers, who pointed out to him on the map the Earl's lands, "that they were too extensive." Murray was told of this; and, perceiving what he had to expect when Darnley became King, he took his measures accordingly. Mary, whose affliction it was to have husbands far inferior to herself in mental qualifications, beseeched Darnley to be more guarded in future. That he was somewhat violent and self-sufficient, she did not feel to be an insuperable objection, considering, as she did, the political advantages that might accrue from the alliance. She hoped that time would improve him; and, besides, she did not yet know the full extent of his imperfections, as he had, of course, been anxious to shew her only the fairer side of his character. Melville speaks of him, even when he came to be most hated, as a young prince, who failed rather for lack of good counsel than of evil will. "It appeared to be his destiny," says he, "to like better of flatterers and evil company, than of plain speakers and good men; whilk has been the wreck of many princes, who, with good company, might have produced worthy effects." Randolph himself allows, that, for some weeks, his "behaviour was very well liked, and there was great promise of him." He had been about a month at court before he ventured to propose himself as a husband to Mary, and, at first, she gave him but small encouragement, telling him

she had not yet made up her mind, and refusing to accept a ring, which he offered her.* This was not like one who had fallen in love at first sight. But the Queen invariably conducted herself with becoming self-respect towards Darnley, permitting, as Miss Benger remarks, rather than inviting, his attentions.

Darnley, thus finding, that, though the ball was at his foot, the game was not already won, saw it necessary to engage, with his father's assistance, as powerful a party as possible to support his pretensions. Sir James Melville was his friend, and spoke in his favour to Mary. All the Lords who hated or feared Murray did the same; among whom were the Earls of Athol and Caithness, and the Lords Ruthven and Hume. A still more useful agent than any of these, Darnley found in David Rizzio, who, as the Queen's French secretary, and one whose abilities she respected, had a good deal of influence with her. Rizzio knew, that, for this very reason, he was hated by Murray, and others of the Privy Council. He was, therefore, not ill pleased to find himself sought after by her future husband, for he hoped thus to retain his place at court, and perhaps to rise upon the ruin of some of those who wished his downfall. An accidental illness which overtook Darnley, when the Queen, with her court, was at Stirling, about the beginning of April, 1565, was another circumstance in his favour. At first, his complaint was supposed to be a common cold, but in a few days it turned out to be the measles. The natural anxiety

* MELVILLE'S *Memoirs*, p. 134.

which Mary felt for Darnley's recovery, induced her to exhibit a more tender interest in him than she had hitherto done. She paid him the most flattering attentions, and continued them unwearingly, though her patient was provokingly attacked by an ague, almost immediately after his recovery from the measles.*

It is worth noticing, that, while Mary was thus occupied in attending to Darnley, the Earl of Bothwell returned to Scotland from his involuntary banishment. His former misdemeanours were not yet forgotten, and he was summoned by the Queen and Murray to take his trial in Edinburgh; but, not liking to trust himself in the hands of his ancient enemies, he again left the country for six months. He did not depart before giving utterance to several violent threats against Murray and Maitland, and speaking so disrespectfully of the Queen, that Randolph says she declared to him, upon her honour, that he should never receive favour at her hands.†

The Queen of Scots being now resolved to bestow her hand on Darnley, sent her Secretary, Maitland, to London, to intimate her intentions, and to obtain Elizabeth's approbation. This was

* Mary's conduct upon this occasion may be compared with that of Elizabeth to her favourite Essex, but the Scottish Queen's motives were of a far purer and better kind. "When Essex," says Walpole, "acted a fit of sickness, not a day passed without the Queen's sending after to see him; and she once went so far as to sit long by him, and order his broths and things." "It may be observed," remarks Chalmers, "that Mary was engaged (or rather secretly resolved) to marry Darnley, but Elizabeth only flirted with Essex."

† KEITH, p. 270, and CHALMERS, vol. ii. p. 214, et seq.

the very last thing Elizabeth meant to give. The matter had now arrived exactly at the point to which she had all along wished to bring it. She had prevailed upon Mary to abandon the idea of a foreign alliance; she had induced her to throw away some valuable time in ridiculous negotiations concerning the Earl of Leicester; she had consented, first that the Earl of Lennox, and then that his son, Darnley, should go into Scotland; and she did not say a single syllable against the proposed alliance, till she had allowed Mary to be persuaded, that no marriage in Christendom could be more prudent. It was now that the cloven foot was to betray itself; that her faction was to be called upon to exert itself in Scotland; that the cup was to be dashed from Darnley's lips; and that Mary was to be involved in the vortex of civil dissension. The historian Castelnau, whom Mary at this time sent as her ambassador to France, and who there obtained their Majesties' consent to the marriage, mentions, that, when he returned through England, he found the Queen much colder than formerly, complaining that Mary had subtracted her relation and subject, and that she was intending to marry him without her permission, and against her approbation. "And yet I am sure," adds Castelnau, "that these words were very far from her heart; for she used all her efforts, and spared nothing to set this marriage a-going."*

Elizabeth seldom did things by halves. She assembled her Privy Council, and, at the instigation of Cecil, they gave it as their unanimous

* CASTELNAU in Keith, p. 277.

opinion, that "this marriage with my Lord Darnley appeared to be unmeet, unprofitable, and directly prejudicial to the sincere amity between both the Queens."* Upon what reasons this sage opinion was founded, the Privy Council did not condescend to state. It is not difficult, however, to do so for them, the more especially as an official paper is still preserved, drawn up by Cecil himself, in which the explanations he attempts serve to disclose more fully his own and his Queen's policy. He did not think this marriage "meet or profitable;" because, in the first place, it would have given great content to those who were anxious that Mary's succession to the English crown should not be set aside; and, in the second place, because, by representing it as dangerous, a plausible pretence would be furnished to all Mary's enemies to join with Elizabeth in opposing it, and harassing the Queen of Scots. Cecil proceeds to point out explicitly how the harassing system was to be carried on. *First*, It was to be represented, that in France, the houses of Guise and Lorraine, and all the other leading Catholics—and in Scotland, all who hated the Duke of Chatelherault and the Hamiltons, and Murray and the Reformers, and were devoted to the authority of Rome, approved of the marriage. *Second*, It was to be spread abroad, that the Devil would stir up some of the friends of Mary and Darnley, to alienate the minds of Elizabeth's subjects, and even to attempt the life of that sovereign; and, under the pretext of preventing such evils, the most rigorous

* KEITH, p. 275.

measures might be taken against all suspected persons. And, *Third*, Tumults and rebellions in Scotland were to be fomented in all prudent and secret ways.*

To report to Mary the decision of her Privy Council, Elizabeth sent Sir Nicolas Throckmorton into Scotland. He arrived at Stirling on the 15th of May, 1565, and, in an audience which Mary gave him, he set forth Elizabeth's disliking and disallowance of what she was pleased to term "the hasty proceeding with my Lord Darnley." Mary, with becoming dignity, and unanswerable argument, replied, that she was sorry Elizabeth disliked the match, but that, as to her "disallowance," she had never asked the English Queen's permission,—she had only communicated to her, as soon as she had made up her own mind, the person whom she had chosen. She was not a little surprised, she added, at Elizabeth's opposition, since it had been expressly intimated to her, through the English resident, Randolph, that if she avoided a foreign alliance, "she might take her choice of any person within the realms of England or Scotland, without any exception." Her choice had fallen upon Lord Darnley, both from the good qualities she found in him, and because, being Elizabeth's kinsman and her's, and participating of the English and Scottish blood royal, she had imagined that none would be more agreeable to her Majesty and the realm of England. Convinced, by so decided an answer to his remonstrance, that Mary's resolution was fixed, Throckmorton wrote to Elizabeth, that she could

* KEITH, *Appendix*, p. 97.

not hope to stop the marriage, unless she had recourse to violence. But Elizabeth had too much prudence to take up arms herself; all she wished was, to instigate others to this measure. Accordingly, Throckmorton, one of the williest of her diplomatic agents, received orders to deal with the Scottish malcontents, and especially the Earl of Murray, whom he was to assure of Elizabeth's support, should they proceed to extremities. Murray was likewise invited to enter into a correspondence with Cecil, an invitation with which he willingly complied,* and, to give the whole affair as serious an air as possible, a fresh supply of troops was sent to the Earl of Bedford, Elizabeth's Lieutenant of the Borders; while her Wardens of the Marches were commanded to shew no more favour to Mary's subjects than the bare abstaining from any breach of peace. The Earl of Northumberland, who was attached to the Lennox family, was detained in London; and Lady Lennox herself was committed to the Tower. Lady Somerset, who pretended a sort of title to the English succession, in opposition to Mary, was received very graciously at the Court of Westminster. Means were used to induce Secretary Maitland to associate himself with Murray, and the other malcontents, and, all this time, that no suspicion of such insidious enmity towards the Scottish Queen might be entertained on the continent, the good opinion of France and Spain was carefully courted.

Elizabeth next wrote letters to Lennox and Darnley, commanding them both, as her subjects,

* KEITH, p. 280.

to return to England without delay. Randolph was desired to wait upon them, to know what answer they were disposed to give. He got little satisfaction from either:—Lennox firmly, and Darnley indignantly, refused to obey the mandate of recall. Randolph then waited upon the Queen, to ascertain her mind on the subject. Mary felt keenly the contemptible jealousy and envy with which she was treated by Elizabeth, and received the English resident with greater reserve than she had ever done before; “as a man, new and first come into her presence, that she had never seen.” Randolph asked, if she would give Lennox and Darnley permission to depart for England. Mary smiled at the question, which was an artful one, and said,—“If I would give them leave, I doubt what they would do themselves; I see no will in them to return.” Randolph answered with insolence, that they must either return, or do worse, for that, if they refused, and were supported by Mary in that refusal, the Queen, his mistress, had the power and the will to be revenged upon both them and her. The Queen of Scots merely replied, that she hoped Elizabeth would change her mind, and so dismissed Randolph.

Satisfied of the integrity of her purpose, Mary was not to be easily driven from it. She sent Mr John Hay to the English Court, to state once more her anxious wish to avoid giving any just cause of offence to Elizabeth, but, at the same time, to repeat, that she could not but consider as strange and vexatious, any opposition to a marriage, to which there did not seem to be one plausible objection. He was desired, also, to

complain of the "sharp handling" which had been given to Mary's aunt, the Lady Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox. But her chief anxieties arose from the state of matters nearer home. The Duke of Chatelherault, and the Earls of Murray, Argyle, and Glencairn, had now openly declared themselves adverse to the marriage; and Lethington and Morton were suspected of giving it only a very doubtful support. There was, in consequence, a great change at Mary's Court. They who had formerly most influence, kept away from it altogether; and a new set of men, little accustomed to state duties, such as Montrose, Fleming, Cassilis, Montgomery, and others, came into favour. It was now that Mary found Rizzio, who was active, and well acquainted with all the details of public business, and was, besides, liked by Darnley, of the greatest use to her; and, being deserted by her more efficient, but too ambitious, counsellors, she gladly availed herself of his services.

CHAPTER XIII.

MURRAY'S TREASONABLE PRACTICES, AND MARY'S
MARRIAGE WITH DARNLEY.

MURRAY, meanwhile, was busily organizing his scheme of rebellion. "Their chief trust," says Randolph, alluding to the Earl and his associates, "next unto God, is the Queen's Majesty, (Elizabeth,) whom they will repose themselves upon; not leaving in the meantime to provide for themselves the best they can." Elizabeth was not backward to give them every encouragement. She wrote letters to the heads of the party; means were taken to win over to their views the General Assembly, which met in June, 1565, the members of which, as Randolph says, were "never more constant or more earnest;" and the nobles summoned by Mary to a convention at Perth, were all tampered with. But the great majority, at this convention, gave their consent and approbation to the proposed marriage; and Murray, in despair, begged Randolph to inform his mistress, in the name of himself and those who had joined his faction, that they were "grieved to see such extreme folly in their sovereign; that they lamented the state of their

country, which tended to utter ruin; and that they feared the nobility would be forced to assemble themselves together, so to provide for the state, that it should not utterly perish." In other words, they had made up their mind to rebellion, at all events, to prevent Darnley from obtaining the crown, and an ascendancy over them,—and probably, if an opportunity should offer, to put Mary in confinement, and rule the country themselves. This was exactly the state of feeling which Elizabeth had long laboured to produce in Scotland. "Some that have already heard," says Randolph, "of my Lady's Grace imprisonment," (meaning the Countess of Lennox,) "like very well thereof, and wish both father and son to keep her company. The question hath been asked me, whether, if they were delivered us into Berwick, we would receive them? I answered, that we could not nor would not refuse our own, in what sort soever they came unto us."*

But as it was felt that a plausible apology would be required for proceeding to these extremities, the Earl of Murray gave out that a conspiracy had been formed to assassinate him at the Convention at Perth. His story was, that there had been a quarrel between one of his own servants and another man, who was supported by the retainers of Athol and Lennox, and that it had been arranged that they should renew their dispute at Perth, and that he himself should be slain in the affray, which was expected to ensue. But the evidence of a plot against him rests only

* KEITH, p. 290.

upon Murray's own statement; and when Mary asked him to transmit, in writing, a more particular account of it, seeing that he made it his excuse for refusing to come to court, "it appeared to her Highness and to her Council, that his purgation in that behalf, was not so sufficient as the matter required," and his excuse was not sustained.*

The treasonable views entertained by Murray and his friends, are involved in no such doubt. In these times, the common mode of effecting a change in the government, was to seize the person of the sovereign, and all historians of credit agree in affirming, that Murray was determined on making the experiment. On Sunday, the first of July, 1565, the Queen was to ride with Darnley and a small train of friends from Perth to the seat of Lord Livingston, at Callander, the baptism of one of whose children she had promised to attend. Murray knew that it would be necessary for her to pass, in the course of this journey, through several steep and wild passes, where she and her attendants might easily be overpowered. At what precise spot the attack was to be made, or whether that was not left to the chapter of accidents, does not appear. Knox, who was, of course, too stanch a Presbyterian directly to accuse the great lay head of his church of so treasonable a design, says that the path of Dron (a rugged pass, about three miles south of Perth,) had been mentioned,

* Of Chatelherault, Argyle, Murray, Morton, and Glencarn, all of whom were summoned to the Convention, only Morton came. KEITH, p. 287.

whilst Sir James Melville, and others, point out the kirk of Beith, which stood on a solitary piece of ground, between Dunfermline and the Queensferry. But late upon the previous Saturday night, a rumour reached Mary of the contemplated plot. To prevent its execution, she ordered the Earl of Athol and Lord Ruthven, to collect immediately as strong a body of men as possible; and through their exertions, she left Perth next morning at five, accompanied by three hundred horsemen well mounted. Murray was waiting at Loch Leven, Argyle at Castle Campbell, Chatelherault at his house of Kinneil, in the neighbourhood of the Queensferry, and Lord Rothes, who had joined in the conspiracy, at a place called the Parrot Well, not far distant. The Queen, however, to their great disappointment, having passed over the ground on which they intended to intercept her, both much earlier in the day, and much more strongly guarded than they had anticipated, they were obliged to remain quiet; indeed the Earl of Argyle did not come to join Murray till two hours after Mary had ridden through Kinross.*

* KEITH, p. 291, et seq., CHAMBERS, vol. i. p. 139, et seq., vol. ii. p. 141, TYLLER, vol. i. p. 374, et seq. Melville's account of this conspiracy is, that Murray and the other Lords "had made a mynt to tak the Lord Darnley, in the Queen's company, at the Raid of Bath, and to have sent him in England, as they allegit. I wot not what was in their minds, but it was ane evil-favoured enterprise wherentil the Queen was in danger, either of keeping (imprisonment) or heart-breaking, and as they had failed in their foolish enterprise, they took on plainly their arms of rebellion." MELVILLE, p. 135. There is some reason to believe, that Knox was implicated in this

On Mary's return to Edinburgh, she found that an attempt had been made, through the conjoined influence of Knox and Murray, to stir up to sedition some of the more bigoted Presbyterians, on the plea that Darnley favoured Popery. Two or three hundred of the malcontents, or *brethren*, as Knox calls them, assembled at St Leonard's Hill, and their mutinous proceedings might have led to disagreeable consequences, had not Mary arrived just in time to disperse and overawe them.* Murray and his associates, keeping at a greater distance, held some secret meetings at Loch Leven, and then assembling at Stirling on the 17th of July, openly raised the standard of rebellion. But, amidst all these troubles, Mary, conscious that she had right upon her side, remained undaunted, and at no period of her life did her strength of mind appear more conspicuous. To retain that confidence, which she knew the great majority of her subjects still placed in her, she issued proclamations, announcing her determination to abstain, as she had hitherto done, from any interference in the matter of religion; she wrote, with her own hand, letters to many of her nobles, assuring them of the integrity of her intentions; and she sent requisitions to all upon whom she could

conspiracy, for, in the continuation of his History, written by his amanuensis, Richard Bannatyne, under the authority of the General Assembly, it appears, that a Mr Hamilton, minister of St Andrews, had openly accused him of a share in it, and, though Knox noticed the accusation, it does not appear that he ever satisfactorily refuted it. GOODALL, vol. 1. p. 207

* KEITH, p. 293, SPOTTISWOODE, p. 190.

depend, calling on them to collect their followers, and come armed to her assistance.

The Earl of Murray, on the other hand, having thrown off his allegiance to his own sovereign, became entirely subservient to the wishes and commands of Elizabeth. He and his friends wrote to request that she would send them, as a proof of her sincerity in the cause, the sum of three thousand pounds, to meet the expenses of the current year, assuring her that they would thus be able to carry every thing before them, unless Mary received foreign assistance. They likewise suggested, that Lord Hume, whose estates lay on the Borders, and who was one of the Scottish Queen's most faithful servants, should be harassed by some ostensible accidental incursions,—that the Bishop of Dumblane, who was to be sent on an embassy to the continent, should be delayed in London till “his budgets were rifled by some good sleight or other,”—and that Bothwell, whom Mary was about to recall, to obtain his assistance in her present difficulties, should be “kept in good surety” for a time. To all this, Elizabeth replied, that, if the Lords suffered any inconvenience, “they should not find lack in her to succour them.” She hinted, however, that the less money they asked the better, advising them “neither to make greater expense than their security makes necessary, nor less which may bring danger.” “This letter,” says Keith, “is an evident demonstration of the English Queen's fomenting and supporting a rebellion in Scotland, and the rebellious Lords knew too well what they had to trust to.”*

* KEITH, p. 294, et seq.

One can hardly attempt to unravel, as has been done in the preceding pages, the secret causes which led to the iniquitous rebellion now organized, without feeling it almost a duty to express indignation, both at the malicious interference of the English Queen, and the ingratitude and overweening ambition of the Earl of Murray. Mary's conduct since her return from France, had been almost unexceptionable. The only fault she had committed—and the necessity of the times forced it on her—was yielding too implicitly to the counsels of her brother. These had been, in some instances, judicious, and, in others, the natural severity of his temper had been rebuked by the mildness of Mary, so that, take it for all in all, no government had ever been more popular in Scotland than her's. Her choice of Lord Darnley for a husband, so far from diminishing the estimation in which she was held by the great body of her subjects, only contributed to raise her in their opinion. For the sake of the political advantages which would result to her country from this alliance, she had sacrificed much more splendid offers; and, though the imperfections of Darnley's character might ultimately be the means of destroying her own happiness, his birth and expectations were exactly such as gave him the best right to be the father of James VI. Nor could his religious opinions be objected to, for, whatever they were, they did not influence the Queen; indeed, ever since she had known him, she had treated the Protestants with even more than her usual liberality. At the baptism of Lord Livingston's child, she remained and heard a Protestant sermon; and,

about the same time, she intimated to some of the leaders of the Reformers, that, though she was not persuaded of the truth of any religion except of that in which she had been brought up, she would, nevertheless, allow a conference and disputation on the Scriptures in her presence, and also a public preaching from the mouth of Mr Erskine of Dun, whom she regarded as "a mild and sweet-natured man, with true honesty and uprightness."* All these things considered, one is at a loss to conceive how, even in these restless times, any set of men dared to enter into rebellion against Mary. But the selfish and insidious policy of Elizabeth; the jealousy of the Duke of Chatelherault, in whose family rested the succession to the Scottish crown, and who had hoped that his son Arran might have obtained Mary's hand; the envy and rage of the Earl of Argyle, who had been obliged to surrender to Lennox some of his forfeited estates, and, above all, the artful and grasping spirit of Murray, solve the enigma. Whatever opinion may be entertained of Mary's subsequent proceedings, it appears but too evident, that the first serious troubles of her reign were forced upon her, in spite of her utmost prudence, by the intrigues of enemies who were only the more dangerous, because they had for a time assumed the disguise of friends.

Whatever the hopes or wishes of the conspirators might be, Mary resolved that they should not long have it in their power to make their desire to prevent her nuptials a pretext for continuing in arms. On Sunday, the 29th of

* KEITH, p. 297.

July, 1565, she celebrated her marriage with Darnley, upon whom she had previously conferred various titles, and, among others, that of Duke of Albany.* The banns of matrimony were proclaimed in the Canongate church, the palace of Holyrood being in that parish; and, as Mary and Darnley were first cousins, a Catholic dispensation had been obtained from the Pope. The ceremony was performed, according to the Catholic ritual, in the chapel of Holyrood, between five and six in the morning—an hour which appears somewhat strange to modern habits. John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig, and Bishop of Brechin, had the honour of presiding on the occasion. It was generally remarked, that a handsomer couple had never been seen in Scotland. Mary was now twenty-three, and at the very height of her beauty, and Darnley, though only nineteen, was of a more manly person and appearance than his age would have indicated. The festivities were certainly not such as had attended the Queen's first marriage, for the elegancies of life were not understood in Scotland as in France; and, besides, it was a time of trouble, when armed men were obliged to stand round the altar. Nevertheless, all due observances and rejoicings lent a dignity to the occasion. Mary, in a flowing robe of black, with a wide mourning hood, was led into the chapel by the

* Buchanan says, foolishly enough, that the predictions of "wizaidly women" contributed much to hasten this marriage. They prophesied, it seems, that, if it was consummated before the end of July, it would be happy for both, if not, it would be the source of much misery. It is a pity that these predictions were not true.

Earls of Lennox and Athol, who, having conducted her to the altar, retired to bring in the bridegroom. The Bishop having united them in the presence of a great attendance of lords and ladies, three rings were put upon the Queen's finger—the middle one a rich diamond. They then knelt together, and many prayers were said over them. At their conclusion, Darnley kissed his bride, and, as he did not himself profess the Catholic faith, left her till she should hear mass. She was afterwards followed by most of the company to her own apartments, where she laid aside her sable garments, to intimate, that henceforth, as the wife of another, she would forget the grief occasioned by the loss of her first husband. In observance of an old custom, as many of the Lords as could approach near enough were permitted to assist in unrobing her, by taking out a pin. She was then committed to her ladies, who, having attired her with becoming splendour, brought her to the ball-room, where there was great cheer and dancing till dinner time. At dinner, Darnley appeared in his royal robes; and, after a great flourish of trumpets, largess was proclaimed among the multitude who surrounded the palace. The Earls of Athol, Morton, and Crawford, attended the Queen as sewer, carver, and cup-bearer; and the Earls of Eglinton, Cassilis, and Glencairn, performed the like offices for Darnley. When dinner was over, the dancing was renewed till supper-time, soon after which the company retired for the night.*

* RANDOLPH in Robertson, *Appendix*, No. XI.; KEITH, p. 307, MISS BENDER, vol. ii. p. 214.

The rejoicings that attended the commencement of Darnley's career, as King of Scotland, were but of short duration. Randolph, expressing the sentiments of Elizabeth and the rebels, hesitated not to say, that "*God must either send the King a short end, or them a miserable life ; that either he must be taken away, or they find some support, that what he intendeth to others may light upon himself.*"

CHAPTER XIV.

MURRAY'S REBELLION.

MURRAY had now gone too far to recede, though, had he been so inclined, Mary's leniency would willingly have given him the opportunity. Mr John Hay, who had formerly acted as her ambassador in England, and who was one of her brother's personal friends, was sent to him to declare the good-will which both the Earl of Lennox and Darnley bore towards him. Mary even avowed her readiness to bring to trial any one he would accuse of having conspired against his life; but he had no evidence to prove that such a conspiracy had ever existed, much less to fix the guilt upon any individual. He had made the accusation, originally, only the better to conceal his own nefarious purposes; for Murray well understood the practical application of Machiavel's maxim, — "*Calumniare audacter aliquid adhærebit.*"

Acting in concert with this nobleman, Elizabeth now sent more imperative orders than before for the return of Lennox and Darnley. But the former answered, that, considering his wife had been committed to the Tower for no fault on her

part, he thought it unlikely that the climate of England would suit his constitution; and the latter said boldly and gallantly, that he now acknowledged duty and obedience to none but the Queen of Scots, whom he served and honoured; and, though Elizabeth chose to be envious of his good fortune, he could not discover why he should leave a country where he found himself so comfortable. Randolph coolly replied, that he hoped to see the wreck and overthrow of as many as were of the same mind; "and so turning my back to him, without reverence or farewell, I went away."* The disaffected Lords, on their part, as soon as they heard of Mary's marriage, and the proclamations in which she conferred upon her husband the rank and title of King, renewed their complaints with increased bitterness. The majority of their countrymen, however, saw through their real motives; and even Knox allows it was generally alleged, that these complaints were "not for religion, but rather for hatred, envy of sudden promotion or dignity, or such worldly causes." The recalling of the Earls Bothwell and Sutherland, and the restoring Lord Gordon to the forfeited estates and honours of his father, the Earl of Huntly, was another source of exasperation. From the tried fidelity of these noblemen, Mary knew she could depend upon their services; though Bothwell, personally, as we have already seen, was far from being agreeable to her.

To put in the clearest point of view the utter

* KEITH, p. 303 and 304. This was a day or two before Darnley's marriage.

worthlessness of all the grounds of offence which Elizabeth and the Scottish rebels pretended at this time to have against Mary, a short and impartial account of a message sent by the English Queen, early in August, 1565, and of the answer it received, will be read with interest. The person who brought this message was one of Elizabeth's inferior officials, of the name of Tamworth, "a forward, insolent man," says Camden, and, with marked disrespect, chosen for this very reason. He was ordered not to acknowledge Darnley as King, and to give him no title but that which he had borne in England; but Mary, "having smelt," as Camden adds, "the nature both of the message and of the animal who brought it," would not admit him into her presence. His objections were therefore committed to writing, and the answer given in similar form. On the part of Elizabeth, it was stated, that her Majesty had found Mary's late proceedings, both towards herself and towards her subjects, very strange, upon divers grounds. These, as they were brought forward, so were they replied to, methodically and *seriatim*.

First, Elizabeth took God to witness, that her offer to Mary, of any of her own subjects in marriage, was made sincerely and lovingly; and that she was grieved to hear that Mary, listening to false counsel, had been made to think otherwise. —To this it was answered, That the Queen of Scots did not doubt Elizabeth's sincerity and uprightness, in her offer of a husband from England, and that no counsel had been given to induce her to change her opinion. *Second*, Elizabeth was much surprised, that, notwithstanding

the offer made by Mary to Sir Nicolas Throckmorton, to delay her marriage till the middle of August, that she might have longer time to prevail upon Elizabeth to consent to it, she had consummated that marriage without giving her Majesty any intimation, on the 29th of July, and had thereby disappointed both Elizabeth and some foreign princes, who thought as strangely of the alliance as she did.— To this it was answered, That it was true, that, though Mary's resolution was fixed before Sir Nicolas Throckmorton came into Scotland, she had, nevertheless, promised to delay her marriage, in the hope that the doubts entertained by Elizabeth, as to the propriety of the said marriage, might, in the mean time, be removed; but that this promise was made expressly on the condition, that commissioners should be appointed on both sides to discuss the matter, and that, as Elizabeth refused to nominate any such commissioners, Mary was relieved from her promise: that, farther, she had good reasons, known to herself and her own people, with which no other prince needed to interfere, for consummating her marriage at the time she did: and that, with regard to foreign princes thinking the alliance strange, she had a perfect knowledge of the opinions, and had obtained the express consent, of the principal, and greatest princes in Christendom. *Thurd*, Elizabeth was astonished how Mary, in direct opposition to the conditions of the treaty of peace, existing between England and Scotland, could detain her Majesty's subjects, Lennox and Darnley, in Scotland, having allured them thither under a pretence of suits for lands, but in reality to form an alliance without her

Majesty's consent and licence,—an offence so unnatural, that the world spoke of it, and her Majesty could not forget it.—To this it was answered, That Mary marvelled not a little at the Queen, her good sister, insisting any farther upon this head, for she did not understand how it could be found strange that she detained within her realm the person with whom she had joined herself in marriage, or a Scottish Earl, whom Elizabeth herself named by his Scottish title; the more especially, as they both came to her with Elizabeth's consent and letters of recommendation, and that she had no doubt that the world spoke as sound sense would dictate, judging that her detaining of them was in no ways prejudicial to any treaty of peace existing between the two realms, since no annoyance was intended towards Elizabeth, her kingdom, or estate. *Fourth*, Elizabeth wondered that Mary's ambassador, Mr John Hay, came to ask to be informed of her Majesty's objections to the marriage, and of what she wished to be done, but had no authority either to agree to, or refuse her requests; and she therefore supposed, that he had been sent more as a piece of empty form, than for any useful purpose.—To this it was answered, That Mary, though willing to hear Elizabeth's objections, if any such existed, and to endeavour to remove them, had yet expressly declared, that she would make such endeavour only through the medium of commissioners mutually agreed on; and that she was still so convinced of the expediency of the match, that, though now married, she was still willing, if Elizabeth wished it, to have its propriety discussed by such

commissioners. *Fifth*, Elizabeth begged that an explanation might be given of a sentence in one of Mary's French letters, which she found somewhat obscure, and which ran thus,—“ Je n'estimerois jamais que cela vienne de vous, et sans en chercher autre vengeance, j'aurois recours à tous les princes, mes allies, pour avec moi vous remonstrer ce que je vous suis par parentage. Vous savez assez ce que vous avez resolu sur cela.”—To this it was answered, That Mary, by the whole of her letter, as well as the passage in question, meant no other thing but to express her desire to remain in perfect friendship and good intelligence with the Queen, her sister, from whom she expected such treatment as reason and nature required from one princess to another, who was her cousin; and that, if, as God forbid, other treatment were received, which Mary would not anticipate, she could do no less than lay her case before other princes, her friends and allies. *Sixth*, Elizabeth was grieved to see that Mary encouraged fugitives and offenders from England, and practised other devices within her Majesty's realm, and that, in her own kingdom, seduced by false counsellors and malicious information, she raised up factions among the nobility.—To this it was answered, That if the Scottish Queen really wished to offend Elizabeth, she would not be contented with such paltry practices as those she was accused of towards English subjects;—and that, with regard to her proceedings in her own realm, as she had never interfered with Elizabeth's order of government, not thinking it right that one state should have a finger in the internal policy of another, so she requested that

Elizabeth would not meddle with her's, but trust to her discretion, as the person most interested, to preserve peace and quietness. *Seventh*, Elizabeth warned Mary to take good heed that she did not proceed in her intention to suppress and extirpate the religion already established in Scotland, or to effect the suppression of the reformed faith in England, for that all such designs, consultations, intelligences, and devices, should be converted to the peril and damage of those that advised and engaged in them.—To this it was answered, That Mary could not but marvel at Elizabeth's fears for a religion upon which no innovation had ever been attempted, but for the establishment of which every arrangement had been made most agreeable to her Scottish subjects: that as to an intention to interfere with the spiritual faith of England, she never heard of it before; but that, if any practices to such effect could be condescended on, they should instantly be explained and altered; and that, with regard to her designs, consultations, intelligences, and devices, such as she really engaged in would be found no vainer or more deceitful than those of her neighbours. *Eighth* and *lastly*, Elizabeth wished that Mary would not shew herself so given to change, as to conceive evil of the Earl of Murray, whose just deserts she had so long acknowledged, for there were plenty examples to prove, by indifference and severity, that many noble men had been constrained to take such measures for their own security, as they would otherwise never have resorted to; and that these were *part* of the reasons why Elizabeth was offended with Mary.—To this it was answered,

That Mary wished her good sister would not meddle with the affairs of her Scottish subjects any more than Mary meddled with the affairs of Elizabeth's English subjects; but that, if Elizabeth desired any explanation of her conduct towards Murray, it would be willingly given, as soon as Elizabeth explained her motives for committing to the Tower Lady Margaret, Countess of Lennox, mother-in-law and aunt of Mary; and that, as soon as Elizabeth stated any *other* grounds of offence, they should be answered as satisfactorily as the above had been.*

Having thus triumphantly replied to the English Queen's irritating message, Mary, in the true spirit of conciliation, had the magnanimity to propose that the following articles should be mutually agreed upon. On the part of the King and Queen of Scotland, — *First*, That their Majesties, being satisfied of the Queen their sister's friendship, are content to assure the Queen, that during the term of her life, or that of her lawful issue, they will not, directly or indirectly, attempt any thing prejudicial to their sister's title to the crown of England, or in any way disturb the quietness of that kingdom. *Second*, They will enter into no communication with any subject or subjects of the realm of England, in prejudice of their said sister and her lawful issue, or receive into their protection any subjects of the realm of England, with whom their sister may have occasion to be offended. *Third*, They will not enter into any league or confederation with any foreign

* KEITH, *Appendix*, No. VII. p 99, et seq.

prince, to the hurt, damage, and displeasure of the Queen and realm of England. *Fourth*, They will enter into any such league and confederation with the Queen and realm of England, as shall be for the weal of the princes and subjects on both sides. And, *fifth*, They will not go about to procure in any way, alteration, innovation, or change in the religion, laws, or liberties of the realm of England, though it should please God, at any time hereafter, to call them to the succession of that kingdom. In consideration of these offers, the three following equally reasonable articles were to be agreed to, on the part of England:—*First*, That by Act of Parliament, the succession to the crown, failing Elizabeth and her lawful issue, shall be established, first, in the person of Mary and her lawful issue, and failing them, in the person of the Countess of Lennox and her lawful issue, as, by the law of God and nature, entitled to the inheritance of the said crown. *Second*, That the second offer made by the King and Queen of Scotland, be also made on the part of England. And, *Third*, That the third offer shall be likewise mutual. To have agreed to these liberal articles would not have suited Elizabeth's policy, and we, consequently, hear nothing farther concerning them.

On the 15th of August, 1565, Murray summoned the rebellious nobles to a public meeting at Ayr, where it was resolved that they should assemble together in arms on the 24th. Mary, in consequence, issued proclamations calling upon her loyal subjects to come to Edinburgh, with their kin, friends, and household, and provided for fifteen days, on the 25th of August. On that

day she left Edinburgh with a numerous force, and marched to Linlithgow. Before leaving the capital, measures were taken to prevent the discontented there, from turning to advantage the absence of their sovereign. The Provost, who was entirely under the management of Knox, and strongly suspected to favour the rebels, was displaced, and a more trust-worthy civic officer appointed in his stead. Knox himself, a few days before, had been suspended from the discharge of his clerical duties, in consequence of a seditious and insulting sermon he delivered before the young King, who paid him the compliment of attending divine service in St Giles's church, a Sunday or two after his marriage. In this sermon, the preacher, among other things, said, that God had raised to the throne, for the sins of the people, boys and women, adding, in the words of Scripture,—"I will give children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them; children are their oppressors, and women rule over them." In the same style of allusions grossly personal, he remarked, that "God justly punished Ahab, because he did not correct his idolatrous wife, the harlot Jezabel." It is singular, that Knox never thought of objecting to Mary's marriage with Darnley, till he found that his patron, the Earl of Murray, to whom he was now reconciled, did not approve of it. He had said only a few months before that—"The Queen being at Stirling, order was given to Secretary Lethington to pass to the Queen of England, to declare to that Queen, Mary was minded to marry her cousin, the Lord Darnley; and the rather, because he was so near of blood to both Queens; for, by

his mother, he was cousin-german to the Queen of Scotland, also of near kindred and the same name, by his father ;—his mother was cousin-german to the Queen of England. Here, mark God's providence ; King James V, having lost his two sons, did declare his resolution to make the Earl of Lennox his heir of the crown : but he, prevented by sudden death, that design ceased. Then came the Earl of Lennox from France, with intention to marry King James's widow ; but that failed also : he marries Mary Douglas ; and his son, Lord Darnley, marrieth Queen Mary, King James V's daughter ; and so the King's desire is fulfilled, viz.—the crown continueth in the name and in the family." Knox had changed his opinion (as even Knox could sometimes do) both when he preached the above-mentioned sermon, and when, towards the end of August, 1565, he said, that the Castle of Edinburgh was " shooting against the exiled for Christ Jesus' sake." *

From Linlithgow, Mary advanced with an increasing force, first to Stirling and then to Glasgow. Here she was within a short distance of the rebel army, which, mustering about 1200 strong, had taken its position at Paisley ; " a fine pleasant village," says Keith, " five miles W.S.W. from Glasgow." But Murray, not venturing to attack the royalists, made a circuit at some distance, and, by a forced march, arrived unexpectedly at Edinburgh, where he hoped to increase his force. In this hope he was grievously disappointed. Finding that the Provost, who was

* M'CRIF'S *Life of Knox*, vol. II. p. 106 ; and TYTLER'S *Enquiry*, vol. I. p. 362 and 367.

taken by surprise, had not sufficient strength to keep him without the walls, he entered the city by the West Port, and immediately despatched messengers for assistance in every direction, and, by beat of drum, called upon all men who wished to receive wages "for the defence of the glory of God," to join his standard. But Knox confesses, that few or none resorted to him, and that he got little or no support in Edinburgh; although the preacher himself did all he could for his patron by prayers and exhortations, in which he denominated the rebels "the best part of the nobility, and chief members of the Congregation"* The truth is, that the current of popular opinion ran directly in favour of Mary; for the *godly* Earl's real motives were well understood.

As soon as the Queen was made aware that she had missed her enemies, she marched back in pursuit of them, at the head of 5000 men, as far as Callander. Murray could only fly from a power which he knew he was not able to withstand. Alarmed by Mary's speedy return, he left Edinburgh, and again passing her on the road, led his followers to Lanark, and from thence to Hamilton. With indomitable perseverance, the Queen retraced her steps to Glasgow, expecting Murray would make an attempt upon that city. But finding there was no safety for him in this part of Scotland, he suddenly turned off towards the south, and, with as little delay as possible, retired into Dumfries-shire. Here, being near the Borders, he expected that Elizabeth

* KNOX, p. 389.

would send him succour from England, and, at all events, he could at any time make good his retreat into that country. The principal noblemen with him were the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Rothes, and the Lords Boyd and Ochiltree. Morton and Maitland remained with the Queen; but the fidelity of both is much to be suspected, though the command of the main body of the royal army was intrusted to the former. The Earl of Lennox led the van, and the Queen herself rode with her officers in a suit of light armour, carrying pistols at her saddle-bow; "her courage," says Knox, "manlike, and always increasing." She did not think it worth while to follow Murray into Dumfries-shire, but preferred leading her army through Fife, to St Andrews, taking possession, on the way, of Castle Campbell, the seat of the rebel Lord, Argyle.

Elizabeth, in the mean time, was far from being inattentive to the interests of her servants in Scotland. Randolph wrote to Cecil, that if she would assist them with men and more money, he doubted not but one country would receive both the Queens; by which he meant, that the rebels would thus be able to fulfil their design, of sending Mary prisoner into England.* The Earl of Bedford also informed his mistress of the arrival of her friends on the Borders, but hinted to her that her cause was evidently not very popular in Scotland, and that their force was much inferior to that of Mary. Elizabeth's letter, in answer, is as artful a piece of writing as has ever proceeded even

* KEITH, *Appendix*, p. 264.

from a female pen. Afraid that she might go too far in assisting the losing party, she resolved to make it be believed that she acted against them, whilst in truth she secretly encouraged and supported them. With this view, she wrote to Bedford, that, in consequence of his representations, as well as those of Randolph and others, she sent him three thousand pounds; one thousand of which was to be paid immediately to Murray, in the most private way possible, and as if it came from Bedford himself. The remainder was to be kept till occasion required expenditure. "And where we perceive," she continued, "by your sundry letters, the earnest request of the said Earl of Murray and his associates, that they might have at least 300 of our soldiers to aid them, and that you also write, that though we would not command you to give them aid, yet if we would but wink at your doing herein, and seem to blame you for attempting such things, as you, with the help of others, should bring about, you doubt not but things would do well,—we are content, and do authorize you, if you shall see it necessary for their defence, to let them (as of your own adventure, and without notification that you have any direction therein from us,) to have the number of 300 soldiers, wherein you shall so precisely deal with them, that they may perceive your care to be such as, if it should otherwise appear, your danger should be so great, as all the friends you have could not be able to save you towards us. And so we assure you, our conscience moveth us to charge you so to proceed with them; and yet we would not that either of these were known to be our act, but rather to be covered with

your own desire and attempt." Having farther mentioned, that she had written lately to Mary, to assure that princess of her esteem and good will, Elizabeth boldly affixed her signature to this memorable record of unblushing duplicity.*

But Mary was not to be lulled into dangerous security. All her operations during this campaign were, as Robertson has remarked, "concerted with wisdom, executed with vigour, and attended with success." At St Andrews, she issued a proclamation, exposing the hollowness of the grounds upon which arms had been taken up against her, and shewing that religion was only made a cloak to cover other more ungodly designs. Alluding, in particular, to the Earl of Murray, upon whom she had bestowed so many benefits, this proclamation stated, that his insatiable ambition was not to be satisfied with heaping riches upon riches, and honour upon honour, unless he should also continue to have, as he had too long had, the Queen and the whole realm in his own hands, to be used and governed at his pleasure. "By letters sent from themselves to us," Mary says, "they make plain profession that the establishment of religion will not content them, but we must per force be governed by such council as it shall please them to appoint unto us."—"The like," she adds, "was never demanded of any our most noble progenitors heretofore, yea, not even of governors or regents; but the prince, or such as occupied his place, ever chose his council of such as he thought most fit for the purpose. When we ourselves were of less age,

* ROBERTSON, *Appendix* to vol. i. Nos. XII. and XIII.

and at our first arrival in our realm, we had free choice of our council at our pleasure; and now, when we are at our full majority, shall we be brought back to the state of pupils and minors, or be put under tutelage? So long as some of them bore the whole swing with us themselves, this matter was never called in question; but now when they cannot be longer permitted to do and undo all things of their appetite, they will put a bridle in our mouths, and give us a council chosen after their phantasy! To speak it in plain language, they would be king themselves; or at the least, leaving to us the bare name and title, take to themselves the whole use and administration of the kingdom.”*

After levying a small fine of two hundred merks from the town of Dundee, which had given some countenance to the malcontents, Mary and Darnley returned to Edinburgh. They there received such accounts of the increasing strength of the rebels, as induced them to determine on marching southwards. Biggar was named as the place of rendezvous for the lieges, and they flocked in such crowds to join the standard of their sovereign, that the Queen was enabled to advance towards the Borders at the head of an army of 18,000 men. Before this greatly superior force Murray and his partizans, including his 300 English soldiers, retired to Carlisle. He was closely followed thither, upon which his troops dispersed, and he himself and his friends sought refuge by flying farther into England. Mary, after visiting the castle of Lochmaben, left Bothwell, with

* KEITH, *Appendix*, p. 114

some troops, to watch the Borders ; and, on the 18th of October, returned to Edinburgh with the rest of her army. *

Of the rebellious nobles thus forced into exile, the Duke of Chatelherault alone was able or willing to make his peace immediately. He and his sons were pardoned, on condition of their living abroad—a degree of leniency extended to them by Mary, in opposition to the wishes of the house of Lennox, which was anxious for the entire ruin of the Hamiltons. † Murray and the rest being received kindly by Bedford, fixed their residence at Newcastle, whence the Earl himself, and the Abbot of Kilwinning, were deputed to proceed to the English court, and lay the state of their affairs before Elizabeth, upon whose patronage they conceived they had peculiar claims. It was, however, no part of Elizabeth's policy to befriend in their adversity those with whom she had associated herself in more prosperous days. As soon as she heard that Murray was on his way to her court, she wrote to stop him, and to inform him that it was not meet for him to have any "open dealing" with her. But at Bedford's earnest entreaty, he was allowed to continue his journey, the object of which, he said, was to make some proposals for the "common cause." ‡ It was nevertheless a long while before he could obtain an audience of the Queen ; and when that honour was at length conceded to him, she had the confidence to ask him, with an

* KEITH, p. 316, and CHALMERS, vol. 1. p. 155.

† CHALMERS, vol. 1. p. 156.

‡ Ibid. p. 157, and KEITH, p. 319.

unruffled countenance, how he, being a rebel to her sister of Scotland, durst have the boldness to come within her realm? Murray, in reply, ventured to speak of the support he had all along received from her; but as this was betraying her policy to her continental neighbours, it exasperated her to such a degree, that she declared he and his friends should never obtain any thing from her but scorn and neglect, unless he made a public recantation of such an assertion. With this demand, both the Earl and the Abbot had the meanness to comply; and though Sir Nicolas Throckmorton interfered in their behalf, and openly avowed that he had been sent into Scotland expressly to make offers of assistance to the rebel lords, he could not save them from the degradation which Elizabeth inflicted. They appeared before her when she was surrounded by the French and Spanish ambassadors, and impiously affirmed, upon their knees, that her Majesty had never moved them to any opposition or resistance against their own Queen. As soon as they had uttered this falsehood, Elizabeth said to them, — “ Now ye have told the truth, for neither did I, nor any in my name, stir you up against your Queen. Your abominable treason may serve for example to my own subjects to rebel against me. Therefore, get ye out of my presence; ye are but unworthy traitors.” *

Sir James Melville, speaking of this affair, says, with his usual quaintness, that “ Mary chasit the rebel lords here and there, till at length they were compellit to flee into England for refuge,

* KEITH, p. 319; MELVILLE, p. 135.

to her that had promised, by her ambassadors, to wair (expend) her croun in their defence, in case they were driven to any strait for their opposition to the said marriage."—" But Elizabeth," he adds, " handlit the matter sae subtilly, and the other twa sae blaitly, that she triumphed both over them and the ambassadors." The deputation returned, quite chop-fallen, to their friends at Newcastle, where they lived for some time in great poverty, and very wretchedly. Such were the more immediate results of this piece of juggling on the part of Elizabeth, and justly unsuccessful rebellion on that of Murray.

CHAPTER XV.

THE EARL OF MORTON'S PLOT.

HITHERTO, Mary's government had been prosperous and popular. Various difficulties had, no doubt, surrounded her; but, by a prudence and perseverance beyond her sex and age, she had so successfully encountered them, that she fixed herself more firmly than ever on the throne of her ancestors. The misfortunes, however, in which all the intrigues of her enemies vainly attempted to involve her, it was Mary's fate to bring upon herself, by an act, innocent in so far as regarded her own private feelings, and praiseworthy in its intention to increase and secure the power and happiness of her country. This act was her marriage with Darnley. From this fatal connection, all Mary's miseries took their origin; and as the sunshine which has as yet lighted her on her course, begins to gleam upon it with a sicklier ray, they who have esteemed her in the blaze of her prosperity, will peruse the remainder of her melancholy story with a deeper and a tenderer interest. Let it at the same time be remembered, that the present Memoirs come not from the pen of a partizan, but are dictated by a

sacred desire to discover and preserve the truth. Mary's weaknesses shall not be concealed; but surely, whilst the common frailties of humanity are made thus the subjects of history, justice imposes the nobler and the more delightful duty of asserting the talents, and vindicating the virtues, of Scotland's fairest Queen.

It was evident, that public affairs could not long continue in the position in which they now stood. With the Earl of Murray and the Hamiltons, the greater number of Mary's most experienced counsellors were in a state of banishment. At the head of those who remained was the crafty Earl of Morton, who, though he affected outward allegiance, secretly longed for the return of his old allies and friends of the Protestant party. It was not, indeed, without some show of reason that the professors of the Reformed faith considered their religion at the present crisis to be exposed to hazard. The King now openly supported Popery; the most powerful of the Lords of the Congregation were in disgrace; several of the Catholic nobility had lately been restored to their honours; some of the Popish ecclesiastics had, by Mary's influence, been allowed to resume their place in Parliament; and above all, ambassadors arrived from the French King and her Continental friends, for the express purpose of advising the Queen to grant no terms to the expatriated nobles, and of making her acquainted with the objects of the Holy League, which had been recently formed. This was the league between Charles IX and his sister, the Queen of Spain, with the consent of her husband Philip, and Pope Pius IV, and at the instigation of Catharine de

Medicis and the Duke of Alva, to secure, at whatever cost, the suppression of the Reformation throughout Europe. So great a variety of circumstances, all seeming to favour the old superstition, alarmed the Protestants not a little; but this alarm was unnecessarily exaggerated, and Mary's intentions, which were not known at the time, have been misrepresented since.

Robertson has asserted, that Mary "instantly joined" the Continental Confederacy, and was willing to go any length for the restoration of Popery. He would thus have us believe that she was a direct party to the horrible massacre of the Hugonots in France; and that she would have spared no bloodshed to re-establish in Scotland that form of worship which she herself, in conjunction with her Parliament, had expressly abrogated. Robertson goes farther, and maintains, with a degree of absurdity, so glaring, that we are at a loss to understand why it should never before have been exposed, that "to this fatal resolution (that of joining the Anti-Protestant Confederacy) may be imputed all the subsequent calamities of Mary's life." Why a secret contract which Mary might have made with an ambassador from France, the terms or effects of which were never known or felt in any corner of Scotland, should have produced "all her subsequent calamities," must remain an enigma to those who do not possess the same remarkable facility of tracing effects to their causes, which seems to have been enjoyed by Dr Robertson. But it is extremely doubtful that Mary ever gave either her consent or approbation to this League. Robertson's authorities upon the subject by no

means bear him out in his assertions. He affirms, that "she allowed mass to be celebrated in different parts of the kingdom; and declared that she would have mass free for all men who would hear it." But the first part of this information is supplied by the Englishman Bedford, who was not then in Scotland, and the second rests upon the authority of the insidious Randolph. Robertson likewise mentions, that Blackwood, in his "*Martyre de Marie*," says, "that the Queen intended to have procured, in the approaching Parliament, if not the re-establishment of the Catholic religion, at least something for the ease of Catholics." But this announcement of what was *intended* is so very unimportant, that, even if true, it requires no refutation; the more especially, as Blackwood goes on to say, though Robertson stops short, that this "something for the ease of Catholics" was only to be a request that the Protestants would be more tolerant.* Robertson, however, adds, that "Mary herself, in a letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador in France, acknowledges '*that in that Parliament she intended to have done some good with respect to restoring the old religion.*'" For this quotation from Mary's letter, Robertson refers to Keith; but, upon making the reference, it will be found that he has somewhat unaccountably garbled the original. All that Mary wrote to her ambassador concerning the Parliament was, that "the spiritual estate is placed therein in the ancient manner, *tending to have done some good anent restoring the old religion, and to have*

* BLACKWOOD in Jebb, vol. II. p. 204.

proceeded against our rebels according to their demerits."* The different shade of meaning which Robertson has given to this passage, is rather singular.

Having thus seen the weakness of these preliminary arguments against Mary's willingness to countenance the Reformed faith, it only remains to inquire, whether she was a party to the confederacy formed at Bayonne. It will be recollected, that the measures concocted by this confederacy were of the most sanguinary and savage description. It was resolved, "by treachery and circumvention, by fire and the sword, utterly to exterminate the Protestants over Christendom." It might very fairly be asked—and the question would carry with it its own answer—whether such a scheme, uncertain as its results were, and sure to produce in the mean time civil war and confusion, wherever its execution was attempted, was at all consistent either with Mary's established policy, or her so earnestly cherished hopes of succession to the English crown? Robertson, however, says, "she instantly joined the confederacy;" and Dr Gilbert Stuart, an historian of greater research and more impartiality, allows himself to believe the same thing. These writers ground their belief on what they have found in Sir James Melville and in Keith. But the former gives us not the slightest reason to suppose that Mary had any thing to do with the League, although he allows that the representations of the French ambassador tended to harden her heart towards the Earl of

* KEITH, p. 331.

Murray and the other rebels.* It would even appear, by Melville's Memoirs, that Mary was never asked to become a party to the confederacy; for Sir James simply states, that the ambassadors came "with a commission to stay the Queen in nowise to agree with the Lords Protestants that were banished." Conæus, in his Life of Mary, leaves entirely the same impression, and rather strengthens it.† As to Keith, he nowhere goes the length of Robertson or Stuart, — merely remarking, that the letters from France tended much to hinder the cause of the banished Lords. He gives, it is true, in his Appendix, an extract of a letter from Randolph to Cecil, in which we find it stated, on the very dubious authority of the English resident, that the "band to introduce Popery through all Christendom, was signed by Queen Mary." But, if Mary had actually done so, it would have been with the utmost secrecy, and surely, above all, she would have concealed such a step from the spy of Elizabeth. This letter is given at full length by Robertson; and, on perusing the whole, it expressly appears, that Randolph spoke only from hearsay; for he adds, "If the copy of this band *may be gotten*, it shall be sent as I conveniently may." In the same letter, he mentions that most of the nobles had been asked to attend mass, in compliment to the foreign ambassadors, and that they had all refused; enumerating, among others, Fleming, Livingston, Lindsay, Huntly, and Bothwell; "and of them all, Both-

* MELVILLE'S *Memoirs*, p. 147.

† CONÆUS in Jebb, vol. ii, p. 25.

well is the stoutest, but the worst thought of." These Lords must have had little dread of the consequences, else they would not have ventured to refuse. The truth is, Randolph's common practice was, to convert into a fact every report which he knew would be agreeable to Cecil and his mistress; and so little reliance did they place upon the accuracy of his information, that it does not appear Elizabeth ever took any notice of his statement regarding the band, which she would eagerly have done, had it been true. So much, therefore, for Robertson's declaration, that "to this fatal resolution may be imputed all the subsequent calamities of Mary's life." They would have been few, indeed, had they taken their origin in any countenance she gave to the ferocious wickedness of continental bigotry.*

* Dr Stuart, in support of his statements on this subject, quotes, in addition to the authorities already mentioned, Mezeray "*Histoire de France*," tome 3, and Thuanus "*Historia sui Temporis*," lib. xxxvii. But we suspect he has done so at random, for, on referring to these works, we have been unable to discover any thing which bears upon the matter. Chalmers, who is, in general, acute and explicit enough, says, that these ambassadors came "to advise the Queen not to pardon the expatriated nobles," vol. ii. p. 158. Laing, who writes with so much *apparent* candour, and *real* ability, against Mary, that he almost makes "the worse appear the better reason," has avoided falling into the gross error of Robertson. "It would be unjust," he says, "to suppose, that, upon acceding to the Holy League, for the preservation of the Catholic faith, she was apprized of the full extent of the design to exterminate the Protestants by a general massacre throughout Christendom; but the instructions from her uncle rendered her inexorable towards the banished Lords." LAING'S *Preliminary Dissertation to the History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 9.

There does not, then, exist a shadow of proof that Mary contemplated the subversion of the Reformed religion in Scotland, though it may safely be admitted, that she was greatly perplexed what course to pursue towards the expatriated rebels. On the one hand, Elizabeth petitioned in their behalf, well knowing she could depend on their co-operation, as soon as they were again in power ; and her petition was warmly supported by Murray's friends in Scotland,—some for the sake of religion, many for their own private interests, and a few because they believed his return would be for the good of the country. On the other hand, the Catholic party was delighted to be rid of such formidable adversaries, and their wishes were enforced by those of Mary's uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine. Besides, though disposed to be lenient almost to a fault, she cannot but have felt a just indignation against men who had so grossly abused her kindness, and insulted her authority. It was in the midst of these contending opinions and interests, that a Parliament was summoned, first, for the 4th of February, 1566, and afterwards prorogued till the 7th of March, at which it was determined, that, in one way or other, the subject should be set at rest. The matter would then, most probably, have terminated unfavourably for Murray, had not the whole affair assumed a new feature, and been hurried on to an unexpected and violent conclusion, under influences on which it would have been difficult to have calculated.

Mary had been Darnley's wife only a few months, when a painful conviction was forced upon her of the error she had committed, in so far as regarded

her own happiness, in uniting her fortunes with a youth so weak, headstrong, and inexperienced. The homage, whether real or affected, which, before his marriage, Darnley paid to Mary,—his personal graces and accomplishments,—and the care he took to keep as much as possible in the background the numerous defects of his character, had succeeded in securing for him a place in Mary's heart, and, what he considered of greater importance, a share of her throne. But as soon as the object of his ambition was obtained, the mask was thrown aside. He broke out into a thousand excesses,—offended almost all the nobility,—and forgetting, or misunderstanding, the kind of men he had to deal with, cherished a wild and boyish desire to make his own will law. He changed from the Protestant to the Catholic religion; but the Catholics had no confidence in him, whilst John Knox and the Reformers lifted up their voices loudly against his apostasy. He was addicted to great intemperance in his pleasures; was passionately fond of his hounds and hawks, grossly licentious, and much given to drinking. Upon one occasion, his indulgence in this latter vice made him so far forget himself, that, at a civic banquet, where the Queen and he were present, he dared to speak to her so brutally, that she left the place in tears.*

But there were other causes, besides the imperfections of Darnley's character, which served to sow dissension between him and his young wife. It would be wrong to say that they were mutually jealous of each other's love of power, for this

* KEITH, p. 328-9.

would be to put Mary on an equality with her husband, who was Queen in her own right, while Darnley had no title to any authority beyond what she chose to confer on him. In the first ardour of her affection, however, she permitted him, with the confiding generosity of sincere attachment, to carry every thing his own way; and he was too conceited and selfish to appreciate, as it deserved, the value of the trust she thus reposed in him. "All honour," says Randolph, "that may be attributed unto any man by a wife, he hath it wholly and fully,—all praise that may be spoken of him, he lacketh not from herself,—all dignities that she can endow him with, are already given and granted. No man pleaseth her that contenteth not him. And what may I say more? She hath given over unto him her whole will, to be ruled and guided as himself best liketh."* This was nothing more than the conduct naturally to be expected from a woman who warmly loved her husband, and who, in the ingenuous integrity of her heart, believed him worthy of her love. Had this, indeed, been the case, no evil consequences could have resulted from the excess of kindness she lavished on him; but, with all his fair exterior, Darnley was incapable of understanding or estimating aright the mind and dispositions of Mary Stuart. Had he even in part answered the expectations she had formed of him,—had he listened to the prudent counsels of Sir James Melville and others, whom Mary requested he would associate near his person,—and had he continued those

* GOODALL, vol. i. p. 222.

affectionate attentions, which she had a right to expect, but had far too proud a spirit to ask, he might have obtained from her every honour he desired. But what she felt that slighted love did not call upon her to yield, it was in vain to expect to win from her by force or fear ; and the consequence was, that about this time, what was technically termed the *crown-matrimonial*, became a great source of dissension between herself and her husband.

On the day that Mary gave her hand to Darnley, she conferred upon him the title of King of Scotland ; and his name, in all public writs, was signed in some before, and in others after, her own. The public coin of the realm, issued subsequent to the marriage, also contained his name.* But though Darnley had the title, and to a certain extent the authority of a King, it was never Mary's intention to surrender to him an influence

* Several of these pennies, as they were called, both of gold and silver, remain to this day ; and some of them have been already noticed. In December, 1565, there was stamped a silver penny, called the *Mary Rial*, bearing on one side a tree, with the motto, *Dat gloria vives*, and the circumscription, *Exsurgat Deus, et dissipentur inimici ejus* ; and, on the other, *Maria et Henricus, Dei Gratia Regina et Rex Scotorum*. Speaking of this coin, Keith says, that " the famous ewe-tree of Crookston, the inheritance of the family of Darnley, in the parish of Paisley, is made the reverse of this new coin ; and the inscription about the tree, *Dat gloria vives*, is no doubt with a view to reflect honour on the Lennox family. This tree, he adds, which stands to this day, is of so large a trunk, and so well spread in its branches, that it is seen at several miles distance." KEITH, p. 327, and *Appendix*, p. 118. It stands no longer.

in the administration greater than her own. This was the object, however, at which his discontented and restless spirit aimed, and it was to achieve it that he demanded the *crown-matrimonial*, a term used only by Scottish historians, by many of whom its exact import does not appear to have been understood. In its more limited acceptation, it seems to have conferred upon the husband, who married a wife of superior rank, the whole of her power and dignity, so long as their union continued. Thus, if a Countess married an Esquire, he might become, by the marriage-contract, a *matrimonial Earl*; and, during the life of the Countess, her authority was vested in her husband, as entirely as if he had been an Earl by birth. But it was in a more extended sense that Darnley was anxious for this matrimonial dignity. Knowing it to be consistent with the laws of Scotland, that a person who married an heiress, should keep possession of her estate, not only during his wife's life, but till his own death, he was desirous of having a sovereign sway secured in his own person, even though Mary died without issue. In the first warmth of her attachment to Darnley, the Queen might have been willing, with the consent of Parliament, to gratify his ambition; but as soon as his unstable and ill-regulated temper betrayed itself, she felt that she was called upon, both for her own sake, and that of the country, to refuse his request.

The more opposition Darnley experienced, the more anxious he became, as is frequently the case, to accomplish his wishes. It was now, for the first time, that he found Rizzio's friendship fail

him. That Italian, whom the bigotry of the Reformers, and the ignorant prejudices of more recent historians, have buried under a weight of undeserved abuse, was one of the most faithful servants Mary ever had. He approved of her marriage with Darnley for state reasons, and had, in consequence, incurred the hatred of Murray and his party, whilst Darnley, on the contrary, had courted and supported him. But Rizzio loved his mistress too well to wish to see her husband become her master. His motives, it is true, may not have been altogether disinterested. He knew he was a favourite with Mary, and that he would retain his situation at court so long as her influence was paramount; but he had not the same confidence in the wayward and vacillating Darnley, who was too conceited to submit to be ruled, and too weak to be allowed to govern. The consequence naturally was, that a coldness took place between them, and that the consideration with which Mary continued to treat Rizzio, as her foreign secretary, only served to increase Darnley's disaffection.

Such was the state of matters, when the Earl of Morton, secretly supported by Maitland, and more openly by the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, determined on making use of Darnley's discontent to forward his own private interests, and those of some of his political friends. His object was, in the first place, to strengthen his own party in the government, by securing the return of Murray, Argyle, Rothes, and the other banished Lords; and, in the second, to prevent certain enactments from being passed in the approaching Parliament, by which Mary intended to restore

to her ecclesiastics a considerable portion of church lands, which he himself, and other rapacious noblemen, had unjustly appropriated. These possessions were to be retained only by saving the rebels from the threatened forfeitures, and thus securing a majority in Parliament. But Mary, with a firmness which was the result of correct views of good government, was now finally resolved not to pardon Murray and his accomplices. For offences of a far less serious nature, Elizabeth was every month sending her subjects to the block; and it would have argued imbecility and fickleness in the Queen of Scots, so soon to have forgotten the treachery of her own, and her husband's enemies. There was scarcely one of her ministers, except Rizzio, who had the courage and the good sense to confirm her in these sentiments; and he continued to retain his own opinion, both in this affair and that of the crown-matrimonial, notwithstanding the open threats of Darnley, the mysterious insinuations of Morton, and the attempt at bribery on the part of Murray. This last nobleman, who had played the hypocrite so abjectly before Elizabeth and her court, did not scruple, in his selfish humility, to offer his respects, and to send presents, to one whom he had always been accustomed to call, in the language of his historian, Buchanan, "an upstart fellow," "a base miscreant," "a contemptible mushroom," and to whom he had never before given any thing but "a sour look." *

It may therefore be said, that there were, at

* BUCHANAN'S *History*, MELVILLE'S *Memoirs*, KEITH, p. 325.

this time, four powerful parties connected with Scotland;—Mary was at the head of one, Morton of another, Darnley of a third, and Murray of the fourth. But so long as the Queen retained her ascendancy, the other three factions could have little hope of arriving at their respective objects. Mutually to strengthen each other, a coalition very naturally suggested itself, founded upon the principle of a reciprocity of benefits. The idea was soon matured, and the plan of operations concocted with a secrecy and callous cruelty, worthy of Morton. The usual expedient was adopted, of drawing up and signing a formal bond, or set of articles, which were entered into between Henry King of Scotland, and James Earl of Murray, Archibald Earl of Argyle, Andrew Earl of Rothes, Robert Lord Boyd, Andrew Lord Ochiltree, and certain others “remaining in England;” in which it was stipulated, on the part of the Lords, that, at the first Parliament which should be held after their return, they should take such steps as would secure to Darnley a grant of the crown-matrimonial for all the days of his life; and that, whoever opposed this grant, they should “seek, pursue, and extirpate out of the realm of Scotland, or take and slay them,”—language, it will be observed, which had a more direct application to Mary than to any one else. On the part of Darnley, and in return for these favours, it was declared, that he should not allow, in as much as in him lay, any forfeiture to be led against them; and that, as soon as he obtained the crown-matrimonial, he should give them a free remission for all crimes,—taking every means to remove and punish any one who opposed such

remission.* In plain language, these articles implied neither more nor less than high treason, and place Darnley's character, both as a husband and a man, in the very worst point of view,—shewing him, as a husband, to be wofully deficient in natural affection, and as a man, to be destitute of honour, and incapable of gratitude.

Morton's intrigues having proceeded thus far, there seemed to be only one other step necessary to secure for him the accomplishment of his purposes. Mary, strong in the integrity of her own intention, and in the popularity of her administration, did not suspect the secret machinations which were carried on around her; and of this over-degree of confidence in the stability of her resources, Morton determined to take advantage. He saw that a change in the government must be effected, at whatever risk, though he knew that nothing but a sudden and violent measure could bring it about. It was now February: Parliament was to meet on the 7th of March, and, on the 12th, the trial of the absent Lords was to come on, and after they had been forfeited, the church-lands would be restored to their rightful owners. If Mary's person, however, could be seized; if her principal anti-protestant ministers could be removed from about her; and if Darnley could be invested for a time with the supreme command, these disagreeable consequences might be averted, and the Parliament might be either prorogued, or intimidated into submission. But, without a shadow of justice, to have openly ventured upon putting the Queen

* GOODALL, vol. i. p. 227.

in ward, would have been too daring and dangerous. A scheme, therefore, was formed, by which, under the pretence of caring for her personal safety, and protecting the best interests of the country, she was to be kept, as long as they thought necessary, from exercising her own independent authority. With this view, it was resolved to make David Rizzio the victim and the scapegoat of the conspiracy. Morton and his accomplices well knew that Rizzio was generally hated throughout Scotland: The Reformers, in particular, exaggerating his influence with the Queen, delighted in representing him as the minion of the Pope, and the servant of Antichrist, and there were no terms of abuse too gross which they did not direct against the unfortunate Italian. It would, therefore, give a popular effect to the whole enterprize, were it to be believed that it was undertaken principally for the sake of ridding the country from so hateful an interloper. Many historians, confounding the effect with the cause, have been puzzled to explain why Rizzio's murder should have led so immediately to the return of Murray and his friends; they forget that it was, on the contrary, a determination to secure their return, and to discover a plausible pretext for retaining Mary a prisoner in her own palace, that led to the murder.

In the mean time, Rizzio was not without some apprehensions for his personal safety. The Scots, though they seldom evince much reluctance to secure their own advancement in foreign countries, are of all nations the most averse to allow strangers to interfere with their affairs at home. Aware that they have little enough for themselves, they

cannot bear to see any part of what they consider their birthright given away to aliens, however deserving. Rizzio's abilities, and consequent favour with the Queen, were the means of placing in his hands so much power and wealth, that he incurred the hatred and envy of almost every one about court. In the homely but expressive language of Melville, "some of the nobility would gloom upon him, and some of them would shoulder him and shoot him by, when they entered in the chamber, and found him always speaking with her Majesty." Buchanan, that able but most prejudiced and disingenuous historian, expressing the prevalent sentiments of the day, says, that "the low birth and indigent condition of this man, placed him in a station in which he ought naturally to have remained, unknown to posterity; but that which fortune called him to act and to suffer in Scotland, obliges history to descend from its dignity to record his adventures." As if "low birth and indigent condition" have ever been, or will ever be, barriers sufficient to shut out genius and talent from the road to greatness. But Rizzio was in truth far from being of that officious, conceited, and encroaching disposition, which Buchanan has ascribed to him. Sir James Melville, who knew him well, gives quite an opposite impression of his character. He mentions, that not without some fear, Rizzio lamented his state to him, and asked his council how to conduct himself. Sir James told him, that strangers ought to be cautious how they meddled too far in the affairs of foreign countries; for that, though he was her Majesty's continental secretary, it was suspected a great deal of Scottish business

also passed through his hands. "I advised him," says Melville, "when the nobility were present, to give them place, and pray the Queen's Majesty to be content therewith; and shewed him, for an example, how I had been in so great favour with the Elector Palatine, that he caused set me at his own table, and, the board being drawn, used to confer with me in presence of his whole court. Whereat, divers of them took great indignation against me, which, so soon as I perceived, I requested him to let me sit from his own table with the rest of his gentlemen, and no more to confer with me in their presence, but to send a page for me, any time that he had leisure, to come to him in his chamber; which I obtained, and that way made my master not to be hated, nor myself to be envied: and wiled him to do the like, *which he did*, and said unto me afterwards, that the Queen would not suffer him, but would needs have him to use himself in the old manner." Melville then spoke to Mary herself upon the subject, and she expressly told him, that Signor David Rizzio "meddled no farther but in her French writings and affairs, as her other French secretary had done before."*

Rizzio's religion was another reason why he was so very unpopular. It was confidently asserted that he was in the pay of the Pope; and that he was in close correspondence with the Cardinal of Lorraine. Be this as it may, the support he undoubtedly gave, so far as lay in his power, to the Scottish Catholics, was of itself enough, in these times of bigotry, to make his

* MELVILLE'S *Memoirs*, p. 132-3.

assassination be considered almost a virtue. Besides, there were some more personal and private grounds for Morton and his friends wishing to get rid of the secretary. There is a remarkable passage in Blackwood's "*Martyre de Marie*," by which it would appear, that it was not the original intention of the conspirators to assassinate Rizzio, but merely to secure the person of Mary; and that it was in consequence of Rizzio's fidelity to the Queen, and refusal to sanction such a proceeding, that they afterwards changed their plan. "The Earl of Morton," says Blackwood, "had apartments in the royal palace.* There lodged there also her Majesty's secretary, David Rizzio, a Piedmontese, and a man of great experience, and well versed in affairs of state. He was much respected by his mistress, not for any beauty or external grace that was in him, being rather old, ugly, austere, and disagreeable, but for his great fidelity, wisdom, and prudence, and on account of several other good qualities which adorned his mind. But, on the other hand, his master (the King) hated him greatly, both because he had laboured to effect the re-establishment of the house of Hamilton," (the Duke of Chatelherault, it will be recollected, was the only one of the rebels who had been pardoned,) "and because *he had not only refused to become a party to, but had even revealed to the Queen, a certain conspiracy that had been concluded on between his Highness and the rebels,*

* We translate from the original French of an edition of the *Martyre de la Roynie d'Escosse*, printed at Antwerp, in the year 1583,—which very nearly agrees with the edition in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 202.

by which it was resolved to shut up her Majesty in a castle, under good and sure guard, that Darnley might gain for himself all authority, and the entire government of the kingdom. My Lord Ruthven, the head of this conspiracy, entertained the greatest ill-will against the poor secretary, because he had neither dared nor been able to conceal from her Majesty, that he had found Ruthven and all the conspirators assembled together in council in a small closet, and had heard her husband express himself with especial violence and chagrin. Besides, Morton, fearing greatly the foresight and penetration of this man, whom he knew to be entirely opposed to his designs, resolved to accomplish his death, and, in so doing, comply with the advice which had been given him by the English court." This is a passage of much interest, and puts, in a clear and strong point of view, the treasonable designs of this formidable conspiracy.*

* Buchanan alone, of all the Scottish historians, has dared to insinuate the probability of an illicit intercourse having subsisted between Mary and Rizzio; and the calumny is too self-evidently false to merit a moment's notice. Every respectable writer reprobates so disgusting a piece of scandal, however unfavourably inclined towards Mary in other respects. Camden, Castelnau, Robertson, Hume, Tytler, Laing, and Dr Stuart, all of whom think it worth while to advert to the subject in Notes, put the falsehood of Buchanan's assertion beyond the most distant shadow of a doubt. Indeed, it is paying it too great a compliment to advert to it at all.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ASSASSINATION OF DAVID RIZZIO.

IT was on the evening of Saturday the 9th of March, 1566,* that the conspirators determined to strike the blow, which was either to make or mar them.† The retainers of Morton, and the other Lords, his accomplices, assembled secretly in the neighbourhood of the palace, to the number of nearly five hundred. They were all armed, and when it became dark, Morton, who took the command, led them into the interior court of Holyroodhouse, which, in his capacity of Lord High Chancellor of the kingdom, he was able to do, without much difficulty or suspicion. It had been arranged, that he should remain to guard the entry to the palace, whilst Ruthven, with a select party, was to proceed to the Queen's

* Miss Benger, oddly enough, says it was on Saturday, the 5th of April,—a mistake into which no other historian with whom we are acquainted has fallen. MISS BENDER'S *Memoirs*, vol. II. p. 233.

† The Parliament had met upon the 7th, and Mary had opened it in person, unattended by Darnley, who refused to give it his countenance; but no business of importance had as yet been transacted.

chamber. Patrick Lord Ruthven was exactly the sort of person suited for a deed of cowardice and cruelty, being by nature cursed with dispositions which preferred bigotry to religion, and barbarism to refinement. He was now in the forty-sixth year of his age, and had been for some months confined to a sick-bed, by a dangerous disease.* Though scarcely able to walk, he, nevertheless, undertook to head the assassins. He wore a helmet, and a complete suit of armour, concealed under a loose robe.†

Mary, altogether unsuspecting of the tragedy about to be performed, sat down to supper, as usual, at seven o'clock. There were with her only her illegitimate sister, the Countess of Argyle, her brother, the Lord Robert Stuart, and her Foreign Secretary, David Rizzio. Beaton, her Master of the Household, Erskine, an inferior attendant, and one or two other servants of the Privy Chamber, were in waiting at a side-table; or, in the words of Stranguage, "tasting the meat taken from the Queen's table, at the cupboard, as the servants of the Privy Chamber use to do."‡ It is a curious and interesting fact, that, notwithstanding all the changes which time has wrought on the Palace of Holyrood, the very cabinet in which Mary had supped, on this eventful evening, as well as the adjoining rooms and passages through which the conspirators came, still exist, in nearly the same state in which they

* This disease was "an inflammation of the liver, and a consumption of the kidneys." KETH, *Appendix*, p. 119.

† BLACKWOOD in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 204; GOODALL, vol. i. p. 252.

‡ STRANGUAGE, p. 33; CRAWFORD'S *Memoirs*, p. 9.

were in the year 1566. The principal staircase, in the north-west tower, leads up to the Queen's chamber of presence;—passing through this apartment, a door opens into Mary's bed-room, where her own bed yet stands, although its furniture is now almost in tatters. It was in the small closet, or cabinet, off her bed-room, containing one window, and only about twelve feet square, that Mary sat at supper, on the 9th of March, two hundred and sixty-four years ago. Communicating with Darnley's chamber, immediately beneath, there was, and is, a private passage into Mary's bed-room, by which it could be entered, without previously passing through the presence-chamber. The approach to this passage, from the Queen's room, is concealed by a piece of wainscot, little more than a yard square, which hangs upon hinges in the wall, and opens on a trap-stair. It had been originally proposed to seize Rizzio in his own apartment; but this plan was abandoned, for two reasons: *first*, Because it was less certain, since it was often late before Rizzio retired for the night; since he sometimes did not sleep in his own room at all, but in that of his brother; and since there were back-doors and windows, through which he might have effected his escape; and, *second*, Because it would not have so much intimidated Mary, and would have made it necessary to employ another party to secure her person,—the chief object of the conspirators.*

To ascertain whether there was any thing to hinder the execution of their design, Darnley,

* KEITH, *Appendix*, p. 122.

about eight o'clock, went up the private stairs, and, entering the small room where his wife was supping, sat down familiarly beside her. He found, as he expected, his victim Rizzio in attendance, who, indeed, owing to bad health, and the little estimation in which he was held by the populace, seldom went beyond the precincts of the palace.* He was dressed, this evening, in a loose *robe-de-chambre* of furred damask, with a satin doublet, and a hose of russet velvet; and he wore a rich jewel about his neck, which was never heard of after his death.† The conspirators having allowed sufficient time to elapse, to be satisfied that all was as they wished, followed the King up the private way, which they chose, in order to avoid any of the domestics, who might have been in the presence-chamber, and given an alarm. They were headed by the Lord Ruthven, and George Douglas, an illegitimate son of the Earl of Angus, and the bastard brother of Darnley's mother, the Lady Lennox; a person of the most profligate habits, and an apt instrument in the hands of the Earl of Morton. These men, followed by as many of their accomplices as could crowd into the small room where Mary sat, entered abruptly, and without leave; whilst the remainder, to the number of nearly two score, collected in her bed-room. Ruthven, with his heavy armour rattling upon his lank and exhausted frame, and looking as grim and fearful as an animated corpse, stalked into the room first, and threw himself unceremoniously into a chair. The

* CONÆUS in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 25.

† ROBERTSON'S *Appendix* to vol. i. No. XV.

Queen, with indignant amazement, demanded the meaning of this insolent intrusion, adding, that he came with the countenance, and in the garb of one who had no good deed in his mind. Turning his hollow eyes upon Rizzio, Ruthven answered, that he intended evil only to the villain who stood near her. On hearing these words, Rizzio saw that his doom was fixed, and lost all presence of mind; but Mary, through whose veins flowed the heroic blood of James V, and his warlike ancestors, retained her self-possession. She turned to her husband, and called upon him for protection; but, perceiving that he was disposed to remain a passive spectator of the scene, she ordered Ruthven to withdraw under pain of treason, promising, that, if Rizzio was accused of any crime, it should be inquired into by the Parliament, then assembled. Ruthven replied only by heaping upon the unfortunate secretary a load of abuse; and, in conclusion, declared the determination of the conspirators to make themselves masters of Rizzio's person. Rizzio, scarcely knowing what he did, pressed close into the recess at the window, with his dagger drawn in one hand, and clasping the folds of Mary's gown with the other. In spite of every threat, he remained standing behind her, continually exclaiming, in his native language, and in great agitation, *Giustizia! Giustizia!* Mary's own person was thus exposed to considerable danger, and the assassins desired Darnley to take his wife in his arms and remove her out of the way. The confusion and terror of the scene now increased a hundredfold;—the master of the household, and the three or four servants of the

privy chamber, attempted to turn Lord Ruthven out of the room ;—his retainers rushing to his support, overturned the supper table, threw down the dishes and the candles, and, with hideous oaths, announced their resolution to murder Rizzio. Their own impetuosity might have frustrated their design ; for, had not the Countess of Argyle caught one of the candles in her hand as it was falling, they would have been involved in darkness, and their victim might have escaped.

The first man who struck Rizzio was George Douglas. Swords and daggers had been drawn, and pistols had been presented at him and at the Queen ; but no blow was given, till Douglas, seizing the dirk which Darnley wore at his side, stabbed Rizzio over Mary's shoulder, though, at the moment, she was not aware of what he had done. The unhappy Italian was then forcibly dragged out into the bed-room, and through the presence-chamber, where the conspirators, gathering about him, speedily completed the bloody deed, leaving in his body no fewer than fifty-six wounds. He lay weltering in his gore at the door of the presence-chamber for some time ; and a few large dusky spots, whether occasioned by his blood or not, are to this day pointed out, which stain that part of the floor. The body was afterwards thrown down the stairs, and carried from the palace to the porter's lodg^s, with the King's dagger still sticking in his side. He was obscurely buried next day ; but, at a subsequent period, more honourably, near the royal vault in Holyrood Chapel.*

* KEITH, p. 330, *Appendix*, p. 119 ; MFLVILLE'S *Memours*, p. 148 ; BUCHANAN'S *History of Scotland*, book

Such was the unhappy end of one who, having come into Scotland poor and unbefriended, had been raised, through the Queen's penetration and his own talents, to an honourable office, the duties of which he discharged with fidelity. If his rise was sudden, his fall was more so; for, up to the very day of his assassination, many of the Scottish nobility, says Buchanan, "sought his friendship, courted him, admired his judgment, walked before his lodgings, and observed his levee." But death no sooner put an end to his influence, than the

xvii.; *Martyre de Marie* in Jebb, vol. ii. p. 204; KNOX, p. 392; HOLINSHED'S *Chronicles*, p. 382; ROBERTSON, *Appendix* to vol. i. No. XV. Some historians have maintained, that RIZZIO was actually despatched in Mary's presence. But this is not the fact, for Mary remained ignorant of his fate till next day. In a letter which the Earl of Bedford and Randolph wrote to the Privy Council of England, giving an account of this murder, and which has been published in the first series of "ELLIS'S *Original Letters, illustrative of English History*," (vol. ii. p. 207,) we find these words. — "He was not slain in the Queen's presence, as was said." Holinshed, and others, are equally explicit. It has been likewise said, that it was not intended to have killed him that evening; but to have tried him next day, and then to have hanged or beheaded him publicly. That there is no foundation for this assertion, is proved by the authorities quoted above; and to these may be added, the letter from Morton and Ruthven to Throckmorton, and "the bond of assurance for the murder to be committed," granted by Darnley to the conspirators, on the 1st of March, both preserved by GOODALL, vol. i. p. 264, and 266. That the conspirators meant, as others have insisted, to take advantage of the situation in which Mary then was, and terrify her into a miscarriage, which might have ended in her death, is unsupported by any evidence; nor can we see what purposes such a design would have answered.

memory of the once envied Italian was calumniated upon all hands. Knox even speaks approvingly of his murder, (as he had formerly done of that of Cardinal Beaton,) assuring us that he was slain by those whom "God raised up to do the same,"—an error, indicating a distorted moral perception, from the reproach consequent on which, his biographer, M^cCrie, has unsuccessfully endeavoured to defend him.* The reformer adds to his notice of Rizzio, a story which suits well the superstitious character of the times, and which Buchanan has repeated. He mentions, that there was a certain John Daniot, a French priest, and a reputed conjuror, who told Rizzio "to beware of a bastard." Rizzio, supposing he alluded to the Earl of Murray, answered, that no bastard should have much power in Scotland, so long as he lived; but the prophecy was considered to be fulfilled, when it was known that the bastard Douglas, was the first who stabbed him. †

In the mean time, the Earl of Morton, who had been left below, to guard the gates, being informed that Rizzio was slain, and that Ruthven and Darnley retained possession of the Queen's person, made an attempt to seize several of the nobility who lodged in the palace, and whom he knew to be unfavourable to his design of restoring the banished Lords. Whether it was his intention to have put them also to death, it is difficult to say; but it is at all events not likely that he would have treated them with much leniency. The noblemen in question, however,—who were the Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, and Athol, the

* Vide M^cCRIE'S *Life of Knox*, vol. i. p. 47.

† KNOX, p. 339; BUCHANAN, book xvii.

Lords Fleming and Livingston, and Sir James Balfour, — contrived, not without much difficulty, to effect their escape. The two first let themselves down by ropes at a back window ; Athol, who was supping in the town with Maitland, was apprized of his danger, and did not return to Holyrood that night. He, or some of the fugitives, hastened to the Provost of Edinburgh, and informed him of the treasonable proceedings at the palace. The alarm-bell was immediately rung; and the civic authorities, attended by five or six hundred of the loyal citizens, hastened down to Holyrood, and called upon the Queen to shew herself, and assure them of her safety. But Mary, who was kept a prisoner in the closet in which she had supped, was not allowed to answer this summons, the conspirators well knowing what would have been the consequences. On the contrary, as she herself afterwards wrote to her ambassador in France, she was “ extremely threatened by the traitors, who, in her face, declared, that, if she spoke to the town’s people, they would cut her in collops, and cast her over the walls.” Darnley went to the window, and informed the crowd that he and the Queen were well, and did not require their assistance ; and Morton and Ruthven told them, that no harm had been done, and beseeched them to return home, which, upon these assurances, they consented to do.

A scene of mutual recrimination now took place between Mary and her husband, which was prolonged by the rude and gross behaviour of Ruthven. That barbarian, returning to the Queen’s apartment, after having imbrued his hands in the blood of Rizzio, called for a cup of

wine, and having seated himself, drained it to the dregs, whilst Mary stood beside him. Being somewhat recovered from the extreme terror she had felt when she saw her secretary dragged away by the assassins, she rebuked Ruthven for his unmannerly conduct; but he only added insult to the crimes he had already committed. Perceiving, at length, that her Majesty was growing sick and ill, (and, even without referring to what the conspirators well knew, that she had been *enferme* for seven months, her indisposition will excite little wonder,) he proposed to the King that they should retire, taking care to station a sufficiently strong guard at the door of Mary's chamber. "All that night," says Mary, "we were detained in captivity within our chamber, and not permitted to have intercommunion scarcely with our servant-women." *

Next morning, although it was Sunday, the conspirators issued a proclamation in the King's name, and, without asking the Queen's leave, proroguing the Parliament, and commanding all the temporal and spiritual lords, who had come to attend it, to retire from Edinburgh. Illegal as it was, this proclamation was obeyed; for Morton, and his accomplices, had the executive power in their own hands, and Mary's more faithful subjects were taken so much by surprise, that they were unable to offer any immediate resistance. Mary herself was still kept in strict confinement; and the only attempt she had it in her power to make to escape, which was through the assistance of Sir James Melville, failed. Sir

* KEITH, p. 332, and *Appendix*, 126.

James was allowed to leave the palace early on the forenoon of Sunday ; and, as he passed towards the outer gate, Mary happened to be looking over her window, and called upon him imploringly for help. " I drew near unto the window," says Melville, " and asked what help lay in my power, for that I should give. She said, ' Go to the Provost of Edinburgh, and bid him, in my name, convene the town with speed, and come and relieve me out of these traitors' hands ; but run fast, for they will stay you.' " The words were scarcely spoken, before some of the guards came up, and challenged Sir James. He told them, he " was only passing to the preaching in St Giles's Kirk," and they allowed him to proceed. He went direct to the Provost, and delivered his commission from the Queen ; but the Provost protested he did not know how to act, for he had received contrary commands from the King ; and, besides, the people, he said, were not disposed to take up arms to revenge Rizzio's death. Sir James was, therefore, reluctantly obliged to send word to Mary, by one of her ladies, that he could not effect her release. In the course of the day, Mary was made acquainted with Rizzio's fate, and she lamented the death of her faithful servant with tears. Between seven and eight in the evening, the Earls of Murray and Rothes, with the other banished Lords, arrived from England. During the whole of the night, and all next day, the Queen was kept as close a prisoner as before.

Morton and his accomplices, however, now found themselves in a dilemma. They had succeeded in bringing home their rebel friends,

in proroguing or dissolving the Parliament, in conferring upon Darnley all the power he wished, in murdering Rizzio, and in chasing from court the nobles who had formed part of the administration along with him. But to effect these purposes, they had grossly insulted their lawful sovereign, and had turned her own palace into a prison, constituting themselves her gaolers. Having achieved all their more immediate objects, the only remaining question was, what were they to do with the Queen? If they were to set her at liberty, could they expect that she would tamely forget the indignities they had offered her, or quietly submit to the new state of things they had established? Had they, on the other hand, any sufficient grounds for proceeding to farther extremities against her? Would the country allow a sovereign, whose reign had been hitherto so prosperous, to be at once deprived of her crown and her authority? * Daring as these men were, they could hardly venture upon a measure so odious. Besides, Darnley, always vacillating, and always contemptible, was beginning to think he had gone too far; and, influenced by something like returning affection for his beautiful consort,

* That something of the kind was actually contemplated, we learn from Mary herself. "In their council," she says in the letter already quoted, "they thought it most expedient we should be warded in our castle of Stirling, there to remain till we had approved in Parliament all their wicked enterprizes, established their religion, and given to the King the crown-matrimonial, and the whole government of our realm; or else, by all appearance, firmly purposed to have put us to death, or detained us in perpetual captivity." *KETH, Appendix*, p. 132.

who was probably in a month or two to make him a father, he insisted that the matter should now be allowed to rest where it was, provided Mary would promise to receive into favour the Lords who had returned from banishment, and would grant a deed of oblivion to all who had taken a part in the recent assassination. Morton, Ruthven, Murray, and the rest, were extremely unwilling to consent to so precarious an arrangement; but Darnley overruled their objections. On Monday evening, articles were drawn up for their security, which he undertook to get subscribed by the Queen; and, trusting to his promises, all the conspirators, including the Lords who had just returned, withdrew themselves and their retainers from Holyroodhouse, and went to sup at the Earl of Morton's. *

As soon as Mary found herself alone with Darnley, she urged, with all the force of her superior mind, every argument she could think of, to convince him how much he erred in associating himself with the existing cabal. She was not aware of the full extent to which he was implicated in their transactions; for he had assured her, that he was not to blame for Rizzio's murder, and as yet she believed him innocent of contriving it. She spoke to him, therefore, with the confidence of an affectionate wife, with the winning eloquence of a lovely woman, and with the force and dignity of an injured Queen. She at length satisfied him, that his best hopes of advancement rested in her, and not on men

* RUTHVEN'S "*Discourse*" concerning the murder of Rizzio, in KEITH, *Appendix*, p. 128.

who, having first renounced allegiance to their lawful sovereign, undertook to confer upon him a degree of power which was not theirs to bestow. Darnley farther learned from Mary, that Huntly, Bothwell, Athol, and others, had already risen in her behalf, and, yielding to her representations and entreaties, he at length consented that they should immediately make their escape together. At midnight, accompanied only by the captain of the guard and two others, they left the palace, and rode to Dunbar without stopping.

In a few days, Mary having been joined by more than one half of her nobility, found herself at the head of a powerful army. The conspirators, on the other hand, seeing themselves betrayed by Darnley, and little supported by the country, were hardly able to offer even the shadow of resistance to the Queen. Still farther to diminish the little strength they had, Mary resolved to make a distinction between the old and the new rebels; and, influenced by reasons on which Morton had little calculated, she consented to pardon Murray, Argyle, and others, who immediately resorted to her, and were received into favour. After remaining in Dunbar only five days, she marched back in triumph to Edinburgh, and the conspirators fled in all directions, to avoid the punishment they so justly deserved. Morton, Maitland, Rutlven, and Lindsay betook themselves to Newcastle, where, for aught that is known to the contrary, they occupied the very lodgings which Murray and his accomplices had possessed a week or two before.

The whole face of affairs was now altered; and Mary, who for some days had suffered so much,

was once more Queen of Scotland. "And such a change you should have seen," says Archbishop Spottiswood, "that they who, the night preceding, did vaunt of the fact (Rizzio's murder) as a godly and memorable act, affirming, some truly, some falsely, that they were present thereat, — did, on the morrow, forswear all that before they had affirmed." But it was not in Mary's nature to be cruel, and her resentments were never of long continuance. Two persons only were put to death for their share in Rizzio's slaughter, and these were men of little note. Before the end of the year, most of the principal delinquents, as will be seen in the sequel, were allowed to return to court. Lord Ruthven, however, died at Newcastle of his old disease, a month or two after his flight thither. His death occasioned little regret, and his name lives in history only as that of a titled murderer. *

* KEITH, p. 334 ; STUART'S *History of Scotland*, p. 138, et seq.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE BIRTH OF JAMES VI.

MARY'S vigorous conduct had again put her in possession of that rightful authority of which so lawless an attempt had been made to deprive her; but though restored to power, she was far from being likewise restored to happiness. The painful conviction was now at length forced upon her, that she had not in all the world one real friend. She felt that the necessities of her situation obliged her to associate in her councils men who were the slaves of ambition, and whose heartless courtesies were offered to her, only until a prospect of higher advantages held out a temptation to transfer them to another. It was shortly after her return to her own kingdom, that Bothwell and others contemplated seizing her person, and assassinating her prime minister, the Earl of Murray;—she had hardly succeeded in frustrating these designs, when Murray himself directed his strength against her;—and now, still more recently, the husband, for whose sake she had raised armies to chase her brother from the country, had aimed at making himself independent of her good offices, and, to ingratiate himself with traitors, had scrupled not to engage in a deed

of wanton cruelty, personally insulting to his wife and sovereign.

Ignorant where to turn for repose and safety, Mary began to lose much of the natural vivacity and buoyancy of her temper; and to feel, that, in those turbulent times, she was endowed with too little of that dissimulation, which enabled her sister, Elizabeth, to steer so successfully among the rocks and shoals of government. In a letter written about this period, to one of her female relations in France, she says, touchingly, "It will grieve you to hear how entirely, in a very short time, I have changed my character, from that of the most easily satisfied and care-chasing of mortals, to one embroiled in constant turmoils and perplexities." "She was sad and pensive," says Sir James Melville, "for the late foul act committed in her presence so irreverently. So many great sighs she would give, that it was pity to hear her, and over-few were careful to comfort her." The perfidy of her nobles Mary could have borne;—it was the disaffection and wickedness of her husband that afflicted her most. Anxious to believe that he had told her the truth, when he asserted that he was not implicated in the murder of Rizzio, she rejoiced to see him issue a proclamation, declaring that he was neither "a partaker in, nor privy to, David's slaughter." But the real state of the matter was too notorious to be kept long concealed. Randolph wrote to Cecil on the 4th of April, 1566:—"The Queen hath seen all the covenants and bands that passed between the King and the Lords, and now findeth that his declaration before her and Council, of his innocency of the death of David, was false; and

is grievously offended, that by their means he should seek to come to the crown-matrimonial." Hence sprang the grief which, in secret, preyed so deeply upon Mary's health and spirits. Few things are more calculated to distress a generous mind, than to discover that the object of its affections is unworthy the love which has been lavished upon it. The young and graceful Darnley, laying at Mary's feet the real or pretended homage of his heart, was a very different person from the headstrong and designing King, colleaguuing with her rebels, assassinating her faithful servant, and endeavouring to snatch the crown from her head. "That very power," says Robertson, "which, with liberal and unsuspecting fondness, she had conferred upon him, he had employed to insult her authority, to limit her prerogative, and to endanger her person: such an outrage it was impossible any woman could bear or forgive." Yet Mary looked upon these injuries, coming, as they did, from the man whom she had chosen to be the future companion of her life, "more in sorrow than in anger;" and though she shed many a bitter tear over his unworthiness, she did not cease to love him.

In the midst of these anxieties, the time for the Queen's delivery drew near. After a short excursion to Stirling and the neighbourhood, in which she was accompanied by Darnley, Murray, Bothwell, and others, she returned to Edinburgh, and, by the advice of her Privy Council, went to reside in the Castle, as the place of greatest security, till she should present the country with an heir to the throne. During the months of April and May, she lived there very quietly,

amusing herself with her work and her books, and occasionally walking out, for she had no wheeled carriage. She occupied herself, too, in endeavouring to reconcile those of her nobility whom contrary interests, and other circumstances, had disunited. It cost her no little trouble to prevail upon the two most trust-worthy of her ministers, the Earl of Huntly, her Chancellor, and Bothwell, her Lord High Admiral, to submit to the returning influence of their old enemy, the Earl of Murray. It was especially galling to them, that Murray and Argyle were the only persons, in addition to the King, allowed to reside in the Castle with her. But it was her own wish to have her husband and her brothers beside her on the present occasion; and no representations made by Bothwell or Huntly could alter her resolution. Yet these two Earls went the length of assuring the Queen, that Murray had entered into a new conspiracy with Morton, and that they would probably put in ward both herself and her infant, as soon as it was born. Surrounded as Mary was by traitors, she could not know whether this information was true or not, but her returning affection for Murray prevailed over every other consideration.*

Elizabeth was all this time narrowly watching the progress of affairs in Scotland. Murray's restoration to favour pleased her much; and, to reconcile Morton and his friends to the failure of their plots, she secretly countenanced and protected them. With her usual duplicity, however, she sent to Edinburgh Henry Killgrew, to

* MERVILLE'S *Memoirs*, p. 154; GOODALL, vol. i. p. 286; CHALMERS, vol. II. p. 164.

congratulate Mary on her late escape, and to assure her that she would give directions to have Morton removed out of England. She likewise recalled Randolph, of whose seditious practices Mary had complained; but, as if to be even with the Scottish Queen, she commanded Killigrew to demand the reason why a certain person, of the name of Ruxby, a rebel and a Papist, had been protected in Scotland? It would have been better for Elizabeth had she allowed this subject to rest. Though Ruxby feigned himself a refugee from England on account of religion, he had, in reality, been privately sent to Scotland by Elizabeth herself, and her Secretary Cecil. The object of his mission was to find out whether Mary carried on any secret correspondence with the English Catholics. For this purpose, he was to pretend that he was a zealous supporter of her right and title to the Crown of England; and that he had some influence with the English Catholics, all of whom, he was to assert, thought as he did. Having thus ingratiated himself with Mary, he was immediately to betray any discoveries he might make to Cecil. The scheme was ingeniously enough contrived; coming as an avowed enemy to Elizabeth, and she herself actually supplying credentials to that effect, no suspicion was for some time entertained of his real designs. That he succeeded in learning any thing which could afford the English Queen reasonable ground of offence, is not likely, for though several communications in cipher passed between him and Cecil, their contents were never made public, and may, therefore, fairly be supposed to have been unimportant. Shortly before Killigrew's arrival,

Rutby's real character had been accidentally discovered; and when the ambassador, more for the sake of aiding than of hindering the spy in the prosecution of his object, made a *pro forma* request that he should not be harboured any longer, Mary instantly ordered him to be apprehended, and all his writings and ciphers to be seized and examined. The indubitable evidence which they afforded of Elizabeth's systematic cunning, forced a smile from Mary, and might have brought a blush to the cheek of her rival. The Queen of Scots, however, did not condescend to give any utterance to the feelings which this affair must have inspired; and nothing farther is known of Elizabeth's disgraced and detected minion.*

Early in June, perceiving that the time of her delivery was at hand, Mary wrote letters to her principal nobility, requiring them to come to Edinburgh during that juncture. She then made her will, which she caused to be thrice transcribed;—one copy was sent to France, a second committed to the charge of her Privy Council, and the third she kept herself. The day preceding her delivery, she wrote, with her own hand, a letter to Elizabeth, announcing the event, but leaving a blank, "to be filled," says Melville, "either with a son or a daughter, as it might please God to grant unto her."

On Wednesday, the 19th day of June, 1566, between nine and ten in the morning, the Queen was safely delivered of a son. The intelligence was received every where, throughout Scotland, with sincere demonstrations of joy. "As the

* MELVILLE'S *Memours*, p. 156; KEITH, p. 397.

birth of a prince," says Keith, "was one of the greatest of blessings that God could bestow upon this poor divided land; so was the same most thankfully acknowledged by all ranks of people, according as the welcome news thereof reached their ears." In Edinburgh, the triumph continued for several days; and, upon the first intimation of the event, all the nobility in the town, accompanied by most of the citizens, went in solemn procession to the High Church, and offered up thanksgiving for so signal a mercy shewn to the Queen and the whole realm.

When the news was conveyed to England, it was far from being heard with so much satisfaction. It was between eleven and twelve on the morning of the 19th, that the Lady Boyne came to Sir James Melville, and told him, that their prayers being granted, he must carry Mary's letter to London with all diligence. "It struck twelve hours," says Sir James, "when I took my horse, and I was at Berwick that same night. The fourth day after, I was at London,"—a degree of despatch very unusual in those times. Melville found Elizabeth at Greenwich, "where her Majesty was in great merriness, and dancing after supper. But so soon as the Secretary, Cecil, sounded the news in her ear of the prince's birth, all merriness was laid aside for that night; every one that was present marvelling what night move so sudden a changement. For the Queen sat down with her hand upon her haffet, (cheek,) and bursting out to some of her ladies, how that the Queen of Scotland was lighter of a fair son, and that she was but a barren stock." Next morning, Elizabeth gave Melville a formal audience, at

which, having had time for preparation, she endeavoured to dissemble her real feelings; though, by over-acting her part, she made them only the more apparent. She told him gravely, that the joyful news he brought her, had recovered her out of a heavy sickness, which had held her for fifteen days! "Then I requested her Majesty," says Melville, "to be a gossip unto the Queen, for our *comers* are called gossips in England, which she granted gladly to be. Then, I said, her Majesty would have a fair occasion to see the Queen, which she had so oft desired. At this she smiled, and said, that she would wish that her estate and affairs might permit her; and promised to send both honourable lords and ladies to supply her room."*

* MEI VILLE'S *Memoirs*, p. 158.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MARY'S TREATMENT OF DARNLEY, AND ALLEGED LOVE
FOR THE EARL OF BOTHWELL.

As soon as she had sufficiently recovered to be able to quit the Castle, Mary resolved on leaving the fatigues of government behind, and going for some time into the country. Her infant son was intrusted to the care of the Earl and Countess of Mar, as his governor and governess. The time was not yet arrived to make arrangements regarding his education; but the General Assembly had already sent a deputation to the Queen, to entreat that she would allow him to be brought up in the Reformed religion. To this request Mary avoided giving any positive answer; but she condescendingly took the infant from the nurse, and put it into the arms of some of the divines. A prayer was pronounced over it; and Spottiswood assures us, that, at the conclusion, the child gave an inarticulate murmur, which the delighted Presbyterians construed to be an *Amen*.

It was the seat of the Earl of Mar at Alloa that the Queen first visited. Being not yet equal to the fatigues of horseback, she went on board a

vessel at Newhaven, and sailed up the Forth. She was accompanied by Murray and others of her nobility.* Buchanan, whose constant malice and misrepresentation become at times almost ludicrous, says—“Not long after her delivery, on a day very early, accompanied by very few that were privy of her council, she went down to the water-side at a place called the New-haven; and while all marvelled whither she went in such haste, she suddenly entered into a ship, there prepared for her. With a train of thieves, all honest men wondering at it, she betook herself to sea, taking not one other with her.”—“When she was in the ship,” he says elsewhere, “among pirates and thieves, she could abide at the pump, and joyed to handle the boisterous cables.”† It is thus this trustworthy historian describes a sail of a few hours, enjoyed by Mary and her court.

Darnley, who, though not very contented either with himself or any one else, was about this time much in the Queen's company, went to Alloa by land, and remained with Mary the greater part of the time she continued at the Earl of Mar's. The uneasiness he suffered, and the peevish complaints to which he was continually giving utterance, were occasioned by the want of deference, with which he found himself treated by all Mary's ministers. The general odium into which he had fallen, was to be attributed entirely to his own folly. Between him and the Earl of Murray there had long existed a deadly hatred:

* KEITH, p. 345, and CHALMERS, vol. 1. p. 180.

† BUCHANAN'S *History*, book XVIII. ; his “*Detection*,” in ANDERSON'S *Collections*, vol. II. p. 6 ; and his “*Oration*,” p. 44.

in associating himself with Morton, and plotting against Huntly and Bothwell, he had irremediably offended the two last mentioned noblemen; and in deserting Morton and his faction, he had for ever lost the friendship of the only men who seemed willing to regard him with any favour. The distressing consciousness of neglect, occasioned by his own misconduct, was thus forced upon him wherever he turned; and, instead of teaching him a lesson of humility, it only served to sour his temper and pervert his feelings. The Queen was deeply grieved to see him so universally hated; and anxiously endeavoured to make herself the connecting link between him and her incensed nobility. Even although she had wished it, she could not have dismissed, to please him, such of her ministers as he considered obnoxious: a measure so unconstitutional would have led to a second rebellion. But she hoped, by treating her husband kindly, and shewing him every attention herself, to make it understood that she expected others to be equally respectful. Having spent some days together at Alloa, Mary and Darnley went to Peebles-shire to enjoy the amusement of hunting; but finding little sport, they returned on the 20th of August to Edinburgh. Thence, they went to Stirling, taking the young prince with them, whom they established in Stirling Castle. Bothwell, in the mean time, in his capacity of Lieutenant of the Borders, was in some of the southern shires attending the duties of his charge. *

* CHALMERS, vol. 1. p. 181, et seq. , GOODALL, vol. i. p. 292, et seq.

It is necessary to detail these facts thus minutely, as Mary's principal calumniator, Buchanan, endeavours to establish, by a tissue of falsehoods, that, immediately after her delivery, or perhaps before it, she conceived a criminal attachment for Bothwell. This absurdity has gained credit with several later writers, and particularly with Robertson, whose knowledge of Mary's motions and domestic arrangements at the period of which we speak, appears to have been very superficial. Yet Robertson may be regarded as even a more dangerous enemy than the former. Buchanan's virulence and evident party spirit, carry their own contradictions along with them; whilst Robertson, not venturing to go the same lengths, (though guided in his belief entirely by Buchanan,) imparts to the authority on which he trusts a greater air of plausibility, by softening down the violence of the original, to suit the calmer tone of professedly unprejudiced history. In the progress of these Memoirs, it will not be difficult to shew, that Robertson's too hastily formed belief, is as little to be depended on as Buchanan's undisguised malice.

Buchanan wishes it to be believed, in the first place, that Mary entertained a guilty love for Rizzio. He then proceeds to assert, that in little more than three months after his barbarous assassination, she had fallen no less violently in love with Bothwell, although, in the mean time, she had been employed in giving birth to her first child, by a husband, whom he allows she doated on nine or ten months before. To bolster up this story, he perverts facts with the most reckless indifference. One specimen of his style we

have already seen in his account of the Queen's voyage to Alloa; and proceeding with his narrative, we find him positively asserting, in the sequel, that, for the two or three following months, Mary was constantly in the company of Bothwell, and of Bothwell alone, knowing, as he must have done all the while, that Murray and Darnley, Bothwell's principal enemies, were her chief associates, and that Bothwell spent most of the time in a distant part of the kingdom.

Robertson dates, even more confidently than Buchanan, the commencement of Mary's love for Bothwell at a period prior to her delivery. But upon this hypothesis, it is surely odd, that Murray and Argyle were permitted by the Queen to reside in the Castle previous to and during her confinement, whilst the same favour was peremptorily refused to Bothwell; and it is no less odd, that shortly after her delivery, Secretary Maitland, at the intercession of the Earl of Athol, was received once more into favour, in direct opposition to the wishes of Bothwell. It is no doubt possible, that, notwithstanding this presumptive evidence to the contrary, Mary may have had all the time a violent love for Bothwell; but are we to give credit to so gross an improbability, merely because Buchanan was the slave of party feeling, and Robertson disposed to be credulous? Are the detected fabrications of the one, entitled to any better consideration than the gratuitous suppositions of the other? "Strange and surprisingly wild," says Keith, "are the accounts given by Knox, but more especially by Buchanan, concerning the King and Queen about this time. I shall not reckon

it worth while to transcribe them here ; and the best and shortest confutation I could propose of them is, to leave my readers the trouble, or rather satisfaction, to compare the same with the just now mentioned abstracts, (of despatches from Randolph to Cecil,) and the three following authentic letters," (from the French and Scottish ambassadors, and the Queen's Privy Council.*) Robertson, it is true, after having asserted, that " Bothwell all this while was the Queen's prime confidant," and that he had acquired " a sway over her heart," proceeds to confess, that " such delicate transitions of passion can be discerned only by those who are admitted near the persons of the parties, and who can view the secret workings of the heart with calm and acute observation." " Neither Knox nor Buchanan," he adds, " enjoyed these advantages. Their humble station allowed them only a distant access to the Queen and her favourite ; and the ardour of their zeal, and the violence of their prejudices, rendered their opinions rash, precipitate, and inaccurate." This is apparently so explicit and fair, that the only wonder is, upon what grounds Robertson ventured to make *his* accusation of Mary, having thus shewn how little dependence was to be placed on the only authorities which supported him in it. It appears that he came to his conclusions by a process of his own, which rendered him independent both of Knox and Buchanan. " Subsequent historians," he says, " can judge of the reality of this reciprocal passion only by its *effects*." Robertson

* KEITH, p. 345.

must of course have been aware that he thus opened the gate to a flood of uncertainty, seeing that the same effects may spring from a hundred different causes. If a man be found dead, before looking for his murderer, it is always proper to inquire whether he has been murdered. Besides, if effects are to be made the criterion by which to form an opinion, the greatest care must be taken that they be not misrepresented. Mary must not be said to have been a great deal in Bothwell's company, at a time she was almost never with him; and she must not be described as being seldom with her husband, at a time they were constantly together.

Laing is another, and still later writer, who has produced a very able piece of special pleading against Mary, in which a false colouring is continually given to facts. "After her delivery," he says, "she removed secretly from the Castle, and was followed by Darnley to Alloa, Stirling, Meggetland, and back again to Edinburgh, as if she were desirous to escape from the presence of her husband." That Darnley *followed* Mary, is an assumption of Mr Laing's own. Conceited as the young King was, he would rather never have stirred out of his chamber again, than have condescended to follow so perseveringly one who wished to avoid him, first to Alloa, then to Stirling, then into Peebles-shire, then back again to Edinburgh, and once more to Stirling. The simple fact on which Laing has built his most erroneous statement is, that Mary chose to go by water to Alloa, whilst Darnley preferred travelling by land; perhaps because he wished to

hunt by the way, or call at the seats of some of the nobility. The distance, altogether, was only twenty miles; and the notion that Mary removed "*secretly*" from the Castle, for the important purpose of taking an excursion to Alloa, is absolutely ludicrous. In support of his assertion that Mary had already lost her heart to Bothwell, Laing proceeds to mention, that, shortly after the assassination of Rizzio, the Earl, for his successful services, was loaded with favours and preferment. That Mary should have conferred some reward upon a nobleman whose power and fidelity were the chief means of preserving her on a tottering throne, is not at all unlikely; but, to make that reward appear disproportioned to the occasion, Laing *misdates* the time when most of Bothwell's offices of trust were bestowed upon him. Several of them were his by hereditary right, such as those of Lord High Admiral, and the Sheriffships of Berwick, Haddington, and Edinburgh. Part of his authority on the Borders he had acquired during the time of the late Queen-Regent, Mary's mother, having been made her Lieutenant, and keeper of Hermitage Castle, in 1558; and it was immediately after his restoration to favour, during the continuance of Murray's rebellion, that he was appointed Lieutenant of the West and Middle Marches, a situation which implied the superiority of the Abbays of Melrose and Haddington.* The only *addition* made to Bothwell's possessions and titles, in consequence

* KNOX, p. 386; ANDERSON, vol. i. p. 90; TYTLER, vol. ii. p. 39, CHALMERS, vol. ii. p. 206-7.

of his services after Rizzio's death, was that of the Castle and Lordship of Dunbar, together with a grant of some crown lands.*

There is another circumstance connected with Bothwell, which we have not yet alluded to, but which may with propriety be stated here. At the period of which we write, when he is accused of being engaged in a criminal intercourse with Mary, he had been only two or three months married to a wife every way deserving of his love. Three weeks before the death of Rizzio, he had espoused, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, the Lady Jane Gordon, the sister of his friend, the Earl of Huntly. She was just twenty, and was possessed of an elegant and cultivated understanding. They were married at Holyrood, on the 22d of February, 1566, after the manner of the Reformed persuasion, although Mary recommended the Catholic ritual. "The Queen desired," says Knox, "that the marriage might be made in the chapel at the mass, which the Earl Bothwell would in no ways grant." † She entertained them, however, at a banquet on the first day; and the feasting and rejoicings continued for a week. Was there any love existing at this time between Mary and her minister? Robertson and Laing seem to

* KNOX, p. 396, and CHALMERS, p. 219

† KNOX, p. 392, CHALMERS, vol. II. p. 206, and 218; LAING, vol. I. p. 359. In the first edition of TYTLER'S "*Vindication*," Bothwell, being confounded with the former Earl, his father, was said to be about fifty-nine at this period. In the second edition, Tytler partly corrected his error, but not entirely; for he states Bothwell's age to be forty-three when he married. Chalmers, who is seldom wrong in the matter of dates, has settled the question.

think there was. Choosing to judge of Mary's feelings towards Bothwell by "*effects*," not of effects by feelings, they quote several passages from the letters of one or two of the foreign ambassadors then in Scotland, which mention that Bothwell possessed great influence at court. That these ambassadors report no more than the truth, may be very safely granted; though certainly there is no evidence to shew that he enjoyed so much weight as Murray, or more than Huntly. Yet he deserved better than the former; for he had hitherto, with one exception, continued as faithful to Mary, as he had previously been to her mother. The letters alluded to, only repeat what Randolph had mentioned six months before. So early as October, 1565, only two months after Mary's marriage with Darnley, and when her love for him remained at its height, Randolph wrote to Cecil—"My Lord Bothwell, for his great virtue, doth now all, next to the Earl of Athol."* Was Mary in love with Bothwell at this date? Or was it with the Earl of Athol? And did she postpone her attachment to Bothwell, till he should prove his for her, by becoming the husband of the Lady Jane Gordon?—We proceed with our narrative.

Having spent some time with Darnley at Stirling, Mary returned to Edinburgh, for the despatch of public business, on the 11th or 12th of September. She wished Darnley to accompany her; but as he could not, or would not, act with either Murray's or Huntly's party, he refused. On the 21st she again rejoined her husband at

* CHALMERS, vol. ii. p. 217.

Stirling; but was recalled once more to Edinburgh, by her Privy Council, on the 23d. She left the French ambassador, Le Croc, with the wayward Darnley, hoping that his wisdom and experience might be of benefit to him.* The distinction which, from this period up to the hour of his death, Darnley constantly made between his feelings for Mary herself, and for her ministers, is very striking. With Mary he was always willing to associate, and she had the same desire to be as much as she could with him; but with the conditions he exacted, and by which alone she was to purchase much of his company, it was impossible for her to comply. She might as well have given up her crown at once, as have dismissed all those officers of state with whom Darnley had quarreled. The truth is, her husband's situation was a very unfortunate one. His own imbecility and unlawful ambition, had brought upon him general odium; yet if he had possessed a stronger mind, or a greater stock of hypocrisy, he might have re-established himself in the good graces of at least a part of the Scottish nobility. But he had neither the prudence to disguise his sentiments, nor the ability to maintain them. "He had not learned," says Chalmers, "to smile, and smile, and be a villain. He was still very young, and still very inexperienced; and the Queen could not easily govern without the aid of those odious men,"—his enemies.

Mary had been only a few days in Edinburgh, when she received a letter from the Earl of Lennox, Darnley's father, which afflicted her not

* CHALMERS, vol. 1. p. 183-4.

a little. Lennox, who resided principally at Glasgow, had gone to Stirling to visit his son; and Darnley had there communicated to him his intention, suggested by his present discontents, to leave the country and proceed to the Continent. Both Lennox and Le Croc, "a wise aged gentleman," as Holinshed calls him, had done all they could to divert him from so mad a purpose, but could not shake his determination. Mary immediately laid her father-in-law's letter before her Privy Council, who "took a resolution to talk with the King, that they might learn from himself the occasion of this hasty deliberation of his, if any such he had; and likewise, that they might thereby be enabled to advise her Majesty after what manner she should comport herself in this conjuncture."* On the evening of the very day that this resolution was adopted, (the 29th of September,) Darnley himself arrived at Holyrood; but being informed that the Earls of Argyle, Murray, and Rothes were with the Queen, he declared he would not enter the palace till they departed.† The Queen took this petulant behaviour as mildly as possible; and, glad of his arrival, even condescended to go forth from the palace to meet him, and conducted him to her own apartment, where they spent the night together. ‡

* MAITLAND'S *Official Letter to Catharine de Medicia*, in Keith, p. 348.

† These noblemen, it may be observed, instead of being the friends, were the personal and political enemies of Bothwell, with whom Darnley was less displeased than with them.

‡ GOODALL, vol. i. p. 284; KEITH, p. 348.

Next day, Mary prevailed upon her husband to attend a meeting of her Council. They requested to be informed by the King, whether he had actually resolved to depart out of the realm, and, if he had, what were the motives that influenced him, and the objects he had in view. They added, "that if he could complain of any of the subjects of the realm, be they of what quality soever, the fault should be immediately repaired to his satisfaction." Mary herself took him by the hand, and speaking affectionately to him, "besought him, for God's sake, to declare if she had given him any occasion for this resolution."* She had a clear conscience, she said, that in all her life she had done no action which could any ways prejudice either his or her own honour; but, nevertheless, that as she might, perhaps, have given him offence without design, she was willing to make amends, as far as he should require,—and therefore "prayed him not to dissemble the occasion of his displeasure, if any he had, nor to spare her in the least manner."† Darnley answered distinctly, that he had no fault to find with the Queen; but he was either unable or unwilling to explain farther. With the stubborn discontent of a petted child, he would neither say one thing nor another—neither confess nor deny. Without agreeing to alter his determination, whatever it might be—and it was, perhaps, after all, only a trick contrived to work upon Mary's affections, and intimidate her into his wishes,—he at length took his leave. Upon

* LE CROC'S *Letter* in Keith, p. 346.

† MAITLAND'S *Letter* in Keith, p. 349.

going away, he said to the Queen, "Farewell, madam; you shall not see my face for a long while." He next bade Le Croc farewell; and then turning coldly to the Lords of the Council, he said "Gentlemen, adieu." *

Shortly afterwards, Mary received a letter from Darnley, in which he complained of two things. "One is," says Maitland, "that her Majesty trusts him not with so much authority, nor is at such pains to advance him, and make him be honoured in the nation, as she at first was. And the other point is, that nobody attends him, and that the nobility deserts his company. To these two points the Queen has made answer, that if the case be so, he ought to blame himself, not her; for that in the beginning she had conferred so much honour upon him, as came afterwards to render herself very uneasy, the credit and reputation wherein she had placed him having served as a shadow to those who have most heinously offended her Majesty; but, howsoever, that she has, notwithstanding this, continued to shew him such respect, that, although they who did perpetrate the murder of her faithful servant, had entered her chamber with his knowledge, having followed him close at the back, and had named him the chief of their enterprize; yet would she never accuse him thereof, but did always excuse him, and was willing to appear as if she believed it not. And then, as to his being not attended, the fault thereof must be charged upon himself, since she has always made an offer to him of her own servants. And, for the nobility,

* MAITLAND in Keith, p. 346, and 349.

they come to court, and pay deference and respect, according as they have any matters to do, and as they receive a kindly countenance; but that he is at no pains to gain them, and make himself beloved by them, having gone so far as to prohibit these noblemen to enter his room, whom she had first appointed to be about his person. If the nobility abandon him, his own deportment towards them is the cause thereof; for, if he desire to be followed and attended by them, he must, in the first place, make them to love him, and, to this purpose, must render himself amiable to them; without which, it will prove a most difficult task for her Majesty to regulate this point, especially to make the nobility consent that he shall have the management of affairs put into his hands; because she finds them utterly averse to any such matter.*

No answer or explanation could be more satisfactory; and the whole affair exhibits a highly favourable view of Mary's conduct and character. Le Croc accordingly says, in his letter to France, —“ I never saw her Majesty so much beloved, esteemed, and honoured; nor so great a harmony amongst all her subjects as at present is, by her wise conduct; for I cannot perceive the smallest difference or division.” That Darnley ever seriously intended to quit the country, is extremely uncertain. It would appear, however, according to Knox, that he still harboured some chimerical design of making himself independent of Mary; and, with this view, he treacherously wrote to the Pope, and the Kings of Spain and France, misre-

* MAITLAND in Keith, p. 350.

presenting the state of affairs, and offering, with their assistance, to re-establish the Catholic religion. Copies of these letters, Knox adds, fell into Mary's hands, who, of course, took steps to prevent their meeting with any attention at the continental courts.* But be this matter as it may, (and its truth rests upon rather doubtful authority, since we find no mention of it, either by the Lords of Privy Council or the French Ambassador,) it is certain that Darnley's determination, hastily formed, was as hastily abandoned.†

* KNOX, p. 399.

† The turn which Buchanan gives to the whole of this affair, in the work he libellously calls a "History," scarcely deserves notice. "In the mean time," he veraciously writes in his Eighteenth Book, "the King, finding no place for favour with his wife, is sent away with injuries and reproaches; and though he often tried her spirit, yet by no offices of observance could he obtain to be admitted to conjugal familiarity as before; whereupon he retired, in discontent, to Stirling." In his "*Detection*," he is still more ludicrously false. "In the mean time," he writes, "the King commanded out of sight, and with injuries and miseries banished from her, kept himself close with a few of his servants at Stirling; for, alas! what should he else do? He could not creep into any piece of grace with the Queen, nor could get so much as to obtain his daily necessary expenses, to find his servants and his horses. And, finally, with brawlings lightly rising for every small trifle, and quarrels, usually picked, he was chased out of her presence; yet his heart, obstinately fixed in loving her, could not be restrained, but he must needs come back to Edinburgh of purpose, with all kind of serviceable humbleness, to get some entry into her former favour, and to recover the kind society of marriage; who once again, with most dishonourable disdain excluded, once again returns from whence he came, there, as in solitary desert,

Shortly after her husband's departure from Edinburgh, the Queen, attended by her officers of state, set out upon a progress towards the Borders, with the view, in particular, of holding justice-courts at Jedburgh. The southern marches of Scotland were almost always in a state of insubordination. The recent encouragement which

to bewail his woful miseries." ANDERSON, vol. ii. p. 9. Another equally honest record of these times, commonly known by the name of "Murray's or Cecil's Journal," the former having supplied the information to the latter, to answer his own views at a subsequent period, says,— "At this time, the King coming from Stirling, was repulsed with chiding." The same Journal mentions, that, on the 24th of September, Mary lodged in the Chequer House, and met with Bothwell,—a story which Buchanan disgustingly amplifies in his "*Detection*," though the Privy Council records prove, that the Queen lodged in her Palace of Holyrood on the 24th, with her Privy Council and officers of state in attendance. As to Buchanan's complaint, that the King was stinted in his necessary expenses, the treasurer's accounts clearly shew its falsehood. "The fact is," says Chalmers, "that he was allowed to order, by himself, payments in money, and furnishings of necessaries from the public treasurer. And the treasurer's accounts shew, that he was amply furnished with necessaries at the very time when those calumnious statements were asserted by men who knew them to be untrue. On two days alone, the 13th and 31st of August, the treasurer, by the King and Queen's order, was supplied with a vast number of articles for the King's use alone, amounting to £300, which is more than the Queen had for six months, even including the necessaries which she had during her confinement." CHALMERS, vol. i. p. 186. These minute details would be unworthy of attention, did they not serve to prove the difficulty of determining whether Buchanan's patron, who was also Mary's prime minister, or the historian himself, possessed the superior talent for misrepresentation.

the secret practices, first of Murray, and afterwards of Morton, both aided by Elizabeth, had given to the turbulent spirit of the Borderers, called loudly for the interference of the law. Mary had intended to hold assizes in Liddesdale in August ; but, on account of the harvest, postponed leaving Edinburgh till October. On the 6th or 7th of that month, she sent forward Bothwell, her Lieutenant, to make the necessary preparations for her arrival ; and, on the 8th, the Queen and her court set out ; the noblemen and gentlemen of the southern shires having been summoned to meet her with their retainers at Melrose. On the 10th, she arrived at Jedburgh. There, or it may have been on her way from Melrose, she received the disagreeable news, that, on the very day she left Edinburgh, her Lieutenant's authority had been insulted by some of the unruly Borderers, and that, soon after his reaching his Castle of Hermitage, a place of strength about eighteen miles from Jedburgh, he had been severely and dangerously wounded. Different historians assign different reasons for the attack made on Bothwell. Some say, that Morton had bought over the tribe of Elliots, to revenge his present disgrace upon one whom he considered an enemy. Others, with greater probability, assert, that it was only a riot occasioned by thieves, whose lawless proceedings Bothwell wished to punish. But, whichever statement be correct, the report of what had actually taken place was, as usual, a good deal exaggerated when it reached Mary. Being engaged, however, with public business at Jedburgh, she was prevented, for several days, from ascer-

taining the precise truth for herself. Finding that she had leisure on the 16th of the month, and being informed that her Lieutenant was still confined with his wounds, she paid him the compliment, or rather discharged the duty, of riding across the country with some attendants, both to inquire into the state of his health, and to learn to what extent her authority had been insulted in his person. She remained with him only an hour or two, and returned to Jedburgh the same evening.*

The above simple statement of facts, so natural in themselves, and so completely authenticated, acquires additional interest when compared with the common version of this story which Buchanan and his follower, Robertson, have contrived to render prevalent. "When the news that Bothwell was in great danger of his life," says Buchanan, "was brought to the Queen at *Borthwick*, though the *winter* was very sharp, she *flew in haste*, first to Melrose, then to Jedburgh. There, though she received certain intelligence that Bothwell was alive, yet, being impatient of delay, and not able to forbear, though in such a bad time of the year, notwithstanding the difficulty of the way, and the danger of robbers, she put herself on her journey, with such attendants as hardly any honest man, though he was but of a mean condition, would trust his life and fortune to. From thence she returned again to Jedburgh, and there she was mighty diligent in making great prepara-

* BIRREL'S *Diary*; KEITH, p. 351; GOODALL, vol. i. p. 302; CHALMERS, vol. i. p. 190, vol. ii. p. 109, and 224.

tions for Bothwell's being brought thither."* The whole of this is a tissue of wilful misrepresentation. No one, unacquainted with Buchanan's character, would read the statement without supposing that Mary proceeded direct from Borthwick to Hermitage Castle, scarcely stopping by the way. Now, if Mary heard of Bothwell's accident at Borthwick (which is scarcely possible,) it must have been, at the latest, on the 9th of October, or more probably on the evening of the 8th; but, so far from being in a hurry in consequence, it appears, by the Privy Council Register, that she did not reach Jedburgh till the 10th, and, by the Privy Seal Register, that she did not visit Hermitage Castle till the 16th of the month.† Had she really ridden from Borthwick to the Hermitage, and back again to Jedburgh in one day, she would have performed a journey of seventy miles, which she could not have done even though she had wished it. As to her employing herself, on her return to Jedburgh, "in making great preparations for Bothwell's being brought thither," she certainly must have made extremely good use of her time, for she returned on the evening of the 16th, and next day she was taken dangerously ill. The motives which induced Buchanan to propagate falsehood concerning Mary, are sufficiently known; but, being known, Robertson ought to have been well convinced of the truth of his allegations

* BUCHANAN'S *History*, book xviii. ; and, in his "*Detection*," he repeats the same story, with still more venom.

† Both of these Registers are quoted by Chalmers, vol. i. p. 181.

before he drew inferences upon such authority. But the Doctor had laid down the principle, that he was to judge of Mary's love for Bothwell by its *effects*; and it became, therefore, convenient for him to assert, that her visit to Hermitage Castle was one of those effects. "Mary *instantly* flew thither," he says, "with an impatience which strongly marks the anxiety of a lover, but little suiting the dignity of a queen." Now, "instantly" must mean, that she allowed at all events six, and probably seven days to elapse; and that, too, after being informed of the danger one of the most powerful and best affectioned of her nobility had incurred in her behalf. Robertson must have thought it strange, that she staid only an hour or two at the Castle. "Upon her finding Bothwell slightly wounded," says Tytler, "was it love that made her in such a violent haste to return back the same night to Jedburgh, by the same bad roads and tedious miles? Surely, if love had in any degree possessed her heart, it must have supplied her with many plausible reasons for passing that night in her lover's company, without exposing herself to the inconveniencies of an uncomfortable journey, and the inclemencies of the night air at that season." If Mary had been blamed for an over-degree of callousness and indifference, there would have been almost more justice in the censure. With honest warmth, Chalmers remarks, that the "*records* and the *facts* laugh at Robertson's false dates and frothy declamation." *

* Miss Benger's observations upon this subject are judicious and forcible. "It was not till the 16th, the Queen, with her officers of state, passed to Hermitage

On the 17th of October, Mary was seized with a severe and dangerous fever, and for ten days her life was esteemed in great danger; indeed, it was at one time reported, at Edinburgh, that she was dead. The fever was accompanied with fainting, or convulsion fits, of an unusual and alarming description. They frequently lasted for three or four hours; and, during their continu-

Castle, twenty miles distant; whether to confer with Bothwell on business, respecting the motives for the late outrage on his person, or purely as a visit of friendship and condolence, a respectful, and, as it should seem, well-merited acknowledgment of his loyal services, must be left to conjecture. It is, however, not improbable, since the Earl of Morton was, at that time, known to be in the neighbouring march of Cessford, that Mary might be anxious to ascertain, from Bothwell's lips, whether he ascribed the attack on his person to that nobleman's instigation. In Morton's behalf, she had long been importuned by Murray, by Elizabeth, and Matland, and, at a proper time, meant to yield to their solicitations; but the discovery of a new treason would have altered her proceedings. To ascertain the fact, was, therefore, of importance. By whatever considerations Mary was induced to pay this visit, there appears not (when calumny is discarded) any specific ground for the suspicion, that she then felt for Bothwell a warmer sentiment than friendship. In all her affections, Mary was ardent and romantic; and though it should have been admitted, that she had gone to Hermitage Castle, merely to say one kind word to the loyal servant, whose blood had lately flowed in her service, she had, two years before, made a far greater effort, to gratify a *female* friend, when she rode to Callender, to assist at the baptism of Lord Livingston's child, regardless of the danger which awaited her from Murray and his party." *Memoirs*, vol. II p. 289. We have dwelt too long on a calumny unsupported by any respectable evidence.

ance, she was, to all appearance, lifeless. Her body was motionless; her eyes closed; her mouth fast; her feet and arms stiff and cold. Upon coming out of these, she suffered the most dreadful pain; her whole frame being collapsed, and her limbs drawn writhingly together. She was at length so much reduced, that she herself began to despair of recovery. She summoned together the noblemen who were with her,—in particular Murray, Huntly, Rothes, and Bothwell, and gave them what she believed to be her dying advice and instructions. Bothwell was not at Jedburgh when the Queen was taken ill, nor did he shew any greater haste to proceed thither, when he heard of her sickness, than she had done to visit him, it being the 24th of October before he left Hermitage Castle.* After requesting her Council to pray for her, and professing her willingness to submit to the will of Heaven, Mary recommended her son to their especial care. She entreated that they would give every attention to his education, suffering none to approach him, whose example might pervert his manners or his mind, and studying to bring him up in all virtue and godliness. She strongly advised the same toleration to be continued in matters of religion, which she had practised; and she concluded, by requesting that suitable provision should be made for the servants of her household, to whom Mary was scrupulously attentive, and by all of whom she was much beloved. Fortunately, however, after an opportunity had been thus afforded her of evincing her strength of mind, and willingness

* CHALMLERS, vol. II. p. 224.

to meet death, the violence of her disease abated, and her youth and good constitution triumphed over the attack.

Darnley, who was with his father at Glasgow, probably did not hear of the Queen's illness till one or two days after its commencement ; but as soon as he was made acquainted with her extreme danger, he determined on going to see her. Here, again, we discover the marked distinction that characterized Darnley's conduct towards his wife and towards her nobility. With Mary herself he had no quarrel ; and though his love for her was not so strong and pure as it should have been, and was easily forgotten when it stood in the way of his own selfish wishes, he never lost any opportunity of evincing his desire to continue on a friendly footing with her. When he last parted from her at Holyrood, he had said that she should not see him for a long while ; but, startled into better feelings by her unexpected illness, he came to visit her at Jedburgh, on the 28th of October. The Queen was, by this time, better ; but her convalescence being still uncertain, Darnley's arrival was far from being agreeable to her ministers. Should Mary die, one or other of them would be appointed Regent, an office to which they knew that Darnley, as father to the young prince, had strong claims. It was their interest, therefore, to sow dissension, in every possible way, between the Queen and her husband ; and they trembled lest the remaining affection they entertained for each other, might be again rekindled into a more ardent flame. Mary, when cool and dispassionate, they knew they could manage easily ; but Mary, when in love, chose, like most other

women, to have her own way. They received Darnley, on the present occasion, so forbiddingly, and gave him so little countenance, that, having spent a day and a night with Mary, he was glad again to take his departure, and leave her to carry on the business of the state, surrounded by those designing and factious men who were weaving the web of her ruin.

On the 9th of November, the Queen, with her court, left Jedburgh, and went to Kelso, where she remained two days. She proceeded thence to Berwick, attended by not fewer than eight hundred knights and gentlemen on horseback. From Berwick, she rode to Dunbar; and from Dunbar, by Tantallan to Craigmillar, where she arrived on the 20th of November, 1566, and remained for three weeks, during which time, a proposal was made to her by her Privy Council, which deserves particular attention. It originated with the Earl of Bothwell, who was now an active cabinet minister, and officer of state. Murray and Darnley, the only two persons in her kingdom to whom Mary had been willing to surrender, in a great degree, the reins of government, had deceived her, and finding her interests betrayed by them, she knew not where to look for an adviser. RIZZIO had been faithful to her, and to him she listened with some deference, but it was impossible that he could ever have supplied the place of a prime minister. The Earl of Morton was not destitute of ambition sufficient to have made him aspire to that office; but he chose, unfortunately for himself, to risk his advancement, in espousing Darnley's cause, in opposition to the Queen. Both, in consequence, fell into

suspicion : Morton was banished from court, and Murray again made his appearance there. But, though she still had a partiality for her brother, Mary could not now trust him, as she had once done. Gratitude and common justice called upon her not to elevate him above those men, (particularly Huntly and Bothwell,) who had enabled her to pass so successfully through her recent troubles. She made it her policy, therefore, to preserve as nice a balance of power as possible among her ministers. Bothwell's rank and services undoubtedly entitled him to the first place ; but this the Queen did not choose to concede to him. The truth is, she had never any partiality for Bothwell. His turbulent and boisterous behaviour, soon after her return from France, gave her, at that period, a dislike to him, which she testified, by first committing him to prison, and afterwards ordering him into banishment. He had conducted himself better since his recall ; but experience had taught Mary the deceitfulness of appearances ; and Bothwell, though much more listened to than before, was not allowed to assume any tone of superiority in her councils. She restored Maitland to his lands and place at court, in such direct opposition to the Earl's wishes, that, so recently as the month of August, he and Murray came to very high words upon the subject in the Queen's presence. After Rizzio's murder, some part of Maitland's lands had been given to Bothwell. These Murray wished him to surrender ; but the latter declared positively, that he would part with them only with his life. Murray, enraged at his obstinacy, told Bothwell, that " twenty as honest men as he should lose

their lives, ere he saw Lethington robbed ;” and through his influence with his sister, Maitland was pardoned, and his lands given back. * Thus Mary endeavoured to divide her favours and friendship among Murray, Bothwell, Maitland, Argyle the Justice-General, and Huntly the Chancellor.

It was in this state of affairs, when the contending interests of the nobility were in so nice an equilibrium, that Bothwell’s daring spirit suggested to him, that there was an opening for any one bold and ambitious enough to take advantage of it. As yet, his plans were immatured and confused ; but he began to cherish the belief that a dazzling reach of power was within his grasp, were he only to lie in wait for a favourable opportunity to seize the prize. With these views, it was necessary for him to strengthen and increase his resources as much as possible. His first step was to prevail on Murray, Huntly, and Argyle, about the beginning of October, to join with him in a bond of mutual friendship and support : † his second was to lay aside any enmity he may have felt towards Morton, and to intimate to him, that he would himself petition the Queen for his recall : his third and boldest measure, was that of arranging with the rest of the Privy Council the propriety of suggesting to Mary a divorce from her husband.

Bothwell’s conscience seldom troubled him much when he had a favourite end in view. He was about to play a hazardous game ; but, if the

* ROBERTSON, *Appendix* to vol. i. No. XVII.

† KEITH, *Appendix*, p. 139.

risk was great, the glory of winning would be proportionate. Darnley had fallen into general neglect and odium; yet he stood directly in the path of the Earl's ambition. He was resolved that means should be found to remove him out of it; and as there was no occasion to have recourse to violence until gentler methods had failed, a divorce was the first expedient of which he thought. He knew that the proposal would not be disagreeable to the nobility; for it had been their policy, for some time back, to endeavour to persuade the nation at large, and Mary in particular, that it was Darnley's ill conduct that made her unhappy, and created all the differences which existed. Nor were these representations altogether unfounded, but the Queen's unhappiness arose not so much from her husband's ingratitude, as from the impossibility of retaining his regard, and at the same time discharging her duty to the country. Though the nobles were determined to shut their eyes to the fact, it was nevertheless the share which they held in the government, and the necessity under which Mary lay to avail herself of their assistance, which alone prevented her from being much more with her husband, and a great deal less with them. There were even times, when, perplexed by all the thousand cares of greatness, and grievously disappointed in the fulfilment of her most fondly cherished hopes, Mary would gladly have exchanged the splendours of her palace for the thatched roof and the contentment of the peasant. It was on more than one occasion that Sir James Melville heard her "casting great sighs, and saw that she would not eat for no persuasion that my Lords of

Murray and Mar could make her." "She is in the hands of the physicians," Le Croc writes from Craigmillar, "and is not at all well. I believe the principal part of her disease to consist in a deep grief and sorrow, which it seems impossible to make her forget. She is continually exclaiming, Would I were dead!" * "But, alas!" says Melville, "she had over evil company about her for the time; the Earl Bothwell had a mark of his own that he shot at." †

One of his bolts Bothwell lost no time in shooting; but it missed the mark. By undertaking to join with them in petitioning for Morton's pardon, and by making other promises, he prevailed on Murray, Huntly, Argyle, and Lethington, to second him in advising the Queen to consent to a divorce. This could be obtained only through the assistance of the Pope, and Murray at first affected to have some religious scruples; but, as the suggestion was secretly agreeable to him, it was not difficult to overcome his objections. "Take you no trouble," said Lethington to him, "we shall find the means well enough to make her quit of him, so that you and my Lord of Huntly will only behold the matter, and not be offended thereat."

The Lords, therefore, proceeded to wait upon the Queen, and lay their proposal before her. Lethington, who had a better command of words than any among them, commenced by reminding her of the "great number of grievous and intolerable offences, the King, ungrateful for the

* KFITH, *Preface*, p. vii.

† MELVILLE'S *Memoirs*, p. 170.

honour received from her Majesty, had committed." He added, that Darnley "troubled her Grace and them all;" and that, if he was allowed to remain with her Majesty, he "would not cease till he did her some other evil turn, which she would find it difficult to remedy." He then proceeded to suggest a divorce, undertaking, for himself and the rest of the nobility, to obtain the consent of Parliament to it, provided she would agree to pardon the Earl of Morton, the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, and their friends, whose aid they would require to secure a majority.

But Lethington, and the rest, soon found that they had little understood Mary's real sentiments towards her husband. She would not at first agree even to talk upon the subject at all; and it was only after "every one of them endeavoured particularly to bring her to the purpose," that she condescended to state two objections, which, setting aside every other consideration, she regarded as insuperable. The first was, that she did not understand how the divorce could be made lawfully; and the second, that it would be to her son's prejudice, rather than hurt whom, she declared she "would endure all torments." Bothwell endeavoured to take up the argument, and to do away with the force of these objections, alleging, that, though his father and mother had been divorced, there had never been any doubt as to his succession to his paternal estates; but both his illustrations and Lethington's oratory met with the same success. Mary answered firmly, "I will that you do nothing, by which any spot may be laid on my honour and conscience; and, therefore, I pray ye, rather let the

matter be in the estate as it is, abiding till God of his goodness put a remedy to it. That you believe would do me service, may possibly turn to my hurt and displeasure." As to Darnley, she expressed a hope that he would soon change for the better; and, prompted by the ardent desire she felt to get rid, for a season, of her many cares, she said she would perhaps go for a time to France, and remain there till her husband acknowledged his errors. She then dismissed Bothwell and his friends, who retired to meditate new plots. *

* GOODALL, vol. II. p. 316; KEITH, p. 355; *Appendix*, p. 136; ANDERSON, vol. II. p. 270, vol. IV. p. 183, and 188, *Martyre de Marie*, in JFBB, vol. II. p. 210. It would be difficult to explain why Robertson, who, in the Dissertation subjoined to his History, allows the authenticity of the documents which detail the particulars of this important conference at Craigmillar, should not have taken the slightest notice of it in the body of his work. There is surely something indicative of partiality in the omission. Miss Benger, who is not always over-favourable to Mary, remarks, on her decision regarding a divorce "It is difficult to develop the motives of Mary's refusal. Had she secretly loved Bothwell, she would probably have embraced the means of liberty, and had she already embarked in a criminal intrigue, she would not have resisted the persuasions of her paramour. If, influenced alone by vindictive feelings, she sought her husband's life, she must have been sensible, that, when the nuptial tie was dissolved, he would be more easily assailable. Why then did she recoil from the proposal, unless she feared to compromise herself by endangering Darnley's safety, or that some sentiments of affection still lingered in her heart? It has been supposed, that she dreaded the censures which might be passed on her conduct in France; or that she feared to separate her interests from those of her husband, lest she should injure her title to the English

crown. All these objections are valid when addressed to reason, but passion would have challenged stronger arguments." *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 301. Blackwood, in his *Martyre de Marie*, mentions, that Mary upon this occasion told her nobility, that "her husband was yet young, and might be brought back to the right path, having left it principally in consequence of the bad advice of those who were no less his enemies than hers."—"This answer," adds Blackwood, "was far from being agreeable to the Lords, proving to them that her Majesty's present estrangement from her husband, was more from the necessity of the times, than because she had ceased to love him."

END OF VOL. I

EDINBURGH

Printed by ANDREW SHORTREED, Thistle Lane

LIFE
OF
MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

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Printed by ANDREW SHORTREED, Thistle Lane.

LIFE
OF
MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

BY
HENRY GLASSFORD BELL, ESQ.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

Ayez memoire de l'ame et de l'honneur de celle qui a este
votre Royne

Mary's own Words

SECOND EDITION.

EDINBURGH
PRINTED FOR CONSTABLE & CO EDINBURGH,
AND HURST, CHANCE, & CO LONDON

1831.



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LIFE
OF
MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHRISTENING OF JAMES VI.

ON the 11th of December, 1566, Mary proceeded to Stirling, to make the necessary arrangements for the baptism of her son, which she determined to celebrate with the pomp and magnificence his future prospects justified. Darnley, who had been with the Queen a week at Craigmillar Castle, and afterwards came into Edinburgh with her, had gone to Stirling two days before.* Ambassadors had arrived from England, France, Piedmont, and Savoy, to be present at the ceremony. The Pope also had proposed sending a nuncio into Scotland; but Mary had good sense enough to know, that her bigoted subjects would be greatly offended, were she to

* CHALMERS, vol. II. p. 173, KEITH, *Preface*, p. vii.
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receive any such servant of Antichrist. It may have occurred to her, besides, that his presence might facilitate the negotiations for the divorce proposed by her nobility, but which she was determined should not take place. She, therefore, wrote to the great spiritual Head of her Church, expressing all that respect for his authority which a good Catholic was bound to feel; but, at the same time, she contrived to prevent his nuncio, Cardinal Laurea, from coming farther north than Paris.*

The splendour of Mary's preparations for the approaching ceremony, astonished not a little the sober minds of the Presbyterians. "The excessive expenses and superfluous apparel," says Knox, "which were prepared at that time, exceeded far all the preparations that ever had been devised or set forth before in this country." Elizabeth, as if participating in Mary's maternal feelings, ordered the Earl of Bedford, her ambas-

* The above transaction, in which there is so little mystery, has been converted by Robertson into "a negotiation, secretly carried on by Mary, for subverting the Reformed Church." He cannot, it is true, very easily reconcile the "negotiation" with the fact, that, "at the very time, she did not scruple publicly to employ her authority towards obtaining for the ministers of that Church a more certain and comfortable subsistence." "During this year," he tells us, "she issued several proclamations and Acts of Council for that purpose, and readily approved of every scheme which was proposed for the more effectual payment of their stipends." The historian might have inquired a little more closely into the real nature of her correspondence with the Court of Rome, before charging Mary with "falsehood and deceit," and availing himself of the subject to point a moral.

sador, to appear at Stirling with a very gorgeous train ; and sent by him, as a present for Mary, a font of gold, valued at upwards of £1000. In her instructions to Bedford, she desired him to say jocularly, that it had been made as soon as she heard of the Prince's birth, and that it was large enough then ; but that, as he had now, she supposed, outgrown it, it might be kept for the next child. The season was too far advanced to admit of Elizabeth's sending any of the ladies of her own realm into Scotland ; she, therefore, fixed on the Countess of Argyle to represent her as godmother, preferring that lady, because she understood her to be much esteemed by Mary. To meet the extraordinary expenditure occasioned by entertaining so many ambassadors, the Queen levied an assessment of £12,000. It may appear strange, how a taxation of this kind could be imposed without the consent of Parliament ; but it was managed thus :—The Privy Council called a meeting both of the Lords Temporal and Spiritual, and of the representatives of the boroughs, and informed them that some of the greatest princes in Christendom had requested permission to witness, through their ambassadors, the baptism of the Prince. It was, therefore, moved, and unanimously carried, that their Majesties should be allowed to levy a tax for “ the honourable expenses requisite.” The tax was proportioned in this way :—six thousand pounds from the spiritual estate ; four thousand from the barons and freeholders ; and two thousand from the boroughs.*

* KEITH, p. 359.

Till the ceremony of baptism took place, the Queen gave splendid banquets every day to the ambassadors and their suites. At one of these a slight disturbance occurred, which, as it serves to illustrate amusingly the manners of the times, is worth describing. There seems to have been some little jealousy between the English and French envoys upon matters of precedence; and Mary, on the whole, was inclined to favour the English, being now more connected with England than with France. It happened, that at the banquet in question, a kind of mummerly was got up, under the superintendence of one of Mary's French servants, called Sebastian, who was a fellow of a clever wit. He contrived a piece of workmanship, in the shape of a great table; and its machinery was so ingeniously arranged, that, upon the doors of the great hall in which the feast was to be held being thrown open, it moved in, apparently of its own accord, covered with delicacies of all sorts. A band of musicians, clothed like maidens, singing and accompanying themselves on various instruments, surrounded the pageant. It was preceded—and this was the cause of the offence—by a number of men dressed like satyrs, with long tails, and carrying whips in their hands. These satyrs were not content to ride round the table, but they put their hands behind them to their tails, wagging them in the faces of the Englishmen, who took it into their heads that the whole was done in derision of them, “daftly apprehending that which they should not seem to have understood.” Several of the suite of the Earl of Bedford, perceiving themselves thus mocked, as they

thought, and the satyrs "wagging their tails, or rumples," were so exasperated, that one of them told Sir James Melville, if it were not in the Queen's presence, "he would put a dagger to the heart of the French knave Sebastian, whom he alleged did it for despite that the Queen made more of them than of the Frenchmen." The Queen and Bedford, who knew that the whole was a mere jest, had some trouble in allaying the wrath of the hot-headed Southrons.

In the midst of these festivities Mary had various cares to perplex her, and various difficulties to encounter. When she first came to Stirling, she found that Darnley had not chosen to go, as usual, to the Castle, but was residing in a private house. He left it, however, upon the Queen's arrival, and took up his residence in the Castle with her,—a fact of some consequence, and one which Murray has himself supplied.* But Darnley's sentiments towards Mary's ministers continued unchanged; and it was impossible to prevail upon him to treat them with any degree of courtesy, even in presence of the ambassadors. Mary was extremely anxious to prevent her husband from exposing his weakness and waywardness to foreigners; but he was as stubborn as ever; and though he had given up thoughts of going abroad, it was only because he hoped to put into execution some new plot at home. Surrounded by gaieties, he continued sullen and discontented, shutting himself up in his own apartment, and associating with no one, except his wife and the French envoy, Le Croc, for

* ANDERSON, vol. ii. p. 271.

whom he had contracted a sort of friendship. To heighten his bad humour, Elizabeth, according to Camden, had forbidden Bedford, or any of his retinue, to give him the title of King. The anger inspired by his contempt of her authority, on the occasion of his marriage, had not yet subsided; and there is not a state paper extant, as far as we know, in which she acknowledges Darnley in other terms than as "Henry Stuart, the Queen of Scotland's husband." It seems likely that this, added to the other reasons already mentioned, was the cause why Darnley refused to be present at the christening of his son.*

* That Darnley was actually absent upon this occasion, is not quite certain, though probable. Robertson says he was, on the authority of Le Croc's letter in Keith, *Preface*, p. vii., and after him, most writers on the subject state the fact as beyond a doubt. All, however, that Le Croc says is this — "The King had still given out, that he would depart two days before the baptism, but, when the time came on, he made no sign of removing at all, only he still kept close within his own apartment. The very day of the baptism, he sent three several times, desiring me either to come and see him, or to appoint him an hour, that he might come to me in my lodgings." This is no direct evidence that the King was absent from the christening. Neither does Buchanan furnish us with any, he merely says, with his usual accuracy and love of calumny, that "her lawful husband was not allowed necessaries at the christening, nay, was forbid to come in sight of the ambassadors, who were advised not to enter into discourse with the King, though they were in the same part of the Castle the most part of the day." *History*, book xviii. Nor does Knox say any thing definite upon the subject; but Keith, Crawford, and Spottswood, though not referred to by Robertson, seem to support his opinion. Let the fact, however, be as it may, it is not

Mary had yet another cause of vexation. The baptism was to be performed according to the Catholic ritual, and the greater part of her nobility refused, in consequence, not only to take any share in the ceremony, but even to be present at it. All Mary's influence with Murray, Huntly, and Bothwell, was exerted in vain. They did not choose to risk their character with the Reformers, to gratify her. "The Queen laboured much," says Knox, "with the noblemen, to bear the salt, grease, and candles, and such other things; but all refused."

On the 19th of December 1566, the baptism, for which so many preparations had been made, took place.* The ceremony was performed between five and six in the afternoon. The Earls of Athol and Eglinton, and the Lords Semple and Ross, being of the Catholic persuasion, carried the instruments. The Archbishop of St Andrews, assisted by the Bishops of Dunblane, Dunkeld, and Ross, received the Prince at the door of the chapel. The Countess of Argyle held the infant at the font, and the Archbishop baptized him by the name of Charles James, James Charles, Prince and Steward of Scotland, Duke of Rothsay, Earl of Carrick, Lord of the Isles, and Baron of Renfrew; and these names and titles were proclaimed three times by heralds, with sound of trumpet. Mary called her son Charles, in compliment to the King of France,

of great consequence. The erroneousness of the popular belief, that Darnley, during the whole of this time, resided in a citizen's house in the town of Stirling, is more deserving of being pointed out and corrected.

* KNOX, p. 400, KLITH, *Preface*, p. vii.

her brother-in-law; but she gave him also the name of James, because, as she said, her father, and all the good kings of Scotland, his predecessors, had been called by that name. The Scottish nobles of the Protestant persuasion, together with the Earl of Bedford, remained at the door of the chapel; and the Countess of Argyle had afterwards to do penance for the share she took in the business of the day,—a circumstance which shews very forcibly the power of the clergy at this time, who were able to triumph over a Queen's representative, a King's daughter, and their sovereign's sister. It is also worthy of notice, that of the twelve Earls, and numerous Lords then in the Castle, only two of the former, and three of the latter, ventured to cross the threshold of a Catholic chapel.*

Elizabeth was probably not far wrong, in supposing that her font had grown too small for the infant James. He was a remarkably stout and healthy child, and, as Le Croc says, he made his gossips feel his weight in their arms. Mary was very proud of her son, and, from his earliest infancy, the establishment of his household was on the most princely scale. The Lady Mar was his governess. A certain Mistress Margaret Little, the spouse of Alexander Gray, burgess of Edinburgh, was his head-nurse; and, for her good services, there was granted to her and her husband, in February, 1567, part of the lands of Kingsbarns in Fife, during their lives. The chief nurse had four or five women under her,

* KEITH, p. 369; KNOX, p. 400; *The History of King James the Sixth*, p. 5.

“Keepers of the king’s clothes,” &c. Five ladies of distinction were appointed to the honourable office of “Rockers” of the Prince’s cradle. For his kitchen, James, at the same early age, had a master cook, a foreman, and three other servitors, and one for his pantry, one for his wine, and two for his ale-cellar. He had three “chalmers-chields,” one “furnisher of coals,” and one pastry-cook, or confectioner. Five musicians, or “violers,” as they are called, completed the number of his household. To fill so many mouths, there was a fixed allowance of provisions, consisting of bread, beef, veal, mutton, capons, chickens, pigeons, fish, pottages, wine, and ale. Thus, upon the life of the infant, the comfortable support of a reasonable number of his subjects depended.*

The captivating grace and affability of Mary’s manners, won for her, upon the baptismal occasion, universal admiration. She sent home the ambassadors with the most favourable impressions, which were not less loudly proclaimed, because she enriched them, before they went, with gifts of value. To Bedford, in particular, she gave a chain of diamonds, worth about six or seven hundred pounds. To other individuals of his suite, she gave chains of pearl, rings, and pictures.† But she was all the time making an effort to appear happier and more contented than she really was. “She shewed so much earnestness,” says Le Croc, “to entertain all the goodly company, in the best manner, that this made her forget, in a good measure, her former ailments.

* CHALMERS, vol. II. p. 176. † MELVILLE, p. 192.

But I am of the mind, however, that she will give us some trouble as yet ; nor can I be brought to think otherwise, so long as she continues to be so pensive and melancholy. She sent for me yesterday, and I found her laid on the bed weeping sore. I am much grieved for the many troubles and vexations she meets with." Mary did not weep without cause.

One source of uneasiness, at the present moment, was the determination of her ministers to force from her a pardon for the Earl of Morton, and seventy-five of his accomplices. As some one has remarked, her whole reign was made up of plots and pardons. Her chief failing, indeed, was the facility with which she allowed herself to be persuaded to forgive the deadliest injuries which could be offered to her. Murray, by the representations he had made through Cecil, had induced Elizabeth to desire Bedford to join his influence to that of Mary's Privy Council, in behalf of Morton. The consequence was, that the Queen could no longer resist their united importunities, and, with two exceptions, all the conspirators against Rizzio were pardoned. These exceptions were, George Douglas, who had seized the King's dagger, and struck Rizzio the first blow ; and Andrew Kerr, who in the affray had threatened to shoot the Queen herself. Robertson, with great inaccuracy, has said, that it was to the solicitations of Bothwell alone that these criminals were indebted for their recall. It would have been long before Bothwell, whose weight with Mary was never considerable, could have obtained, unassisted, her consent to such a measure. The truth of this statement is proved

by the clearest and directest testimony. In a letter which Bedford wrote to Cecil on the 30th of December, we meet with the following passage:—"The Queen here hath now granted to the Earl of Morton, to the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, their relaxation and pardon.* *The Earl of Murray hath done very friendly towards the Queen for them, so have I, according to your advice; the Earls Bothwell and Athol, and all other Lords helped therein, or else such pardons could not so soon have been gotten.*"† It is no doubt true, that Bothwell was glad of this opportunity to ingratiate himself with Morton, and that, in the words of Melville, he "packed up a quiet friendship with him,"—but it is strange that Robertson should have been so ignorant of the real influence which secured a remission of their offences from Mary.

Darnley was of course greatly offended that any of his former accomplices, whom he had betrayed and abandoned, should be received again into favour. They would return only to force him a few steps farther down the ladder, to the top of which he had so eagerly desired to climb. They were recalled, too, at the very time when he had it in contemplation, according to common report, to seize the person of the young Prince, and, after crowning him, to take upon himself the government, as his father. Whether this report were true or not, (and perhaps it was a belief in it which induced the Queen to remove shortly afterwards, for greater security,

* The Ruthven here spoken of is the son of the Lord Ruthven, who took so active a part in the murder.

† CHAMBERS, vol. II. p. 175, and 342.

from Stirling to Edinburgh,) it is certain that Darnley declared he "could not bear with some of the noblemen that were attending in the Court, and that either he or they behoved to leave the same." * He accordingly retired from Stirling on the 24th of December, the very day on which Morton's pardon was signed, and went to visit his father at Glasgow. But it was not with Mary he had quarreled, with whom he had been living for the last ten days, and whom he intended rejoining in Edinburgh, whither she was about to go, as soon as she had paid some Christmas visits in the neighbourhood of Stirling. †

* KEITH, *Preface*, p. viii.

† *Ibid.* p. 364.

CHAPTER II.

OCCURRENCES IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING DARNLEY'S
DEATH.

WE are now about to enter upon a part of Mary's history, more important in its results, and more interesting in its details, than any that has gone before. A deed had been determined on, which, for audacity and villany, has but few parallels in either ancient or modern story. The manner of its perpetration, and the consequences which ensued, not only threw Scotland into a ferment, but astonished the whole of Europe; and, even to this day, the amazement and horror it excited continue to be felt, whenever that page of our national history is perused which records the event. Ambition has led to the commission of many crimes; but, fortunately for the great interests of society, it is only in a few instances, of which the present is one of the most conspicuous, that it has been able to involve, in suspicion and misery, the innocent as well as the guilty. And, even in the case before us, time rescues the virtuous from unmerited disgrace, and, causing the mantle of mystery to moulder away, enables us to point out, on the one hand,

those who have been unjustly accused, and, on the other, those who were both the passive conspirators and the active murderers. A plain narrative of facts, told without violence or party spirit, is that upon which most reliance will be placed, as being the most likely to advance the cause of truth, by correcting the mistakes of the careless, and exposing the falsehoods of the calumnious.

The Earl of Bothwell was now irrevocably resolved to push his fortunes to the utmost. He acted, for the time, in conjunction with the Earl of Murray, though independently of him, using the name and authority of the latter to strengthen his own influence, but communicating to the scarcely less ambitious Murray only as much of his plans as he thought he might disclose with safety. Bothwell was probably the only Scottish baron of the age over whom Murray does not appear ever to have had any control. His character, indeed, was not one which would have brooked control. On Mary's return home, so soon as he perceived the ascendancy which her brother possessed over her, he entered into a conspiracy, with Huntly and others, to remove him. The conspiracy failed, and Bothwell left the kingdom. He was not recalled till Murray had fallen into disgrace; and, though her brother was subsequently pardoned, he never regained that superiority in Mary's councils he had once enjoyed. But Bothwell hoped to secure the distinction for himself; and, that he might not lose it as Murray had done, after it was once gained, he daringly aimed at becoming not merely a prime minister, but a king. The historians,

therefore, (among whom are to be included many of Mary's most zealous defenders,) who speak of Bothwell as only a "cat's-paw" in the hands of Murray and his party, evidently mistake both the character of the men, and the positions they relatively held. Murray and Bothwell had both considerable influence at Court; but there was no yielding on the part of either to the higher authority of the other, and the Queen herself endeavoured, upon all occasions, to act impartially between them. We have found her frequently granting the requests of Murray, in opposition to the advice of Bothwell; and, on the other hand, there is no reason to suppose, that, when she saw cause, she may not have followed the advice of her Lord High Admiral, in preference to that of her brother. A circumstance which occurred only a few days after the baptism of James VI, strikingly illustrates the justice of these observations. It is the more deserving of attention, as the spirit of partiality, which has been unfortunately so busy in giving an erroneous colouring even to Mary's most trifling transactions, has not forgotten to misrepresent that to which we now refer.

Darnley's death being resolved, Bothwell began to consider how he was to act after it had taken place. He probably made arrangements for various contingencies, and trusted to the chapter of accidents, or his own ingenuity, to assist him in others. But there was one thing certain, that he could never become the legal husband of Mary, so long as he continued united to his own wife, the Lady Jane Gordon. Anticipating, therefore, the necessity of a divorce,

and aware that the emergency of the occasion might not permit of his waiting for all the ordinary forms of law, he used his interest with the Queen, at a time when his real motives were little suspected, to revive the ancient jurisdiction of the Catholic Consistorial Courts, which had been abolished by the Reformed Parliament of 1560, when the ordinary civil judges of Commissary Courts had been established in their place. Influenced by his representations, Mary restored the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Primate of Scotland, to the ancient consistorial jurisdiction, granted him by the canon laws, and discharged the Commissaries from the farther exercise of their offices. Thus, Bothwell not only won the friendship of the Archbishop, but secured for himself a Court, where the Catholic plea of consanguinity might be advanced, the only plausible pretext he could make use of for annulling his former marriage. This proceeding, however, in favour of the Archbishop and the old faith, gave great offence to the Reformed party, and, when the Primate came from St Andrews to Edinburgh, at the beginning of January, for the purpose of holding his Court, his authority was very strenuously resisted. The Earl of Murray took up the subject, and represented to Mary the injury she had done to the true religion. Bothwell, of course, used every effort to counteract the force of such a representation, but he was unsuccessful. By a letter which the Earl of Bedford wrote to Cecil from Berwick, on the 9th of January, 1567, we learn that the Archbishop was not allowed to proceed to the hearing of cases, and that "because it was found to be contrary to the

religion, and therefore not liked of by the townsmen: *at the suit of my Lord of Murray*, the Queen was pleased to revoke that which she had before granted to the said Bishop." Probably the grant of jurisdiction was not "revoked," but only suspended, as Bothwell subsequently availed himself of it; but even its suspension sufficiently testifies, that Mary, at this period, listened implicitly and exclusively to neither one nor other of her counsellors.*

In the mean time, Darnley, who, as we have seen, left Stirling for Glasgow on the 24th of

* KETH, p. 151; LAING, vol. ii. p. 76; CHAMBERS, vol. ii. p. 268. Whittaker, in endeavouring to prove (vol. ii. p. 322) that the Catholic Ecclesiastical Courts had never been deprived of their jurisdiction, and that, consequently, there was no *restoration* of power to the Archbishop of St Andrews, evidently takes an erroneous view of this matter. In direct opposition to such a view, Knox, or his continuator, has the following account of the transaction — "At the same time, the Bishop of St Andrews, by means of the Earl of Bothwell, procured a writing from the Queen's Majesty, to be obeyed within the diocese of his jurisdiction, in all such causes as before, in time of Popery, were used in the Consistory, and, therefore, to discharge the new Commissioners, and, for the same purpose, came to Edinburgh in January, having a company of one hundred horses, or more, intending to take possession, according to his gift lately obtained. The Provost, being advertised thereof by the Earl of Murray, they sent to the Bishop three or four of the Council, desiring him to desist from the said matter, for fear of trouble and sedition that might rise thereupon; whereby he was persuaded to desist at that time." KNOX, p. 403. This account is not quite correct, in so far as the Earl of Murray alone, unsupported by Mary's authority, is described as having diverted the Archbishop from his purpose.

December, had been taken dangerously ill. Historians differ a good deal concerning the nature of his illness, which is by some confidently asserted to have been occasioned by poison, administered to him either before he left Stirling, or on the road, by servants, who had been bribed by Bothwell; and by others is as confidently affirmed to have been the small-pox, a complaint then prevalent in Glasgow. On the whole, the latter opinion seems to be the best supported, as it is confirmed by the authority both of the English ambassador, and of the contemporary historians, Lesley and Blackwood. Knox, Buchanan, Melville, Crawford, Birrell, and others, mention, on the other hand, that the belief was prevalent, that the King's sickness was the effect of poison. But as the only evidence offered in support of this popular rumour is, that "blisters broke out, of a bluish colour, over every part of his body," and as this may have been the symptoms of small-pox as well as of poison, the story does not seem well authenticated. Besides, in the letter which Mary is alleged to have written a week or two afterwards to Bothwell from Glasgow, she is made to say that Darnley told her he was ill of the small-pox. Whether the letter be a forgery or not, this paragraph would not have been introduced, unless it had contained what was then known to be the fact.

Be this matter as it may, it is of more importance to correct a mistake into which Robertson has too willingly fallen, regarding the neglect and indifference with which, he maintains, Mary treated her husband, during the earlier part of his sickness. We learn, in the first place, by Bedford's

letter to Cecil, already mentioned, that as soon as Mary heard of Darnley's illness, she sent her own physician to attend him.* And, in the second place, it appears, that it was some time before Darnley's complaint assumed a serious complexion; but that, whenever Mary understood he was considered in danger, she immediately set out to visit him. "The Queen," says Crawford, "was no sooner informed of his danger, than she hasted after him."—"As soon as the rumour of his sickness gained strength," says Turner, (or Barnestaple,) "the Queen flew to him, thinking more of the person to whom she flew, than of the danger which she herself incurred."—"Being advertised," observes Lesley, "that Darnley was repentant and sorrowful, she, without delay, thereby to renew, quicken, and refresh his spirits, and to comfort his heart to the amendment and repairing of his health, lately by sickness sore impaired, hasted with such speed as she conveniently might, to see and visit him at Glasgow." Thus, Robertson's insinuation falls innocuous to the ground.

It was on the 13th of January, 1567, that Mary returned from Stirling to Edinburgh, having spent the intermediate time, from the 27th of December, in paying visits to Sir William Murray, the Comptroller of her Household, at Tullibardin, and to Lord Drummond at Drummond Castle. As one of her biographers remarks, "every moment now begins to be critical, and every minuteness and specific caution becomes necessary for ascertaining the truth, and guard-

* CHALMERS, vol. i. p. 199, and vol. ii. p. 176.

ing against slander." The probability is, that Bothwell was not with Mary either at Tullibardin or Drummond Castle. Meetings of her Privy Council were held by her on the 2d and 10th of January; and it does not appear by the Register, that Bothwell was present at any of them. Chalmers is of opinion, that, during the early part of January, he must have been at Dunbar, making his preparations, and arranging a meeting with Morton. When the Queen arrived at Edinburgh on the 13th, she lodged her son, whom she brought with her, in Holyroodhouse. A few days afterwards, she set out for Glasgow to see her husband. Her calumniators, on the supposition that she had previously quarreled with Darnley, affect to discover something very forced and unnatural in this visit. But *Mary had never quarreled with Darnley*. He had quarreled with her ministers, and had been enraged at the failure of his own schemes of boyish ambition; but against his wife, he had himself frequently declared he had no cause of complaint. Mary, on her part, had always shewn herself more grieved by Darnley's waywardness, than angry at it. Only a day or two before going to Glasgow, she said solemnly, in a letter she wrote to her ambassador at Paris,—“As for the King our husband, God knows always our part towards him.”—“God willing, our doings shall be always such as none shall have occasion to be offended with them, or to report of us any way but honourably.”* So far, therefore, from there being any thing uncommon or forced in her journey to

* KERR, *Preface*, p. viii.

Glasgow, nothing could be more natural, or more likely to have taken place. "Darnley's danger," observes Dr Gilbert Stuart, with the simple eloquence of truth, "awakened all the gentleness of her nature, and she forgot the wrongs she had endured. Time had abated the vivacity of her resentment, and after its paroxysm was past, she was more disposed to weep over her afflictions, than to indulge herself in revenge. The softness of grief prepared her for a returning tenderness. His distresses effected it. Her memory shut itself to his errors and imperfections, and was only open to his better qualities and accomplishments. He himself, affected with the near prospect of death, thought, with sorrow, of the injuries he had committed against her. The news of his repentance was sent to her. She recollected the ardour of that affection he had lighted up in her bosom, and the happiness with which she had surrendered herself to him in the bloom and ripeness of her beauty. Her infant son, the pledge of their love, being continually in her sight, inspired her sensibilities. The plan of lenity which she had previously adopted with regard to him; her design to excite even the approbation of her enemies by the propriety of her conduct; the advices of Elizabeth, by the Earl of Bedford, to entertain him with respect; the apprehension lest the royal dignity might suffer any diminution by the universal distaste with which he was beheld by her subjects; and her certainty and knowledge of the angry passions which her chief counsellors had fostered against him,—all concurred to divest her heart of every sentiment of bitterness, and to melt it down in

sympathy and sorrow. Yielding to tender and anxious emotions, she left her capital and her palace, in the severest season of the year, to wait upon him. Her assiduities and kindnesses communicated to him the most flattering solacement; and, while she lingered about his person with a fond solicitude, and a delicate attention, he felt that the sickness of his mind, and the virulence of his disease, were diminished."

On arriving at Glasgow, Mary found her husband convalescent, though weak and much reduced. She lodged in the same house with him; but his disease being considered infectious, they slept in separate apartments. Finding that his recent approach to the very brink of the grave had exercised a salutary influence over his mind and dispositions, and hoping to regain his entire confidence, by carefully and affectionately nursing him during his recovery, she gladly acceded to the proposal, made by Darnley himself, that she should take him back with her to Edinburgh, or its vicinity. She suggested, that he should reside at Craigmillar Castle, as the situation was open and salubrious; but, for some reason or other, which does not appear, he objected to Craigmillar, and the Queen therefore wrote to Secretary Maitland to procure convenient accommodation for her husband, in the town of Edinburgh.* Darnley disliked the Lords of the Privy Council too much to think of living at Holyrood; and besides, it was the opinion of the physicians, that the young Prince, even though he should not be brought into his father's presence, might

* ANDERSON, vol. iv. p. 165; GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 76.

catch the infection from the servants who would be about the persons of both. When Mary wrote to Maitland, she little knew that she was addressing an accomplice of her husband's future murderer. The Secretary shewed her letter to Bothwell, and they mutually determined on recommending to Darnley the house of the Kirk-of-Field, which stood on an airy and healthy situation to the south of the town, and which therefore appeared well suited for an invalid, although *they* preferred it because it stood by itself, in a comparatively solitary part of the town.*

On Monday, January 27, Mary and Darnley left Glasgow. They appear to have travelled in a wheeled carriage, and came by slow and easy stages to Edinburgh. They slept on Monday night at Callander. They came on Tuesday to Linlithgow, where they remained over Wednesday, and arrived in Edinburgh on Thursday.

The Kirk-of-Field, in which, says Melville, "the King was lodged, in a place of good air, where he might best recover his health," belonged to Robert Balfour, the provost, or head prebendary of the collegiate church of St Mary-in-the-Field, so called because it was beyond the city wall when first built. When the wall was afterwards extended, it enclosed the Kirk-of-Field, as well as the house of the provost and prebendaries. The Kirk-of-Field with the grounds pertaining to it, occupied the site of the present College, and of those buildings which stand between Infirmary and Drummond Street. In the extended

* GOODALL, vol. II. p. 76, et seq.

line of wall, what was afterwards called the Potterrow Port, was at first denominated the Kirk-of-Field Port, from its vicinity to the church of that name. The wall ran east from this port, along the south side of the present College, and the north side of Drummond Street, where a part of it is still to be seen in its original state. The house stood at some distance from the Kirk, and the latter, from the period of the Reformation, had fallen into decay. The city had not yet stretched in this direction much farther than the Cowgate. Between that street and the town wall, were the Dominican Convent of the Blackfriars, with its almshouses for the poor, and gardens,—covering the site of the Old High School and the Royal Infirmary,—and the Kirk-of-Field with its provost's residence. The house nearest to the Kirk-of-Field, of any note, was Hamilton House, which belonged to the Duke of Chatelherault, and some part of which is still standing in the College Wynd.* It was at first supposed, that Darnley would have taken up his abode there; but the families of Lennox and Hamilton were never on such terms as would have elicited this mark of friendship from the King. The Kirk-of-Field House stood very nearly on the site of the present north-west corner of Drummond Street. It fronted the west, having its southern gavel so close upon the town wall, that a little postern door entered immediately through the wall into the kitchen. It contained only four apartments; but these were commodious, and were fitted up with great care. Below, a small passage went

* BIRRELI'S *Diary*, p. 6; LAING, vol. i. p. 30.

through from the front door to the back of the house; upon the right hand of which was the kitchen, and upon the left, a room furnished as a bedroom, for the Queen, when she chose to remain all night. Passing out at the back-door, there was a turnpike stair behind, which, after the old fashion of Scottish houses, led up to the second story. Above, there were two rooms corresponding with those below. Darnley's chamber was immediately over Mary's; and, on the other side of the lobby, above the kitchen, "a garde-robe" or "little gallery," which was used as a servant's room, and which had a window in the gavel, looking through the town-wall, and corresponding with the postern door below. Immediately beyond this wall, was a lane shut in by another wall, to the south of which were extensive gardens.*

During the ten days which Darnley spent in his new residence, Mary was a great deal with him, and slept several nights in the room we have

* K^RITH, p. 364; A^ND^ERSON, vol. II. p. 67; G^OODALL, vol. II. p. 244; C^HALMERS, vol. I. p. 203, vol. II. p. 180, and 271, L^AING, vol. I. p. 30, and vol. II. p. 17, W^HIT^TAKER, vol. III. p. 258, and 283, A^RN^OT'S *History of Edinburgh*, p. 237. Whittaker has made several mistakes regarding the House of the Kirk-of-Field. He describes it as much larger than it really was, and, misled by the appearance of a gun-port still remaining in one part of the old wall, and which Arnot supposed had been the postern-door in the gavel of the house, he fixes its situation at too great a distance from the College, and too near the Infirmary. S^IR W^AL^TER S^CO^TI, in his *Tales of a Grandfather*, (vol. III. p. 187,) has oddly enough fallen into the error of describing the Kirk-of-Field, as standing "just without the walls of the city."

described, below her husband's, this being more agreeable to her, than returning at a late hour to Holyrood Palace. Darnley was still much of an invalid, and his constitution had received so severe a shock, that every attention was necessary during his convalescence. A bath was put up for him in his own room, and he appears to have used it frequently. He had been long extremely unpopular, as has been seen, among the nobles; but, following the example which Mary set them, some were disposed to forget their former disagreements, and used to call upon him occasionally: among others was Hamilton, the Archbishop of St Andrews, who came to Edinburgh about this time, and lodged hard by, in Hamilton House. Mary herself, after sitting for hours in her husband's sick-chamber, used sometimes to breathe the air in the neighbouring gardens of the Dominican Convent; and she frequently brought up from Holyrood her band of musicians, who played and sung to her and Darnley. Thus, every thing went on so smoothly, that neither the victim nor his friends could in the least suspect that they were all treading the brink of a precipice.

Bothwell had taken advantage of Mary's visit to Glasgow, to proceed to Whittingham, in the neighbourhood of Dunbar, where he met the Earl of Morton, and obtained his consent to Darnley's murder. To conceal his real purpose, Bothwell gave out at Edinburgh, that he was going on a journey to Liddesdale; but, accompanied by Secretary Maitland, whom he had by this time won over to his designs, and the notorious Archibald Douglas, a creature of his own, and a

relation of Morton, he went direct to Whittingham. There, the trio met Morton, who had only recently returned from England, and opened to him their plot. Morton heard of the intended murder without any desire to prevent its perpetration; but before he would agree to take an active share in it, he insisted upon being satisfied that the Queen, as Bothwell had the audacity to assert, was willing that Darnley should be removed. "I desired the Earl Bothwell," says Morton in his subsequent confession, "to bring me the Queen's hand-write of this matter for a warrant, and then I should give him an answer; otherwise, I would not mell (intermeddle) therewith;—which warrant he never purchased (procured) unto me."* But though Morton refused to risk an active, he had no objections to take a passive, part in this conspiracy. Bothwell, Maitland, and Douglas, returned to Edinburgh, and he proceeded to St Andrews, with the understanding, that Bothwell was to communicate with him, and inform him of the progress of the plot. Accordingly, a day or two before the murder was committed, Douglas was sent to St Andrews, to let Morton know that the affair was near its conclusion. Bothwell, however, was well aware that what he had told the Earl regarding the wishes of the Queen, was equally false and calumnious. Of all persons in existence, it was from her that he most wished to conceal his design; and as for a written approval of it, he knew that he might just as well have applied to

* *Morton's Confession* in LAING, vol. II. p. 354; and *Archibald Douglas's Letter*, *ibid.* p. 363.

Darnley himself. Douglas was, therefore, commanded to say to Morton, evasively, "that the Queen would bear no speech of the matter appointed to him." Morton, in consequence, remained quietly in the neighbourhood of St Andrews till the deed was done.*

The Earl of Murray was another powerful nobleman, who, when the last act of this tragedy was about to be performed, withdrew to a careful distance from the scene. It is impossible to say whether Murray was all along acquainted with Bothwell's intention; there is certainly no direct evidence that he was; but there are very considerable probabilities. When a divorce was proposed to Mary at Craigmillar, she was told that Murray would look through his fingers at it; and this design being frustrated, by the Queen's refusal to agree to it, there is every likelihood that Bothwell did not conceal from the cabal he had then formed, his subsequent determination. That he disclosed it to Morton and Maitland, is beyond a doubt; and that Murray again consented "to look through his fingers," is all but proved. It is true he was far too cautious and wily a politician, to plunge recklessly, like Bothwell, into such a sea of dangers and difficulties; but he was no friend to Darnley,—having lost, through him, much of his former power; and however the matter now ended, if he remained quiet, he could not suffer any injury, and might gain much benefit. If Bothwell prospered, they would unite their interests,—if he failed, then Murray would rise upon his ruin. Only three days before

* *Morton's Confession*, and *Douglas's Letter*, in LAING.

the murder, the Lord Robert Stuart, Murray's brother, having heard, as Buchanan affirms, of the designs entertained against Darnley's life, mentioned them to the King. Darnley immediately informed Mary, who sent for Lord Robert, and, in the presence of her husband and the Earl of Murray, questioned him on the subject. Lord Robert, afraid of involving himself in danger, retracted what he had formerly said, and denied that he had ever repeated to Darnley any such report. High words ensued in consequence; and even supposing that Murray had before been ignorant of Bothwell's schemes, his suspicions must now have been roused. Perceiving that the matter was about to be brought to a crisis, he left town abruptly upon Sunday, the very last day of Darnley's life, alleging his wife's illness at St Andrews as the cause of his departure. The fact mentioned by Lesley, in his "Defence of Queen Mary's Honour," that, on the evening of this day, Murray said, when riding through Fife, to one of his most trusty servants,— "This night, ere morning, the Lord Darnley shall lose his life," is a strong corroboration of the supposition, that he was well informed upon the subject.*

There were others, as has been said, whom Bothwell either won over to assist him, or persuaded to remain quiet. One of his inferior accomplices afterwards declared, that the Earl shewed him a bond, to which were affixed the signatures of Huntly, Argyle, Maitland, and Sir James Balfour, and that the words of the bond

* *Lesley's Defence* in ANDERSON, vol. i. p. 75; BUCHANAN'S *History*, p. 350; LAING, vol. II. p. 34.

were to this effect :—“ That, for as much as it was thought expedient and most profitable for the commonwealth, by the whole nobility and Lords under-subscribed, that such a young fool and proud tyrant should not reign, nor bear rule over them, for diverse causes, therefore, these all had concluded, that he should be put off by one way or other, and whosoever should take the deed in hand, or do it, they should defend and fortify it as themselves, for it should be every one of their own, reckoned and holden done by themselves.”* To another of his accomplices, Bothwell declared, that Argyle, Huntly, Morton, Maitland, Ruthven, and Lindsay, had promised to support him ; and when he was asked what part the Earl of Murray would take, his answer was, — “ He does not wish to intermeddle with it ; he does not mean either to aid or hinder us.”†

But whoever his assistants were, it was Bothwell's own lawless ambition that suggested the whole plan of proceeding, and whose daring hand was to strike the final and decisive blow. Every thing was now arranged. His retainers were collected round him ;—four or five of the most powerful ministers of the crown knew of his design, and did not disapprove of it ;—the nobles then at court were disposed to befriend him, from motives either of political interest, or personal apprehension ;—Darnley and the Queen were unsuspecting and unprotected. A kingly crown glittered almost within his grasp ; he had only to venture across the Rubicon of guilt, to place it on his brow.

* *Ormiston's Confession* in LAING, vol. ii. p. 322.

† *Paris's Confession* in LAING, vol. ii. p. 298-9.

CHAPTER III.

THE DEATH OF DARNLEY.

IT was on Sunday, the 9th of February, 1567, that the final preparations for the murder of Darnley were made. To execute the guilty deed, Bothwell was obliged to avail himself of the assistance of those ready ministers of crime, who are always to be found at the beck of a wealthy and depraved patron. There were eight unfortunate men whom he thus used as tools with which to work his purpose. Four of these were merely menial servants;—their names were Dalglish, Wilson, Powrie, and Nicolas Haubert, more commonly known by the sobriquet of French Paris. He was a native of France, and had been a long while in the service of the Earl of Bothwell; but, on his master's recommendation, who foresaw the advantages he might reap from the change, he was taken into the Queen's service shortly before her husband's death. Bothwell was thus able to obtain the keys of some of the doors of the Kirk-of-Field House, of which he caused counterfeit impressions to be taken.*

* *Paris's Deposition* in LAING, vol. II. p. 296.

The other four, who were at the "deed-doing," were persons of somewhat more consequence. They were small landed proprietors, or *lairds*, who had squandered their patrimony in idleness and dissipation, and were willing to run the chance of retrieving their ruined fortunes at any risk. They were, the laird of Ormiston, Hob Ormiston, his uncle, "or father's brother," as he is called, John Hepburn of Bolton, and John Hay of Tallo. Bothwell wished Maitland, Morton, and one or two others, to send some of their servants also to assist in the enterprize; but if they ever promised to do so, it does not appear that they kept their word. Archibald Douglas, however, who had linked himself to the fortunes of Bothwell, was in the immediate neighbourhood with two servants, when the crime was perpetrated.*

Till within two days of the murder, Bothwell had not made up his mind how the King was to be killed. He held various secret meetings with his four principal accomplices, at which the plan first proposed was, to attack Darnley when walking in the gardens adjoining the Kirk-of-Field, which his returning health enabled him to visit occasionally when the weather was favourable. But the success of this scheme was uncertain, and there was also every probability that the assassins would be discovered.† It was next suggested, that the house might easily be entered at midnight, and the King stabbed in bed. But a servant commonly lay in the same apartment

* LAING, vol. II. p. 282, and 370.

† *Deposition of Hepburn*, ANDERSON, vol. II. p. 183.

with him, and there were always one or two in the adjoining room, who might have resisted or escaped, and afterwards have been able to identify the criminals. After much deliberation, it at length occurred that gunpowder might be used with effect; and that, if the whole premises were blown up, they were likely to bury in their ruins every thing that could fix the suspicion on the parties concerned. Powder was, therefore, secretly brought into Edinburgh from the Castle of Dunbar, of which Bothwell had the lordship, and was carried to his own lodgings, in the immediate vicinity of Holyrood Palace.* It then became necessary to ascertain on what night the house could be blown up, without endangering the safety of the Queen, Bothwell having no desire that she should share the fate of her husband. She frequently slept at the Kirk-of-Field; and it was difficult to ascertain precisely when she would pass the night at Holyrood.† In his confession, Hay mentions, that “the purpose should have been put in execution upon the Saturday night, but the matter failed, because all things were not in readiness.” It is not in the least unlikely that this delay was owing to Mary’s remaining with her husband that evening.

On Sunday, Bothwell learned that the Queen intended honouring with her presence a mask which was to be given in the Palace, at a late hour, on the occasion of the marriage of her French servant Sebastian, to Margaret Carwood, one of her waiting-maids. He knew therefore that she

* ANDERSON, vol. ii p. 183.

† KLITH, *Preface*, p. viii.

could not sleep at the Kirk-of-Field that night, and took his measures accordingly. At dusk he assembled his accomplices, and told them that the time was come when he should have occasion for their services. * He was himself to sup between seven and eight at a banquet given to the Queen by the Bishop of Argyle, but he desired them to be in readiness as soon as the company should break up, when he promised to join them. † The Queen dined at Holyrood, and went from thence to the house of Mr John Balfour, where the Bishop lodged. She rose from the supper-table about nine o'clock, and, accompanied by the Earls of Argyle, Huntly, and Cassilis, she went to visit her husband at the Kirk-of-Field. Bothwell, on the contrary, having called Paris aside, who was in waiting on the Queen, took him with him to the lodgings of the Laird of Ormiston. ‡ There he met Hay and Hepburn, and they passed down the Blackfriars' Wynd together. The wall which surrounded the gardens of the Dominican monastery ran near the foot of this wynd. They passed through a gate in the wall, which Bothwell had contrived to open by stealth, and, crossing the gardens, came to another wall which separated the Convent grounds from the Kirk-of-Field. §

Dagleish and Wilson had, in the mean time, been employed in bringing up, from Bothwell's residence in the Abbey, the gunpowder he had lodged there. It had been divided into bags, and the bags were put into trunks, which they carried

* ANDERSON, vol. ii p 179.

† Ibid vol ii. p 184

‡ LAING, *Appendix*, p 304.

§ Deposition of John Hay, in ANDERSON, vol. ii. p. 177.

upon horses. Not being able to take it all at once, they were obliged to go twice between the Kirk-of-Field and the Palace. They were not allowed to come nearer than the Convent gate, at the foot of Blackfriars' Wynd, where the powder was taken from them by Ormiston, Hepburn, and Hay, who carried it up to the house. When they had conveyed the whole, they were ordered to return home; and, as they passed up the Blackfriars' Wynd, Powrie, as if suddenly conscience-struck, said to Wilson, "Jesu! whatna a gait is this we are ganging? I trow it be not good." *

Neither of these menials had seen Bothwell, for he kept at a distance, walking up and down the Cowgate, until the others received and deposited the powder. A large empty barrel had been concealed, by his orders, in the Convent gardens, and into it they intended to have put all the bags; and the barrel was then to have been carried in at the lower back door of Darnley's house, and placed in the Queen's bed-room, which, it will be remembered, was immediately under that of the King. Paris, as the Queen's valet-de-chambre, kept the keys of the lower flat, and was now in Mary's apartment ready to receive the powder. But some delay occurred, in consequence of the barrel turning out to be so large that it could not be taken in by the back door; and it became necessary therefore to carry the bags one by one into the bed-room, where they emptied them in a heap on the floor. Bothwell, who was walking anxiously to and fro, was alarmed at this

* Deposition of William Powrie, in ANDERSON, vol. II. p. 165.

delay, and came to inquire if all was ready. He was afraid that the company up stairs, among whom was the Queen, with several of her nobility and ladies in waiting, might come suddenly out upon them, and discover their proceedings. "*He bade them haste,*" says Hepburn, "*before the Queen came forth of the King's house; for if she came forth before they were ready, they would not find such commodity.*"* At length, every thing being put into the state they wished, they all left the under part of the house, with the exception of Hepburn and Hay, who were locked into the room with the gunpowder, and left to keep watch there till the others should return. †

Bothwell, having dismissed the others, went up stairs and joined the Queen and her friends in Darnley's apartment, as if he had that moment come to the Kirk-of-Field. Shortly afterwards, Paris also entered; and the Queen, being either reminded of, or recollecting her promise, to grace with her presence Sebastian's nuptials, rose, about eleven at night, to take leave of her husband. It has been asserted, upon the alleged authority of Buchanan, that, before going away, she kissed him, and put upon his finger a ring, in pledge of her affection. It seems doubtful, however, whether this is Buchanan's meaning. He certainly mentions, in his own insidious manner, that Mary endeavoured to divert all suspicions from herself, by paying frequent visits to her husband, by staying with him many hours at a time, by talking lovingly with him, by paying every attention to his health, by kissing him, and making him a

* ANDERSON, vol. ii. p. 183. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 181.

present of a ring; but he does not expressly say that a kiss and ring were given upon the occasion of her parting with Darnley for the last time.* It is not at all unlikely, that the fact may have been as Buchanan is supposed to state; but, as it is not a circumstance of much importance, it is unnecessary to insist upon its being either believed or discredited, so long as it is involved in any uncertainty. Buchanan mentions another little particular, which may easily be conceived to be true,—that, in the course of her conversation with her husband this evening, Mary remarked, that “just about that time last year David Rizzio was killed.” Bothwell, at such a moment, could not have made the observation; but it may have come naturally enough from Mary, or Darnley himself. †

Accompanied by Bothwell, Argyle, Huntly, Cassilis, and others, Mary now proceeded to the Palace, going first up the Blackfriars' Wynd, and then down the Canongate. Just as she was about to enter Holyrood House, she met one of the Earl of Bothwell's servants (either Dalgleish or Powrie,) whom she asked where he had been, that he smelt so strongly of gunpowder? The fellow made some excuse, and no farther notice was taken of the circumstance. ‡ The Queen proceeded immediately to the rooms where Sebastian's friends were assembled; and Bothwell, who was very anxious to avoid any suspicion, and,

* BUCHANAN'S *History*, book xviii. may be compared with his *Detection* in ANDERSON, vol. 1. p. 22, and 72.

† BUCHANAN'S *History*, book xviii

‡ FREEBAIRN'S *Life of Mary*, p. 112, and 114.

above all, to prevent *Mary* from suspecting him, continued to attend her assiduously.

Paris, who carried in his pocket the key of the Queen's bed-room at the Kirk-of-Field, in which he had locked Hay and Hepburn, followed in the Earl's train. Upon entering the apartment where the dancing and malking was going on, this Frenchman, who had neither the courage nor the cunning necessary to carry him through such a deed of villainy, retired in a melancholy mood to a corner, and stood by himself wrapt in a profound reverie. Bothwell, observing him, and fearing that his conduct might excite observation, went up to him, and angrily demanded why he looked so sad, telling him in a whisper, *that if he retained that lugubrious countenance before the Queen, he should be made to suffer for it.* Paris answered despondingly, that he did not care what became of himself, if he could only get permission to go home to bed, for he was ill. "No," said Bothwell, "you must remain with me; would you leave those two gentlemen, Hay and Hepburn, locked up where they now are?"—"Alas!" answered Paris, "what more must I do this night? I have no heart for this business." Perceiving that Paris was not in a mood of mind to be trusted, Bothwell put an end to the conversation, by ordering the Frenchman to follow him immediately. *

It is uncertain whether the Queen had retired to her own chamber before Bothwell quitted the Palace, or whether he left her at the mask. Buchanan, always ready to fabricate calumny,

* Deposition of Paris in LAING, vol. ii. p. 305.

says, that the Queen and Bothwell were "in long talk together, in her own chamber after midnight." But the falsehood of this assertion is clearly established; for Buchanan himself allows, that it was past eleven before Mary left the Kirk-of-Field, and Dalgleish and Powrie both state, that Bothwell came to his own lodgings from the Palace about twelve. If, therefore, he was at the mask, as we have seen, he had no time to talk with the Queen in private; and, if he had talked with the Queen, he could not have been at the mask. It is most likely that Mary continued for some time after Bothwell's departure at Sebastian's wedding, for Sebastian was "in great favour with the Queen, for his skill in music and his merry jesting."

As soon as Bothwell came to his "own lodging in the Abbey," he exchanged his rich court dress for a more common one. Instead of a black satin doublet, bordered with silver, he put on a white canvass doublet, and wrapt himself up in his riding-cloak. Taking Paris, Powrie, Wilson, and Dalgleish with him, he then went down the lane which ran along the wall of the Queen's south gardens, and which still exists, joining the foot of the Canongate, where the gate of the outer court of the Palace formerly stood. Passing by the door of the Queen's garden, where sentinels were always stationed, the party was challenged by one of the soldiers, who demanded, "Who goes there?" They answered, "Friends." "What friends?" "Friends to my Lord Bothwell." They proceeded up the Canongate till they came to the Netherbow Port, or lower gate of the city, which was shut. They called to the porter, John

Galloway, and desired him to open to friends of my Lord Bothwell. Galloway was not well pleased to be raised at so late an hour, and he kept them waiting for some time. As they entered, he asked, "What they did out of their beds at that time of night?" but they gave him no answer. As soon as they got into the town, they called at Ormiston's lodgings, who lived in a house, called Bassyntine's house, a short way up the High Street, on the south side, but they were told that he was not at home. They went without him, down a close below the Blackfriars' Wynd, till they came to the gate of the Convent gardens already mentioned. They entered, and, crossing the gardens, they stopped at the back wall, a short way behind Darnley's residence. Here, Dalgleish, Wilson, and Powne, were ordered to remain; and Bothwell and Paris passed in, over the wall. Having gone into the lower part of the house, they unlocked the door of the room in which they had left Hay and Hepburn, and the four together held a consultation regarding the best mode of setting fire to the gunpowder, which was lying in a great heap upon the floor. They took a piece of lint, three or four inches long, and kindling one end of it, they laid the other on the powder, knowing that it would burn slowly enough to give them time to retire to a safe distance. They then returned to the Convent gardens; and, having rejoined the servants whom they had left there, the whole group stood together, anxiously waiting for the explosion.

Darnley, mean time, little aware of his impending fate, had gone to bed within an hour after the

Queen had left him. His servant, William Taylor, lay, as was his wont, in the same room. Thomas Nelson, Edward Simmons, and a boy, lay in the gallery, or servant's apartment, on the same floor, and nearer the town-wall. Bothwell must have been quite aware, that, from the mode of death he had chosen for Darnley, there was every probability that his attendants would also perish. But when lawless ambition once commences its work of blood, whether there be only one or a hundred victims, seems to be a matter of indifference.*

The conspirators waited for upwards of a quarter of an hour without hearing any noise. Bothwell became impatient, and, unless the others had interfered, and pointed out to him the danger, he would have returned and looked in at the back window of the bed-room, to see if the light was burning. It must have been a moment of intense anxiety and terror to all of them. At length, every doubt was terminated. With an explosion so tremendous, that it shook nearly the whole town, and startled the inhabitants from their sleep, the house of the Kirk-of-Field blew up into a thousand fragments, leaving scarcely a vestige standing of its former walls. Paris, who describes the noise as that of a storm of thunder condensed into one clap, fell almost senseless, through fear, with his face upon the earth. Bothwell himself, though "a bold, bad man," confessed a momentary panic. "I have been at many important enterprises," said he, "but I never felt before as I do now."

* Evidence of Thomas Nelson, ANDERSON, vol. iv. p. 165.

Without waiting to ascertain the full extent of the catastrophe, he and his accomplices left the scene of their guilt with all expedition. They went out at the Convent gate, and, having passed down to the Cowgate, they were separated, and went up by different roads to the Netherbow-Port. They were very desirous to avoid disturbing the porter again, lest they should excite his suspicion. They, therefore, went down a close, which still exists, on the north side of the High Street, immediately above the city gate, expecting that they would be able to drop from the wall into Leith Wynd; but Bothwell found it too high, especially as a wound he had received at Hermitage Castle, still left one of his hands weak. They were forced, therefore, to apply once more to John Galloway, who, on being told that they were friends of the Earl Bothwell, does not seem to have asked any questions. On getting into the Canongate, some people were observed coming up the street; to avoid them, Bothwell passed down St Mary's Wynd, and went to his lodgings by the back road. The sentinels at the door of the Queen's garden again challenged them, and they made the usual answer, that they were friends of the Earl Bothwell, carrying despatches to him from the country. The sentinels asked,—"If they knew what noise that was they had heard a short time before?" They told them they did not.*

When Bothwell came home, he called for something to drink; and, taking off his clothes,

* The Confessions and Depositions in ANDERSON, vol. ii. and vol. iv. ; and in LAING, vol. ii.

went to bed immediately. He had not lain there above half an hour when the news was brought him that the house of the Kirk-of-Field had been blown up, and the King slain. Exclaiming that there must be treason abroad, and affecting the utmost alarm and indignation, he rose and put on the same clothes he had worn when he was last with the Queen. The Earl of Huntly and others soon joined him, and, after hearing from them as much as was then known of the matter, it was thought advisable to repair to the Palace, to inform Mary of what had happened. They found her already alarmed, and anxious to see them, some vague rumours of the accident having reached her. They disclosed the whole melancholy truth as gradually and gently as possible, attributing Darnley's death either to the accidental explosion of some gunpowder in the neighbourhood, or to the effects of lightning. Mary's distress knew no bounds; and, seeing that it was hopeless to reason with her in the first anguish of her feelings, Bothwell and the other Lords left her just as day began to break, and proceeded to the Kirk-of-Field.*

Here they found every thing in a state of confusion;—the edifice in ruins, and the town's-people gathered round it in dismay. Of the five persons who were in the house at the time of the explosion, only one survived. Darnley, and his servant William Taylor, who slept in the room immediately above the gunpowder, had been most exposed to its effects, and they were, accord-

* MERVILLE'S *Memoirs*, p. 174; *Lesley* in ANDERSON, vol. i. p. 24; FREEBAIRN, p. 115.

ingly, carried through the air over the town wall, and across the lane on the other side, and were found lying at a short distance from each other, in a garden to the south of this lane,—both in their night-dress, and with little external injury. Simmons, Nelson, and the boy, being nearer the town wall, were only collaterally affected by the explosion. They were, however, all buried in the ruins, out of which Nelson alone had the good fortune to be taken alive. The bodies were, by Bothwell's command, removed to an adjoining house, and a guard from the Palace set over them.*

Darnley and his servant being found at so great a distance, and so triflingly injured, it was almost universally supposed at the time, and for long afterwards, that they had been first strangled or assassinated, and then carried out to the garden. This supposition may be proved, beyond a doubt, to have been erroneous. If Darnley had been first murdered, there would have been no occasion to have blown up the house; and if that was done to make his death appear the result of accident, his body would never have been removed to such a distance as might seem to disconnect it with the previous explosion. Before the expansive force of gunpowder was sufficiently understood, it was not conceived possible that it could have acted as in the present instance; and various theories were invented, none of which was so simple or so true, as that which accords with the facts now established. The depositions we have already referred to set the matter at

* ANDERSON, vol. 1. p. 36, GOODALI, vol. II. p. 245.

rest ; for, having confessed so much of the truth, there could have been no reason for concealing any other part of it. Hepburn declared expressly, that “ he knew nothing but that Darnley was blown into the air, for he was handled with no men’s hands that he saw ;” and Hay deponed, that Bothwell, some time afterwards, said to him, “ What thought ye when ye saw him blown into the air ?” Hay answered, — “ Alas ! my Lord, why speak ye of that, for whenever I hear such a thing, the words wound me to death, as they ought to do you.”* There is nothing wonderful in the bodies having been carried so far ; for it is mentioned by a contemporary author, that “ they kindled their train of gunpowder, which inflamed the whole timber of the house, and troubled the walls thereof in such sort, that great stones of the length of ten feet, and of the breadth of four feet, were found, blown from the house a far way.”† Besides, after the minute account, which a careful collation of the different confessions and depositions has enabled us to give, of the manner in which Bothwell spent every minute of his time, from the period of the Queen’s leaving Darnley, till the unfortunate Prince ceased to exist, it would be a work of supererogation to seek to refute, by any stronger evidence, the notion that he was strangled.

It is, however, somewhat remarkable, that, even in recent times, authors of good repute should have allowed themselves to be misled by the exploded errors of earlier writers. “ The

* LAING, vol. II. p. 289, and 290

† *Historie of King James the Sixth*, p. 6.

house," says Miss Benger, "was invested with armed men, some of whom watched without, whilst others entered to achieve their barbarous purpose; these, having strangled Darnley and his servant with silken cords, carried their bodies into the garden, and then blew up the house with powder."* This is almost as foolish as the report mentioned by Melville, that he was taken out of his bed, and brought down to a stable, where they suffocated him, by stopping a napkin into his mouth; or, as that still more ridiculous story alluded to by Sanderson, that the Earl of Dunbar, and Sir Roger Aston, an Englishman, who chose to hoax his countrymen, by telling them that he lodged in the King's chamber that night, "having smelt the fire of a match, leapt both out at a window into the garden; and that the King, catching hold of his sword, and suspecting treason, not only against himself, but the Queen and the young prince, who was then at Holyroodhouse with his mother, desired him (Sir Roger Aston) to make all the haste he could to acquaint her of it, and that immediately armed men, rushing into the room, seized him single and alone, and stabbed him, and then laid him in the garden, and afterwards blew up the house."† Buchanan, Crawford, and others, fall into similar mistakes; but Knox, or his continuator, writes more correctly, and mentions, besides, that medical men "being convened, at the Queen's command, to view and consider the manner of Darnley's death,"

* MISS BENDER, vol. II p. 313.

† SANDERSON'S *Life of Mary*, p. 48, FREEBAIRN, p. 113.

were almost unanimously of opinion that he was blown into the air, although he had no mark of fire.*

Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, Duke of Albany and King of Scotland, perished in the twenty-first year of his age, and the eighteenth month of his reign. The suddenness and severity of his fate excited a degree of compassion, and attached an interest to his memory, which, had he died in the ordinary course of nature, would never have been felt. He had been to Scotland only a cause of civil war,—to his nobility an object of contempt, of pity, or of hatred,—and to his wife a perpetual source of sorrow and misfortune. Any praise he may deserve must be given to him almost solely on the score of his personal endowments; his mind and dispositions had been allowed to run to waste, and were under no control but that of his own wayward feelings and fancies. Keith, in the following words, draws a judicious contrast between his animal and intellectual qualities. “He is said to have been one of the tallest and handsomest young men of the age; that he had a comely face and pleasant countenance; that he was a most dexterous horseman, and exceedingly well skilled in all genteel exercises, prompt and ready for all games and sports, much given to the diversions of hawking and hunting, to horse-racing and music, especially playing on the lute: he could speak and write well, and was bountiful and liberal enough. But, then, to balance these good natural qualifications, he was much addicted to intemperance, to base and

* KNOX, p. 404.

unmanly pleasures ; he was haughty and proud, and so very weak in mind, as to be a prey to all that came about him ; he was inconstant, credulous, and facile, unable to abide by any resolutions, capable to be imposed upon by designing men, and could conceal no secret, let it tend ever so much to his own welfare or detriment." *

With all his faults, there was no one in Scotland who lamented him more sincerely than Mary. She had loved him deeply ; and whilst her whole life proves that she was incapable of indulging that violent and unextinguishable hatred which prompts to deeds of cruelty and revenge, it likewise proves that it was almost impossible for her to cease to esteem an object for which she had once formed an attachment. Murray, Morton, and Bothwell, must themselves have allowed the truth of the first part of this statement, and, for many days before his death, Darnley had been willing to acknowledge the justice of the latter. She had, no doubt, too much good sense to believe that Darnley, in his character of king, was a loss to the country, but the tears she shed for him, are to be put down to the account, not of the queen, but of the woman and the wife.

* KIRK, p. 365

CHAPTER IV.

BOTHWELL'S TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL.

DURING the whole of the day that succeeded her husband's death, (Monday the 10th of February, 1567,) Mary shut herself up in her own apartment, and would see no one. Bothwell was anxious to have conversed with her, but, overpowered with grief, she was unable to listen to any thing he wished to say.* In the mean time all was confusion and dismay in Edinburgh, and wherever the news of this strange murder arrived, a thousand contradictory reports went abroad. Some suspected one thing, and some another; and it must be recollected, that, although, at a subsequent date, facts came out sufficient to fix the guilt upon those who had really committed the crime, as yet there was nothing but mere vague conjecture. Mary herself was lost in wonder and doubt. Most of the nobility who were near her wished to persuade her, at Bothwell's instigation, that her husband's death was either the effect of accident, or that it had been brought about by the malice and villainy of some

* MELVILLE, p. 174.

obscure and ignoble traitors; and every endeavour being thus made to mislead her, she was the very last who could be expected to know the truth. Accordingly, it appears by a letter she wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador at Paris, on Tuesday the 11th, (two days after the murder,) that she was still but very imperfectly informed even of the manner of Darnley's death. This letter, at once so simple and natural, must not be omitted here. She had the same morning received a despatch from her ambassador, in which he had expressed a fear, that the pardon she had lately given to Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and others, might involve her in trouble. Mary's answer was as follows:—

“ Most Reverend Father in God, and trust counsellor, we greet you well: We have received this morning your letters of the 27th January, by your servant, Robert Dury, containing in part such advertisement, as we find by effect over true, albeit the success has not altogether been such as the authors of that mischievous fact had preconceived in their mind, and had put it in execution, if God in his mercy had not preserved us, and reserved us, as we trust, to the end that we may take a vigorous vengeance of that mischievous deed, which, before it should remain unpunished, we had rather lose life and all. The matter is horrible, and so strange that we believe the like was never heard of in any country. This night past, being the 9th of February, a little after two hours after midnight, the house wherein the King was lodged was in an instant blown in the air, he lying sleeping in his bed, with such a vehemency, that of the whole lodging, walls,

and other, there is nothing remaining,—no, not a stone above another, but all either carried far away, or dung in dross to the very ground-stone. It must be done by force of powder, and appears to have been a mine.* By whom it has been done, or in what manner, it appears not as yet. We doubt not but, according to the diligence our Council has begun already to use, the certainty of all shall be obtained shortly; and, the same being discovered, which we wot God will never suffer to lie hid, we hope to punish the same with such rigour, as shall serve for example of this cruelty to all ages to come. At all events, whoever has taken this wicked enterprize in hand, we assure ourself it was devised as well for us as for the King; for we lay all the most part of all the last week in that same lodging, and were there accompanied with the most part of the lords that are in this town, that same night at midnight, and of very chance tarried not all night, by reason of some mask in the Abbey; but we believe it was not chance, but God that put it in our head. † We despatch this bearer

* The notion that the powder, with which the Kirk-of-Field was blown up, had been placed in a mine, dug for the purpose, was for a while very prevalent. Mary, of course, never suspected that it had been put into her own bed-room; but the truth came out as soon as the depositions of Bothwell's accomplices were published. Why Whittaker should still have continued to believe that a mine had been excavated, it is difficult to understand. Laing very justly ridicules the absurdity of such a belief.

† There is a sincere piety in this rejection of the word "chance." Mary was steadily religious all her life, and certainly nothing but a pure and upright spirit could have

upon the sudden, and therefore write to you the more shortly. The rest of your letter we shall answer at more leisure, within four or five days, by your own servant; and so, for the present, commit you to Almighty God.—At Edinburgh, the 11th day of February, 1566-7.—MARIE R.*

In accordance with the resolution intimated in the above letter, to seek out and vigorously punish her husband's murderers, a proclamation was issued upon Wednesday the 12th, immediately after an inquisition had been taken by the Justice-General, offering a reward of two thousand pounds, and "an honest yearly rent," to whomsoever should reveal "the persons, devisers, counsellors, or actual committers of the said mischievous and treasonable murder," and promising besides to the first revealer, although a partaker of the crime, a free pardon. The same proclamation declared, that, as "Almighty God would never suffer so horrible a deed to lie hid, so, before it should remain untried, the Queen's Majesty, unto whom of all others the case was most grievous, would rather lose life and all." † In the mean time, not knowing but that the same traitors who had murdered her husband, might intend a similar fate for herself, Mary removed to the Castle, as a place of greater security than Holyrood Palace. There she remained shut up in a dark chamber, hung with black, till after Darnley's burial. He lay in the Chapel at Holyrood, from the 12th to the 15th of February. His body having been

induced her, on the present occasion, to appeal to her Creator, and say, "It was not chance, but God."

* KETH, *Preface*, p. viii.

† ANDERSON, vol. 1. p. 36.

embalmed, he was then interred in the royal vault, in which King James V, together with his first wife, Magdalene, and his two infant sons, Mary's brothers, lay. Buchanan, and his follower Laing, have both insisted upon the nocturnal secrecy and indifference with which the funeral ceremony was conducted. "The nobles that were there present," says Buchanan, "decreed, that a stately and honourable funeral should be made for him: but the Queen ordered it so, that he was carried by private bearers in the night-time, and was buried in no manner of state." The true explanation of this insidious passage is, that the Protestant Lords proposed to bury Darnley after the Presbyterian form, and that Mary refused her consent, and, in consequence, only the Catholics attended. "The ceremonies, indeed," says Lesley, "were the fewer, because that the greatest part of the Council were Protestants, and had before interred their own parents without accustomed solemnities." * That Mary's calumniators should have insisted upon this circumstance at all, only shews how eager they were to avail themselves of every thing which they could pervert to their own purposes. Had Mary wished to act the hypocrite, nothing could have been easier for her than to have made a great parade at Darnley's funeral.

Bothwell, in the mean time, kept as quiet as possible, attending, as usual, at court, and taking care always to be present at the meetings of the Privy Council. But he had lighted a torch which was not to be extinguished, till it had blazed over

* *Lesley* in ANDERSON, vol. 1. p. 23.

Scotland, and kindled his own funeral pyre. On whatever grounds the suspicion had gone abroad, (and it is difficult to say why public attention should so soon have been directed to him as the perpetrator of the late murder, unless we suppose Murray, or some of his other accomplices, to have been now eager to publish his guilt, in order to accomplish his ruin,) it is at all events certain, that in a few days after the proclamation for the discovery of the assassins had been issued, a placard was set up at night, on the door of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, in which it was affirmed, that the Earl of Bothwell, together with a Mr James Balfour, a Mr David Chalmers, and a Mr John Spence, were the persons principally concerned in the crime, and that the Queen herself was "assenting thereto." It might be reasonably concluded, that no notice whatever would be taken of an anonymous paper, thus expressed, but the Queen, even although it insultingly accused herself, was so anxious to have the matter of the murder investigated, that she caused another proclamation to be issued, without waiting for the advice of her Privy Council, desiring the author of the placard to divulge his name, and promising that if he could shew there was any truth in any part of his averment, he should receive the promised reward. * A second placard was stuck up in answer, requiring the money to be lodged in honest hands, and three of the Queen's servants, whom it named, to be put in arrest; and undertaking, as soon as these conditions were complied with, that the author and four friends would

* KEITH, p. 368.

discover themselves. This was so palpable an evasion, that it of course met with no attention. To suppose that government would take upon itself the charge of partiality, and place the public money in what an anonymous writer might consider "honest hands," was too grossly absurd to have been proposed by any one who really wished to do his country a service.

The circumstance of Bothwell's name being mentioned in these placards in conjunction with that of the Queen, probably operated in his favour with Mary. Conscious of her own innocence, she would very naturally suppose that the charge was equally calumnious in regard to him; for, if she knew it to be false in one particular, what dependence could she place upon its truth in any other? At the same time, she could not of course see her husband murdered, almost before her eyes, without making various surmises concerning the real author and cause of his death. Her accusers, however, seem to suppose that she ought to have been gifted with an almost miraculous power of discovering the guilty. Only a few days before, every thing had been proceeding smoothly; and she herself, with renovated spirits, was enjoying the returning health and affection of her husband. In a moment the scene was overclouded, her husband was barbarously slain; and all Scotland was in a ferment. Yet around the Queen all wore the same aspect. Murray was living quietly in Fife; her secretary Maitland was proceeding as usual with the official details of public business; the Earl of Morton had not yet returned to court, and he also was in Fife; the Archbishop of St Andrews was

busied in bolstering up the last remains of Catholicism; Athol, Caithness, Huntly, Argyle, Bothwell, Cassilis, and Sutherland, were attending their sovereign, as faithful and attached servants ought. Where, then, was she to look for the traitor who had raised his hand against her husband's life and her own happiness? Whom was she to suspect? Was it Murray?—he had left town without any sufficient cause, on the very day of Darnley's death, and had hated him ever since he put his foot in Scotland. Was it Morton?—he had returned recently from a state of banishment, which had been the result of Darnley's treachery; and had not Morton assassinated Rizzio, with far less grounds of offence? Was it Argyle?—the Lennox family had stripped him of some of his possessions, and the King's death might, perhaps, be the means of restoring them to him. Was it the Hamiltons?—they were the hereditary enemies of the house of Lennox, and Darnley had blasted for ever their hopes of succession to the throne. Was it Huntly? Was it Athol? Was it Bothwell? It was less likely to be any of these, because Darnley had never come into direct collision with them. By what art, or superior penetration, was Mary to make a discovery, which was baffling the whole of Scotland? Was she surrounded by the very men who had done the deed, and who used every means to lead her astray from the truth; yet was she to be able to single out the criminal at a glance, and hurl upon him her just indignation? *

* Laing's remarks upon this subject, are far from being so ingenious as his remarks usually are. He seems to

Worn out by her griefs and her perplexities, her doubts and her fears, Mary's health began to give way, and her friends prevailed upon her to leave for a short time her confinement in Edinburgh Castle, and visit Seaton House, a country residence of which she was fond, only seven miles off. Lesley, after describing Mary's melancholy sojourn in the Castle, adds, that she would have "continued a longer time in this lamentable wise, had she not been most earnestly dehorted by the vehement exhortations and persuasions of her Council, who were moved thereto by her physicians' informations, declaring to them

suppose that Mary, for the mere sake of appearances, ought to have thrown into prison some of her most powerful nobility. He adds,—“If innocent, she must have suspected somebody, and the means of detection were evidently in her hands. The persons who provided or furnished the lodging,—the man to whom the house belonged,—the servants of the Queen, who were intrusted with the keys,—the King's servants, who had previously withdrawn, or were preserved, at his death,—her brother, Lord Robert, who had apprized him of his danger,—were the first objects for suspicion or inquiry, and their evidence would have afforded the most ample detection.” Laing does not seem to be aware, that he is here suggesting the very steps which Mary actually took. She had not, indeed, herself examined witnesses, which would have been alike contrary to her general habits and her feelings at the time; but she had ordered the legal authorities to assemble every day, till they ascertained all the facts which could be collected. Nor does Laing seem to remember, that Bothwell had it in his power to exercise over these legal authorities no inconsiderable control, and to prevail upon them, as he in truth did, to garble and conceal several circumstances of importance which came out.

the great and imminent dangers of her health and life, if she did not in all speed break up and leave that kind of close and solitary life, and repair to some good, open, and wholesome air; which she did, being thus advised, and earnestly thereto solicited by her said Council.* She went to Seaton on the 16th of February, accompanied by a very considerable train, among whom were the Earls of Argyle, Huntly, Bothwell, Arbroath, the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Lords Fleming and Livingston, and Secretary Maitland.† It was here that a correspondence took place between the Queen and the Earl of Lennox, Darnley's father, which deserves attention.

In his first letter, the Earl thanked her Majesty for the trouble and labour she took to discover and bring to trial those who were guilty of the "late cruel act;" but, as the offenders were not yet known, he beseeched her Highness to assemble, with all convenient diligence, the whole nobility and estates of the realm, that they, acting in conjunction with her Majesty, might take such steps as should seem most likely to make manifest the "bloody and cruel actors of the deed." This letter was dated the 20th of February, 1567. Mary replied to it on the 21st; and in her answer assured Lennox, that, in shewing him all the pleasure and goodwill in her

* Killigrew, the English ambassador, sent by Elizabeth to offer her condolence, mentions, that he "found the Queen's Majesty in a dark chamber, so as he could not see her face; but, by her words, she seemed very doleful." CHALMERS, vol. II. p. 209.

† CHALMERS, vol. I. p. 208.

power, she did only her duty, and that which her natural affection prompted, adding, that on that affection he might always depend, "so long as God gave her life." As to the assembling of her nobility, she informed him, that shortly before the receipt of his letter, she had desired a Parliament to be summoned, and that as soon as it met, the death of Darnley would be the first subject which it would be called upon to consider. Lennox wrote again on the 26th, to explain, that when he advised her Majesty to assemble her nobility, he did not allude to the holding of a Parliament, which he knew could not be done immediately: but because he had heard of certain placards which had been set up in Edinburgh, in which certain persons were named as the devisers of the murder, he requested that these persons should be apprehended and imprisoned, that the nobility and Council should be assembled, and that the writers of the placards should be required to appear before them, and be confronted with those whom they had accused; and that if they refused to appear, or did not make good their charge, the persons slandered should be exonerated and set at liberty. A proposal so very unconstitutional could not have been made by Lennox, unless misled by the ardour of his paternal feelings, or instigated by some personal enmity towards Bothwell. If Mary had ventured to throw into prison every one accused in an anonymous bill, there is no saying where the abuse might have ended. The most worthless coward might have thus revenged himself upon those he hated; and law and justice would have degenerated into despotism, or civil

anarchy. The Queen, therefore, informed Lennox, that although, as she had already written, she had summoned a Parliament, and should lay the matter of the murder before it, it was never her intention to allow it to sleep in the mean time. Her Lords and Council would, of course, continue to exert themselves, but her *whole* nobility could not be assembled till the Parliament met. As to his desire, that the persons named in the placards should be apprehended, there had been so many, and such contrary statements made in these placards, that she knew not to which in particular he alluded; and besides, that she could not find herself justified in throwing any of her subjects into prison upon such authority; but that, if he himself would condescend upon the names of such persons as he thought deserved a trial, she would order that trial to take place immediately.

Mary was anxious that Lennox should take this responsibility upon himself, for she had hitherto been kept much in the dark, and was glad to have the assistance of one almost as desirous as herself to come to the truth. She invited him, therefore, in her letter of the 1st of March, to write to her again immediately, with any other suggestion which might occur to him, because she was determined "not to omit any occasion which might clear the matter." It was the 17th of March before Lennox again addressed the Queen. He thanked her Majesty for her attention to his wishes, he marvelled that the names of the persons upon the placards, against whom the greatest suspicions were entertained, "*had been kept from her Majesty's ears;*" and, as she

requested it, he now named them himself, putting the Earl of Bothwell first, and several other inferior persons after him. He did not undertake to be their accuser, confessing that he had no evidence of their guilt; but he said, he greatly suspected Bothwell, and hoped "her Majesty, now knowing their names, and being a party, as well and more than he was, although he was the father, would take order in the matter according to the weight of the cause." Mary, who had by this time returned to Edinburgh, wrote to Lennox, the very day after the receipt of this letter, that she had summoned her nobility to come to Edinburgh the first week of April; and that, as soon as they came, the persons named in his letter, should "abide and underlie such trial, as by the laws of the realm was usual."—"They being found culpable," Mary added, "in any way, of that crime and odious fact, named in the placards, and whereof you suspect them, we shall even, according to our former letter, see the condign punishment as vigorously and extremely executed as the weight of that fact deserves; for, indeed, as you write, we esteem ourself a party, if we were resolute of the authors." She farther entreated Lennox to come to Edinburgh, that he might be present at the trial, and lend his assistance to it. "You shall there have experience," she concluded, "of our earnest will and effectuous mind to have an end in this matter, and the authors of so unworthy a deed really punished."*

* Vide these Letters in ANDERSON, vol. 1 p. 40, or KEITH, p. 369.

The Queen, having waited anxiously till something should occur which might lead to the detection of the murderers, hoped that a clue to the mystery was now about to be discovered. It was a bold, and perhaps almost too strong a measure, to arraign a nobleman so powerful, and apparently so respected as Bothwell, of so serious a crime, upon such vague suspicion; but if Mary, in this instance, exceeded the due limits of her constituted authority, it was an error which leant to virtue's side, and the feelings of an insulted Queen and afflicted wife must plead her excuse. Her Privy Council, which she summoned immediately upon the receipt of Lennox's last letter, and before whom she laid it, passed an act, directing the trial of the Earl of Bothwell, and the other suspected persons, named by Lennox. The trial was fixed to take place on the 12th day of April, 1567; letters were directed to the Earl of Lennox to inform him of it, and proclamations were made in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dumbarton, and other places, calling upon all who would accuse Bothwell, or his accomplices, to appear in court on the day appointed.* The Council, however, would not authorize the imprisonment of the suspected persons, seeing that it was only anonymous placards which had excited that suspicion.

As soon as the Earl of Lennox got intimation of the intended trial, he set out from his estate in Dumbartonshire for Edinburgh. Not choosing to proceed thither direct, in consequence of the enmity which he knew Bothwell must bear to him,

* ANDERSON, vol. 1. p. 50.

he went to Stirling, where it was understood he was engaged in collecting all the evidence in his power. Nor can Bothwell be supposed to have felt very easy, under the prospect of his approaching trial. He counted, however, on the good offices of his friends among the nobility; and, having removed all who might have been witnesses against him, and brought into Edinburgh a numerous body of retainers, he resolved to brazen out the accusation with his usual audacity. He even affected to complain that he had not been treated with sufficient fairness; that a paper affixed privately to the door of the Tolbooth had been made the means of involving him in serious trouble; and that, instead of the usual term of forty days, only fifteen had been allowed him to prepare for his defence.* He assumed the air, therefore, of an injured and innocent man; and he was well borne out in this character by the countenance he received from most of the Lords then at court. We learn from Killigrew, that twenty days after Bothwell had been placarded, he dined with him at the Earl of Murray's, who had by this time returned from Fife, in company with Huntly, Argyle, and Lethington.†

The day of trial now drew near, but, to her astonishment, Mary received a letter only twenty-

* GOODALL, vol. i. p. 346, et seq

† CHALMERS, vol. i. p. 209. The above fact is no proof, as Chalmers alleges, that Murray was connected with the conspirators, but it shews, that whatever his own suspicions or belief were, he did not choose to discountenance Bothwell. Could Mary ever suppose that the *godly* Earl of Murray would entertain a murderer at his table?

four hours before it was to take place, from the Earl of Lennox, who did not exactly see how he was to carry through his accusation, and therefore wished that the case should be postponed. The letter was dated from Stirling, and mentioned two causes which he said would prevent him from coming to Edinburgh; one was sickness, and the other the short time which had been allowed him to prepare for making good his charge. He asked, therefore, that the Queen would imprison the suspected persons, and would delay the trial till he had collected his friends and his proofs.* This request disappointed Mary exceedingly. She had hurried on the trial as much to gratify Lennox as herself; but she now saw that, in asking for it at all, he had been guided more by the feeling of the moment, than by any rational conviction of its propriety. To postpone it, without the consent of the accused, who had by this time made the necessary preparations for their defence, was of course out of the question; and, if the time originally mentioned was too short, why did Lennox not write to that effect, as soon as he received intimation of the day appointed? If she put off the trial now, for any thing she knew it might never come on at all.

Mary's enemies, it may here be observed, were determined, whatever she did, to discover some cause of complaint, if she urged on the trial, they would accuse her of precipitancy; if she postponed it, they would charge her with indifference. Elizabeth, in particular, under the pretence of a mighty anxiety that Mary should do

* ANDERSON, vol. 1. p. 52.

what was most honourable and requisite, insolently suggested that suspicion might attach to herself, unless she complied with the request made by Lennox. "For the love of God, madam," she hypocritically and insidiously wrote to Mary, "conduct yourself with such sincerity and prudence, in a case which touches you so nearly, that all the world may have reason to pronounce you innocent of a crime so enormous, which, unless they did, you would deserve to be blotted out from the rank of princesses, and to become odious even to the vulgar; rather than see which, I would wish you an honourable sepulchre."* Just as if any one *did* suspect Mary, or as if any monarch in Christendom would have dared to hint the possibility of her being an adulterous murderess, except her jealous rival, Elizabeth, pining in the chagrined malevolence of antiquated virginity. The real motives which dictated this epistle became the more apparent, when we learn that it was not written till the 8th of April, and could not at the very soonest reach Edinburgh till the morning of the very day on which the trial was to take place, and probably not till after it was over. The truth is, that the very moment she heard of Darnley's death, Elizabeth had eagerly considered in her own mind the possibility of involving "her good sister" in the guilt attached to those who had murdered him, and was now the very first who openly attempted to lead the thoughts of the Scottish Queen's subjects into that channel,—she was

* ROBERTSON, *Appendix* to vol. i. No. XIX.

the very first who commenced laying the train which produced in the end so fatal a catastrophe.

On Saturday, the 12th of April, 1567, a Justiciary Court was held in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, for the trial of the Earl of Bothwell. The Lord High Justice, the Earl of Argyle, presided, attended by four assessors, or legal advisers, two of whom, Mr James MacGill and Mr Henry Balnaves, were Senators of the College of Justice; the third was Robert Pitcairn, Commendator of Dunfermline, and the fourth was Lord Lindsay. The usual preliminary formalities having been gone through, the indictment was read, in which Bothwell was accused of being "art and part of the cruel, odious, treasonable, and abominable slaughter and murder of the umwhile the Right High and Mighty Prince the King's Grace, dearest spouse for the time to our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty." * He was then called as defender, on the one side, and Matthew Earl of Lennox, and all others the Queen's lieges, who wished to pursue in the matter, on the other. Bothwell appeared immediately at the bar, supported by the Earl of Morton, and two gentlemen who were to act as his advocates. But the Earl of Lennox, or other pursuers, though frequently called, did not appear. At length Robert Cunningham, one of Lennox's servants, stepped forward, and produced a writing in the shape of a protest, which his master had authorized him to deliver. It stated, that the cause of the Earl's absence was the shortness of time, and the want of friends and

* ANDERSON, vol. II. p. 103.

retainers to accompany him to the place of trial ; and it therefore objected to the decision of any assize which might be held that day. In reply to this protest, the letters of the Earl of Lennox to the Queen, in which he desired that a short and summary process might be taken against the suspected persons, were produced and read ; and it was maintained by the Earl of Bothwell's counsel, that the trial ought to proceed immediately, according to the laws of the realm, and the wish of the party accused. The judges, having heard both sides, were of opinion that Bothwell had a right to insist upon the trial going on. A jury was therefore chosen, which does not seem to have consisted of persons particularly friendly to the Earl. It was composed of the Earls of Rothes, Caithness, and Cassilis, Lord John Hamilton, son to the Duke of Chatelherault, Lords Ross, Semple, Herries, Oliphant, and Boyd, the Master of Forbes, Gordon of Lochinvar, Cockburn of Langton, Sommierville of Cambusnethan, Mowbray of Barnbogle, and Ogilby of Boyne. Bothwell pled *not guilty* ; and, no evidence appearing against him, the jury retired, and were out of court for some time. When they returned, their verdict, delivered by the Earl of Caithness, whom they had chosen their chancellor, unanimously acquitted Bothwell of the slaughter of the King. *

Immediately after his acquittal, Bothwell, as was customary in those times, published a challenge, in which he offered to fight hand to hand

* ANDERSON, vol. II. p. 104, et seq. , and KEITH, p. 375, et seq.

with any man who would avow that he still suspected him to have had a share in the King's death; but nobody ventured openly to accept it.* As far, therefore, as appearances were concerned, he was now able to stand upon higher ground than ever, and boldly to declare, that whosoever was guilty, he had been found innocent. Accordingly, at the Parliament which met on the 14th of April, he appeared in great state, with banners flying, and a numerous body of retainers; and in compliment to him, an act was passed, in which it was set forth, that "by a licentious abuse lately come into practice within this realm, there had been placards, and bills and tickets of defamation, set up under silence of night, in diverse public places, to the slander, reproach, and infamy of the Queen's majesty and diverse of the nobility; which disorder, if it were suffered to remain longer unpunished, would redound not only to the great hurt and detriment of all noblemen in their good fame, private calumniators having by this means liberty to backbite them, but also the common weal would be disturbed, and occasion of quarrel taken upon false and untrue slander."—it was therefore made criminal to put up any such placards, or to abstain from destroying them as soon as they were seen.

At this Parliament, there was also an act passed on the subject of religion, which is deserving of notice. "The same Queen," says Chalmers, "who is charged by Robertson with attempting to suppress the Reformed discipline, with the aid of the Bishops, passed a law.

* ANDERSON, vol. II p. 157.

renouncing all foreign jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs ; giving toleration to all her subjects to worship God in their own way ; and engaging to give some additional privileges." This is one of the most satisfactory answers which can be given to the supposition, that Mary was in any way a party to the continental persecution of the Hugonots.

The Earl of Murray was not present either at this Parliament, or the trial which immediately preceded it. Actuated by motives which do not exactly appear, and which historians have not been able satisfactorily to explain, he obtained permission from Mary, in the beginning of April, to leave Scotland, and, on the 9th, he set off for France, visiting London and the court of Elizabeth on his way. There is something very unaccountable in a man of Murray's ambition thus withdrawing from the scene of action, just at the very time when he must have been anticipating political events of the last importance. His conduct can be rationally explained, only by supposing, that it was suggested by his systematic caution. He was not now, nor had he ever been, since his rebellion, Mary's exclusive and all-powerful Prime Minister : yet he could not bear to fill a second place, and he knew that, if any civil war occurred, the eyes of many would immediately be turned towards him. If he remained in the country, he would necessarily be obliged to take a side as soon as the dissensions broke out, and might find himself again associated with the losing party, but, if he kept at a distance for a while, he could throw his influence, when he chose, into the heaviest scale, and thus gain

an increase of popularity and power. These were probably the real motives of his present conduct ; and, judging by the result, no one can say that he reasoned ill. That he was aware of every thing that was about to happen, and that he urged Bothwell forward into a net, from whose meshes he knew he could never be disengaged, as has been maintained so positively by Whittaker, Chalmers, and others, does not appear. The peremptoriness with which these writers have asserted the truth of this unfounded theory, is the leading defect of their works, and has tended to weaken materially the chain of argument by which they would otherwise have established Mary's innocence. That Bothwell, as they over and over again repeat, was the mere "cat's-paw" of Murray, is a preposterous belief, and argues a decided want of knowledge of Bothwell's real character. And even supposing that he had been so, nothing could be more chimerical than the idea, that, after having made him murder Darnley, Murray would wish to see him first acquitted of that murder, and then married to the Queen, for the vague chance that both might be deposed, and he himself called to succeed them as Regent. "Would it ever enter into the imagination of a wise man," asks Robertson, "first to raise his rival to supreme power, in hopes that, afterwards, he should find some opportunity of depriving him of that power ? The most adventurous politician never hazarded such a dangerous experiment ; the most credulous folly never trusted such an uncertain chance."

Murray probably winked at the murder, because he foresaw that it was likely to lead to Bothwell's

ruin. When he left the country, he may not have been altogether aware of Bothwell's more ambitious objects ; but if he was, he would still have gone, for his staying could not have prevented their attempted execution ; and if they induced a civil war, whosoever lost, he might contrive to be a gainer. He acted selfishly and unpatriotically, but not with that deliberate villainy with which he has been charged.

CHAPTER V.

BOTHWELL'S SEIZURE OF THE QUEEN'S PERSON, AND
SUBSEQUENT MARRIAGE TO HER.

EVERY thing appeared now to be going smoothly with Bothwell, and he had only to take one step more to reach the very height of his ambition. Mary's hand and Scotland's crown were the objects he had all along kept steadily in view. The latter was to be obtained only by means of the former, and hence his reason for removing Darnley, and willingly submitting to a trial, from which he saw he would come off triumphantly. The question he now anxiously asked himself was, whether it was likely that Mary could be persuaded to accept him as a husband. He was aware, that, in the unsettled state of the country, she must feel that, unless married to a person of weight and resolution, she would hardly be able to keep her turbulent subjects in order; and he was of opinion, that it was not improbable she would now cast her eyes upon one of her own nobility, as she could no where else find a king who would be so agreeable to the national prejudices. Yet he had a lurking consciousness, that he himself would not be the object of her choice.

She had of late, it was true, given him a considerable share in the administration ; but he felt that she had done so, more as a matter of state policy, and to preserve a balance of power among her ministers, than from any personal regard. The most assiduous attentions which it was in his power to pay her, had failed to kindle in her bosom any warmer sentiment ; for, though she esteemed him for his fidelity as an officer of state, his manners and habits as a man, were too coarse and dissolute to please one of so much refinement, sensibility, and gentleness, as Mary Stuart. Bothwell, therefore, became secretly convinced that it would be necessary for him to have recourse to fraud, and perhaps to force. Had Mary loved him, their marriage would have been a matter of mutual agreement, and would have taken place whenever circumstances seemed to make it mutually advisable ; but as it was, artifice and audacity were to be his weapons ; nor were they wielded by an unskilful hand.

The Parliament, which met on the 14th of April, 1567, continued to sit only till the 19th of the same month . and on the evening of the following day, Bothwell invited nearly all the Lords who were then in Edinburgh to a great supper, in a tavern, kept by a person of the name of Amsly, from which circumstance, the entertainment was afterwards known by the name of "*Amsly's Supper.*" After plying his guests with wine, he produced a document, which he had himself previously drawn up, and which he requested them all to sign. It was in the form of a bond ; and in the preamble, after expressing their conviction that James Earl of Bothwell, Lord Hales,

Crichton, and Liddesdale, Great Admiral of Scotland, and Lieutenant to the Queen over all the Marches, had been grossly slandered in being suspected of having a share in the murder of Darnley, and that his innocence had been fully and satisfactorily proved at his late trial, they bound themselves, as they should answer to God, that whatever person or persons should afterwards renew such calumniation, should be proceeded against by them with all diligence and perseverance. After this introduction, evidently meant to aid in removing any lingering suspicion which the Queen might still entertain of Bothwell's guilt, the bond went on to state, that, "Moreover, weighing and considering the present time, and how our Sovereign, the Queen's Majesty, is destitute of a husband, in which solitary state the common weal of this realm may not permit her Highness to continue and endure, but at some time her Highness, in appearance, may be inclined to yield unto a marriage,—therefore, in case the former affectionate and hearty services of the said Earl, (Bothwell,) done to her Majesty from time to time, and his other good qualities and behaviour, may move her Majesty so far to humble herself, as, preferring one of her own native born subjects unto all foreign princes, to take to husband the said Earl, we, and every one of us under subscribing, upon our honours and fidelity, oblige ourselves, and promise, not only to further, advance, and set forward the marriage, to be solemnized and completed betwixt her Highness, and the said noble Lord, with our votes, counsel, fortification, and assistance, in word and deed, at such time as it shall please her

Majesty to think it convenient, and as soon as the laws shall permit it to be done: but in case any should presume, directly or indirectly, openly, or under whatsoever colour or pretence, to hinder, hold back, or disturb the same marriage, we shall, in that behalf, hold and repute the hinderers, adversaries, or disturbers thereof, as our common enemies and evil-willers: and notwithstanding the same, take part with, and fortify the said Earl to the said marriage, so far as it may please our said Sovereign Lady to allow; and therein shall spend and bestow our lives and goods against all that live or die, as we shall answer to God, and upon our own fidelities and conscience; and in case we do the contrary, never to have reputation or credit in no time hereafter, but to be accounted unworthy and faithless traitors." *

This bond having been read and considered, all the nobles present, with the exception of the Earl of Eglinton, who went away unperceived, put their signatures to it. "Among the subscribers," says Robertson, "we find some who were the Queen's chief confidants, others who were strangers to her councils, and obnoxious to her displeasure; some who faithfully adhered to her through all the vicissitudes of her fortune, and others who became the principal authors of her sufferings; some passionately attached to the Romish superstition, and others zealous advocates for the Protestant faith. No common interest can be supposed to have united men of such opposite interests and parties, in recommending to their sovereign a step so injurious to her

* ANDERSON, vol. 1. p. 107, and KLITH, p. 381.

honour, and so fatal to her peace. This strange coalition was the effect of much artifice, and must be considered as the boldest and most masterly stroke of Bothwell's address." It is, indeed, impossible to conceive that such a bond was so numerously subscribed on the mere impulse of the moment. Before obtaining so solemn a promise of support from so many, he must have had recourse to numerous machinations, and have brought into action a thousand interests. He must, in the first place, have influenced Morton, his brother-in-law Huntly, Argyle, and others; and having secured these, he would use them as agents to bring over as many more. The rest, finding that so formidable a majority approved of the bond, would not have the courage to stand out, for they would fear the consequences if Bothwell ever became king. Among the names attached to this bond, are those of the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Bishops of Aberdeen, Dumblane, Brechin, and Ross, the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, Morton, Cassilis, Sutherland, Errol, Crawford, Caithness, and Rothes, and the Lords Boyd, Glamis, Ruthven, Semple, Herries, Ogilvie, and Fleming.* Here was an overwhelming and

* KIRK, p. 382. There are extant two lists of the names of the subscribers, and these differ in one or two particulars from each other; but the one was only a list given to Cecil from memory, by John Reid, Buchanan's clerk, the other is a document authenticated by the subscription of Sir James Balfour, who was at the time Clerk of Register and Privy Council. The chief difference between these two copies is, that Reid's list contains the name of the Earl of Murray, though on the 20th of April, he was out of the realm of Scotland. It has been sup-

irresistible force, enlisted by Bothwell in his support. The sincerity of many of the subscribers he probably had good reason to doubt; but what he wanted was, to be able to present himself before Mary armed with an argument which she would find it difficult to evade. He was afraid, however, to lay the bond openly and fairly before her; he dreaded that her aversion to a matrimonial connection with him might weigh more powerfully than even the almost unanimous recommendation of her nobility. But, having already gone so far, he was resolved that a woman's will should not be any serious obstacle to his wishes.

The whole affair of the supper was, for a short time, kept concealed from Mary; and, though Bothwell's intentions and wishes began to be pretty generally talked of throughout the country, she was the very last to hear of them. When the Lord Herries ventured on one occasion to come upon the subject with the Queen, and mentioned the report as one which had gained considerable credit, "her Majesty marvelled," says Melville, "to hear of such rumours without meaning, and said *that there was no such thing in*

posed that the bond, though not produced, might have been drawn up some time before, and that Murray put his name to it before going away. This is possible, but, considering Murray's cautious character, not probable. The point does not seem one of great importance, though, by those who are anxious to make out a case against Murray rather than against Bothwell, it is deemed necessary to insist upon it at length. Perhaps Bothwell forged Murray's signature, to give his bond greater weight both with the nobles and with the Queen.

her mind." Only a day or two after the bond was signed, she left Edinburgh to visit the prince her son, who was then in the keeping of the Earl of Mar at Stirling. Before she went, Bothwell ventured to express his hopes to her, but she gave him an answer little agreeable to his ambition. "The bond being once obtained," Mary afterwards wrote to France, "Bothwell began afar off to discover his intention, and to essay if he might by humble suit purchase our good will."—"But finding an answer nothing correspondent to his desire, and casting from before his eyes all doubts that men use commonly to revolve with themselves in similar enterprizes,—the backwardness of our own mind; the persuasions which our friends or his enemies might cast out for his hindrance; the change of their minds whose consent he had already obtained, with many other incidents which might occur to frustrate him of his expectation,—he resolved with himself to follow forth his good fortune, and, all respect laid apart, either to tine all in one hour, or to bring to pass that thing he had taken in hand."* This is a clear and strong statement, describing exactly the feelings both of Bothwell and Mary at this period.

The Earl did not long dally on the brink of his fate. Ascertaining that Mary was to return from Stirling on the 24th, he left Edinburgh with a force of nearly 1000 men, well mounted, under the pretence of proceeding to quell some riots on the Borders. But he had only gone a few miles southward, when he turned suddenly to the west,

* KEITH, p. 390.

and, riding with all speed to Linlithgow, waited for Mary at a bridge over the Almond, about a mile from that town. The Queen soon made her appearance with a small train, which was easily overpowered, and which, indeed, did not venture to offer any resistance. The Earl of Huntly, Secretary Maitland, and Sir James Melville, were the only persons of rank who were with the Queen; and they were carried captive along with her; but the rest of her attendants were dismissed. Bothwell himself seized the bridle of Mary's horse, and, turning off the road to Edinburgh, conducted her with all speed to his Castle at Dunbar. *

The leading features of this forcible abduction, or *ravishment*, at it is commonly called by the Scottish historians, have been greatly misrepresented by Robertson and Laing. Both of these writers mention, as a matter of surprise, that Mary yielded without struggle or regret, to the insult thus offered her. That she yielded without struggle, that is to say, without any attempt at physical resistance, is exceedingly probable; for when was a party of a dozen persons, riding without suspicion of danger, able to offer resistance to a thousand armed troopers? There is little wonder that they were surrounded and carried off, "without opposition," as Laing expresses it; for, by a thousand soldiers, a dozen Sir William Wallaces would have been made prisoners "without opposition." But the very number which Bothwell brought with him, and

* KEITH, p. 383; MELVILLE'S *Memoirs*, p. 177; WHITTAKER, vol. III. p. 106, and 356.

which even Mary's worst enemies allow was not less than six hundred, proves that there was no collusion between him and the Queen. Had it been only a pretended violence, to afford a decent excuse for Mary's subsequent conduct, fifty horsemen would have done as well as a thousand; but Bothwell knew the Queen's spirit, and the danger of the attempt, and came prepared accordingly.

But it is urged, that, if displeased, she must have expressed her resentment to those who were near her. And there is certainly no reason to suppose that she was silent, though neither Huntly nor Lethington would be much influenced by her complaints, for they had both secretly attached themselves to Bothwell. Sir James Melville, who was more faithful to the Queen, was dismissed from Dunbar the day after her capture, lest she should have employed him to solicit aid for her relief, as she had formerly done on the occasion of the murder of Rizzio. * Mary herself, in the letter already quoted, sets the matter beyond dispute, for she there gives a long and interesting detail, both of her own indignation, and of the arts used by Bothwell to appease it. † Nothing, indeed, can be more contrary to reason, than to suppose this abduction a mere device, mutually arranged to deceive the country. If Mary had really loved Bothwell, and was anxious to marry him, it would have been the very last thing she would have allowed to be believed, that she gave him her hand, after he had been publicly acquitted of Darnley's murder, and all her principal nobility

* MELVILLE, p. 177.

† KEITH, p. 390.

had declared in his favour, only in consequence of a treasonable act, committed by him against her person. If she hoped to live in peace and happiness with him, why should she have allowed it to be supposed, that she acted from necessity, rather than from choice, or that she yielded to a seducer, what she would not give to a faithful subject? This pre-arranged ravishment would evidently defeat its own purpose, and would serve as a pretence, suggested by Mary herself, for every malcontent in Scotland to take up arms against her and Bothwell. It was a contrivance directly opposed to all sound policy, and certainly very unlike the open and straight-forward manner in which she usually went about the accomplishment of a favourite purpose. "But one object of the seizure," says Laing, "was the vindication of her precipitate marriage." Where was the necessity of a precipitate marriage at all? Was Mary so eager to become the wife of Bothwell, with whom, according to the veracious Buchanan, she had long been indulging an illicit intercourse, that she could not wait the time required by common decency to wear her widow's garb for Daruley? Was he barbarously murdered by her consent on the 9th of February, on the express condition that she was to have Bothwell in her arms as her husband on the 15th of May? Was she, indeed, so entirely lost to every sense of female delicacy and public shame,—so utterly dead to her own interests and reputation,—or so very scrupulous about continuing a little longer her unlicensed amours,—that, rather than suffer the delay of a few months, she would thus run the risk of involving herself in eternal infamy?

Even supposing that she was perfectly assured the artifice would remain undiscovered,—was her conscience so hardened, her feelings so abandoned, and her reason so perverted, as to enable her to anticipate gratification from a marriage thus hastily concluded, with so little queenly dignity, or female modesty, and with a man who was not yet divorced from his own wife ?

For ten days, Bothwell kept Mary in Dunbar, “sequestered,” in her own words, “from the company of all her servants, and others of whom she might have asked counsel, and seeing those upon whose counsel and fidelity she had before depended, already yielded to his appetite, and so left alone, as it were, a prey to him.”* Closely shut up as she was, she long hoped that some of her more loyal nobles would exert themselves to procure her deliverance. But not one of them stirred in her behalf, for Bothwell was at this time dreaded or courted by all of them ; and, finding the person of the Queen thus left at his disposal, he did not hesitate to declare to her, that he would make her his wife, “who would, or who would not,—yea, whether she would herself or not.”† Mary, in reply, charged him with the foulest ingratitude ; and his conduct, she told him, grieved her the more, because he was one “of whom she doubted less than of any subject she had.”‡ But he was not now to be driven from his purpose. He spent his whole time with Mary ; and his whole conversation was directed to the one great object he had in view. He called

* ANDERSON, vol. i. p. 97, KEITH, p. 390.

† MELVILLE, p. 197. ‡ ANDERSON, vol. i. p. 95.

to his aid every variety of passion; sometimes flinging himself at her feet, and imploring her to pardon a deed which the violence of his love had made imperative; and, at other times, giving vent to a storm of rage, and threatening dishonour, imprisonment, and death, if she hesitated longer to comply with his demands. Mary herself is the best chronicler of these distracting scenes, although it must be observed, that she did not write of them till Bothwell had achieved his purpose; and consequently, making a virtue of necessity, she was anxious to place them in as favourable a point of view for him as possible. "Being at Dunbar," she says, "we reproached him the honour he had to be so esteemed of us, the favour we had always shewn him, his ingratitude, with all other remonstrances which might serve to rid us out of his hands. Albeit we found his doing rude, yet were his answer and words but gentle, that he would honour and serve us, and would noways offend us, asking pardon of the boldness he had taken to convoy us to one of our own houses, whereunto he was driven by force, as well as constrained by love, the vehemency whereof had made him to set apart the reverence, which naturally, as our subject, he bore to us, as also for safety of his own life: and then began to make us a discourse of his whole life, how unfortunate he had been to find men his unfriends whom he had never offended; how their malice never ceased to assault him on all occasions, albeit unjustly; what calumnies they had spread of him, touching the odious violence perpetrated in the person of the King our late husband; how unable he was to save

himself from the conspiracies of his enemies, whom he could not know, by reason that every man professed himself outwardly to be his friend; and yet he found such hidden malice that he could not find himself in surety, unless he were insured of our favour to endure without alteration; and on no other assurance of our favour could he rely, unless it would please us to do him that honour to take him to husband, protesting always that he would seek no other sovereignty but as formerly, to serve and obey us all the days of our life; joining thereunto all the honest language that could be used in such a case.*

But these arguments were of no avail, and Bothwell was obliged to go a step farther. "When he saw us like to reject all his suit and offers," says Mary, "in the end he shewed us how far he had proceeded with our whole nobility and principals of our estates, and what they had promised him under their handwriting. If we had cause then to be astonished, we leave to the judgment of the King and Queen, (of France,) our uncle, and our other friends." "Many things we resolved with ourself, but never could find an out-gait, (deliverance;) and yet he gave us little space to meditate with ourself, ever pressing us with continual and importunate suit." "As by a bravade in the beginning he had won the first point, so ceased he never till, by persuasions and importunate suit, *accompanied not the less with force*, he has finally driven us to end the work begun, at such time, and in such form, as he thought might best serve his turn; wherein we

* ANDERSON, vol. 1. p. 95.

cannot dissemble that he has used us otherwise than we would have wished, or yet have deserved at his hand; having more respect to content them, by whose consent, granted to him beforehand, he thinks he has obtained his purpose, than regarding our contentation, or weighing what was convenient for us."*

Bothwell had kept Mary at Dunbar for nearly a week, when, in order to make it be believed that her residence there was voluntary, he ventured to call together a few of the Lords of the Privy Council on whom he could depend, and on the 29th of April, there was one unimportant Act of Council passed, concerning provisions for the royal household. From the influence he at that time possessed over the Scottish nobles, Both-

* ANDERSON, vol. i. p. 97, et seq. There is something so peculiar in the last passage quoted above, and Bothwell's conduct was so despotic, during the whole of the time he had Mary's person at his disposal, that Whittaker's supposition seems by no means unlikely, that the *force* to which Mary alludes was of the most culpable and desperate kind. "Throughout the whole of the Queen's own account of these transactions," he observes, "the delicacy of the lady, and the prudence of the wife, are in a continual struggle with facts,—willing to lay open the whole for her own vindication, yet unable to do it for her own sake and her husband's, and yet doing it in effect." Vide WHITTAKER, vol. iii. p. 112, et seq. Melville is still more explicit upon the subject, p. 177. And, in a letter from "the Lords of Scotland," written to the English ambassador, six weeks after the ravishment, it is expressly said, that "the Queen was led captive, and by fear, force, and (as by many conjectures may be well suspected) other extraordinary and more unlawful means, compelled to become the bedfellow to another wife's husband." See the letter in KEITH, p. 418.

well might have held a Privy Council every day at Dunbar, and whether he allowed the Queen, *pro forma*, to be present or not, nobody would have objected to any thing he proposed.* In the mean time, mutual suits of divorce were raised by Bothwell and his wife, the Lady Jane Gordon, and, being hurried through the courts, only a few days elapsed before they were obtained.† This is another circumstance which tends to prove, that Bothwell's seizure of Mary was not collusive; for, had it been so, she would certainly never have allowed it to take place till these suits had been decided.

The die was now cast: Mary was in Bothwell's fangs, and her ruin was completed. On the 3d of May, 1567, he thought it expedient to conduct her, closely guarded, from Dunbar to the Castle of Edinburgh. When they came near the town, he desired his followers to conceal their arms, lest it should be supposed that he was still keeping the Queen an unwilling prisoner. But the truth broke out, in spite of his precautions; for, at the foot of the Canongate, Mary was about to turn her horse towards Holyrood, upon which Bothwell himself seized the bridle, and conducted her up the High Street to the Castle, which was then in the keeping of Sir James Balfour, who was entirely subservient to Bothwell.‡ He was now resolved that his mar-

* Vide LAING, vol. i. p. 86, and vol. ii. p. 105; and WHITTAKER, vol. iii. p. 116.

† KEITH, p. 383.

‡ *History of James VI*, p. 10, BUCHANAN'S *History*, book xvii.; KEITH, p. 384; WHITTAKER, vol. iii. p. 120.

riage should be consummated with as little delay as possible, having wrung a consent to it from the unfortunate Queen, by means of which it is impossible to think without shuddering. In the state to which she was reduced, she had no alternative; she chose the least of two evils, in becoming, with an aching heart, the wife of her ravisher.

Yet, it would appear, that she did not herself take a single step to advance the matter. Three days after she arrived at the Castle, a person of the name of Thomas Hepburn, (probably a relation of the Hepburn who was engaged with Bothwell in Darnley's murder,) was sent to Craig, Knox's colleague in the church of St Giles, to desire that he would proclaim the banns of matrimony betwixt the Queen and Bothwell. But the clergyman refused, because Hepburn brought no authority from the Queen.* Neither Mary nor Bothwell were so ignorant, as to suppose that any minister would publish banns without receiving a written or personal order; and Hepburn would hardly have been sent on so idle an errand, had not the Queen been still reluctant to surrender herself to one whose person and manners she had never liked, and who was now so odious to her. But not a voice was raised—not a sword was drawn to protect her; and what resource was left? In a day or two, the Lord Justice

* "I plainly refused," says Craig, in his account of this matter, which still remains among the records of the General Assembly, "because he (Hepburn) had not her handwriting; and also the constant bruit that my Lord had both ravished her and kept her in captivity." ANDERSON, vol. ii. p. 299.

Clerk conveyed a written mandate to Craig; but the preacher had still some scruples: not thinking such a marriage agreeable to the laws either of God or man, he insisted upon seeing the Queen and Bothwell, before he gave intimation of it. He was admitted to a meeting of the Privy Council, where Bothwell presided, but at which Mary does not seem to have been present. "In the Council," says Craig, "I laid to his charge the law of adultery, the ordinance of the kirk, the law of ravishing, the suspicion of collusion betwixt him and his wife, the sudden divorcement and proclaiming within the space of four days, and lastly, the suspicion of the King's death, which his marriage would confirm; but he answered nothing to my satisfaction. — Therefore, upon Sunday, after I had declared what they had done, and how they would proceed, whether we would or not, I took heaven and earth to witness, that I abhorred and detested that marriage, because it was odious and scandalous to the world; and, *seeing the best part of the realm did approve it, either by flattery or by their silence*, I desired the faithful to pray earnestly, that God would turn it to the comfort of this realm." *

It was not till after the banns had been twice proclaimed, that Bothwell allowed the Queen, on the 12th of May, to come forth from the Castle for the first time. He conducted her himself to the Court of Session, where he persuaded her to affix her signature to two deeds of great importance to him. The bond he had obtained from the nobles, recommending him as a husband to

* ANDERSON, vol. II. p. 280.

the Queen, has been already fully described ; but when the Lords put their names to it, they were not aware that Bothwell would, in consequence, conceive himself entitled to have recourse to violence ; and they now became alarmed lest the Queen should imagine that they were themselves implicated in an act which many of them, though they did not yet venture to express their sentiments, viewed with disgust. By way of precaution, therefore, they required Bothwell to obtain, from her Majesty, a written promise, that she would not at any time hereafter impute to them as a crime the consent they had given to the bond. Here is another argument against the idea of collusion between Mary and Bothwell ; for in that case, so far from having any thing to fear, Bothwell's friends would have known that nothing could have recommended them more to Mary, than the countenance they gave his marriage ; and if, for the sake of appearances, she wished it to be believed that she was forced into it, she would certainly have carefully avoided recording her approval of the previous encouragement given to Bothwell by her nobility. Mary's ealumniators are thus placed between the horns of a dilemma. If she did not consent to the abduction, then the marriage was not one of her choice ; if she did, then why defeat the only object she had in view, which was to deceive her subjects, by publicly declaring that the Lords who signed the bond had done nothing to displease her ? and why, moreover, should such a declaration have been thought necessary, either by Bothwell or his friends ? The deed which

Mary signed in the Court of Session, and which, taking this view of it, is worthy of every attention, was subjoined to a copy of the bond, and expressed in these words:—

“The Queen’s Majesty having seen and considered the bond above written, promises, on the word of a Princess, that she, nor her successors, shall never impute as crime or offence, to any of the persons subscribers thereof, their consent and subscription to the matter above written, therein contained; nor that they nor their heirs shall never be called nor accused therefor; nor yet shall the said consent or subscribing be any derogation or spot to their honour, or they esteemed undutiful subjects for doing thereof, notwithstanding whatever thing can tend or be alleged in the contrary. In witness whereof, her Majesty has subscribed the same with her own hand.”*

On the same day, Mary granted a formal pardon to Bothwell, before all the Lords of Session and others, for his late conduct, in taking her to, and holding her in Dunbar, “contrary to her Majesty’s will and mind,” which is also very much against the supposition of collusion. The deed states,— “That albeit her Highness was commoved for the present time of taking her at the said Earl Bothwell; yet, for his good behaviour and thankful service in time past, and for more thankful service in time coming, her Highness stands content with the said Earl, and has forgiven and forgives him, and all others his accomplices, being with

* ANDERSON, vol. i. p. 111; KEITH, p. 364.

him in company at the time, all hatred conceived by her Majesty, for the taking and imprisoning of her at the time aforesaid." *

All these preparations having been made, Mary at length became the wife of Bothwell, he having been previously created Duke of Orkney. Even in the celebration of the marriage ceremony, the despotic power which Bothwell now exercised over the unhappy and passive Queen, is but too evident. She, who had never before failed, in a single instance, to observe the rites of her own faith, however tolerant she was to those who professed a different persuasion, was now obliged, in opposition to all the prejudices of education, and all the principles of her religion, to submit to be married according to the form of the Protestant church. Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, who, though holding an Episcopal order, had lately renounced that heresy, and joined the Reformers, presided on the occasion. The marriage took place, not at mass in the Queen's chapel, but in the Council Chamber, where, after a sermon had been delivered, the company separated, with little demonstrations of mirth. †

* ANDERSON, vol. i. p. 87.

† *History of James VI*, p. 10; KEITH, p. 386; MELVILLE, p. 78; WHITTAKER, vol. iii. p. 127, et seq. Upon this subject, Lord Hailes has judiciously remarked:—“After Mary had remained a fortnight under the power of a daring profligate adventurer, few foreign princes would have solicited her hand. Some of her subjects might still have sought that honour, but her compliance would have been humiliating beyond measure. It would have left her at the mercy of a capricious husband,—it would have exposed her to the disgrace of being reproached, in some sullen hour, for the adventure at Dunbar. Mary

Melville, who came to court the same evening, mentions some particulars, which shew how the dissolute Bothwell chose to spend his time:—“When I came to the court,” he says, “I found my Lord Duke of Orkney sitting at his supper. He said I had been a great stranger, desiring me to sit down and sup with him. The Earl of Huntly, the Justice-Clerk, and diverse others, were sitting at the table with him. I said that I had already supped. Then he called for a cup of wine, and drank to me, that I might pledge him like a Dutchman. He made me drink it out to grow fatter, ‘for,’ said he, ‘the zeal of the commonweal has eaten ye up, and made ye lean.’ I answered, that every little member should serve to some use; but that the care of the commonweal appertained most to him, and the rest of the nobility, who should be as fathers to it. Then he said, I well knew he would find a pin for every bore. Then he discoursed of gentlewomen, speaking such filthy language, that I left him, and passed up to the Queen, who was very glad at my coming.”*

Such was the man who was now inseparably joined to Mary, and who, by fraud and villainy, had made himself, for the time, so absolute in Scotland, that her possession of the throne of her ancestors, nay, her very life, seems to have depended upon his will and pleasure.

was so situated, at this critical period, that she was reduced to this horrid alternative,—either to remain in a friendless and most hazardous celibacy, or to yield her hand to Bothwell.” *Remarks on the History of Scotland*, p. 204.

* MELVILLE, p. 178.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REBELLION OF THE NOBLES, THE MEETING AT
CARBERRY HILL, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

MARY'S first step, after her marriage, was to send, at her husband's desire, ambassadors into England and France, to explain to these courts the motives by which she had been actuated. The instructions given to these ambassadors, as Buchanan has justly remarked, and after him the French historians De Thou and Le Clerc, were drawn up with much art. They came, no doubt, from the pen of Bothwell's friend, Secretary Maitland; and they recapitulate so forcibly all the Earl's services, both to Mary and her mother, enlarge so successfully upon his influence in Scotland, his favour with the nobility, and their anxiety that he should become king; and finally, colour so dexterously his recent conduct, that after their perusal, one is almost induced to believe that the Queen could not have chosen a better husband in all Christendom. Of course, Mary would herself see them before they were despatched, as they are written in her name; and the consent she must have given to the attempt made in them to screen her husband from

blame, confirms the belief that she did not plan, along with him, the scheme of the abduction ; for she would, in that case, have represented, in a much stronger light, the consequences necessarily arising from it. If she had consented to such a scheme, it must have been with the view of making it be believed that her marriage with a suspected murderer (suspected at least by many, though probably not by Mary herself) was a matter of necessity ; and she could never have been so inconsistent as labour to convince her foreign friends, that, though violence had been used in the first instance, she had ultimately seen the propriety of voluntarily becoming Bothwell's wife. It was her sincere and laudable desire, now that she was married, to shelter her husband as much as possible ; and, conscious of her own innocence, she did not anticipate that the measures she took in his behalf might be turned against herself. It should indeed be distinctly remembered, in tracing the lamentable events which followed this marriage, that though force and fraud were not perhaps employed on the very day of its consummation, yet that they had previously done their utmost ; and that it was not the Queen who surrendered herself to Bothwell, but Bothwell who forced himself upon the Queen.

Though Mary attempted to conceal her misery from the prying eye of the world, they who had an opportunity of being near her person easily saw that her peace of mind was wrecked. So little love existed either on the one side or the other, that even the days usually set aside for nuptial rejoicings, were marked only by suspicions

and wranglings. They remained together at Holyrood from the 15th of May to the 7th of June; but, during the whole of that time, Bothwell was so alarmed, lest she should yet break from him, and assert her independence, that he kept her "environed with a continual guard of two hundred harquebussiers, as well day as night, wherever she went;" and whoever wished an audience with her, "it behoved him, before he could come to her presence, to go through the ranks of harquebussiers, under the mercy of a notorious tyrant,—a new example, wherewith this nation had never been acquainted; and yet few or none were admitted to her speech, for his suspicious heart, brought in fear by the testimony of an evil conscience, would not suffer her subjects to have access to her Majesty as they were wont to do."*

The letter from which these passages are quoted, deserves, at this period of Mary's history, every attention, for it was written, scarcely two months after her marriage, by the Lords who had associated themselves against Bothwell, but who had not yet discovered the necessity of implicating Mary in the guilt with which they charged him. The declarations, therefore, they then made, contrasted with those which ambition and selfishness afterwards prompted, prove their sincerity in the first instance, and their wickedness in the last. "They firmly believe," they say, "that, whether they had risen up against her husband or not, *the Queen would not have lived with him half*

* Letter from the Lords of Scotland to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, in KEITH, p. 417.

a year to an end, as may be conjectured by the short time they lived together, and the maintaining of his other wife at home at his house." This last fact is no less singular than it is important. It seems distinctly to imply, that, though Bothwell was divorced from his first wife, and that, though her brother, the Earl of Huntly, had given his consent to the divorce; yet that, in reality, the dissolution of the marriage was, on the part of Bothwell, merely *pro forma*, to enable him to prosecute his scheme of ambition; that his attachment to the Lady Jane Gordon continued unabated; and that, if Mary had ever loved him, she must have loved him, knowing that he did not return her affection. Under such an accumulation of miseries,—the suspicion with which she was regarded by foreign courts; the ready hatred of many of her more bigoted Presbyterian subjects; the dependence, almost amounting to a state of bondage, in which she was kept; and the brutal treatment she experienced from her worthless husband,—no wonder that Mary was heard, in moments almost of distraction, to express an intention of committing suicide.* Her heart was broken; her prospects were blighted; her honour, which was dearer to her than life, was doubted. She was a Queen without the command of her subjects,—a wife without the love of her husband. The humblest peasant in Scotland was more to be envied than the last daughter of the royal line.

But Bothwell was not permitted to triumph long in the success of his villainy. Many, even of his own friends, now began to think that he

* MELVILLE, p. 180.

had carried through his measures with too high a hand. They were willing that he should have won Mary by fair means, but not by foul ; and, when they saw that he had not only imperatively thrust himself upon her as a husband, but was taking rapid strides towards making himself absolute in Scotland, they trembled for the freedom of the constitution, and the safety of the commonweal. With an imprudence equal to his audacity, Bothwell was at no pains either to disguise his wishes, or to conciliate the good will of those whose assistance might have been valuable. With the restless uneasiness of one conscious of guilt, and dreading its probable consequences, he scrupled not to avow his anxiety to get into his possession the person of the young Prince, and had even "made a vaunt already among his familiars, that, if he could get him once into his own hands, he should warrant him from revenging his father's death."* But the Prince was lodged in the Castle of Stirling, in the custody of the Earl of Mar, a nobleman of approved fidelity and honour, who positively refused to deliver him up. It was not easy, however, to divert Bothwell from his object ; and though the Queen did not countenance it, being, on the contrary, rather desirous that her son should remain with Mar, yet he ceased not to cajole and threaten, by turns, until all Scotland was roused into suspicion and anger. †

In this state of things, a number of the nobility met at Stirling, and entered into an association to

* MERVILLE, p. 199.

† KEITH, p. 394, MELVILLE, p. 179 ; KNOX, p. 406.

defend the person of the Prince. They soon saw, or thought they saw, the necessity of taking still more active measures. On the 28th of May, proclamations were issued at Edinburgh, intimating the intention of the Queen and Bothwell to proceed, with a strong force, to the Borders, to suppress some disturbances there, and requiring all loyal subjects to assemble in arms at Melrose. It was immediately rumoured that this expedition was only a pretence, and that Bothwell's real design was to march to Stirling, there to make himself master of the Castle and its inhabitants. In a second proclamation, issued in consequence, this suspicion was characterized as most unfounded; but, whether just or not, it had taken a strong hold of the public mind, and was not easily removed. The Prince's Lords, as they were now called, the chief of whom were Argyle, Athol, Morton, Mar, and Glencarn, busied themselves in collecting their followers, as if, in compliance with the requisition, to assemble at Melrose. On the 6th or 7th of June, 1567, Bothwell took the Queen with him from the Palace of Holyrood to the Castle of Borthwick, situated about eight miles to the south of Edinburgh, having discovered, only a day or two before, that Edinburgh was no longer a safe residence for him. Sir James Balfour, the Governor of the Castle, seeing so strong a party start up against his former patron, had allowed himself to be tampered with, and Bothwell now suspected that he held the Castle not for him, but for the Lords at Stirling. He feared that Balfour might be persuaded by them to sally down to Holyrood with a party of troops, and carry him off a prisoner to the Castle, and

therefore thought it wise to withdraw to a safer distance.

It was not long before the nobility at Stirling heard of Bothwell's retreat to Borthwick, and they resolved to take advantage of it. They advanced unexpectedly from Stirling, and, marching past Edinburgh, suddenly invested the Castle of Borthwick. It was with great difficulty that Bothwell, taking the Queen with him, escaped to Dunbar, and the Lords then fell back upon Edinburgh. Huntly commanded there for Bothwell; but though, at his request, the magistrates shut the gates of the city, the opposite party found little difficulty in forcibly effecting an entrance. Huntly, and the rest of Bothwell's friends, still trusting to Sir James Balfour's fidelity, retreated into the Castle. The opposite faction, with Morton at its head, immediately issued proclamations, in which they demanded the assistance of all loyal subjects, on the grounds, "that the Queen's Majesty, being detained in captivity, was neither able to govern her realm, nor try the the murder of her husband, and that they had assembled to deliver her and preserve the Prince."* These proclamations prove, that no feelings of hostility were as yet entertained or expressed against Mary. One of them, issued at Edinburgh on the 12th of June, commences thus:—"The Lords of Secret Council and Nobility, understanding that James, Earl of Bothwell, put violent hands on our Sovereign Lady's most noble person upon the 24th day of April last, and thereafter warded (imprisoned)

* ANDERSON, vol. i. p. 131.

her Highness in the Castle of Dunbar, which he had in keeping, and, before a long space thereafter, conveyed her Majesty, environed with men of war, and such friends and kinsmen of his as would do for him, ever into such places where he had most dominion and power, her Grace being destitute of all counsel and servants; during which time the said Earl seduced, by unlawful ways, our said Sovereign to a dishonest marriage with himself, which, from the beginning, is null and of no effect, &c." The same proclamation concludes with announcing their determination, "to deliver the Queen's Majesty's most noble person forth of captivity and prison," and to bring Bothwell and his accomplices to trial, both for the murder of Darnley, and for "the ravishing and detaining of the Queen's Majesty's person." as well as to prevent the enterprize intended against the Prince.* Can any thing establish an historical fact more explicitly than such evidence? unless, indeed, contemporary authority be rejected altogether.

Bothwell was, in the mean time, busily collecting his friends at Dunbar. In a few days, upwards of two thousand men had resorted to him, more because the Queen was with him, than from any love they bore himself; and, as he was unwilling that the hostile Lords should be allowed time to collect their strength, he marched, with this force, from Dunbar, on the 14th of June. When the news of his approach reached Edinburgh, the Lords immediately advanced to meet him, though with a somewhat inferior strength. The two armies

* ANDERSON, vol. 1. p. 128.

did not come in sight of each other till the morning of the 15th, when Bothwell's troops were discovered upon Carberry Hill, a rising ground of some extent between Musselburgh and Dalkeith. The Lords, who had spent the night at Musselburgh, made a circuit towards Dalkeith, that they also might get on the high ground, and took up a position to the west of Bothwell. It was here discovered that neither party was very anxious to commence an engagement; and the French ambassador, Le Croc, spent several hours in riding between both armies, and endeavouring to bring them to terms of mutual accommodation, being authorized, on the part of the Queen, to promise that the present insurrection would be willingly forgiven, if the Lords would lay down their arms and disband their followers. But the Earl of Morton answered, "that they had taken up arms *not against the Queen*, but against the murderer of the King, whom, if she would deliver to be punished. or at least put from her company, she should find a continuation of dutiful obedience from them and all other good subjects."* Le Croc, despairing of effecting his purpose, unwillingly quitted the field, and returned to Edinburgh.

But both parties were still desirous to temporize,—Bothwell, because he hourly expected reinforcements from Lord Herries and others,—and the Lords, because they also looked for an accession of strength, and because the day was hot, and the sun shining strong in their faces. † To draw out the time, Bothwell made a bravado of offering to end the quarrel, by engaging in

* KNOX, p. 409.

† LAING, *Appendix*, p. 115.

single combat any Lord of equal rank who would encounter him. Kircaldy of Grange, one of the best soldiers of his day, and Murray of Tullibardin, both expressed their willingness to accept the challenge, but were rejected on the score of inferiority in rank. Lord Lindsay then offered himself, and him Bothwell had no right to refuse. It was expected, therefore, that the whole quarrel would be referred to them, the Queen herself, though at the head of an army superior to that of her opponents, having consented, that a husband to whom she had so short a while been married, and for whom the veracious Buchanan would have us believe she entertained so extravagant an affection, should thus unnecessarily risk his life. Twenty gentlemen on either side were to attend, and the ground was about to be marked out, when the Lords changed their minds, and declared they did not choose that Lord Lindsay should take upon himself the whole burden of a quarrel in which they all felt equally interested.*

In these negotiations the day passed over. It was now between seven and eight in the evening, and a battle must have ensued, either that night or next morning, had not an unexpected step been taken by the Queen. Without betraying Bothwell, she formed a resolution to rid herself from the bondage in which he kept her. She sent to desire that Kircaldy of Grange should come to speak with her, and she intimated to him

* LAING, *Appendix*, vol. ii. p. 116. Knox says, that it was Bothwell who drew back, but the authority to which we have referred is more to be depended on.

her willingness to part from Bothwell as was demanded, if Morton and the other Lords would undertake to conduct her safely into Edinburgh, and there return to their allegiance. This overture, on being reported by Grange, was at once accepted, provided Mary agreed to dismiss Bothwell on the field. It may be easily conceived, that, to Bothwell himself, such an arrangement was not particularly agreeable, and could never have entered the imagination, much less have been the deliberate proposal, of a loving and obedient wife. Historians, we think, have not sufficiently insisted on the strong presumption in Mary's favour, afforded by her conduct at Carberry Hill. It is true that there might have been an understanding between her and Bothwell, that as soon as she was reinstated in her power, she would recall him to a share of her throne and bed. But even supposing that, notwithstanding the alleged violence of her love, she had been willing to consent to a temporary separation, both she and Bothwell knew the spirit of the men they had to deal with too well to trust to the chance of outwitting them, after yielding to their demands. Mary must have been aware, that if she parted with Bothwell at all, she, in all probability, parted with him for ever. Had she truly loved him, she would rather have braved all risks (as she did with Darnley when Murray rebelled) than have abandoned him just at the crisis of his fortune. But she had at no period felt more than the commonest friendship for Bothwell; and since she had been seized by him at the Bridge of Almond, she had absolutely hated him. Melville, accordingly, expresses himself regarding

this transaction in these terms: "Albeit her Majesty was at Carberry Hill, I cannot name it to be her army; for many of them that were with her, were of opinion that she had intelligence with the Lords; chiefly such as understood of the Earl Bothwell's mishandling of her, and many indignities that he had both said and done unto her since their marriage. He was so beastly and suspicious, that he suffered her not to pass a day in patience, or without giving her cause to shed abundance of salt tears. Thus, part of his own company detested him; and the other part believed that her Majesty would fain have been quit of him, but thought shame to be the doer thereof directly himself." * Melville adds, that, so determined was Bothwell not to leave the field if he could avoid it, he ordered a soldier to shoot Grange when he overheard the arrangement which he and the Queen were making. It was "not without great difficulty," says another contemporary writer, that Mary prevailed upon Bothwell to mount his horse, and ride away with a few followers back to Dunbar. † The difficulty there would be in bringing about this consummation cannot be doubted; but that a wife of one month's standing, who is said for his sake to have murdered her former husband, should permit, nay beseech him, thus to sneak off a field he might have won, had she allowed him to fight, is a far more legitimate cause of wonder. When Bothwell left Carberry Hill, he turned his back upon a Queen and a throne;—he left hope behind, and must have seen only ruin before.

* MELVILLE, p. 182.

† LAING, *Appendix*, vol. II. p. 116.

As soon as her husband had departed, Mary desired Grange to lead her to the Lords. Morton and the rest came forward to meet her, and received her with all due respect. The Queen was on horseback, and Grange himself walked at her bridle. On riding up to the associated nobles, she said to them,—“ My Lords, I am come to you, not out of any fear I had of my life, nor yet doubting of the victory, if matters had gone to the worst ; but I abhor the shedding of Christian blood, especially of those that are my own subjects ; and therefore I yield to you, and will be ruled hereafter by your counsels, trusting you will respect me as your born Princess and Queen.”* Alas ! Mary had not calculated either on the perfidy of the men to whom she had surrendered herself, or on the vulgar virulence of their hired retainers, who, having been disappointed in their hopes of a battle, thought they might take their revenge, by insulting the person of a Roman Catholic Sovereign, now for the first time standing before them somewhat in the light of a sutor and a prisoner.

They led her into Edinburgh between eight and nine in the evening ; and the citizens, hearing of the turn which affairs had taken, came out in great crowds, and lined the way as they passed. The envy and hatred of the more bigoted part of the rabble did not fail to exhibit itself. Royalty in misfortune, like a statue taken from its pedestal, is often liable to the rudest handling, simply because it has fallen from a height which previously kept it at a distance from the multitude.

* KEITH, p. 402.

There had long rancoured, in the bosoms of the more zealous and less honest Presbyterians, an ill-concealed jealousy of Mary's superiority; and in the mob which now gathered round her, the turbulent and unprincipled led the way, as they commonly do in a mob, to insult and outrage. So far from being allowed to return to Edinburgh as a Queen, and to take possession of her wonted state, Mary was forced to ride as a captive in a triumphal show. The hatred which was borne towards Bothwell was transferred to her, and the Lords, at the head of whom was the crafty Morton, forgetting the proclamation they had made just two days before, announcing their intention to rescue the Queen from the bondage in which she was held, only took her from one tyrant to retain her in the hands of many. As the cavalcade proceeded, a banner was displayed in front, on which was represented the King lying dead at the foot of a tree, and the young Prince upon his knees near him, exclaiming,—“ Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!” The people shouted with savage exultation, as this ensign was carried past, and turning their eyes on the Queen, who was dissolved in tears, they scrupled not, by the coarse malice of their expressions, to add to the agony of her feelings.

When Mary arrived in Edinburgh, and found she was not to be taken to Holyroodhouse, (from which, indeed, the Lords had previously carried off much of her valuable furniture,) she gave up all for lost, and in her despair called upon all who came near her to rescue her from the hands of traitors. But an excitement had just been given to the public mind, which it required some hours

of sober reflection to allay. No one interfering in her behalf, she was carried to the Provost's house in the High Street, where she was lodged for the night, under a strong guard. The crowd gradually dispersed, and the Lords were left to themselves to arrange their future plan of procedure. Kircaldy of Grange was the only one among them who was disposed to act honourably. He reminded them that he had been commissioned to assure the Queen of their loyal services, provided she parted from Bothwell, and came over to them; and, as she had fulfilled her part of the agreement, he did not think it right that they should fail in theirs. Influenced by these representations, a division might have taken place among themselves, had not Morton fallen on an expedient to silence the scruples of Grange. He produced a letter, which he alledged Mary had just written to Bothwell, and which, he said, he had intercepted, in which she was made to declare, that she was resolved never to abandon him, although for a time she might be obliged to yield to circumstances. Kircaldy, possessing all the blunt sincerity of a soldier, and being little given to suspicion, was startled by this letter, and left Morton, in consequence, to take his own way. That the pretended epistle was in truth a mere hasty forgery, is proved to demonstration, by the fact that, important as such a document would have been, it was never afterwards alluded to by the Lords, nor produced in evidence along with the other papers they so laboriously collected to lay before Elizabeth's commissioners. From this specimen of their honesty, we may guess what reliance is to be placed on the authen-

ticity of writings, subsequently scraped together, by men who, on the spur of the moment, executed a forgery so clumsily, that they were unable to avail themselves of it on any future occasion. But Morton's intriguing spirit was again busily at work; and, having the Queen's person once more in his possession, and being apparently supported by the people, he was determined on taking a step which would secure him Elizabeth's lasting gratitude, and might ultimately raise him to the regency of Scotland. He, therefore, veered suddenly round; and though he had asserted, on the 12th of June, that Mary was kept in unwilling bondage by Bothwell, he saw it prudent to maintain on the 16th, that there was no man in Scotland to whom she was so passionately attached. In support of this assertion, the letter became a necessary fabrication; and Morton well knew that a political falsehood, though credited only for a day, may be made a useful engine in the hands of a skilful workman.

It would appear, however, that a night's reflection operated a considerable change in the minds of the ever fluctuating populace. In the course of the 16th, they collected before the Provost's house; and the Queen having come several times to the window, and represented to them strongly the iniquity of the constraint in which she was kept by her own nobles, who had betrayed her, a general feeling began to manifest itself in her favour. Morton and his colleagues no sooner perceived this change, than they waited on the Queen, and, with the most consummate hypocrisy, protested that she had quite mistaken their intentions, and that, to convince her of their

sincerity, they should immediately replace her in the Palace of Holyrood. Mary listened to them, and was again deceived. In the evening, as if to fulfill their promise, they conducted her to Holyrood, Morton walking respectfully on one side of her horse, and Athol on the other. But when she reached the palace, she was as strictly watched as ever; and about midnight, to her terror and surprise, they suddenly came to her, and forcing her to disguise herself in an ordinary riding-habit, mounted her on horseback, and rode off, without informing her whither she was going.

She was escorted by the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, and, after riding all night, arrived at the Castle of Loch-Leven early in the morning. This castle was a place of considerable strength, standing on a small island in the centre of the lake, which is ten or twelve miles in circumference. It was possessed by Lady Douglas, the Lady of Loch-Leven, as she was commonly called, the widow of Sir Robert Douglas, and mother to the Earl of Murray, by James V. "It is needless to observe," says Keith, "how proper a place this was for the design of the rebels, the house being surrounded with water on all sides, for the space, at shortest, of half a mile; and the proprietors of it being so nearly related to some principal persons among them, in whom, therefore, they could the more securely confide. And indeed it has been said, that the Lady Loch-Leven answered the expectation of the Lords to the full, having basely insulted the captive Queen's misfortune, and bragged, besides, that she herself was King James V's lawful wife, and her son, the Earl of Murray, his legitimate issue,

and true heir of the crown. The Lady Loch-Leven was not only mother to the Earl of Murray, but likewise to the Lord Lindsay's lady, by her husband, Robert Douglas of Loch-Leven. The family of Loch-Leven were moreover heirs-apparent to that of Morton; and to that family they did actually succeed some time after. The Lord Ruthven, also, had to wife a natural daughter of the Earl of Angus;—all which considerations centering together in one, made the house of Loch-Leven, humanly speaking, a most sure and close prison for the royal captive." *

To give an air of something like justice to a measure so violent and unexpected, Morton and his friends endeavoured to sanction it by what they were pleased to term an Act of Privy Council. They experienced, however, no little difficulty in determining on the proper mode of expressing this act. They recollected the proclamations in the Queen's favour to which they had so recently put their names; they recollected also the solemn engagement into which they had entered at Carberry Hill; and though *might* was with them of greater value than *right*, they did not choose, if they could avoid it, to stand convicted of treason in the face of the whole country. They tried, therefore, to excuse the step they had taken, by asserting, that though they still believed her Majesty had unwillingly married Bothwell, and had been kept in bondage by him, and that, though she had quitted his company for theirs at Carberry, yet that after they had

* KEITH, p. 403; MELVILLE, p. 184; KNOX, p. 409; LAING, *Appendix*, vol. II. p. 117.

“ opened and declared unto her Highness her own estate and condition, and the miserable estate of this realm, with the danger that her dearest son the Prince stood in, requiring that she would suffer and command the murder and authors thereof to be punished, they found in her Majesty such untowardness and repugnance thereto, that rather she appeared to fortify and maintain the said Earl Bothwell, and his accomplices, in the said wicked crimes.” The truth of this statement is directly contradicted by the transactions of the 15th of June, when Mary, though at the head of an army, had agreed to do every thing the Lords desired, and when, with a degree of facility only to be accounted for on the supposition that she was anxious to escape from Bothwell's company, she had separated herself finally from him, in the face of the whole world. So far from charging her with “ fortifying ” and “ maintaining ” him in his crimes, these Lords themselves declared, on the 11th, that they had assembled “ to deliver their sovereign's most noble person out of bondage and captivity ; ” and, a month afterwards, they told the English ambassador they “ firmly believed the Queen would not have lived with Bothwell half a year to an end.”*

In addition to this act of Privy Council, which was no doubt the production of Morton, and is signed by him and Athol, and six other noblemen of less note, a bond of association was drawn up the same day, in which an explanation was given at greater length, of the system on which the

* LAING, *Appendix*, vol. ii. p. 119, ANDLRSOON, vol. i. p. 128; KEITH, p. 418.

Lords were about to proceed. It is a remarkable feature of this bond, that, in so far as Mary is concerned, it very materially contradicts the act of Council. Instead of containing any accusation against her, it represents her throughout, as having been the victim of force and fraud. It commences by stating the conviction of the subscribers, that Bothwell was the murderer of Darnley, and that, had he himself not taken means to prevent a fair trial, he would have been convicted of the crime. It goes on to assert, that, adding wickedness to wickedness, the Earl had treasonably, and without any reverence for his native Prince, carried her prisoner to his castle at Dunbar, and had afterwards pretended unlawfully to marry her; which being accomplished, his cruel and ambitious nature immediately shewed itself, "no nobleman daring to resort to her Majesty to speak with her without suspicion, unless in his presence and hearing, and her chamber doors being continually watched by armed men." It is therefore maintained, that their interference was necessary, both on account of the "shameful thralldom" in which the Queen was kept, and the great danger of the young Prince, her only son. They had taken up arms, they say, against Bothwell, and to deliver their sovereign; and though they had already chased him from his unlawful authority, they considered themselves obliged to continue in arms till "the authors of the murder and ravishing were condignly punished, the pretended marriage dissolved, their sovereign relieved of the thralldom, bondage, and ignominy, which she had sustained, and still underlies by the said Earl's fault, the

person of the innocent Prince placed in safety, and, finally, justice restored, and uprightly administered to all the subjects of the realm.”*

This, then, was all the length to which Morton and the other Lords as yet ventured. They had sent Mary to Loch-Leven, merely to keep her at a safe distance from Bothwell; and as soon as they had seized his person, or driven him from the kingdom, it was, of course, implied that they would restore their sovereign to her throne. They did not hint, in the most distant manner that she was in the least implicated in the guilt of her husband's death; and they expressly declared, that, for every thing which had taken place since, Bothwell alone was to blame. Judging by their own words, they entertained as much respect for the Queen as ever; and the impression they gave to the country was, that they intended she should remain at Loch-Leven only for a short time, and that, so far from meaning to punish one whom they accused of no crime, by forcing from her an abdication of her crown, and condemning her to perpetual imprisonment, they would soon be found rallying round her, and conducting her back to her capital in triumph. These may have been the hopes entertained by some, but they forgot that Morton, who was at the head of the new faction, had assassinated Rizzio, and countenanced the murder of Darnley; and that Murray, though at present in France, had left the country only till new disturbances should afford new prospects for his inordinate ambition.

* ANDERSON, vol. 1 p 134

CHAPTER VII.

MARY AT LOCHLIVEN, HER ABDICATION, AND
MURRAY'S REGENCY.

SCOTLAND was now in the most unfortunate condition in which a country could possibly be. Like a ship without a pilot, it was left at the mercy of a hundred contrary opinions. It was not long before there sprung out of these, two distinct parties, known by the name of the Queen's and the Prince's. Morton and his friends, calling themselves the Prince's Lords, continued at Edinburgh; whilst the Queen's nobles assembled at Hamilton Palace in very considerable force, having among them, besides the Hamiltons, Huntly, (who had been allowed by Sir James Balfour to escape from the Castle of Edinburgh, in which he had taken shelter some time before;) Argyle, (who, though he had at first joined with Morton and Mar at Stirling, when they announced their determination to keep the Prince out of Bothwell's hands, never intended taking up arms against the Queen;) Rothes, Caithness, Crawford, Boyd, Herries, Livingston, Seaton, Ogilvie, and others.* Morton laboured to effect a coali-

* KETH, p. 408.

tion with these Lords ; but, though he employed the mediation of the General Assembly, they would not consent to any of his proposals. Buchanan himself is forced to allow, that affairs took a very different turn from what was expected. " For, popular envy being abated, partly by time, and partly by the consideration of the uncertainty of human affairs, commiseration succeeded ; nay, some of the nobility did then no less bewail the Queen's calamity than they had before execrated her cruelty."* The truth is, that Mary's friends were at this time much more numerous than her enemies ; but unfortunately they were not sufficiently unanimous in their councils, to be able to take any decisive steps in her behalf.

Morton earnestly laboured to increase the popularity of his faction by every means in his power. To please the multitude, he apprehended several persons, whom he accused of being implicated in the murder of Darnley ; and though he probably knew them to be innocent, they were all condemned and executed, with the exception of Sebastian, the Queen's servant, who was seized with the view of casting suspicion on Mary herself, but who contrived to escape.† Thus, they who blamed Mary for being too remiss in seeking out and punishing the murderers, were able to console themselves with the reflection, that, under the new order of things, persons were iniquitously executed for the sake of appearances, by those who had themselves been Bothwell's

* BUCHANAN'S *History*, book xviii.

† KEITH, p. 406, et seq.

accomplices. Against Bothwell, Morton, for his own sake, proceeded with more caution. It was not till the 26th of June, that letters were addressed to the keeper of the Castle at Dunbar, ordering him to deliver up his charge, because he had received and protected Bothwell; and, on the same day, a proclamation was issued, offering the moderate reward of a thousand crowns to any one who should apprehend the Earl.* It is singular, that those Lords, who were so fully convinced of his criminality, not only allowed him to depart, unmolested, from Carberry Hill, but took no steps, for ten days afterwards, towards securing his person.

The precise period at which Bothwell left Dunbar; the efforts he made to regain his authority in Scotland; and, in general, most of the particulars of his subsequent fate, are not accurately known. He entered, no doubt, into correspondence with the noblemen assembled at Hamilton; but probably received from them little encouragement, as it was the Queen's cause, not his, in which they were interested. He then retired to the north, where he possessed estates as Duke of Orkney, and some influence with his kinsman, the Bishop of Murray. As soon as his flight thither was known, Grange and Tullibardin were sent in pursuit of him, with several vessels which were fitted out on purpose. Hearing of their approach, Bothwell fled towards the Orkney and Shetland Islands, and, being closely followed, was there very nearly captured. His pursuers were at one time within gun-shot of his ship,

* ANDERSON, vol. 1. p. 139.

and she must have been taken, had not the vessels of Grange and Tullibardin, in the very heat of the chase, both struck upon a sunken rock, which Bothwell, either because his pilot was better acquainted with the seas, or because his ship was lighter, avoided. They were, however, fortunate enough to seize some of his accomplices, who were brought to Edinburgh, and having been tried and condemned, made the confessions which have been already referred to, and by which the particulars of the murder became known. Bothwell himself proceeded to Denmark, imagining that the king of that country, Frederick II, who was distantly related to Mary, through her great-grandmother Margaret of Denmark, the spouse of James III, might be disposed to interest himself in his behalf. But, finding that the circumstances under which he had left Scotland would prevent him from appearing at the Danish court with so much eclat as he desired, he ventured on enriching his treasury, by making a seizure of one or two merchantmen, trading in the North Seas. These practices were discovered; a superior force was fitted out against him; and he was carried into a Danish port, not as an exiled prince, but as a captive pirate. He was there thrown into prison without ceremony; and though he lost no time in letting his name and rank be known to the government, it does not appear that the discovery operated greatly in his favour. He was retained in durance for many years, the King of Denmark neither choosing to surrender him to Elizabeth or his enemies in Scotland, nor thinking it right to offend them by restoring him to liberty, so long, at least, as Mary herself

remained a prisoner. Broken down by misfortune, and perhaps assailed by remorse, Bothwell is believed to have fallen into a state of mental derangement for several years before his death. There can be no doubt that he died miserably; and he seems, even in this life, to have paid the penalty of his crimes, if any earthly penalty could atone for the misery he had brought on the innocent victim of his lawless ambition and systematic villainy. His character may be summed up in the words of our great poet:—

“ Tetchy and wayward was thy infancy ;
Thy schooldays frightful, desp'rate, wild, and furious ;
Thy prime of manhood daring, bold, and venturous ;
Thy age confirmed, proud, subtle, sly, and bloody.”*

In the mean time, foreign courts were not inattentive to the state of affairs in Scotland.

* The above account of Bothwell's adventures and fate, after he left Scotland, is taken principally from Melville, and the History of James VI. But an interesting and original manuscript, entitled, *Declaration of the Earl of Bothwell*, which was made at Copenhagen, in the year 1568, for the satisfaction, apparently, of the Danish government, has recently been discovered, and an authenticated copy of it having been transmitted to this country in August, 1824, a careful translation from the old French in which it was written, appeared soon after in a London periodical. The original has since been printed in a separate shape, with an introduction and notes, by the Bannatyne Club of Edinburgh. Satisfied as we are of the authenticity of this “ Declaration,” we have availed ourselves of some of the information it supplies, though, of course, great allowance must be made for the colouring Bothwell has artfully given to the transactions he details. We shall have more to say of this document afterwards, at present, it is necessary only to refer to it.

An ambassador arrived from Mary's friends in France; but finding, to his astonishment, that she was imprisoned, and that some of the nobility had usurped the government, he refused to acknowledge their authority, and immediately left the country. Elizabeth's messenger, who came about the same time, was less scrupulous; and, indeed, few things could have given that Queen greater satisfaction, than the turn which Scottish affairs had now taken. In the letters she sent by her ambassador, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, are discovered all that duplicity, affected sincerity, and real heartlessness, which so constantly distinguish the despatches of Cecil and his mistress. After taking it for granted, in direct opposition to the declarations of the rebel Lords themselves, that Mary had given her consent to the hasty marriage with Bothwell, and that she was, consequently, implicated in all his guilt, Elizabeth proceeds with no little contradiction, to assure her good sister that she considers her imprisonment entirely unjustifiable. But the hollowness of her desire, that the Queen of Scots should recover her liberty, is at once seen by the conditions she suggested should first be imposed upon her. These were, that the murderers of Darnley should be immediately prosecuted and punished, and that the young Prince should be preserved free from all danger;—just as if Mary could punish murderers before they were discovered or taken; unless, indeed, she chose to follow the example of her Lords, and condemn the innocent; and as if she had lost the natural affection of a mother, and was willing to see her only son butchered, as his

father had been. In short, Morton and his colleagues had no difficulty in perceiving, that though Elizabeth thought it necessary, for the sake of appearances, to pretend to be displeased with them, yet that they had, in truth, never stood higher in her good graces. They well knew, as they had observed in the case of Murray, and experienced in their own, that Elizabeth seldom said what she meant, or meant what she said.

But, to put her conduct on the present occasion in a still clearer light, the reader will be somewhat surprised to learn, that Throckmorton brought with him into Scotland two distinct sets of "Instructions," both bearing the same date, (June 30, 1567,) the one of which was to be shewn to Mary, and the other to the rebel Lords. In the former, his mistress expresses the greatest indignation at the Queen's imprisonment, and threatens vengeance on all her enemies. In the latter, the Lords are spoken of in a much more confidential and friendly manner. They are told, that Elizabeth thought it requisite to send an ambassador; but that he came to solicit nothing that was not for the general weal of the realm; and that, if she were allowed to mediate between their Queen and them, "they should have no just cause to dislike her doings," because she would consent to nothing that was not "for their security hereafter, and for quietness to the realm." Nay, she even desired Throckmorton to assure them, that she "meant not to allow of such faults as she hears *by report* are imputed to the Queen of Scots, but had given him strictly in charge to lay before, and to *reprove her*, in

her name, for the same.—And in the end also," she adds, "we mean not with any such partiality to deal for her, but that, her princely state being preserved, she should conform herself to all reasonable devices that may bring a good accord betwixt her and her nobility and people." Thus she was to take upon herself to reprove Mary for faults which "*she heard by report were imputed to her*;" and to insist, though she herself was of opinion that she had been unlawfully imprisoned, that she should enter into negotiations with her rebel subjects, which would compromise her dignity, and even her character.*

When Throckmorton came into Scotland, in July 1567, although he was allowed no more access to the Queen than had been granted to the French ambassador, yet, as his instructions authorized him to treat with the Lords of Secret Council, he of course remained. From them he received an explanation of their late proceedings, containing some of the most glaring contradictions ever exhibited in a state paper. They do not throw out the most distant suspicion of the Queen being implicated in Bothwell's guilt; on the contrary, they continue to express their conviction that she became his wife very unwillingly, and only after force had been used; but they allege, as their reason for imprisoning her, the change which took place in her mind an hour or two after she parted with her husband at Carberry Hill. They state, that, immediately after Bothwell, "caring little or nothing for her Majesty," left her to save himself; and that after she,

* KEITH, p. 411, and 414.

caring as little for him, had parted company from him, and voluntarily came with them to Edinburgh; they all at once, and most unexpectedly, "found her passion so prevail, in maintenance of him and his cause, that she would not with patience hear speak any thing to his reproof, or suffer his doings to be called in question; but, on the contrary, offered to give over the realm and all, so that she might be suffered to enjoy him, with many threatenings to be revenged on every man who had dealt in the matter." * This was surely a very sudden and inexplicable change of mind; for, in the very same letter, with an inconsistency which might almost have startled themselves, these veracious Lords declare, that "the Queen, their sovereign, had been led captive, and, by fear, force, and other extraordinary and more unlawful means, compelled to become bed-fellow to another wife's husband;" that even though they had not interfered, "she would not have lived with him half a year to an end;" and that at Carberry Hill, a separation, voluntary on both sides, took place. Was it, therefore, for a moment to be credited, that during the short interval of a few hours, which elapsed between this separation and Mary's imprisonment in Loch-Leven, she could either have so entirely altered her sentiments regarding Bothwell, or, if they had in truth never been

* KEITH, p. 418. It is worth noticing, that no proof of this absurd falsehood is offered, no allusion being even made to the letter which had been shewn to Grange, and which, though only the first of a series of forgeries, yet having been hastily prepared to serve the purpose of the hour, seems to have been destroyed immediately.

unfavourable, so foolishly and unnecessarily betrayed them, as to convince her nobility, that, to secure their own safety, and force her to live apart from him, no plan would be of any avail, but that of shutting her up in a strong and remote castle? And even if this expedient appeared advisable at the moment, did they think that, if Mary was now restored to liberty, she would set sail for Denmark, and join Bothwell in his prison there? No; they did not go so far; for, in conclusion, they assured Throckmorton, that, "knowing the great wisdom wherewith God had endowed her," they anticipated that within a short time her mind would be settled, and that as soon as "by a just trial they had made the truth appear, she would conform herself to their doings." *

"By the above answer," says Keith, "I make no doubt but my readers will be ready enough to prognosticate what shall be the upshot of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's negotiations with the rebels in favour of our Queen." There can be no doubt that the same motives (whatever these might be) which led to Mary's imprisonment, would have equal force in keeping her there. The whole history of this conspiracy may be explained in a few words. When Morton and the other Lords took up arms at Stirling, they were, to a certain extent, sincere; they believed (especially those of them who had been his accomplices) that Bothwell was the murderer of Darnley, and that he was anxiously endeavouring to get the young Prince into his power.

* KEITH, p. 418.

This they determined to prevent, and having won over Sir James Balfour, the governor of the Castle, they advanced to Edinburgh. Bothwell retired to Dunbar, taking the Queen along with him. But the Lords knew that Mary entertained no affection for her husband, and they therefore hoped to create a division between them. They accomplished this object at Carberry Hill, and reconducted the Queen to Edinburgh. There, though not sorry that she had parted from her husband, Mary did not express any high approbation of the conduct of Lords who, when she was first seized by Bothwell, did not draw a sword in her defence, and now that she had become his wife, according to their own express recommendation, recorded in the bond they had given him, openly rebelled against the authority with which they had induced her to intrust him. Morton recollected, at the same time, his share in Rizzio's assassination, and the disastrous consequences which ensued, as soon as Mary made her escape from the thraldom in which he had then kept her for several days. He determined not to expose himself to a similar risk now, especially as he had an army at his command; if he disbanded it, he might be executed as a traitor, — if he remained at the head of it, he might become Regent of Scotland. These were the secret motives by which his conduct was regulated. Having taken one step, he thought he might venture to go on with another: he commenced with defending the son, and ended by dethroning the mother.

Four different plans were now in agitation, by adopting any of which it was thought the troubles

of the kingdom might be brought to a conclusion. The first was suggested by the Queen's friends assembled at Hamilton: Their proposal was, to restore the Queen to her liberty and throne, having previously bound her, by an express agreement, to pardon the rebel Lords, to watch over the safety of the Prince, to consent to a divorce from Bothwell, and to punish all persons implicated in the murder of Darnley. The other three schemes came from Morton and his party, and were worthy of the source from which they came. The *first* was, to make the Queen resign all government and regal authority in favour of her son, under whom a council of the nobility should govern the realm, whilst she herself should retire to France or England, and never again return to her own country. The *second* was, to have the Queen tried, to condemn her, to keep her in prison for life, and to crown the Prince. The *third* was, to have her tried, condemned, and executed,—a measure which would have disgraced Scotland even in its most barbarous times, and which nothing but the violence of party feeling could now have suggested.* The English ambassador, knowing the wishes of his mistress, took care to remind the Lords, that “it would be convenient for them so to proceed, as that by their doings they should not wipe away the Queen's infamy, and the Lord Bothwell's detestable murder, and by their outrageous dealings bring all the slander upon themselves.” At Morton's request, it was likewise suggested to Elizabeth, that it would be proper to send a

* KETH, p. 420.

supply of ten or twelve thousand crowns to aid the Lords in their present increased expenditure ; and this he said was the more necessary, because Lethington and others had reminded him that, notwithstanding all her Majesty's fair words, Murray, Morton, and the rest, " had in their troubles found cold relief and small favour at her Majesty's hands."* No wonder that, in moments when his better nature prevailed, Throckmorton felt disgusted with the double part he was obliged to act, and spoke " honestly and plainly" of it to Melville. " Yea," says Sir James, " he detested the whole council of England for the time, and told us friendly what reasoning they held among themselves to that end, namely, how that one of their finest counsellors (Cecil) proposed openly to the rest, that it was needful for the welfare of England, to foster and nourish the civil wars, as well in France and in Flanders, as in Scotland ; whereby England might reap many advantages, and be sought after by all parties, and in the mean time live in rest, and gather great riches. This advice and proposition was well liked by most part of the council ; yet an honest counsellor stood up and said, it was a very worldly advice, and had little or nothing to do with a Christian commonweal." †

The Earl of Murray was in the mean time anxiously watching the progress of affairs in Scotland, and, though still in France, had so contrived, that he possessed as much influence in the councils of the nation as Morton himself.

* *Throckmorton's Letter* in KEITH, p. 420, et seq.

† MELVILLE'S *Memoirs*, p. 197.

The Lords indeed had long been in close correspondence with him. Letters from them were forwarded to him by Cecil, who exchanged frequent communications with Murray; and, on the 26th of June, four days before Throckmorton left London for Scotland, Cecil wrote to the English ambassador at Paris, that "Murray's return into Scotland was much desired, for the weal both of England and Scotland."* But as Murray had attempted to ingratiate himself at the French court, by exaggerating his fidelity to Mary, he found it impossible to disengage himself immediately from the connections he had there made, not anticipating so sudden a revolution in the state of affairs at home. He sent, however, an agent into Scotland, of the name of Elphinston, whom he commissioned to attend to his interests, and whom the Lords allowed to visit the Queen at Loch-Leven, though they refused every body else. It is not likely that Morton, who had thus a second time been engaged in setting up a ladder for Murray to ascend by, was altogether pleased to find that he could not obtain the first place for himself. But as soon as he determined to force Mary to abdicate the crown, he saw that he would be obliged to yield the regency to Murray, supported as that nobleman was, both by his numerous friends in England and Scotland, and the earnest recommendations of Knox and the other preachers, who, in their anxiety to see their old patron once more Lord of the ascendant, "took pieces of Scripture, and inveighed vehemently against the Queen, and persuaded

* WHITTAKER, vol. i. p. 228.

extremities against her, by application of the text." * Morton, however, consoled himself with the reflection, that he was in great favour with Murray, and that, by acting in concert with him, he would enjoy a scarcely inferior degree of power and honour.

Preparatory to extorting from her an abdication, the Lords anxiously circulated a report, that the Queen was devotedly and almost insanely attached to Bothwell. They did not venture, it is true, to put this attachment to the test, by publicly offering her reasonable terms of accommodation, which, if she had refused, all men would have acknowledged her infatuation, and deserted her cause: they brought her to no trial,—they proved her guilty of no crime: all they did was to endeavour to impose upon the vulgar. They asserted that Mary would not agree to prosecute the perpetrators of the murder, after she had already prosecuted them,—and that she would not consent to abandon a husband whom she had already abandoned, and with whom, they themselves had declared, only a few weeks before, she would not, under any circumstances, have lived for many months. Throckmorton, who was willing enough to propagate all the absurd falsehoods they told him, wrote to Elizabeth:—"She avoweth constantly that she will live and die with him; and saith, that if it were put to her choice to relinquish her crown and kingdom, or the Lord Bothwell, she would leave her kingdom and dignity, to go as a simple damsel with him; and that she will never consent

* *Throckmorton* in KEITH, p. 422.

that he shall fare worse, or have more harm than herself." *

The numerous party in favour of the Queen openly avowed their disbelief of these reports: and Elizabeth herself, who began to fear that, in sending Throckmorton to the rebel Lords, she had countenanced the weaker side, wrote to her ambassador, on the 29th of August, in the following terms, which, as they are used by an enemy so determined as Elizabeth, speak volumes in favour of Mary:—" We cannot perceive, that they, with whom they have dealt, can answer the doubts moved by the Hamiltons, who, howsoever they may be carried for their private respects, yet those things which they move will be allowed by all reasonable persons. For, if they may not, being noblemen of the realm, be suffered to hear the Queen, their sovereign, declare her mind concerning the reports which are made of her by such as keep her in captivity, how should they believe the reports, or obey them which do report it." †

That Mary refused to return to her throne, unless Bothwell was placed upon it beside her, is an assertion so ridiculous, that no time need be lost in refuting it. That she may not have chosen to submit to an immediate divorce from one, whom all her nobility had recommended to her as a husband, and by whom she might possibly have a child, is within the verge of probability. She would naturally be anxious to avoid doing any thing which would be equivalent to acknow-

* ROBERTSON, *Appendix* to vol. 1. No. XXI.

† *Ibid.* No. XXII.

ledging her belief of his guilt, and might have appeared to implicate her in the suspicion attached to him. She had not married Bothwell, till he had been judicially acquitted; and, were she to consent to be divorced from him before he was again tried, she would seem to confess, that she had previously sanctioned a procedure possessing the show of justice, without the substance.* There can be no doubt, however, that, if Bothwell's guilt had been distinctly proved, and if she could have disunited

* Throckmorton, in one of his letters, mentions explicitly, that Mary had given him the very reasons stated above for refusing to renounce Bothwell. But as Throckmorton could communicate with Mary only through the channel of the rebel Lords, who, he says, "*had sent him word,*" it is not at all improbable, that her message may have been a good deal garbled by the way. The passage in Throckmorton's letter is as follows.—“ I have also persuaded her to conform herself to renounce Bothwell for her husband, and to be contented to suffer a divorce to pass betwixt them. She hath sent me word, that she will in no wise consent unto that, but rather die grounding herself upon this reason, taking herself to be seven weeks gone with child, by renouncing Bothwell, she should acknowledge herself to be with child of a bastard, and to have forfeited her honour, which she will not do to die for it. I have persuaded her to save her own life and her child, to choose the least hard condition.” ROBERTSON, *Appendix* to vol. i No. XXII. It was, perhaps, this passage in Throckmorton's despatch to England, that gave rise to a vulgar rumour, which was of course much improved by the time it reached France. Le Laboureur, an historian of much respectability, actually asserts, that the Queen of Scots had a daughter to Bothwell, who was educated as a religieuse in the Convent of Notre Dame at Soissons. Vide LABOUREUR, *Addit. aux Mem. de Castelnau*, p. 610. Of course, the assertion is altogether unfounded.

herself from him without injury to her reputation or her prospects, she would have been the very last person to have objected either to see Darnley's death revenged, or herself freed from an alliance into which she had been forced against her will.

But the Lords of Secret Council, conscious as they were of the injustice of their proceedings, had gone too far to recede, and were determined not to rest satisfied with any half measures. On the 24th of July, 1567, Lord Lindsay and Sir Robert Melville (brother to Sir James) were commissioned to pass to Loch-Leven, and to carry with them deeds, or instruments, of abdication.* These instruments were three in number. By the first, Mary was made to resign the crown in favour of her son,—by the second, to constitute the Earl of Murray Regent during James's nonage,—and, by the third, to appoint a council to administer the government until Murray's return home, and, if he should refuse to accept of the regency, until her son's majority. It was of course well known to the rebels, that the Queen would not willingly affix her signature to deeds by which she was to surrender all power, and to reduce herself at once to the station of a subject, without receiving in return any promise of liberty, or the enjoyment of a single worldly good. Yet they had the effrontery to

* Some historians have asserted, that Lord Ruthven accompanied the two commissioners mentioned in the text. But this is not the case, for he was present at a conference with the English ambassador, Throckmorton, on the very day the others were at Loch-Leven. *Throckmorton* in KEITH, p. 426.

aver, that, rather than submit to a separation from one with whom "she could not have lived half a year to the end," she preferred becoming a landless and crownless pensioner, on the bounty of such men as Morton and his accomplices.

Were we to single out the day in Mary's whole life in which it might be fairly concluded that she suffered the most intense mental anguish, we should fix on the 25th of July, 1567, the day on which the commissioners had their audience. Shut up in a gloomy edifice, which, though dignified with the name of a castle, was little else than a square tower of three stories; and, instead of a numerous assemblage of obsequious nobles, attended by only three or four female servants;—it must have required a more than common share of queenly fortitude to support so great a reverse of fortune.* The misery of this situation was now to be increased a hundred fold, by a blow the severest she had yet experienced. When the report first reached her, that it was in con-

* Pennant, in his *Tour in Scotland*, thus describes Loch-Leven, and the island where the Queen resided.— "Loch-Leven, a magnificent piece of water, very broad, but irregularly indented, is about twelve miles in circumference, and its greatest depth about twenty-four fathoms. Some islands are dispersed in this great expanse of water, one of which is large enough to feed several head of cattle; but the most remarkable is that distinguished by the captivity of Mary Stuart, which stands almost in the middle of the lake. The castle still remains, consists of a square tower, a small yard with two round towers, a chapel, and the ruins of a building, where (it is said) the unfortunate Princess was lodged. In the square tower is a DUNGEON, with a vaulted room above, over which had been three other stories." *Tour in Scotland*, vol. 1. p. 64.

temptation to force her to abdicate her crown, she indignantly refused to believe so lawless an attempt possible. Mary had been all her life fond of power, and proud of her illustrious birth and rank; and there were few subjects on which she dwelt with greater pleasure, than her unsullied descent from a "centenary line of kings." Was she now, without a struggle, to surrender the crown of the Stuarts into the hands of the bastard Murray, or the blood-stained Morton? Was she to submit to the bitter mockery, introduced in the very preamble to the instrument of demission, which stated, that, ever since her arrival in her realm, she had "employed her body, spirit, whole senses and forces, to govern in such sort, that her royal and honourable estate might stand and continue with her and her posterity, and that her loving and kind lieges might enjoy the quietness of true subjects;" but that, being now wearied with the fatigues of administration, she wished to lay down her sceptre? * Even though prepared to lay it down, was she also to countenance falsehood, and practise dissimulation?

When the commissioners arrived at Loch-Leven, Sir Robert Melville, knowing that Lindsay was personally disagreeable to his sovereign, came to her at first alone. Opening to her his errand, and addressing her with respect, and professions of attachment, (for she had often employed him before about her person, or as her ambassador to foreign courts,) he urged every argument he could think of to persuade her to affix her signature to the deeds. She listened to him with

* KEITH, p. 431.

calm dignity and unshaken resolution. She heard him describe the distracted state of Scotland—the impossibility of ever prevailing on all parties to submit again to her sway—the virulence of her enemies, and the apparent lukewarmness of her friends. She allowed him to proceed from these more general topics, to others more intimately connected with her own person. She listened to his assurance, that, if she continued obstinate, it was determined to bring her to trial,—to blacken her character, by accusing her of incontinency, not only with Bothwell, but with others, and of the murder of her late husband, and, upon whatever evidence, to condemn and execute her.* But she remained unmoved, and preserved the same composure of manner, though not without many a secret throb of pain, at the discovery of the utter ingratitude and perfidy of those whom she had so often befriended and advanced. As a last expedient, Melville produced a letter from Throckmorton, in which the ambassador advised her to consult her personal safety, by consenting to an abdication—a somewhat singular advice to be given by one who affected to have come into Scotland for the express purpose of securing her restoration to the throne.† But she only remarked on this letter, that it convinced her of the insincerity of Elizabeth's promises of assistance.

Melville now saw that there was no alternative, and that Lindsay must be called in to his assistance. Notorious for being one of the most

* KEITH, p. 426 ; WHITTAKER, vol. i. p. 299.

† GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 166, and 344.

passionate men in Scotland, Lindsay burst into the Queen's presence, with the instruments in his hands, and rage sparkling in his eyes. Mary, for the first time, became agitated, for she recollected the evening of Rizzio's murder, when Lindsay stood beside the gaunt form of Ruthven, instigating him to the commission of that deed of cruelty. With fearful oaths and imprecations, this unmannered barbarian, entitled to be called a man only because he bore the external form of one, vowed, that unless she subscribed the deeds without delay, he would sign them himself with her blood, and seal them on her heart. * Mary had a bold and masculine spirit; but, trembling under the prospect of immediate destruction, and imagining that she saw Lindsay's dagger already drawn, she became suddenly pale and motionless, and would have fallen in a swoon, had not a flood of tears afforded her relief. Melville, moved perhaps to contrition by the depth of her misery, whispered in her ear, that instruments signed in captivity could not be considered valid, if she chose to revoke them when she regained her liberty. This suggestion may have had some weight; but almost before she had time to attend to it, Lindsay's passion again broke forth, and, pointing to the lake which surrounded her confined residence, he swore that it should become her immediate grave, if she hesitated one moment longer. Driven to distraction, and scarcely knowing what she did, Mary seized a pen, and without reading a line of the voluminous writings before her, she affixed her name to each of them, as legibly as

* LESLIE, p. 37, JLB, vol. II. p. 221-2.

her tears would permit. The commissioners then took their departure, secretly congratulating themselves, that, by a mixture of cunning and ferocity, they had gained their end. Mary, no longer a Queen, was left alone to the desolate solitude of her own gloomy thoughts. *

As soon as Lord Lindsay returned to Edinburgh, and notified the success of his mission, it was determined by Morton and his associates that the Prince should be crowned with as little delay as possible. Sir James Melville, who was considered a moderate man by both parties, was sent to the Lords at Hamilton, to invite their concurrence and presence on the occasion. He was received courteously; but the nobility there would not agree to countenance proceedings which they denounced as treasonable. On the contrary, perceiving the turn which matters were about to take, they retired from Hamilton to Dumbarton, where they prepared for more active opposition. They signed a bond of mutual defence and assistance, in which they declared, that, owing to the state of captivity in which the Queen was detained at Loch-Leven, her Majesty's subjects were prevented from having free access to her; and that it therefore became their duty to endeavour to procure her freedom, by all lawful means, however strong the opposition that might be offered. This bond was signed by many persons of rank and influence, among whom were the Archbishop of St Andrews, the

* GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 166, and 344; FRIEBAIRN, p. 147, WHITTAKER, vol. i. p. 301, et seq.; CHALMLERS, vol. i. p. 248.

Earls of Argyle and Huntly, and the Lords Ross, Fleming, and Herries. *

On the 29th of July, 1567, James was publicly crowned at Stirling. He was anointed by Adam, Bishop of Orkney, in the parish church, and the Earl of Morton took the oath of coronation in the Prince's name, who was little more than a year old. On returning in procession to the Castle, the Earl of Athol carried the crown, Morton the sceptre, Glencairn the sword, and to the arms of Mar was intrusted the infant King. All public writs were thenceforth issued, and the government was established, in the name and authority of James VI. † He was in the power of his mother's deadliest enemies; and of course they resolved that neither her religion nor modes of thinking should be transmitted to her son. Buchanan was appointed his principal tutor, and if early precept can ever counteract natural affection, there is good reason to suppose, that, together with her crown, the filial love of her child was taken from Mary.

Only a few days after the coronation, the Earl of Murray returned to Scotland. He came by the way of London, where he concocted his future measures with Cecil and Elizabeth. He had some difficulty in fixing on the course which it would be most expedient for him to pursue. He knew that the regency was about to be offered to him; but he also knew how unlawfully his sister's abdication had been obtained, and that there was a strong party in Scotland who were

* KEITH, p. 436.

† *History of James VI*, p. 17; KEITH, p. 438.

still bent on supporting her authority. Were he at once to place himself at the head of a faction which might afterwards turn out to be the weaker of the two, he incurred the risk of falling from his temporary eminence lower than ever. He resolved therefore, with his usual caution, to feel his way before he took any decisive step. Sir James Melville was sent to meet him at Berwick; and from him he learned that even Morton's Lords had by this time split into two parties, and that, while one half were of opinion that Murray should accept of the regency without delay, and give his approval to all that had been done in his absence, the other, among whom were Mar, Athol, Lethington, Tullibardin, and Grange, prayed him to bear himself gently and humbly towards the Queen, and to get as much into her favour as possible, as her Majesty was of "a clear wit, and princely inclination," and the time might come when they would all wish her at liberty to rule over them.* Murray, who adopted on this occasion Elizabeth's favourite maxim,— "*Video et taceo*," disclosed his mind to no one, until he ascertained for himself the precise state of affairs, and of public feeling in Scotland.

To be the better informed, he determined on visiting the Queen personally at Loch-Leven. He was accompanied by Athol, Morton, and Lindsay. When Mary saw her brother, a crowd of recollections rushing into her mind, she burst into tears, and it was some time before she could enter into conversation with him. At length, she desired that the others would retire, and they

* MELVILLE'S *Memoirs*, p. 193, KEITH, p. 442, et seq.

had then a long private conference, of which the particulars are not fully known. If Mary had flattered herself, however, that she might place some reliance on Murray's affection and gratitude, she had egregiously mistaken his character. Having, by this time, secretly resolved to accept the regency at all hazards, his desire was to impress her with a belief, that he assumed that office principally with the view of saving her from a severer fate, and that he was actually conferring a favour on her by taking her sceptre into his own hands. Reduced already to despair, the Queen, it is said, listened, with tears in her eyes, to Murray's representations, and at length becoming convinced of his sincerity, thanked him for his promises of protection. The Earl and his friends, at all events, gave out, that Mary confirmed, by word of mouth, what she had formerly signed with her hand, and that she entreated her brother to accept the government. *

On the 22d of August, 1567, James, Earl of Murray, was proclaimed Regent. He took the oaths, and accepted the charge, in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, before the Justice Clerk, and others. On this occasion he made a long discourse, in which, with overacted humility, he stated his own insufficiency, and expressed a desire that the office had been conferred on some more worthy nobleman. But his scruples were easily conquered; and, under the title of Regent, he became, in fact, King of Scotland, and was to continue so, until James VI should attain the

* *Throckmorton's Letter* in *KLIPF*, p. 444, et seq.

age of seventeen.* He proceeded to establish himself in his government by prudent and vigorous measures. He made himself master of the Castles of Edinburgh and Dunbar, and other places of strength; he contrived either to bring over to his own side, or to overawe and silence, most of the Queen's Lords; and he severely chastised such districts as continued disaffected. A Parliament was summoned in December, at which the imprisoning and dethroning of the Queen were declared lawful, and, what is remarkable, the reason assigned for these measures was one that had never been hinted at before Murray's return,—that she was ascertained to be implicated in the murder of Darnley. The proof of this was stated to consist in certain "private letters, written wholly with the Queen's own hand." They were not produced at the time; but will come to be examined more particularly afterwards. All that need be remarked here, is the sudden change introduced by the Regent into the nature of the allegations against Mary. It had been always given out previously, that she was kept in Loch-Leven, because she evinced a determination to be again united to

* What Mark Antony, according to Shakespeare, said of Cæsar, might be, with propriety, applied to the Earl of Murray. —

"You all did see that, on the Lupercal,
I thrice presented him a kingly crown,
Which he did thrice refuse. — Was this ambition?"

ANDERSON, vol. ii. p. 251, and 254; CHALMERS, vol. ii. p. 355.

Bothwell ; but now, a new and more serious allegation was brought against her, evidently with the view of justifying, if possible, the iniquitous treatment she had received.*

* GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 66 ; ANDERSON, vol. ii. p. 206, et seq.

CHAPTER VIII.

MARY'S ESCAPE FROM LOCH-LEVEN, AND THE
BATTLE OF LANGSIDE.

WITH few comforts and no enjoyments, Mary remained closely confined in the Castle of Loch-Leven. Her only resources were in herself, and in the religion whose precepts she was ever anxious, not only to profess, but to practise. Though deprived of liberty and the delights of a court, she was able to console herself with the reflection, that there is no prison for a soul that puts its trust in its God, and that all the world belongs to the man who knows how to despise its vanities. Yet the misfortunes which had overtaken her were enough to appal the stoutest heart. Her husband had been murdered; she herself forced into an unwilling marriage; her kingdom taken from her; her child raised up against her; her honour defamed; and her person insulted,—all within the short space of four months. History records few reverses so sudden and so complete. Many a masculine spirit would have felt its energies give way under so dreadful a change of fortune; and if Mary was able to put in practice the Roman maxim, *Ne cedere malis*,

sed contra audentior ire, it would be to exalt vice and libel virtue to suppose, that she could have been inspired with strength for so arduous a task by aught but her own integrity.

Nor was it these more serious calamities alone whose load she was doomed to bear ; there were many petty annoyances to which she was daily and hourly subject. Margaret Erskine, the Lady of Loch-Leven, and widow of Sir Robert Douglas, who fell at the battle of Pinkie one-and-twenty years before, was a woman of a proud temper and austere disposition. Soured by early disappointment—for, previous to her marriage with Sir Robert, she had been one of the cast-off mistresses of James V—she chose to indulge her more malignant nature in continually exalting her illegitimate offspring, the Earl of Murray, above his lawful Queen, now her prisoner. Her servants, of course, took their tone from their mistress ; and there was one in particular, named James Drysdale, a bigoted fanatic, who held a place of some authority in her household, who had taken some concern in the murder of Rizzio, and who, entertaining the most deadly hatred against Mary, had been heard to declare, that it would afford him pleasure to plunge a dagger into her heart's blood. This savage laboured to instil similar sentiments into the other domestics ; and thus the Queen's very life seemed to hang upon the prejudices and caprices of menials.*

But, numerous and violent as Mary's enemies may have been, few ever knew her personally,

* GOODALI, vol. ii. p. 299, and CHALMERS, vol. i. p. 275, and 278.

without becoming ardently attached to her. Hence, throughout all her misfortunes, her own immediate attendants continued more than faithful. At Loch-Leven, it is true, owing to the absence of all proper accommodation, one or two female, and three or four male servants, were all over whom the Queen of Scotland, and Dowager of France, could now exercise the slightest control. Of these, John Beaton was the individual upon whose assiduity she placed most reliance. But the influence which her beauty, and the fascination of her manners, obtained for her, over two of the younger branches of the House of Loch-Leven, was attended with more important consequences. The persons alluded to were George Douglas, the youngest son of Lady Douglas, about five-and-twenty years of age, and William Douglas, an orphan youth of sixteen or seventeen, a relative of the family, and resident in the Castle. So forcibly was George Douglas, in particular, impressed with the injustice of Mary's treatment, that he resolved on sparing no pains till he accomplished her escape; and his friend William, though too young to be of equal service, was not less ardent in the cause.*

George commenced operations, by informing Mary's friends of the design he had in view, and establishing a communication with them. At his suggestion, Lord Scaton, with a considerable party, arrived secretly in the neighbourhood of Loch-Leven, and held himself in readiness to receive the Queen as soon as she should be able

* JEBB, vol. ii. p. 230; KLITH, p. 471; and CHALMERS, vol. i. p. 275.

to find her way across the lake. Nor was it long before Mary made an attempt to join her friends. On the 25th of March, 1568, she had a glimpse of liberty so enlivening, that nothing can have exceeded the bitterness of her disappointment. The circumstances were as follows:—Suffering as she did, both in health and spirits, she had contracted a habit of spending a considerable part of the morning in bed: on the day referred to, her laundress came into her room before she was up, when Mary, according to a scheme which Douglas had contrived, immediately rose, and resigning her bed to the washer-woman, dressed herself in the habiliments of the latter. With a bundle of clothes in her hand, and a muffler over her face, she went out, and passed down unsuspected to the boat which was waiting to take the laundress across the lake. The men in it belonged to the Castle; but did not imagine any thing was wrong, for some time. At length, one of them, observing that Mary was very anxious to keep her face concealed, said in jest,—“Let us see what kind of a looking damsel this is;” and attempted to pull away her muffler. The Queen put up her hands to prevent him, which were immediately observed to be particularly soft and white, and the suspicions of the boatmen were immediately roused. Mary, finding her disguise no longer of any use, threw it aside, and, assuming an air of dignity, told the men that she was their Queen, and charged them, upon their lives, to row her over to the shore. Though surprised and overawed, they resolutely refused to obey, promising, however, that, if she would return quietly to the Castle, they would not

inform Sir William Douglas or his mother that she had ever left it. But they promised more than they performed, for the whole affair was soon known, and George Douglas, together with Beaton and Sempil, two of Mary's servants, were ordered to leave the island,—an order with which they were obliged to comply; but they took up their residence in the neighbouring village of Kinross.*

Neither the Queen nor her friends gave up hope. George Douglas continued indefatigable, though separated from her; and William supplied his place within the Castle, and acted with a degree of cautious and silent enterprize beyond his years. It was probably in reference to what might be done by him, that a small picture was secretly conveyed to Mary, representing the deliverance of the lion by the mouse.† Little more than a month elapsed from the failure of the first attempt, before another was adventured, and with better success. On Sunday, the second of May, about seven in the evening, William Douglas, when sitting at supper with the rest of the family, managed to get into his possession the keys of the Castle, which his relation Sir William, had put down beside his plate on the table. The young man immediately left the room with the prize, and, locking the door of the apartment from without, proceeded to the Queen's chamber, whom he conducted with all speed, through a little postern gate, to a boat which had been prepared for her reception.

* *Sir William Drury's Letter* in KEITH, p. 470.

† BUCHANAN'S *Cameleon*, p. 13.

One of her maids, of the name of Jane Kennedy, lingered a few moments behind, and, as Douglas had locked the postern gate in the interval, she leapt from a window and rejoined her mistress without injury. Lord Seaton, James Hamilton of Rochbank, and others, who were in the neighbourhood, had been informed by a few words which Mary traced with charcoal on one of her handkerchiefs, and contrived to send to them, that she was about to make another effort to escape, and were anxiously watching the arrival of the boat. Nor did they watch in vain. Sir William Douglas and his retainers were locked up in their own castle; and the Queen, her maid, and young escort, had already put off across the lake. It is said that Douglas, not being accustomed to handle the oar, was making little or no progress, until Mary herself, taking one in her own hands, lent him all the aid in her power. It was not long before they arrived safely at the opposite shore, where Lord Seaton, Hamilton, George Douglas, Beaton, and the rest, received the Queen with every demonstration of joyful loyalty. Little time was allowed, however, for congratulations: they mounted her immediately upon horseback, and, surrounding her with a strong party, they galloped all night, and having rested only an hour or two at Lord Seaton's house of Niddry, in West Lothian, they arrived early next forenoon at Hamilton. Mary's first tumultuous feelings of happiness, on being thus delivered from captivity, can hardly be imagined by those who have never been deprived of the blessing of liberty. It is fair, however, to state, that her happiness was neither selfish nor exclu-

sive; and it deserves to be recorded to her honour, that, till the very latest day of her life, she never forgot the services of those who so essentially befriended her on this occasion. She bestowed pensions upon both the Douglasses,—the elder of whom became afterwards a favourite with her son James VI, and the younger is particularly mentioned in Mary's last will and testament. Nor was the faithful Beaton allowed to go unrewarded.*

The news that Mary was arrived at Hamilton, and that noblemen and troops were flocking to her from all quarters, was so astounding, that the Regent, who was not many miles off, holding courts of justice at Glasgow, refused at first to credit the report. He would soon, however,

* JERR, vol. II. p. 65, and 230; KEITH, p. 471, FREEBAIRN, p. 152, et seq., CHALMERS, vol. I. p. 277, et seq. The ~~incident~~ taken in Queen Mary by George Douglas, is ascribed by Mackenzie to a motive less pure than the affection of a good subject. His chief characteristic, we are told by that author, was an excessive love of money, and it was by bribing him, he asserts, with the best part of what gold and jewels she had about her, that Mary prevailed upon him to assist her. But this statement does not seem well authenticated. Another story, still more improbable, was told by the Earl of Murray to the English ambassador, Sir William Drury, namely, that Mary had entreated him to allow her to have a husband, and had named George Douglas as the person she would wish to marry. Murray must have fabricated this falsehood, in order to lower the dignity of the Queen; but he surely forgot that the reason assigned in justification of her imprisonment in Loch-Leven, was her alleged determination not to consent to a separation from Bothwell. How then did she happen to wish to marry another? See *Sir William Drury's Letter* in KEITH, p. 469.

without other evidence, have discovered its truth, from the very visible change which took place even among those whom he had previously considered his best friends. "A strange alteration," says Keith, "might be discovered in the minds and faces of a great many: some slipped privately away, others sent quietly to beg the Queen's pardon, and not a few went publicly over to her Majesty." In this state of matters, Murray was earnestly advised to retire to Stirling, where the young King resided; but he was afraid that his departure from Glasgow might be construed into a flight, which would at once have animated his enemies and discouraged his friends. He resolved, therefore, to continue where he was, making every exertion to collect a sufficient force with as little delay as possible. He was not allowed to remain long in suspense regarding Mary's intentions, for she sent him a message in a day or two, requiring him to surrender his Regency and replace her in her just government; and, before the Earls, Bishops, Lords, and others, who had now gathered round her, she solemnly protested, that the instruments she had subscribed at Loch-Leven were all extorted from her by fear. Sir Robert Melville, one of those who, in this new turn of affairs, left Murray's party for the Queen's, gave his testimony to the truth of this protest, as he had been a witness of the whole proceeding. The abdication, therefore, was pronounced, *ipso facto*, null and void, and, Murray having issued a proclamation, in which he refused to surrender the Regency, both parties prepared for immediate hostilities. The principal Lords who had joined the Queen, were Argyle, Huntly,

Cassilis, Rothes, Montrose, Fleming, Livingston, Seaton, Boyd, Herries, Ross, Maxwell, Ogilvy, and Oliphant. There were, in all, nine Earls, nine Bishops, eighteen Lords, and many Barons and Gentlemen. In a single week, she found herself at the head of an army of 6000 men. Hamilton not being a place of strength, they determined to march to Dumbarton, and to keep her Majesty there peaceably, until she assembled a Parliament, which should determine on the measures best suited for the safety of the commonweal.*

On Thursday the 13th of May, 1568, Murray was informed that the Queen, with her troops, was on her way from Hamilton to Dumbarton, and would pass near Glasgow. He instantly determined to intercept her on the road; for, should she reach Dumbarton, which was then, and had long been, in the possession of the Hamiltons, she would be comparatively beyond his reach, and would have time to collect so great a strength, that she might once more chase him out of Scotland. Besides, the loss of a battle, where the army on either side consisted of only a few thousand men, though it might in all probability be fatal to Mary, was not of so much consequence to the Regent. He, therefore, assembled his troops, which mustered about 4000 strong, on the Green of Glasgow; and being informed that the Queen was marching upon the south side of the Clyde, he crossed that river, and met her at a small village, called Langside, on the Water of Cart, about two miles to the south of Glasgow.

* KEITH, p. 472, et seq.

Mary was anxious to avoid a battle, for she knew that Murray himself possessed no inconsiderable military talent, and that Kirkaldy of Grange, the best soldier in Scotland, was with him. But party spirit ran so high, and the Hamiltons and the Lennoxes, in particular, were so much exasperated against each other, that as soon as they came within sight, it was evident that nothing but blows would satisfy them. The main body of the Queen's army was commanded by the Earl of Argyle; the van was led by Claud Hamilton, second son of the Duke of Chatelherault, and the cavalry was under the conduct of Lord Herries. The Earl of Huntly would have held a conspicuous place in the battle, but he had set off from Hamilton a few days before to collect his followers, and did not return till it was too late. Murray himself commanded his main body, and the Earl of Morton the van; whilst to Grange was intrusted the special charge of riding about over the whole field, and suggesting such alterations in the position of the battle as he deemed requisite.

Nothing now intervened between the two armies but a hill, of which both were anxious to gain possession, the one marching from the east, and the other from the west. It happened, however, that the ascent on the side next Mary's troops, was the steepest, and a stratagem, suggested by Grange, secured the vantage-ground to the Regent. Every man who was mounted, was ordered to take up a foot soldier behind him, and ride with all speed to the top of the hill, where they were set down, and instantly formed into line. Argyle was thus obliged to take his position on a lesser hill, over against that occupied

by Murray. A cannonading commenced upon both sides, and continued for about half an hour ; but without much effect. At length Argyle led his forces forward, and determined, if possible, to carry the heights sword in hand. The engagement soon became general, and advantages were obtained upon both sides. The Earl of Morton, who came down the hill to meet Argyle, succeeded in driving back the Queen's cannoniers, and part of her infantry ; whilst, on the other hand, Lord Herries, making a vigorous charge on Murray's cavalry, put them to rout. Judiciously abstaining from a long pursuit, he returned to attack some of the enemy's battalions of foot, but as he was obliged to advance directly up hill, he was unable to make much impression on them. In the mean time, with the view of obtaining more equal ground, Argyle endeavoured to lead his troops round towards the west, and it was to counteract this movement, that the most desperate part of the engagement took place. All the forces of both parties were gradually drawn off from their previous positions, and the whole strength of the battle on either side was concentrated upon this new ground. For half an hour, the fortune of the day continued doubtful ; but at length the Queen's troops began to waver, and a reinforcement of two hundred Highlanders, which arrived just at the fortunate moment for Murray, and broke in upon Argyle's flank, decided the victory. The flight soon afterwards became general ; and, though the loss of lives on the Queen's side did not exceed three hundred, a great number of her best officers and soldiers were made prisoners. *

* BUCHANAN, book xix. , MILVILLE'S *Memoirs*, p. 200, et seq ; KITH, p. 477, CALDERWOOD, CRAWFURD, and

Mary had taken her station upon a neighbouring eminence to watch the progress of the fight. Her heart beat high with a thousand hopes and fears; for she was either to regain the crown of her forefathers, or to become a fugitive and a wanderer she knew not where. It must have been with emotions of no common kind, that her eye glanced from one part of the field to another;—it must have been with throbbing brow and palpitating heart, that she saw her troops either advance or retreat; and when, at length, she beheld the goodly array she had led forth in the morning, scattered over the country, and all the Lords who had attended her with pride and loyalty, seeking safety in flight, no wonder if she burst into a passion of tears, and lamented that she had ever been born. But the necessity of the moment fortunately put a check to this overwhelming ebullition of her feelings. With a very small retinue of trusty friends, among whom was the Lord Herries, she was quickly hurried away from the scene of her disasters. She rode off at full speed, taking a southerly direction towards Galloway, because from thence she could secure a passage either by sea or land into England or France. She never stopped or closed her eyes till she reached Dundrennan, an abbey about two miles from Kirkcudbright, and at least sixty from the village of Langside. *

HOLINSHED. The accounts which historians give of this battle are so confused and contradictory, that it is almost impossible to furnish any very distinct narrative of it, even by collating them all. Robertson hardly attempts any detail, and the few particulars which he does mention are, in several instances, erroneous.

* KEITH, p. 481-2; ANDERSON, vol. iv. p. 1.

She remained two days at Dundrennan, and there held several anxious consultations with the few friends who had either accompanied her in her flight, or who joined her afterwards. Lord Herries, her principal adviser, gave it as his decided opinion, that she ought to sail immediately for France, where she had relations on whose affection she could depend, even though they should not be able to secure her restoration to the throne of Scotland. But Mary could not brook the idea of returning as a fugitive to a country she had left as a Queen; and, besides, had she placed herself under the protection of Catholics, she might have exasperated her own subjects, and would certainly have displeased Elizabeth and the people of England. She was disposed also to place some reliance on the assurances of friendship she had lately received from the English Queen. She was well aware of the hollowness of most of Elizabeth's promises; but, in her present extremity, she thought that to cross the sea would be to resign her crown for ever. After much hesitation, she finally determined on going into England, and desired Herries to write to Elizabeth's warden at Carlisle, to know whether she might proceed thither. Without waiting for an answer, she rode to the coast on Sunday the 16th of May, and with eighteen or twenty persons in her train, embarked in a fishing-boat, and sailed eighteen miles along the shore, till she came to the small harbour of Workington, in Cumberland. Thence she proceeded to the town of Cockermouth, about twenty-six miles from Carlisle. Lord Scroope, the warden of these frontiers, was at this time in London; but his deputy, a gentleman of the

name of Lowther, having sent off an express to the court, to intimate the arrival of the Queen of Scots, assembled, on his own responsibility, the men of rank and influence in the neighbourhood, and, having come out to meet the Queen, conducted her honourably to the Castle of Carlisle, with the assurance, that, until Elizabeth's pleasure was known, he would protect her from all her enemies.

As soon as the important news reached Elizabeth, that Mary was now within her dominions, and consequently at her disposal, she perceived that the great end of all her intrigues was at length achieved. It was necessary, however, to proceed with caution, for she did not yet know either the precise strength of Mary's party in Scotland, or the degree of interest which might be taken by France in her future fate. She therefore immediately despatched Lord Scroope, and Sir Francis Knollys, her Vice-Chamberlain, to Carlisle, with messages of comfort and condolence. Mary, who anxiously waited their arrival, anticipated that they would bring consolatory assurances. Her spirits began to revive, and she was willing to believe that Elizabeth would prove her friendship by deeds, as well as by words. But this delusion was destined to be of only momentary duration. *

* ANDERSON, vol. IV. p. 1, et seq. ; KEITH, p. 481.

CHAPTER IX.

MARY'S RECEPTION IN ENGLAND, AND THE CONFERENCES AT YORK AND WESTMINSTER.

IF there had been a single generous feeling still lurking in Elizabeth's bosom, the time was now arrived when it should have discovered itself. Mary was no longer a rival Queen, but an unfortunate sister, who, in her hour of distress, had thrown herself into the arms of her nearest neighbour and ally. During her imprisonment in Scotland, Elizabeth had avowed her conviction of its injustice ; and, if it was unjust that her own subjects should retain her in captivity, it would of course be much more iniquitous in one who had no right to interfere with her affairs, and who had already condemned such conduct in others. If it was too much to expect that the English Queen would supply her with money and arms, to enable her to win back the crown she had lost, it was surely not to be doubted that she would either allow her to seek assistance in France, or, if she remained in England, would treat her with kindness and hospitality. All these hopes were fallacious ; for, " with Elizabeth and her counsellors," as Robertson has justly observed,

“ the question was, not what was most just or generous, but what was most beneficial to herself and the English nation.”

On the 29th of May, 1568, Lord Scroope and Sir Francis Knollys arrived at Carlisle. They were met, at some little distance from the town, by Lord Herries, who told them, that what the Queen, his mistress, most desired, was a personal interview with Elizabeth. But they had been instructed to answer, that they doubted whether her Majesty could receive the Queen of Scots, until her innocence, from any share in the murder of her husband, was satisfactorily established.* Thus, the ground which Elizabeth had resolved to take, was at once discovered. She was to affect to treat the Scottish Queen with empty civility, whilst in reality she detained her a prisoner, until she had arranged with Murray the precise accusation which was to be brought against her, and which, if it succeeded in blackening her character, might justify subsequent severities. Mary could not at first believe that she would be treated with so much treachery; but circumstances occurred every day to diminish her confidence in the good intentions of the English Queen. Under the pretence that there was too great a concourse of strangers from Scotland, Lord Scroope and Sir Francis Knollys ordered the fortifications of Carlisle Castle to be repaired, and Mary was not allowed to ride out to any distance. The most distinguished of the few friends who were now with her, and who remained faithful to her to the end of her life,

* GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 69.

were Lesley, Bishop of Ross, the Lords Herries, Livingston, and Fleming, and George and William Douglas. She had also her two secretaries, Curl and Nawe, who afterwards played false to her; and, among other servants, Beaton, and Sebastian the Frenchman; there were likewise the Ladies Livingston and Fleming, Mary Seaton, Lord Seaton's daughter, and other female attendants.*

Mary's first interview with the envoys from Elizabeth, prepossessed them both in her favour. "We found her," they said, "to have an eloquent tongue and a discreet head, and it seems, by her doings, that she has stout courage, and a liberal heart adjoined thereto." When they told her that the Queen, their mistress, refused to admit her to her presence, Mary burst into tears, and expressed the bitterest disappointment. Checking her grief, however, and assuming a tone of becoming dignity, she said, that, if she did not receive, without delay, the aid she had been induced to expect, she would immediately demand permission to pass into France, where she did not doubt she would obtain what the English Queen denied.† In the mean time, as she was not allowed to proceed to London herself, she despatched Lord Herries to superintend her interests there; and, shortly afterwards, it being represented to her that her person was not in safety as long as she continued so near the Borders, she consented to be removed farther into England, and was conveyed to Bolton Castle, a

* CHALMERS, vol. 1. p. 283.

† GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 71.

seat of Lord Scroope, in the North Riding of Yorkshire.*

The Regent Murray, on his part, was any thing but inactive. He compelled the Earl of Huntly, who had collected upwards of 2000 men, and was marching to the Queen's assistance when he heard of the unfortunate battle of Langside, to retire to the North, and disband the greater part of his troops; he put to flight the remains of the Queen's army, which had been again gathered by Argyle and Cassilis; and assembling a Parliament, he procured acts of forfeiture and banishment against many of the most powerful Lords of the opposite party. Elizabeth, perceiving his success, had no desire to check the progress of

* ANDERSON, vol. iv. p. 6; CHALMERS, vol. i. p. 288. Even at Carlisle, Mary was always strictly watched. In one of his letters to Cecil, Knollys writes thus — "Yesterday, her grace went out at a postern, to walk on the playing-green, towards Scotland; and we, with twenty-two halberdiers, divers gentlemen, and other servants, waited upon her. About twenty of her retinue played at foot-ball before her the space of two hours, very strongly, nimbly, and skilfully,—without any foul play offered, the smallness of their ball occasioning their fair play. And before yesterday, since our coming, she went but twice out of the town, once to the like play of foot-ball, in the same place, and once she rode out a-hunting the hare, she galloping so fast upon every occasion, and her whole retinue being so well horsed, that we, upon experience thereof, doubting that, upon a set course, some of her friends out of Scotland might invade and assault us upon the sudden, for to rescue and take her from us; we mean hereafter, if any such riding pastimes be required that way, so much to fear the endangering of her person by some sudden invasion of her enemies, that she must hold us excused, in that behalf."

his usurped authority, whatever professions to the contrary she chose to make to Mary. On the 8th of June, she wrote Murray a letter, in which she addressed him as her "right trusty, and right well-beloved cousin;" told him falsely, that the Queen of Scots had confided to her the examination of the differences between herself and her subjects; and advised him to take such steps as would place his own side of the question in the most favourable point of view. Murray had no objection to make Elizabeth the umpire between himself and his sister, well assured that she would ultimately decide in his favour, lest the rival, whom she had once found so formidable, should again become a source of jealousy and alarm.

But Mary had never dreamt of appealing to Elizabeth as to a judge; and she now learned with indignation, that her rebellious nobles were to be encouraged to come before that Queen on the same footing with herself. When she asked for a personal interview, it was that she might speak to her cousin, as to a friend and equal, of the wrongs she had suffered. She had voluntarily undertaken to satisfy the English Queen, as soon as they conversed together, of her innocence from all the charges which had been brought against her; but she was not to degrade herself by entering into a controversy with her subjects regarding these charges. Accordingly, as soon as she discovered Elizabeth's insidious policy, she addressed a letter to her, in which she openly protested against it. The letter was in French, and to the following effect:—

"Madam, my good sister,—I came into your dominions to ask your assistance, and not to save

my life. Scotland and the world have not renounced me. I was conscious of innocence; I was disposed to lay all my transactions before you; and I was willing to do you honour, by making you the restorer of a Queen. But you have afforded me no aid, and no consolation. You even deny me admittance to your presence. I escaped from a prison, and I am again a captive. Can it expose you to censure, to hear the complaints of the unfortunate? You received my bastard brother when he was in open rebellion: I am a Princess, and your equal, and you refuse me this indulgence. Permit me, then, to leave your dominions. Your severity encourages my enemies, intimidates my friends, and is most cruelly destructive to my interests. You keep me in fetters, and allow my enemies to conquer my realm. I am defenceless; and they enjoy my authority, possess themselves of my revenues, and hold out to me the points of their swords. In the miserable condition to which I am reduced, you invite them to accuse me. Is it too small a misfortune for me to lose my kingdom? Must I also be robbed of my integrity and my reputation? Excuse me, if I speak without dissimulation. In your dominions, I will not answer to their calumnies and criminations. To you, in a personal conference, I shall at all times be ready to vindicate my conduct; but to sink myself into a level with my rebellious subjects, and to be a party in a suit or trial with them, is an indignity so vile, that I can never submit to it. I can die, but I cannot meet dishonour. Consult, I conjure you, what is right and proper, and entitle yourself to my warmest gratitude, or, if you are inclined

not to know me as a sister, and to withhold your kindness, abstain at least from rigour and injustice. Be neither my enemy nor my friend; preserve yourself in the coldness of neutrality; and let me be indebted to other princes for my re-establishment in my kingdom."*

Unmoved by the forcible representations contained in this and other letters, Elizabeth resolved to treat the Queen of Scots only with greater severity than before, in the hope of intimidating her into a compliance with her wishes. It was with this view that she had removed her to Bolton, where she took care that she should be strictly guarded, and not allowed to hold any intercourse with the loyal part of her Scottish subjects. Lord Fleming, too, whom Mary wished to send as her ambassador to France, was stopped; and she was given distinctly to understand, that she must not expect any of her commands to be obeyed, unless they met with Elizabeth's approval. The English Privy Council, of course, sanctioned their sovereign's severity; and gave it as their opinion, that, until an inquiry had taken place into the whole conduct of the Scottish Queen, it would not be consistent with the honour or safety of the realm to afford her the aid she required. The result of all these machinations, — a result which Elizabeth contrived to bring about with the most consummate art, — was, that Mary reluctantly agreed to nominate commissioners to meet the Earl of Murray and

* ANDERSON, vol. iv. p. 95; STUART, vol. i. p. 300. It is of Dr Stuart's translation that we have availed ourselves.

the Lords associated with him, and to authorize them, before commissioners to be appointed by Elizabeth, to state the grievances of which their mistress, the Queen of Scots, complained. Murray approved of this arrangement, because he foresaw from the first how it would end; and Mary consented to it, because she was led to believe, that Murray and his accomplices were summoned solely that they might answer to her complaints. Well aware that their answer could not be satisfactory, she fondly imagined that she would soon be restored to the power they had usurped.

The important *Conference*, as it was termed, between the three sets of commissioners, was appointed to be held at York. Mary's commissioners were, Lesley Bishop of Ross, the Lords Herries, Livingston, and Boyd, Gavin Hamilton, Commendator of Kilwinning, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, and Sir James Cockburn of Stirling.* Murray associated with himself the Earl of Morton, Bothwell Bishop of Orkney, Pitcairn Commendator of Dunfermline, and Lord Lindsay. Macgill and Balnaves, two civilians, Buchanan, whose pen was always at the Regent's command, "through good report and bad report," Secretary Maitland, and one or two others, came with them, as legal advisers and literary assistants. † On

* ANDERSON, vol. IV. part II. p. 33.

† BUCHANAN, book XIX. It is worth remarking, that of these particular friends of Murray, the two commissioners, Lord Lindsay and the Commendator of Dunfermline, and the two lawyers, Macgill and Balnaves, sat on the trial of Bothwell, when he was unanimously acquitted. Yet they afterwards accused the Queen of consenting to an unfair trial!

the part of Elizabeth, the commissioners were Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Radcliffe Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler; and they were invested with full authority to arrange all the differences and controversies existing between her "dear sister and cousin, Mary Queen of Scots," and James Earl of Murray.*

On the 4th of October, 1568, the conference was opened with much solemnity at York. "The great abilities of the deputies on both sides," observes Robertson, "the dignity of the judges before whom they were to appear, the high rank of the persons whose cause was to be heard, and the importance of the points in dispute, rendered the whole transaction no less illustrious than it was singular. The situation in which Elizabeth appeared on this occasion, strikes us with an air of magnificence. Her rival, an independent queen, and the heir of an ancient race of monarchs, was a prisoner in her hands, and appeared, by her ambassadors, before her tribunal. The Regent of Scotland, who represented the majesty, and possessed the authority, of a king, stood in person at her bar, and the fate of a kingdom, whose power her ancestors had often dreaded, but could never subdue, was now absolutely at her disposal." It ought not, however, to be forgotten, that the magnificence of power depends, in a great degree, on the manner in which that power has been acquired; and when it is recollected that, by secretly and diligently fomenting civil disturbances in Scotland, Elizabeth first attacked Mary's peace, and then undermined her

* ANDERSON, vol. iv part ii. p. 3.

authority, and that, having subsequently assumed the mask of a friend, only to conceal the scowl of an enemy, she had forcibly arrogated the rank of a judge, her "air of magnificence" ceases to inspire either awe or admiration.

The "Instructions" given by Elizabeth to her commissioners, are of themselves sufficient to shew that her desire was not to extinguish, but to encourage, animosities between the Queen of Scots and her subjects. She had previously assured Mary, in order to induce her to send commissioners to York at all, that so far from intending to use any form or process by which her subjects should become her accusers, "she meant rather to have such of them, as the Queen of Scots should name, called into the realm, to be charged with such crimes as the said Queen should please to object against them; *and if any form of judgment should be used, it should be against them.*"* But as soon as she had persuaded Mary, by these specious promises, to come into court, she resolved to alter the features of the cause. She instructed her commissioners to listen particularly to the requests and complaints of the Earl of Murray, and to assure him privately, that if he could prove Mary to have been implicated in her husband's murder, she should never be restored to the throne. Nay, she went farther; she desired it to be intimated to the Regent, that even though he could not prove Mary's guilt, yet, that if he could attach sufficient suspicion to her, it would be left to himself and his friends to determine under what conditions they would

* ANDERSON, vol. iv. part 1. p. 12.

again consent to receive her into Scotland. This was as much encouragement as Murray could desire ; for he knew that, by artifice and effrontery, a shade of suspicion might be made to attach itself even to the most perfect. Mary's commissioners, on the other hand, though doubting much the impartiality of the party which was to arbitrate between them, felt strong in the justice of their cause ; and, after protesting that their appearance was not to be construed as implying any surrender of her independence on the part of their mistress, or of feudal inferiority to the crown of England, they proceeded to give in their complaint. It contained a short review of the injuries the Queen of Scots had suffered since her marriage with Bothwell ;—of the rebellion of Morton and others,—of her voluntary surrender at Carberry Hill,—of her imprisonment in Loch-Leven,—of the abdication that had been forced from her,—of the coronation of her infant son, and the assumed regency of the Earl of Murray,—of her defeat at Langside,—and of the undutiful conduct in which the Regent had since persevered.*

To this complaint, it was answered, at great length, by Murray, that the Earl of Bothwell having forcibly carried off the person of the Queen to the Castle of Dunbar, and kept her there a prisoner for some time, had, in the end, suddenly accomplished "a pretended marriage," which, confirming the nobility in the belief that the Earl was the chief author of the murder of the King, made them determine to take up arms to relieve those who were unjustly calumniated,

* GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 128.

and to rescue the Queen from the bondage of a tyrant, who had presumptuously attempted to ravish and marry her, though he could neither be her lawful husband, nor she his lawful wife: that Bothwell came against these nobility, "leading the Queen in his company, as a defence and cloak to his wickedness;" but that, as the quarrel was intended only against him, the Queen was received by the nobles, and led by them into Edinburgh, as soon as she consented to part from the Earl: that she was then requested to agree that the murderers should be punished, and that the pretended marriage into which she had been led, should be dissolved: that to this request she only answered, by rigorously menacing all who had taken up arms in her cause, and declaring she would surrender her realm altogether, "so she might be suffered to possess the murderer of her husband:" that, perceiving the inflexibility of her mind, they had been compelled to "sequester her person" for a season: that, during this time, she had voluntarily renounced the government, finding herself wearied by its fatigues, and perceiving that she and her people could not well agree: that she had appointed, during the minority of her son, the Earl of Murray Regent of the realm: that every thing he had done since had been in accordance with the legal authority with which she had thus invested him: and that he, therefore, required, in behalf of his Sovereign Lord the King, to be allowed peaceably to enjoy and govern the country.*

The "reply" of Mary's commissioners, to this

* GOODALL, vol. II. p. 144.

feeble and disingenuous "answer" of the Earl of Murray, was quite as candid as it was conclusive. It was stated for Mary, that, so far from having been aware, at the time of her marriage, that Bothwell was "known," or "affirmed," to be the "chief author" of the horrible murder committed on her late husband, she had seen him solemnly acquitted of all suspicion by a regular trial, according to the laws of the realm, and that most of her principal nobility had solicited her to accept of him as a husband, promising him service, and her Highness loyal obedience,—not one of them, either before or after the marriage, having warned her to avoid it, or expressed their discontent with it, till they suddenly appeared in arms: that, at Carberry Hill, she willingly parted with Bothwell, as they themselves had seen; but that, if he were in truth guilty of the crimes imputed to him, which she did not then believe, they were to blame for permitting him to escape: that, upon being taken into Edinburgh, where they had promised to reverence her as their Queen, she found herself treated as their captive: that, so far from shewing any persevering attachment to Bothwell, she repeatedly declared it to be her wish, that the estates of the realm should examine into all the charges which had been made against him: that, notwithstanding, she had been forcibly carried off under shade of night, and imprisoned, against her will, in the Castle of Loch-Leven, where she was afterwards made to subscribe instruments of abdication, only through the fear of present death: that, consequently, the pretended coronation of her son was an unlawful and treasonable proceeding, and the

pretended nomination of the Earl of Murray as Regent, a proof of itself that force and fraud had been used; for, even supposing she had been willing to abdicate, if she had been left to her own free choice, there were others whom she would have preferred to appoint to the chief rule during her son's minority: that, therefore, she required the Queen of England to support and fortify her in the peaceable enjoyment and government of her realm, and to declare the pretended authority usurped by others null from the beginning. *

“So far,” says Hume, “the Queen of Scots seemed plainly to have the advantage in the contest; and the English commissioners might have been surprised, that Murray had made so weak a defence.” The truth is, that, not only were the English commissioners surprised, but the Regent himself felt painfully conscious, that he had entirely failed to offer even a plausible pretext for the dethronement of his sister, and his own usurpation. Elizabeth also, anxious as she was to befriend him, saw that she would be imperatively required, by every principle of justice and good government, to aid in reinstating Mary on the throne, were the discussion allowed to terminate at the point to which it had now been brought. Means were, therefore, taken to inform Murray, that unless he was able to strengthen his case, and to bring his charges more directly home, the matter would, in all probability, go against him. Upon this the Regent held a consultation with his friends, Maitland and Buchanan, and the

* GOODALL, vol. II. p. 162.

necessity of bringing into play a new device, which had been prepared as a corps-de-reserve, was by all of them felt and acknowledged. Though no evidence had been adduced against her, Mary had previously been accused by her brother of having had a share in the murder of Darnley. But as this charge was made soon after Murray's return from France, it was strongly suspected to have been invented only to justify himself for retaining her in Loch-Leven. In the existing emergency, however, he determined that something like evidence of its truth should be produced. This evidence consisted of a collection of certain letters and sonnets, alleged to be in the Queen's own hand, and addressed to the Earl of Bothwell, containing passages which testified at once her love for him, and her guilt towards Darnley. But here the question very naturally occurs, why these important documents should not have been brought forward in the earlier part of the conference? and as Robertson, in endeavouring to account for the delay, appears to have fallen into a mistake, it will be worth while examining, for a moment, the soundness of his hypothesis.

The Duke of Norfolk, Elizabeth's principal commissioner, was one of the most powerful of all her nobility, and, since Mary's arrival in England, he had formed the ambitious project of ascending the Scottish throne by means of a marriage with her. With this view, he had already engaged extensively in secret intrigues, and had, in particular, prevailed on Lethington to approve of his plans, and promise him his support. But Robertson asserts farther, that, soon after his arrival at York, he won over Murray also to

his views, and persuaded him to keep back, for a time, the heaviest part of his accusation against Mary, that her character might not be so fatally blackened. The historian's assertion, however, is unsupported by the evidence he adduces in its favour, his references to Anderson, to Goodall, and to his own Appendix, being quite unsatisfactory. Whatever promises Murray may, at a subsequent date, have made to Norfolk, it clearly appears that no charge against Mary was delayed one hour at York, in consequence of any understanding between these two noblemen.

It had been all along the Regent's determination, not to have recourse to the letters, if he could make out a case without them; and even after he perceived that he would require their aid, he did not produce them openly, till they had been first shewn privately to the English commissioners, and their opinion obtained concerning them. It was on the 4th of October that the conference commenced; and on the 10th, Lethington, Macgill, and Buchanan, in a secret interview with Norfolk, Sussex, and Sadler, laid before them the mysterious documents. The nature of their contents was communicated to Elizabeth on the 11th, and she was requested to mention in reply, whether, when publicly adduced and authenticated, they would be sufficient to secure Mary's condemnation. Murray, therefore, cannot, at this time, have entered into any agreement with the Duke of Norfolk; for, so far from keeping back his box-full of letters, he was nervously anxious to ascertain, as speedily as possible, whether Elizabeth would attach any weight to them, or allow them to be branded as palpable

forgeries. Had Robertson attended a little more to dates, he would have discovered, that, so far from wishing to favour the views of the Duke of Norfolk, Murray informed Elizabeth regarding the letters and their contents, on the very day on which he gave in his first "Answer" to Mary's commissioners. Nor had these letters been entirely unheard of till now; for, though they had never been exhibited, they had been expressly alluded to nearly a year before, in an act published by the Lords of Secret Council, on the 4th of December, 1567, in which it was asserted, that by the discovery of certain of the Queen's private letters, sent by her to the Earl of Bothwell, it was "most certain that she was art and part of the actual device and deed of the murder of the King."* The same assertion was subsequently repeated, founded upon the same alleged proof, in one of the Acts of the Parliament called by Murray. The only legitimate conclusion, therefore, to be drawn from his unwillingness to bring forward these letters at York, and make good, by their means, the sole charge against the Queen which could justify his usurpation of her authority, is, that he was afraid to expose such fabrications to the eye of day, until he should have received Elizabeth's assurance that she would treat them with becoming consideration, and assign to them an air of importance, even though forgery, with brazen audacity, was stamped upon their face. †

* GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 62.

† We do not at present stop the course of our narrative to examine these letters more minutely, but we shall devote some time to their consideration afterwards.

As soon as Elizabeth heard of the letters, and reflected on the turn which they might give to the case, she determined on taking the whole of the proceedings under her own immediate superintendence, and, with this view, removed the conference from York to Westminster. To the commissioners previously appointed, she there added the Earls of Arundel and Leicester, Lord Clinton, Sir Nicolas Bacon, and Sir William Cecil. Mary at first expressed satisfaction at this new arrangement; but several circumstances soon occurred which proved, that no favour was intended her by the change. That which galled her most, was the marked attention paid to the Earl of Murray. Though Elizabeth refused Mary a personal interview, she admitted her rebellious brother to that honour, and thus glaringly deviated from the impartiality which ought to have been observed by an umpire. Accordingly, the Queen of Scots commanded her commissioners, the Bishop of Ross and Lord Herries, to complain of this injustice. Not to be received into Elizabeth's presence, she could regard in no other light but as an assumption of superiority on the part of her rival,—a parade of rigid righteousness, and an affected dread of contamination, which, whilst it was meant to imply the purity of the maiden Queen, aimed at exciting suspicion of the purity of another. Continuing to believe that her Scottish rebels had been called before the English commissioners at her instance, Mary had consented that her representatives should proceed from York to Westminster, to make her complaints as a free sovereign. In her instructions to the Bishop of Ross, and those associated

with him, she expressly told them, that the conference was appointed "only for making a pacification between her and her rebellious subjects, and restoring her to her realm and authority." She never lost sight of the fact, that she did not appeal to Elizabeth as a suppliant, but as an equal; and she always took care to preserve high and dignified ground. But to depart from this, and to undertake, before the tribunal of Hampton Court, in which such men as Cecil were able to procure any decision they chose, to answer every calumnious charge which might be brought against her, never entered into her imagination. "It is not unknown to us," she wrote to her commissioners from Bolton, "how hurtful and prejudicial it would be to us, our posterity, and realm, to enter into foreign judgment or arbitrement before the Queen our good sister, her council or commissioners, either for our estate, crown, dignity, or honour;—we will and command you, therefore, that you pass to the presence of our said dearest sister, her council and commissioners, and there, in our name, extend our clemency toward our disobedient subjects, and give them appointment for their offences committed against us and our realm,—so that they may live, in time coming, in surety under us their head."—"And, in case they will otherwise proceed, then we will and command you to dissolve this present diet and negotiation, and proceed no farther therein, for the causes foresaid." *

It may well be conceived, then, that when

* GOODALI, vol. II. p. 182.

Mary heard of Elizabeth's kind and familiar treatment of the Earl of Murray, "the principal of her rebels," she was not a little indignant. She immediately sent word to her commissioners, that, before proceeding a step farther in the negotiation, she considered it right that she should be put on at least an equal footing with the pretended Regent,—for she did not choose that greater respect should be shewn to her rebels than to her and her true subjects. There were three other points, also, of which she thought she had just cause to complain. *First*, That though she had come into England on the assurance of friendship, and of her own free will, she had not only seen no steps taken to restore her to her realm and authority, but had most unexpectedly found herself detained a prisoner, and her confinement rendered closer every day;—*second*, That though, at Elizabeth's request, she had desired her loyal subjects in Scotland to abstain from hostilities, yet the Earl of Murray had not been prevented from molesting and invading them;—and, *third*, That having already established the utter groundlessness of the charges brought against her, instead of finding herself reinstated on her throne, the conference had been merely removed to a greater distance, where she could not communicate with her commissioners so frequently and speedily as was necessary. In consideration of these premises, and especially in consideration of the treatment of the Earl of Murray, "you shall break the conference," she continued, "and proceed no farther therein, but take your leave, and come away. And if our sister allege that, at the beginning, we were

content our cause should be conferred on by commissioners, it is true; but since our principal rebels have free access towards her, to accuse us in her presence, and the same is denied to us, personally to declare our innocence, and answer to their calumnies, being held as prisoner, and transported from place to place, though we came into her realm, of our own free will, to seek her support and natural amity, we have resolved to have nothing farther conferred on, except we be present before her, as the said rebels." *

In the mean time, before these letters arrived, the commissioners had held several sittings at Westminster; and Elizabeth having personally informed Murray, that if he would accuse the Queen of Scots of a share in the murder of Darnley, and produce the letters he had in his possession, she would authorize his continuance in the Regency, he no longer hesitated. On the 26th of November, after protesting that he had been anxious to save, as long as possible, the mother of his gracious King, James VI, from the perpetual infamy which the discovery of her shame would attach to her, and that he was now forced to disclose it, in his own defence, because it was maintained, that his previous answer to the complaint made against him was not sufficient, Murray, in conjunction with his colleagues, presented to the English commissioners an "Eik" or addition to his "Answer," in which he formally charged Mary with the murder. As to the reluctance so hypocritically avowed, it has

* GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 184.

been already seen, that, so far back as December, 1567, precisely the same charge, though unsupported by any evidence, was brought forward in the Scottish Parliament; and, having then served its purpose, was allowed to lie dormant for eleven months. It is true, that there was then, no less than now, a palpable contradiction between this accusation, and the grounds which had always previously been assigned, both for Mary's "sequestration" in Loch-Leven, and her alleged voluntary abdication. It was not till the public mind had been inflamed, and till opposing interests contributed to involve the truth in obscurity, that the notorious fact was denied or concealed, that Mary had been forced into an unwilling marriage with Bothwell, and that her abduction, and imprisonment in the Castle of Dunbar, were themselves an answer to any suspicion, that she was one of his accomplices in Darnley's slaughter. But now that Mary was a captive, in the hands of a jealous rival, the Regent naturally supposed, that some contradictions would be overlooked; and all at once assuming a tone of the utmost confidence, and undertaking "to manifest the naked truth," he ventured on couching his assertion in these terms:—"It is certain, and we boldly and constantly affirm, that as James, some time Earl of Bothwell, was the chief executor of the horrible and unworthy murder, perpetrated in the person of King Henry, of good memory, father to our Sovereign Lord, and the Queen's lawful husband,—so was she of the foreknowledge, counsel, and device, persuader and commander of the said murder to be done, maintainer and fortifier of the executors thereof, by impeding

and stopping of the inquisition and punishment due for the same, according to the laws of the realm, and, consequently, by marriage with the said James, some time Earl Bothwell, dilated and universally esteemed chief author of the above named murder."* In support of this new charge, the letters and other documents were referred to, and it was promised to produce them as soon as they were called for.

Before they were able to inform their mistress of the unexpected turn which affairs had taken. Mary's commissioners received her instructions from Bolton, to proceed no farther in the conference. They therefore stated to Elizabeth, that though they were heartily sorry to perceive their countrymen, with a view to colour their unjust and ungrateful doings, had committed to writing a charge of so shameful a sort, they nevertheless could not condescend to answer it, having begun the conference at York as plaintiffs, and having afterwards found their relative positions altered, Murray being admitted into her Majesty's presence, to advance his calumnious falsehoods, and Mary being expected to defend herself against them, though kept in imprisonment at a distance. At the same time, according to Mary's commands, they said that, although the proceedings of the Regent were altogether intolerable and injurious, they would not yet dissolve the conference, provided their mistress were permitted to appear in her own person before the Queen of England and her nobility.† To this request Elizabeth would not agree. Her real

* GOODALL, vol. II. p. 206.

† Ibid. p. 220.

motive was the fear of truth ; that which she assigned was sufficiently preposterous. " As to your desire," she said to Mary's commissioners, " that your sovereign should come to my presence to declare her innocence in this cause, you will understand, that from the beginning why she was debarred therefrom, was through the bruit and slander that was passed upon her, that she was participant of such a heinous crime as the murder of her husband ; and I thought it best for your mistress's weal and honour, and also for mine own, that trial should be taken thereof before her coming to me ; *for I could never believe, nor yet will, that ever she did assent thereto.*" * If Elizabeth had been anxious to see justice done, she could very easily have overcome the squeamish dread of being brought into contact with Mary, the more especially as she arrogated for herself the superior character of judge, as it was only " bruit and slander" that implicated her " dearest sister," and as she did not, according to her own confession, believe her guilty, *even after she had been informed of the existence of the love-letters, and made acquainted with their contents.* Both parties, however, continuing alike resolute, the commissioners of the Queen of Scots intimated, that, in so far as they were concerned, the conference might be considered closed.

It is here of some importance to point out, that both Robertson and Hume have deduced an argument against Mary, from their own erroneous manner of stating the proceedings of the conference at Westminster. According to the narra-

* GOODALL, vol. II. p. 221.

tive of both these historians, the reader is led to believe, that Mary was perfectly willing to go on till the moment that Murray accused her of being a sharer in Darnley's murder, but that, as soon as this charge was made, she drew back, as if afraid to meet it. Robertson and Hume would have discovered how unfair this view of the matter was, had they taken the trouble to attend to the dates of the documents connected with the transaction. By these they would have seen, that Mary refused to proceed on the 22d of November, 1568, unless admitted equally with the Earl of Murray into Elizabeth's presence, and that Murray's accusation was not produced till the 26th.* Thus, so far from "recoiling from the inquiry at the critical moment," as Hume expresses it, she did not hesitate to proceed until she had rebutted every thing which had been advanced against her, and stood on even higher ground than before. It will besides be immediately found, that notwithstanding her previous determination to the contrary, she was no sooner informed of the existence of letters alleged to have been written by her to Bothwell, than she was willing to enter into a proof of their authenticity.

It would not have suited Elizabeth's views to allow the contending parties to slip through her fingers, before arriving at any definite conclusion. She therefore fell upon an expedient by which she hoped, although the Queen of Scots had withdrawn from the conference, and it consequently should have been considered at an end,

* GOODALL, vol. II. p. 184, and 206.

to attach to her so great a degree of suspicion, that she might safely detain her from her own realm. She ordered Murray and his colleagues to be called before her commissioners; and the scene having been arranged beforehand with them, she commanded the Regent to be rebuked for accusing his native sovereign of a crime so horrible, that, if it could be proved true, she would be infamous to all princes in the world. The Regent readily answered, that, finding he had displeased her Majesty, he had no objections to shew the commissioners "a collection made in writing of the presumptions and circumstances" by which he had been guided in the charge he had advanced against Mary, and which would satisfy them that it had not been made without due grounds and consideration. This was all that Elizabeth wished. In however glaring a point of view it placed her injustice, she rejoiced that Mary's commissioners were no longer attending the conference; for she would now be able to represent to the world, without fear of contradiction, the overwhelming strength of Murray's evidences, and hold them out as the justification of her own severity. But these hopes and plans were very nearly frustrated by the boldness and decision of Mary's conduct. As soon as she received intelligence of this new accusation, and of the means by which it was to be supported, she resolved that her own innocence, and its falsehood, should be made apparent; and, for this purpose, she even consented to depart from her former demand of being personally admitted to Elizabeth's presence. She wrote to her commissioners to resume the duties which they had

intermitted, and to renew the conference once more. "We have seen the copy," she said, "which you have sent us of the false and unlawful accusation presented against us by some of our rebels, together with the declarations and protestations made by you thereon before the Queen of England. our good sister's commissioners, wherein you have obeyed our commands to refuse consenting to any farther proceedings, if the presence of our sister were refused us. But, that our rebels may see that they have not closed your mouths, you may offer a reply to the pretended excuse and cloak of their wicked actions, falsity and disloyalty, whereof you had no information before, it being a thing so horrible, that neither we nor you could have imagined it would have fallen into the thoughts of the said rebels." *

A reply was accordingly made, in which the "Eik" was maintained to be false in every particular, and nothing but a device, contrived to justify Murray's own "detestable doings and ambitious purpose." The writings, or at least copies of them, which had been adduced in support of the Regent's charge, were required to be delivered; and it was intimated, that Mary would undertake to prove, that the very men who now accused her of murder, were themselves the first inventors, and some of them the executors, of the deed. It will at first appear hardly credible, but it is nevertheless true, that Elizabeth refused to allow duplicates of the evidence against her to be sent to Mary. On the contrary, she now hastened to break up the conference; Murray

* GOODALL, vol. II. p. 283.

was sent back to his Regency, and the Queen of Scots detained in closer captivity than ever; and, though she even yet petitioned to see the writings. Elizabeth refused to surrender them, except upon conditions with which Mary's commissioners would not comply. They had formally accused the Regent and his adherents of a share in Bothwell's guilt; yet the latter had been permitted "to depart into Scotland without abiding to hear the defence of the Queen of Scotland's innocency, nor the trial and proof of their detection, which was offered to verify and prove them guilty of the same crime, but were fully released, and no end put to the cause, according to the equity and justice thereof. It did not appear meet, therefore, that their sovereign should make any farther answer, unless her rebels were made to remain within the realm until the trial ended."*

As no decision had been pronounced against Mary, and as the Regent had been allowed to depart, leave was also asked for her to return to Scotland, or proceed to France, as she might think fit. This, however, was expressly refused, but it was insultingly promised, that if she would yield up the crown and government of Scotland in favour of her son, the Prince, she would be permitted to remain privately and quietly in England. Mary, of course, rejected the proposal with scorn. "The eyes of all Europe," she said, "are upon me at this moment; and were I thus tamely to yield to my adversaries, I should be pronouncing my own condemnation. A thousand times rather would I submit to death, than inflict

* GOODALL, vol. II p 312.

this stain upon my honour. The last words I speak shall be those of the Queen of Scotland.*

Thus ended this famous conference, which Elizabeth had opened with so many professions of friendship, which she conducted with so much duplicity, and which she concluded without any determination, except that of endeavouring to blacken the character of her sister Mary, and give plausibility to her continued imprisonment. To a certain extent it answered her purpose. She had won the reputation, in the eyes of those who looked only at the surface of things, of having endeavoured to do justice between the Queen of Scots and her nobility, she had secured the favour of the Regent; and she had obtained a strong hold of the person of her rival, whom she now doomed to lingering and hopeless captivity. †

* GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 300, and 301.

† There is one other circumstance connected with this conference, which, though not bearing any immediate reference to Mary, is worth mentioning. We allude to the challenges which passed between Lord Lindsay, one of Murray's commissioners, and Lord Herries, one of Mary's most constant and faithful servants. Lindsay, whose passionate violence we have formerly had occasion to notice, attempted to force a quarrel upon Herries, by writing him the following letter —

“ Lord Herries, — I am informed that you have spoken and affirmed, that my Lord Regent's Grace and his company here present, were guilty of the abominable murder of the late King, our Sovereign Lord's father. If you have so spoken, you have said untruly, and have lied in your throat, which I will maintain, God willing, against you, as becomes me of honour and duty. And hereupon I desire your answer. Subscribed with my hand, at Kingston, the twenty-second day of December, 1568. — PATRICK LINDBAY.”

To this epistle Lord Herries made the following spirited reply —

“ Lord Lindsay, — I have seen a writing of yours, the 22d of December, and thereby understand, — ‘ You are informed that I have said and affirmed, that the Earl of Murray, whom you call your Regent, and his company, are guilty of the Queen’s husband’s slaughter, father to our Prince, and if I said it, I have lied in my throat, which you will maintain against me as becomes you of honour and duty.’ In respect they have accused the Queen’s Majesty, mine and your native sovereign, of that foul crime, far from the duty that good subjects owed, or ever have been seen to have done to their native sovereign, — I have said — ‘ There is of that company present with the Earl of Murray, guilty of that abominable treason, in the foreknowledge and consent thereto.’ That you were privy to it, Lord Lindsay, I know not; and if you will say that I have specially spoken of you, you lie in your throat, and that I will defend as of my honour and duty becomes me. But let any of the principal that is of them subscribe the like writing you have sent to me, and I shall point them forth, and fight with some of the traitors therein; for meetest it is that traitors should pay for their own treason. — HERRIES. London, 22d of December, 1568.”

No answer appears to have been returned to this letter, and so the affair was dropped. GOODALL, vol. II. 271.

CHAPTER X.

MARY'S EIGHTEEN YEARS' CAPTIVITY.

THE last eighteen years of Mary's life were spent in imprisonment, and are comparatively a blank in her personal history. She was transported, at intervals, from castle to castle, and was intrusted sometimes to the charge of one nobleman, and sometimes of another; but for her the active scenes of life were past; the splendour and the dignity of a throne were to be enjoyed no longer; the sceptre of her native country was never more to grace her hand, her will ceased to influence a nation, her voice did not travel beyond the walls that witnessed her confinement. She came into England at the age of twenty-five, in the prime of womanhood, the full vigour of health, and the rapidly ripening strength of her intellectual powers. She was there destined to feel, in all its bitterness, that "hope delayed maketh the heart sick." Year after year passed slowly on, and year after year her spirits became more exhausted, her health feebler, and her doubts and fears confirmed, till

they at length settled into despair. Premature old age overtook her before she was past the meridian of life ; and for some time before her death, her hair was white “ with other snows than those of age.” Yet, during the whole of this long period, amid sufferings which would have broken many a masculine spirit, and which, even in our own times, have been seen to conquer those who had conquered empires, Mary retained the innate grace and dignity of her character, never forgetting that she had been born a queen, or making her calamities an excuse for the commission of any petty meanness, which she would have scorned in the day of her prosperity. Full of incident as her previous life had been,—brilliant in many of its achievements, fortunate in some, and honourable in all,—it may be doubted, whether the forbearance, fortitude, and magnanimity, displayed in her latter years, does not redound more highly to her praise, than all that preceded. Many important events took place, and intrigues of various kinds were carried on, between the years 1569 and 1586 ; but as it is not the purpose of this work to illustrate any parts of the history either of Scotland or England, which do not bear immediate reference to the Queen of Scots, nothing but a summary of them, in so far as they were connected with her, need be introduced here.

It was on the 12th of January, 1569, that the Earl of Murray and the Scottish commissioners obtained permission to return home, the Regent having previously received from Elizabeth a loan of £5000, lent him “ for the maintenance of peace between the realms of England and Scotland,” or,

in other words, as a bribe to secure his co-operation in all time coming.* Mary, on the contrary, was removed from Bolton, to the Castle of Tutbury in Staffordshire, farther in the interior of England, and was placed under the charge of Lord Shrewsbury, to whom Tutbury belonged. Elizabeth was unwilling to allow her captive to remain long in any one place, lest she should form connections and friendships which might lead to arrangements for an escape. Besides, Sir Francis Knollys had represented, that, unless it was determined to keep the Scottish Queen so close a prisoner, that she should not be allowed to ride out occasionally, which would be death to her, she could not remain any longer at Bolton, for want of forage and provisions.† During the year, she was taken about by Shrewsbury, on occasional visits, to several mansions which he possessed in different parts of England; but Tutbury was her head-quarters; and wherever she went, she was very strictly guarded. "If I might give advice," says one of Cecil's friends, in a letter he wrote to him about this time, "there should very few subjects of this land have access to a conference with this lady; for, beside that she is a goodly personage, (and yet, in truth, not comparable to our sovereign,) she hath withal an alluring grace, a pretty Scotch speech, and a searching wit, clouded with mildness. The greatest person about her is the Lord Livingston, and the lady his wife, which is a fair gentlewoman. She hath nine women more, fifty persons in her household,

* GOODALL, vol. II. p. 313

† CHALMERS, vol. I. p. 327.

with ten horses. Lord Shrewsbury is very watchful of his charge; but the Queen overwatches them all, for it is one of the clock at least every night ere she go to bed. I asked her Grace, since the weather did cut off all exercise abroad, how she passed the time within? She said, that all the day she wrought with her needle, and that the diversity of the colours made the work seem less tedious; and she continued so long till even pain made her give over, and with that laid her hand upon her left side, and complained of an old grief newly increased there. She then entered upon a pretty disputable comparison between carving, painting, and working with the needle, affirming painting, in her own opinion, for the most commendable quality."*

But though Mary thus attempted to beguile her solitude, the thought of her unjust imprisonment never ceased to prey upon her mind. Elizabeth and Cecil tried to defend themselves upon four grounds; but they were all alike weak. They said, *first*, That she was a lawful prisoner by good treaties. But as they did not mention to what treaties they alluded, Chalmers supposes they meant the same kind of treaties "which justify the Barbary powers to detain all Christians as slaves." They said, *secondly*, That she could not be suffered to depart, till she had satisfied the wrong she had done to Elizabeth, in openly claiming the crown of England, and not making any just recompense. But the disavowal of that claim was all the recompense that was necessary; and though Mary had made the claim when

* CHALMERS, vol. 1. p. 332.

married to Francis, she had expressly given it up ever since his death. They said, *thirdly*, That Elizabeth possessed a superiority over the crown of Scotland. But this antiquated notion, arising from the subservience of John Bailol to Edward I, in 1292, had long been relinquished, and had never been acknowledged in any treaty between the two nations. They said, *fourthly*, That the Queen of England was bound to attend to the petition of her subjects "in matters of blood." But though Lord and Lady Lennox had been brought forward to present a petition against Mary, it was evident that Elizabeth had no power either to grant or refuse such petition, the Queen of Scots not being one of her subjects.

Though Mary's enemies, however, prevailed, her friends were by no means discomfited. In Scotland, Murray found that only one half of the kingdom was disposed to submit to his authority, and it was not till after a protracted and disastrous civil war, that he was able to free himself from the resolute hostility of Chatelherault, Argyle, Huntly, and others. In England, the Duke of Norfolk was more active than ever in his intrigues. So far from being alarmed by the pretended discoveries to her prejudice, he openly expressed his conviction of their falsehood, and prevailed upon a number of the English nobility to second, to the best of their power, his honourable proposals to the Queen of Scots.* Though it does not appear that he was able to obtain a personal interview with Mary, many letters passed between them; and, as she soon perceived that

* ANDERSON, vol. 1. p. 80.

her best chance of restoration to the throne of Scotland was by joining her interests with those of Norfolk, (whose power and estates were so extensive, that Melville calls him the greatest subject in Europe,) she promised that, though little disposed to form a new alliance, after the experience she had already had of matrimony, she would nevertheless bestow her hand on him, as soon as she should regain her liberty through his means. The Duke's machinations, however, which had been hitherto carefully concealed from Elizabeth, at length reached her ears, and, in the utmost indignation, she scrupled not, with her usual arbitrary violence, to send him to the Tower, where she kept him a close prisoner for upwards of nine months,—while the Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, and Leicester, who had favoured his views, all fell into disgrace. Mary was watched more narrowly than before; and Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, who pretended a superior right to the English succession, was joined with Shrewsbury in the commission of superintending her imprisonment.

Norfolk had not been long in the Tower, when an open rebellion broke out in the northern counties, headed by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. It is difficult to ascertain the precise causes which led to it. Though there is no reason to believe that Mary gave it any encouragement, it seems to have borne some reference to her; for in the "Declaration" published by the Earls, one ground of complaint was the want of a law for settling the succession. They marched also towards Tutbury,

with the evident intention of restoring Mary to freedom, which they might have succeeded in doing, had she not been removed with all expedition to Coventry. Elizabeth sent an army against the rebels, and they were speedily dispersed: Westmoreland concealed himself on the Borders; but Northumberland, proceeding farther into Scotland, was seized by Murray, and confined in the castle of Loch-Leven,—probably in the very apartments which Mary had occupied.

The year 1570 opened with an event which materially affected the state of public affairs in Scotland, and which to Mary was the occasion of many mingled feelings. Perceiving the danger which accrued to herself from detaining a prisoner of so much importance, Elizabeth had commenced a negotiation with the Earl of Murray for replacing his sister in his hands, when she received the unexpected and unwelcome intelligence of his assassination. The manner and cause of his death are sufficiently known to all who are acquainted with Scottish history: and, though nothing can justify a murder committed to gratify private revenge, yet it is impossible to read the story of the wrongs which the Regent had heaped upon Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, without feeling towards the latter more of pity than of hatred.

Next to Mary herself, no one had held so prominent a place in Scotland as the Earl of Murray; and there is no one concerning whose character historians have more widely differed. There can be no doubt, that, like most human characters, his was a very mixed one; but it is to be feared that the evil preponderated. Ambition was his ruling

passion, and the temptations which his birth, rank, and fortune, held out for its indulgence, unfortunately led him into errors and crimes, which, had he been contented with a humbler sphere, he would in all probability have avoided. There are various sorts of ambition, and the most dangerous is not always that which is most apparent and reckless. Murray was ambitious under the cloak of patriotism, and the mask of religion. He had enough of knowledge of mankind to be aware, that no one could so safely play the villain as he who maintained a high name for integrity. Hence, though he may have loved honesty to a certain extent. for its own sake, he loved it a great deal more for the sake of advantages to be derived from a reputation for possessing it. He was perhaps constitutionally religious, but, though he was very willing to fight as a leader in the armies of the Reformation, it is somewhat questionable that he would have served the good cause with equal zeal, had he been obliged to fill only a subordinate place in its ranks. There is every reason to believe, that, in many cases, he did good only that he might the more safely do wrong, and that he rigidly observed all the external forms of religion, only that the less suspicion might attach to him when he infringed its precepts. He had enough of moral rectitude to understand the distinctions between right and wrong, but too much selfishness to observe them unostentatiously, and too much prudence to disregard them openly. Thus, to the casual observer he appeared strong in unshaken integrity, and full of the odour of sanctity. He possessed the art, which few but profound politicians can acquire,

of going in the wrong path, as if he were in the right, and of gaining more estimation for his errors, than others do for their virtues. His conduct towards his sister was altogether unjustifiable; yet, with the exception of his rebellion on the occasion of her marriage with Darnley, which was the least objectionable, because the boldest and most straight-forward part of the whole, he contrived to inflict, and to see inflicted, the deadliest injuries, as if he unwillingly submitted to them, rather than actively instigated them. He had little warmth of feeling; but what he had, prompted him to affect to feel as he never in reality did. He possessed all the talent compatible with cunning; he had abundance of military skill, and was not deficient in personal courage. He was not often cruel, because he saw it for his interest to be humane; he was a patron of literature, and attentive to his friends, because patronage and a numerous body of friends confer power. He affected nevertheless an ostentatious austerity in his manners, which it was impossible to reconcile with the worldliness of his pursuits. In short, he had so involved his whole character in disingenuousness, under a show of every thing that was exactly the reverse, that he was probably not aware himself when he acted from good, and when from bad motives. He had far too much ambition to be an upright man, and far too much good sense to be an undisguised villain. Notwithstanding all the ill usage she had received from him, Mary shed tears when she heard of his untimely death; and, to record this fact, is the highest eulogium which need be passed on his memory.

The Scots chose the Earl of Lennox Regent in the place of Murray, whilst Elizabeth, says Robertson, "adhering to her old system with regard to Scottish affairs, laboured, notwithstanding the solicitations of Mary's friends, to multiply and to perpetuate the factions which tore in pieces the kingdom." At the same time, she pretended to enter into a new negotiation with Mary, as she frequently did at subsequent periods, when hard pressed by any of the more powerful friends of the Queen of Scots. But, after appointing commissioners, and requiring Morton and others to meet them from Scotland, the affair ended as it began,—Mary still continued in her prison, and Morton returned home, no proposals having been made, to which either of the parties would agree. About this period, Elizabeth's temper was particularly soured, by an excommunication which Pope Pius V issued against her, and which she erroneously supposed had been prepared in concert with Mary. A person of the name of Felton, affixed a copy of the Pope's bull on the gate of the Bishop of London's palace, and, refusing either to fly or conceal himself, he was seized and executed for the crime. In her ill humour, Elizabeth also ordered that Mary should not be allowed to go abroad, and she did not revoke this order, until strong representations were made to her of the cruel effect produced by it on the health of the Queen, whose constitution was now much broken. The weakness in one of her sides, which had long pained her, had of late greatly increased, and she was obliged to have recourse to strengthening baths of white

wine.* During this year, she was removed from Tutbury to Chatsworth, and from Chatsworth she was taken to the Earl of Shrewsbury's castle at Sheffield,—“ a town,” says Camden, “ of great renown for the smiths therein.” She had not at the most above thirty attendants, among whom, the principal were Lord and Lady Livingston, her young friend William Douglas, Castel her French physician, and Roulet her French secretary. The latter died when she was at Sheffield, and his death afflicted her much. All communication with her friends at a distance was denied her ; and her letters were continually intercepted, and either copies or the originals sent to Cecil. Yet she had too proud a spirit to give way to unavailing complaints ; and when she wrote to inquire after her faithful servant the Bishop of Ross, whom Elizabeth had put into confinement, from a jealousy of his exertions for his mistress, all she allowed herself to say was, that she pitied poor prisoners, for she was used like one herself.

In the year 1571, the Duke of Norfolk, who had been by this time discharged from the Tower, had the imprudence to renew his intrigues for the liberation of Mary, and his own marriage with her. A secret correspondence again took place, and the Queen of Scots sent him, says Stranguage, “ a long commentary of her purposes, and certain love-letters in a private character, known to them two.” The Duke was now resolved either to make or mar his fortune ; and, deeply engaging in the dangerous game he was playing, he scrupled not

* STRYPE, vol. i. p. 538, CHALMERS, vol. i. p. 387.

to have recourse to many highly treasonable practices. He set on foot negotiations both with one Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, residing in London, and an agent of the Court of Rome, and with the Spanish ambassador; and with them he boldly entered into an extensive conspiracy, which, if successful, would entirely have subverted the government. His plan was, that the Duke of Alba should land in England with a numerous army, and should be immediately joined by himself and friends. They were then to proclaim Mary's right to the throne, call upon all good Catholics to support them, and march direct for London. The Pope, and the King of Spain, readily entered into the scheme; and every thing appeared to be proceeding according to his wishes, when the treachery of one of Norfolk's servants made Elizabeth acquainted with the whole conspiracy. The Duke was immediately seized, and thrown into prison; and, after several private examinations, he was tried for high treason, found guilty, and condemned to death. Elizabeth, who cultivated a reputation for extreme sensibility, affected the greatest reluctance to sign the warrant for his execution. But she was at length able to shut her heart against his many noble qualities, his princely spirit, and valuable services, and she ordered him to be led to the scaffold. He there confessed that he had been justly found guilty, in so far as he had dealt with the Queen of Scots, in weighty and important business, without the knowledge of his own Queen. He died, as he had lived, with undaunted courage. When the executioner offered him a napkin to cover his eyes, he refused it, saying, "I fear not death;"

and, laying his head on the block, it was taken off at one blow.

Elizabeth was extremely anxious to implicate Mary in Norfolk's guilt, and, for this purpose, sent commissioners to her to reproach her with her offences. Mary heard all they had to say with the utmost calmness ; and, when they called upon her for her answer, she replied, that, though she was a free Queen, and did not consider herself accountable, either to them or their mistress, she had, nevertheless, no hesitation to assure them of the injustice of their accusations. She protested that she had never imagined any detriment to Elizabeth by her marriage with Norfolk ; that she had never encouraged him to raise rebellion, or been privy to it, but was, on the contrary, most ready to reveal any conspiracy against the Queen of England which might come to her ears ; that, though Rodolphi had been of use to her in the transmission of letters abroad, she had never received any from him ; that, as to attempting an escape, she willingly gave ear to all who offered to assist her, and, in hope of effecting her deliverance, had corresponded with several in cipher ; that, so far from having any hand in the bull of excommunication, when a copy of it was sent her, she burned it after she had read it ; and that she held no communication with any foreign state, upon any matters unconnected with her restoration to her own kingdom. Satisfied with this reply, the commissioners returned to London.*

All the miseries of civil war were, in the mean

* STRANGUAGE, p. 114.

time, desolating the kingdom of Scotland. The Earl of Lennox was a feeble and very incompetent successor to Murray. Perceiving him unable to maintain his authority, and finding that the current of popular feeling was becoming stronger against the unjust imprisonment which Mary was suffering, many of those who had stood by Murray deserted to the opposite faction. Among the rest, were Secretary Maitland and Kirkaldy of Grange, the first the ablest statesman, and the second the best soldier in the country. It was now almost impossible to say which side preponderated. Both parties levied armies, convoked Parliaments, fought battles, besieged towns, and ordered executions. "Fellow-citizens, friends, brothers," says Robertson, "took different sides, and ranged themselves under the standards of the contending factions. In every county, and almost in every town and village, *Kingsmen* and *Queensmen* were names of distinction. Political hatred dissolved all natural ties, and extinguished the reciprocal good-will and confidence which hold mankind together in society. Religious zeal mingled itself with these civil distinctions, and contributed not a little to heighten and to inflame them." One of the most successful exploits performed by the Regent, was the taking of the Castle of Dumbarton from the Queen's Lords. The Archbishop of St Andrews, whom he found in it, was condemned to be hanged without a trial, and the sentence was immediately executed. No Bishop had ever suffered in Scotland so ignominiously before; and, while the King's adherents were glad to get rid of one who had been very zealous against them, the nobles who supported the Queen

were exasperated to the last degree by so violent a measure, and their watch-word became, — “Think on the Archbishop of St Andrews!” Lennox was sacrificed to his memory; for the town of Stirling having been suddenly taken, in an expedition contrived by Grange, Lennox, after he had surrendered himself prisoner, was shot by command of Lord Claud Hamilton, brother to the deceased Archbishop; and, in his room, the Earl of Mar was elected Regent.

In the year 1572, Mary's cause sustained a serious injury, by the atrocious massacre of the Hugonots in France, which exasperated all the Protestants throughout Europe, and made the very name of a Catholic Sovereign odious. Although Mary herself, so far from having lent any countenance to this massacre, had expressly avowed her unwillingness to constrain the conscience of any one, and had been all her life the strenuous advocate of toleration; yet, recollecting her connection with Charles IX and Catharine de Medicis, whose sanguinary fury made itself so conspicuous on this melancholy occasion, her enemies took care that she should not escape from some share of the blame. Elizabeth, in particular, taking advantage of the excitement which had been given to public feeling, used every exertion to secure the circulation of Buchanan's notorious “Detection of Mary's Doings,” which had been published a short time before. She ordered Cecil to send a number of copies to Walsingham, her ambassador at Paris, that they might be presented to the King, and leading persons of the French court. “It is not amiss,” Cecil wrote, “to have divers of Buchanan's

little Latin books to present, if need be, to the King, as from yourself, and likewise to some of the other noblemen of his Council; for they will serve to good effect to disgrace her, *which must be done before other purposes can be attained.*" Cecil himself printed and circulated a small treatise, in the shape of a letter from London, to a friend at a distance, giving an account of the "Detection," and the credit it deserved. The publication, on the other hand, of Bishop Lesley's "Defence of Queen Mary's Honour," was positively interdicted; and Lesley was obliged to send the manuscript abroad, before he was able to present it to the world. To such low and cowardly devices were Elizabeth and her minister under the necessity of resorting, to blacken the character of Mary, and justify their own iniquitous proceedings!*

In Scotland, too, Mary's party, beginning to see the hopelessness of the cause, was gradually dwindling away. Through Mar's exertions, a general peace might have been obtained, had not Morton's superior influence and persevering cruelty drawn out the civil war to the last dregs. Mar, finding himself thwarted in every measure he proposed for the tranquillity of his country, fell into a deep melancholy, which ended in his death, before he had been a year in office. Morton succeeded him without opposition, and immediately proceeded to very violent measures against all the Queen's friends, who were now divided into two parties, the one headed by Chatellherault and

* GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 375; ANDERSON, vol. ii. p. 261; STUART, vol. ii. p. 59, CHAMBERS, vol. i. p. 349.

Huntly, and the other by Maitland and Grange. After gaining some advantages over both, he concluded a peace with the former ; and having invested the Castle of Edinburgh on all sides, in conjunction with some troops which Elizabeth sent to his assistance, he at length forced the latter to surrender. Kirkaldy of Grange, the bravest and most honest man in Scotland, was hanged at the cross of Edinburgh ; and Secretary Maitland, who, with all his talents, had vacillated too much to be greatly respected, anticipating a similar fate, avoided it by a voluntary death, " ending his days," says Melville, " after the old Roman fashion."

About the same time, John Knox concluded his laborious, and, in many respects, useful life, in the 67th year of his age. Appearing, as he did, in treacherous and turbulent times, the rough unpolished integrity of Knox demands the higher praise, because it enabled him the more successfully to maintain an influence over the minds of his countrymen, and effect those important revolutions in their modes of thought and belief, which his superior abilities pointed out to him as conducive to the moral and religious improvement of the land. He had many failings, but they were to be attributed more to the age to which he belonged, than to any fault of his own. His very violence and acrimony, his strong prejudices, and no less confirmed partialities, were perhaps the very best instruments he could have used for advancing the cause of the Reformation. He was without the cunning of Murray, the fickleness of Maitland, or the ferocity of Morton. He pursued a steady and undeviating course ; and

though loved by few, he was revered by many. Courage, in particular,—and not the mere common-place courage inspired by the possession of physical strength, but the far nobler courage arising from a consciousness of innate integrity,—was the leading feature of his mind. Morton never spoke more truly than when he said at the grave of Knox,—“ Here lies he who never feared the face of man.”

In the year 1573, Mary, at her own earnest request, was removed, for the benefit of her health, from Sheffield to the Wells at Buxton. The news she had lately received from Scotland, and the apparent annihilation of all her hopes, had affected her not a little. “ Though she makes little shew of any grief,” the Earl of Shrewsbury wrote to Cecil, “ yet this news nips her very sore.” At Buxton, which was then the most fashionable watering-place in England, she was obliged to live in complete seclusion; and it may easily be conceived, that the waters could be of little benefit to her, without the aid of air, exercise, and amusement. Lesley, though detained at a distance, took every means in his power to afford her consolation, and wrote two treatises, after the manner of Seneca, expressly applicable to her condition; both of which he sent to her. The first was entitled,—“ *Piæ afflictæ animi meditationes divinæque remedia,*” and the second,—“ *Tranquillitatis animi conservatio et munimentum.*” She thanked him for both of these productions, and assured him, that she had received much benefit from their perusal. With many parts of the first, in particular, she was so pleased, that she occupied herself in para-

phrasing them into French verse.* Lesley was soon afterwards allowed by Elizabeth to pass into France, where he long continued to exert himself in the cause of his mistress, visiting, on her account, several foreign courts, and exposing himself to many inconveniences and hardships. He died, at a good old age, in 1596, and his memory deserves to be cherished, both for the many amiable qualities he possessed in private life, and his inflexible fidelity and attachment to the Queen of Scots. †

In 1574, a fresh misfortune overtook Mary, in the death of her brother-in-law, Charles IX. He was succeeded on the throne by the Duke of Anjou, who took the title of Henry III, and was little inclined to exert himself in the cause of his sister, having been long at enmity with the house of Guise. But a still more fatal blow was the death of her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, who had ever made it a part of his policy to identify her interests with his own, and to whom she had always been accustomed to turn, with confidence, in her greatest distresses.

From this period to the year 1581, Mary seems to have been nearly forgotten by all parties. Elizabeth, satisfied with keeping her rival securely imprisoned, busied herself with other affairs of political moment; and, in Scotland, as the Prince grew up, and years passed on, death, or other causes, gradually diminished the number of Mary's

* ANDERSON, vol. iii. p. 248.

† See *An Account of the Life and Actions of the Reverend Father in God, John Lesley, Bishop of Ross*, in ANDERSON, vol. iii. p. vii.

adherents, and though the country was far from being in tranquillity, the dissensions assumed a new shape, for even they who opposed the regency of the Earl of Morton, found it more for their interest to associate themselves with the young King than with the absent Queen. Mary became gradually more solitary and more depressed. Though yet only in the prime of womanhood, she had lived to see almost all her best friends, and some of her worst enemies, depart from the world before her. The specious Murray, — the imbecile Lennox, — Hamilton, the last supporter of Catholicism, — Knox, the great champion of the Reformation, — the gentle Mar, — the brilliant but misguided Norfolk, — the gallant Kirkaldy, — and the sagacious Maitland, — had all been removed from the scene, and in the melancholy solitude of her prison, she wept to think that she should have been destined to survive them. But Elizabeth had no sympathy for her griefs, and every rumour which reached her ear, only served as an excuse for narrowing and rendering more irksome Mary's captivity. Even the few female friends who had been at first allowed to attend her, were taken from her, no congenial society of any sort was allowed her; it was rarely, indeed, that she was permitted to hunt or hawk, or take any exercise out of doors; and the wearisome monotony of her sedentary life, at once impaired her health and broke down her spirits. The manner in which she spoke of her own situation, in letters she wrote about this period to France and elsewhere, is not the less affecting, that it is characterized by that mental dignity and queenly spirit which no afflictions

could overcome. "I find it necessary," she wrote from Tutbury, in 1580, "to renew the memorial of my grievances respecting the remittance of my dowry, the augmentation of my attendants, and a change of residence,—circumstances apparently trivial, and of small importance to the Queen, my good sister, but which I feel to be essential to the preservation of my existence. Necessity alone could induce me to descend to earnest and reiterated supplications, the dearest price at which any boon can be purchased. To convey to you an idea of my present situation,—I am on all sides enclosed by fortified walls, on the summit of a hill, which lies exposed to every wind of heaven: within these bounds, not unlike the wood of Vincennes, is a very old edifice, originally a hunting lodge, built merely of lath and plaster, the plaster in many places crumbling away. This edifice, detached from the walls, about twenty feet, is sunk so low, that the rampart of earth behind the wall is level with the highest part of the building, so that here the sun can never penetrate, neither does any pure air ever visit this habitation, on which descend drizzling damps and eternal fogs, to such excess, that not an article of furniture can be placed beneath the roof, but in four days it becomes covered with green mould. I leave you to judge in what manner such humidity must act upon the human frame; and, to say every thing in one word, the apartments are in general more like dungeons prepared for the reception of the vilest criminals, than suited to persons of a station far inferior to mine, inasmuch as I do not believe there is a lord or gentleman, or even yeoman in the kingdom,

who would patiently endure the penance of living in so wretched a habitation. With regard to accommodation, I have for my own person but two miserable little chambers, so intensely cold during the night, that, but for ramparts and intrenchments of tapestry and curtains, it would be impossible to prolong my existence; and of those who have sat up with me during my illness, not one has escaped malady. Sir Amias can testify, that three of my women have been rendered ill by this severe temperature, and even my physician declines taking charge of my health the ensuing winter, unless I shall be permitted to change my habitation. With respect to convenience, I have neither gallery nor cabinet, if I except two little pigeon-holes, through which the only light admitted is from an aperture of about nine feet in circumference. For taking air and exercise, either on foot or in my chair, I have but about a quarter of an acre behind the stables, round which Somers last year planted a quickset hedge, a spot more proper for swine than to be cultivated as a garden: there is no shepherd's hut but has more grace and proportion. As to riding on horseback during the winter, 'am sure to be impeded by floods of water, or banks of snow, nor is there a road in which I could go for one mile in my coach without putting my limbs in jeopardy. Abstracted from these real and positive inconveniences, I have conceived for this spot an antipathy, which, in one ill as I am, might alone claim some humane consideration. As it was here that I first began to be treated with rigour and indignity, I have conceived, from that time, this mansion to be singularly unlucky to

me, and in this sinister impression I have been confirmed by the tragical catastrophe of the poor priest of whom I wrote to you, who, having been tortured for his religion, was at length found hanging in front of my window."*

In 1581, Mary made a still more melancholy representation of her condition. "I am reduced to such an excessive weakness," she says, "especially in my legs, that I am not able to walk a hundred steps, and yet I am at this moment better than I have been for these six months past. Ever since last Easter, I have been obliged to make my servants carry me in a chair; and you may judge how seldom I am thus transported from one spot to another, when there are so few people about me fit for such an employment."† In the midst of all this distress, it was only from resources within herself that she was able to derive any consolation. Her religious duties she attended to with the strictest care, and devoted much of her time to reading and writing. At rare intervals, she remembered her early cultivation of the Muses; and she even yet attempted occasionally to beguile the time with the charms of poetry. She produced several short poetical compositions during her imprisonment; and of these, the following sonnet, embodying so simply and forcibly her own feelings, cannot fail to be read with peculiar interest:—

" Que suis je, hélas ! et de quoi sert ma vie ?
Je ne suis fors qu'un corps privé de cœur ;

* MISS BENDER, vol. II. p. 439

† *Additions to the Memoirs of CASTELNAU*, p. 589, et seq.

Un ombre vain, un objet de malheur,
 Qui n'a plus rien que de mourir envie.
 Plus ne portez, O ennemis, d'envie
 A qui n'a plus l'esprit à la grandeur !
 Je consomme d'excessive douleur, —
 Votre ire en bref ce vovra assouvie
 Et vous, amis, qui m'avez tenu chere,
 Souvenez vous, que, sans heur—sans sante,
 Je ne saurois aucun bon œuvre faire
 Souhайтеz donc fin de calamité ;
 Et que ci bas étant assez punie,
 J'aye ma part en la joye infinie."*

But the most celebrated of all Mary's efforts during her captivity, is a long and eloquent letter she addressed to Elizabeth, in 1582, when she heard that her son's person had been seized at the Raid of Ruthven,—and when, dreading, with maternal anxiety, that he might be involved in the woes which had overtaken herself, she gave vent to those feelings which had long agitated her bosom, and which she now, with pathetic force, laid before Elizabeth, as the author of all her misfortunes. The ability and vigour with which this letter is written, well entitle it, as Dr

* LAING, vol ii. p. 285.

Alas ! what am I? — what avails my life ?
 Does not my body live without a soul ? —
 A shadow vain—the sport of anxious strife,
 That wishes but to die, and end the whole
 Why should harsh enmity pursue me more ?
 The false world's greatness has no charms for me,
 Soon will the struggle and the grief be o'er ; —
 Soon the oppressor gain the victory.
 Ye friends ! to whose remembrance I am dear,
 No strength to aid you, or your cause, have I,
 Cease then to shed the unavailing tear, —
 I have not fear'd to live, nor dread to die,
 Perchance the pain that I have suffer'd here,
 May win me more of bliss through God's eternal year.

Stuart has remarked, to survive in the history of the Scottish nation. It was Mary's own wish that it should do so.

“ I am no longer able,” she writes, “ to resist laying my heart before you ; and while I desire that my just complaints shall be engraved in your conscience, it is my hope that they will also descend to posterity, to prove the misery into which I have been brought by the injustice and cruelty of my enemies. Having in vain looked to you for support against their various devices, I shall now carry my appeal to the Eternal God, the Judge of both, whose dominion is over all the princes of the earth. I shall appeal to him to arbitrate between us ; and would request you, madam, to remember, that in his sight nothing can be disguised by the paint and artifices of the world.” She proceeds to recapitulate the injuries she had sustained from Elizabeth ever since she came to the throne of Scotland.—reminding her, that she had busied herself in corrupting her subjects and encouraging rebellion : that, when imprisoned in Loch-Leven, she had assured her, through her ambassador, Throckmorton, that any deed of abdication she might subscribe, was altogether invalid ; yet that, upon her escape, though she at first allured her by fair promises into England, she had no sooner arrived there, than she was thrown into captivity, in which she had been kept alive only to suffer a thousand deaths : that she had tried for years to accommodate herself to that captivity, to reduce the number of her attendants, to make no complaint of the plainness of her diet, and the want of ordinary exercise, to live quietly and peaceably, as

if she were of a far inferior rank, and even to abstain from correspondence with her friends in Scotland; but that the only return she had experienced for her good intentions was neglect, calumny, and increasing severity. "To take away every foundation of dispute and misunderstanding between us," Mary continues, "I invite you, madam, to examine into every report against me, and to grant to every person the liberty of accusing me publicly, and while I freely solicit you to take every advantage to my prejudice, I only request that you will not condemn me without a hearing. If it be proved that I have done evil, let me suffer for it, if I am guiltless, do not take upon yourself the responsibility, before God and man, of punishing me unjustly. Let not my enemies be afraid that I am any longer at dispossessing them of their usurped authority. I look now to no other kingdom but that of Heaven, and would wish to prepare myself for it, knowing that my sorrows will never cease till I arrive there." She then speaks of her son, and entreats that Elizabeth would interfere in his behalf. She concludes with requesting, that some honourable churchman should be sent to her, to remind her daily of the road she had yet to finish, and to instruct her how to pursue it, according to her religion, in which she would wish to die as she had lived. "I am very weak and helpless," she adds, "and do beseech you to give me some solitary mark of your friendship. Bind your own relations to yourself, let me have the happiness of knowing, before I die, that a reconciliation has taken place between us, and that, when my soul quits my body, it will not be

necessary for it to carry complaints of your injustice to the throne of my Creator." * The only result which this letter produced, was a remonstrance from Elizabeth, which she sent by Beal, the Clerk of her Privy Council, against what she was pleased to term such unnecessary complaints. †

In Scotland, meanwhile, the event of the greatest consequence which had taken place, was the trial and execution of the Earl of Morton, for having been *art and part* in the murder of Darnley. His intolerable tyranny having rendered him odious to the greater part of the nobility, and the young King having nearly arrived at an age when he could act and think for himself, Morton had found it necessary, very unwillingly, to retire from office. He did not however desist, even then, from carrying on numerous intrigues. It was rumoured, among other things, that he intended seizing the King's person, and conveying him captive into England. Whether there was any truth in this report or not, it is certain that James became anxious to get rid of so factious and dangerous a nobleman. The only plausible expedient which occurred to him, or his Council, was, to accuse Morton of a share in

* See the whole of this letter in WHITTAKER, vol. iv. p. 399. Camden translated it into Latin, and introduced it into his History, but he published only an abridged edition of it, which Dr Stuart has paraphrased and abridged still farther; and Mademoiselle de Kerallio has translated Dr Stuart's paraphrased abridgment into French, supposing it to have been the original letter. STUART, vol. ii. p. 164, KERALLIO, *Histoire d'Elisabeth*, vol. v. p. 349.

† CHALMERS, vol. i. p. 395.

Bothwell's guilt. His trial does not seem to have been conducted with any very scrupulous regard to justice. But a jury of his peers was allowed him ; and they, having heard the evidence in support of the charges, found him guilty of having been in the counsel or knowledge of the conspiracy against the late King ; of concealing it ; and of being *art* and *part* in the murder. It was to the latter clause alone of this verdict that Morton objected. He confessed that he knew of the intended murder, and had concealed it, but positively disclaimed having been *art* and *part* in it. This seems, however, to have been a distinction without a difference. On the 1st of June, 1581, he was condemned to the block, and next day the sentence was executed. The instrument called the *Maiden*, which was used to behead him, he had himself brought into Scotland, and he was the first to suffer by it. His head was placed on the public gaol at Edinburgh, and his body buried privately by a few menials. He had been universally hated, and there was hardly one who lamented his death.

CHAPTER XI.

MARY'S TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION.

THE closing scene of Mary's life was now rapidly approaching. Debilitated as she was by her long confinement, and the many painful thoughts which had been incessantly preying on her peace of mind, it is not likely that she could have long survived, even though she had been left unmolested within the walls of her prison. But she had been the source of too much jealousy and uneasiness to Elizabeth, to be either forgotten or forgiven. Weak as she was in body, and destitute alike of wealth and power, her name had nevertheless continued a watchword and a tower of strength, not only to all her own friends throughout Christendom, but to all who were disposed, from whatever cause, to stir up civil dissensions and broils in England. Scarcely a conspiracy against Elizabeth's person and authority had been contrived for the last sixteen years, with which the Queen of Scots was not supposed to be either remotely or immediately connected. Nor is it to be denied, that appeals were made to her sufferings and cruel treatment, to give plausibility to many an enterprize which was anti-con-

stitutional in its object, and criminal in its execution. Other less objectionable undertakings Mary herself expressly countenanced; for she always openly declared, that, being detained a captive by force, she considered herself fully entitled to use every means that offered to effect her escape. She acted solely upon a principle of self-defence. When a nobleman of influence like Norfolk, or a man of integrity like Lesley, promised to arrange a scheme for her release, it would have been madness in her not to have listened to their proposals, or to have refused to act in concert with them. She had been detained in strict ward in a realm into which she had come voluntarily, or rather into which she had been seduced by specious promises and offers of assistance; and common sense and common justice alike called out, that she had a right to free herself, if possible, from her unwarrantable imprisonment. It is true, that many of her attempts, mixed up as they were with the interested and ambitious projects of others, gave Elizabeth no little inconvenience and anxiety. But this was the price that sovereign should have laid her account with paying, for the pleasure of seeing the Queen of Scots a helpless hostage in her hands.

To discourage the numerous plots which were formed, either by Mary's real or pretended adherents, a number of persons of the first rank in the kingdom entered into a solemn "Association," in which they bound themselves to defend Elizabeth against all her enemies, "and if any violence should be offered to her life, in order to favour the title of any pretender to the crown, not only never to allow or acknowledge the person or

persons *by* whom, or *for* whom such a detestable act should be committed, but, as they should answer to the Eternal God, to prosecute such person or persons to the death, and pursue them with the utmost vengeance to their overthrow and extirpation." The Parliament, which met in 1585, sanctioned this Association ; and, alarmed by the recent discovery of a fanatical design, on the part of a Roman Catholic, to assassinate the Queen, because she had been excommunicated by the Pope, they passed an Act, by which they determined, with the most arbitrary injustice, " That if any rebellion should be excited in the kingdom, or any thing attempted to the hurt of her Majesty's person, *by* or *for* any person pretending a title to the crown, the Queen should empower twenty-four persons, by a commission under the Great Seal, to examine into and pass sentence upon such offences ; and that, after judgment given, a proclamation should be issued, declaring the persons whom they found guilty excluded from any right to the crown ; and her Majesty's subjects might lawfully pursue every one of them to the death ; and that, if any design against the life of the Queen took effect, the persons *by* or *for* whom such a detestable act was executed, and their issues, being in any wise assenting or privy to the same, should be disabled for ever from pretending to the crown, and be pursued to death, in the like manner." That the persons *by* whom any of these faults were committed, should be punished, was in strict accordance with equity ; but that the persons *for* whom they might be supposed to be done, should be considered as equally involved in their guilt, was alike contrary

to law and reason. The discontented were forming plots every year against Elizabeth, and with the very existence of many of these plots, Mary was unacquainted; yet, by this statute, she was made answerable for all of them. There is little wonder, therefore, if she considered it only a forerunner of greater severities; and it was not long before an occasion occurred which afforded a plausible pretext for making a practical application of it.

In the year 1586, three English priests, who had been educated at a Catholic seminary at Rheims, and over whose minds the most illiberal superstition held unlimited sway, conceived the belief, that the bull of excommunication, issued by Pope Pius V against Elizabeth, had been dictated under the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost. They looked, consequently, upon that sovereign with a fanatical hatred, which they determined, if possible, to gratify. Having contrived to win over one or two others to their own way of thinking, and, in particular, an officer of the name of Savage, and another priest of the name of Ballard, they sent them into England to disseminate their principles among all on whose co-operation they thought they could depend; and, in the meantime, they set on foot a negotiation with the Spanish ambassador in Paris, through whose means they hoped to obtain the assistance of a foreign force. He gave them a promise of encouragement, only on condition that they secured a strong party in England, and that means were taken to remove Elizabeth. Among the first persons to whom Savage and Ballard communicated their designs, was Anthony Babington,

a young gentleman of estate and fortune in Derbyshire. Having resided for some time in France, he had formed an acquaintance with the Archbishop of Glasgow, and from him had heard so many eulogiums on Mary, that he became inspired with the most enthusiastic feelings in her favour, and cherished a romantic desire of performing some exploit which might secure for him her gratitude and esteem. By his advice and assistance, a knowledge of the conspiracy was intrusted to a number of persons of respectability of the Roman Catholic persuasion; and a secret correspondence was set on foot with the Queen of Scots, through the medium of her secretaries Naw and Curl. Mary, however, was not disposed to give the conspirators much encouragement. She had been now so long accustomed to despair, and was so convinced of the fallaciousness of hope, that she was almost inclined to turn away from it, as from something painful. She had grown indifferent about her future fate, and had endeavoured to resign herself to the prospect of ending her days in captivity. Besides, she had the recent Act of Parliament before her eyes; and she was well aware, that though she did nothing but attempt an escape, she would be held responsible for the whole plot, whatever its extent or criminality might be. Nevertheless, she authorized her secretaries to write once or twice to Babington and his associates; but that she gave the conspirators any support in their designs against Elizabeth, was never proved, and is not to be believed. It was indeed with no little difficulty that Mary was able to hold any epistolary communication at all

with her friends, so strictly was she watched by Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury, to whose custody she had been committed, and who kept her in the Castle of Chartley in Staffordshire. Babington was obliged to bribe one of the servants, who conveyed to the Queen or her secretaries, the letters which they deposited in a hole in the wall, and put the answers into the same place, from which they took them privately, when it was dark.

Every thing seemed to proceed smoothly, and all the necessary arrangements were now concluded. The different conspirators had different tasks allotted to them: by some a rebellion was to be excited in several parts of the kingdom at once; six others bound themselves by solemn oaths to assassinate Elizabeth, and Babington himself undertook to head a strong party, which he was to lead to the rescue of the Queen of Scots. Nor were they to be destitute of foreign assistance, as soon as the first blow was struck, and the first symptoms of internal commotion appeared. So inspired were these infatuated men with an idea of the glory of the revolution they were about to achieve, that they had medals prepared, representing themselves assembled together, with Babington in the centre, and bearing the motto,—*“ Hi mihi sunt comites quos ipsa pericula ducunt.”* But in their fancied security and enthusiasm, they were ignorant that every step they took was known to Elizabeth and her minister Walsingham, and that they were advancing only to the foot of their own scaffold. Through the treachery of one of their own associates, of the name of Polly, one of Walsingham's accredited spies, who had

joined them only that he might betray them, all their proceedings were discovered, and attentively watched. Savage, Ballard, and the other four who were bent on the murder of Elizabeth, had already come up to London, and were lying in wait for the first favourable opportunity, to execute their purpose; and, as Walsingham was anxious to have complete evidence of their guilt in his possession before apprehending them, they were allowed to remain unmolested for some time. The Queen, however, fearing for her personal safety, at length insisted on their being seized, remarking, that, "in not taking heed of a danger when she might, she seemed more to tempt God, than to hope in him." Ballard was first arrested; his accomplices, struck with astonishment and dismay, fled out of London; but, after lurking for some days in woods and byways, cutting off their hair, disfiguring their faces, and submitting to every kind of deprivation and hardship to avoid the hot search which was made for them, they were at length taken; and so much had the public feeling been excited against them, that, when they were brought into London, the bells of the city were rung, and bonfires kindled in the streets. Walsingham had arranged his measures so effectively, that all the other conspirators, who were scattered throughout the kingdom, were also seized and brought to the capital within a very short time. Fourteen of the principal inventors of the plot were immediately tried, condemned, and executed. No mercy whatever was shewn to them; for Elizabeth seldom forgave her enemies.*

* They were hanged on two successive days, seven on each day; and the first seven, among whom were Ballard,

But, in the death of these men, only one part of Elizabeth's vengeance was gratified. The wrongs and the merits of the Queen of Scots had been the means of imparting to this conspiracy a degree of respectability; and she, therefore, was regarded as the chief culprit. Walsingham had ascertained, that communications of some sort or other had passed between Mary's secretaries and the conspirators; and before she was aware that Babington's plot had been discovered, he sent down Sir Thomas Gorges to Chartley to take her by surprise, and endeavour to discover some additional grounds of suspicion. Sir Thomas arrived just as she was about to ride out in a wheeled carriage which had been procured for her, and, without permitting her to alight, he rudely told her of Babington's fate; then, entering the Castle, he committed Naw and Curl into custody; and, breaking into the private cabinets of the Queen, he seized all her letters and papers, and sent them off immediately to Elizabeth. He took possession, too, of all her money, "lest she should use it for corruption." She herself was not allowed to return to Chartley for some days, but conveyed about from one castle to another. When she was at length brought back, and saw how she had been plundered in her absence, she could not refrain from weeping bitterly. "There are two things, however," she said in the midst of her tears, "which they cannot take away, — my birth and my religion."*

Babington, and Savage, were cut down before they were dead, embowelled, and then quartered. — STRANGUAGE, p. 177.

* STRANGUAGE, p. 176; CHALMERS, vol. 1. p 427, et seq.

In the excited state of feeling which then prevailed in the nation, and the fears which her subjects entertained for the safety of their sovereign, Elizabeth perceived that she might safely proceed to those extremities against Mary which she had so long meditated, but which considerations of selfish prudence had hitherto prevented her from putting into execution. She asserted, that, not only her own life, but the religion and peace of the country were at stake, and that either the Queen of Scots must be removed, or the whole realm given up as a sacrifice. By her own injustice, she had involved herself in inconveniencies; and as soon as she began to feel their effects, she pretended to be indignant at the innocent victim of her tyranny. But it was not without difficulty that she brought all her ministers to think on this subject precisely as she herself did. Many of them did not hesitate to state their conviction, that Mary had neither set on foot nor countenanced Babington's plot, and that, however the conspirators might have interwoven her name with it, she could not be punished for what she could not have prevented. Besides, they urged that she was not likely to live long at any rate, and that it would be more for the honour of the kingdom to leave her unmolested for the short remainder of her days. Nevertheless, by Elizabeth's exertions, and those of Walsingham, who had always courted the favour of his mistress by the most persevering persecution of Mary, opposition was at length silenced, and the trial of the Queen of Scots finally determined. To give as much dignity, and as great a semblance of justice as possible, to a proceeding so unwarrantable, as that of calling upon her to answer for an imaginary

offence, forty of the most illustrious persons in the kingdom were appointed commissioners and were intrusted with the charge of hearing the cause, and deciding upon the question of life or death.

On the 25th of September, 1586, Mary had been taken from Chartley to the Castle of Fotheringay, in Northamptonshire, where she was more strictly watched than ever by Sir Amias Paulet, who was a harsh and inflexible gaoler. On the 11th of October, Elizabeth's commissioners arrived, the great hall of the Castle having been previously fitted up as a court-room for their reception. They would have proceeded with the trial immediately; but a difficulty occurred, which, though they scarcely could have failed to anticipate it, they were not prepared to obviate. Mary refused to acknowledge their jurisdiction, denying that they possessed any right either to arraign or try her. "I am no subject to Elizabeth," she said, "but an independent Queen as well as she; and I will consent to nothing unbecoming the majesty of a crowned head. Worn out as my body is, my mind is not yet so enfeebled as to make me forget what is due to myself, my ancestors, and my country. Whatever the laws of England may be, I am not subject to them; for I came into the realm only to ask assistance from a sister Queen, and I have been detained an unwilling prisoner." For two days the commissioners laboured in vain to induce Mary to appear before them, and as she assigned reasons for refusing, which it was impossible for fair argument to invalidate, recourse was at length had to threats. They told her, that they would proceed with the trial, whether she

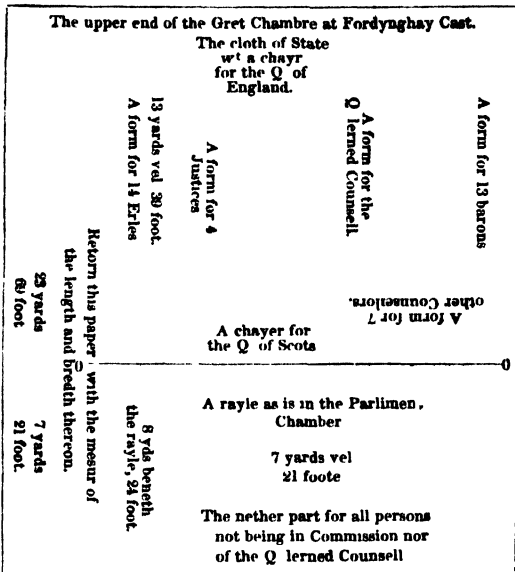
consented to be present or not ; and that, though they were anxious to hear her justification, they would, nevertheless, conclude that she was guilty, and pronounce accordingly, if she refused to defend herself. It would have been well had Mary allowed them to take their own way ; but, conscious that she was accused unjustly, she could not bear to think that she excited suspicion, by refusing the opportunity of establishing her innocence. Actuated by this honourable motive, she at length yielded, after solemnly protesting that she did not, and never would, acknowledge the authority which Elizabeth arrogated over her.

On the 14th of October the trial commenced. The upper half of the great hall of Fotheringay Castle was railed off, and at the higher end was placed a chair of state, under a canopy, for the Queen of England. Upon both sides of the room benches were arranged in order, where the Lord Chancellor Bromley, the Lord Treasurer Burchleigh, fourteen Earls, thirteen Barons, and Knights and Members of the Privy Council, sat. In the centre was a table, at which the Lord Chief Justice, several doctors of the civil law, Popham, the Queen's attorney, her solicitors, sergeants, and notaries, took their places. At the foot of this table, and immediately opposite Elizabeth's chair of state, a chair, without any canopy, was placed for the Queen of Scots. Behind, was the rail which ran across the hall, the lower part of which was fitted up for the accommodation of persons who were not in the commission.*

* In the first series of ELLIS'S Collection of *Original Letters illustrative of English History*, there is given a fac-

There was never, perhaps, throughout the whole of Mary's life, an occasion on which she appeared to greater advantage than this. In the presence

simile of the plan, in Lord Burleigh's hand, for the arrangement to be observed at the trial of the Queen of Scots. As it is interesting, and brings the whole scene more vividly before us, the following explanatory copy of it will be perused with interest.



Below, in another hand, apparently in answer to Lord Burleigh's direction, is the following —

“ This will be most convenientlye in the greatt Cham-
ber; the lengthe whereof is in all xxij. yerds with the

of all the pomp, learning, and talent of England, she stood alone and undaunted; evincing, in the modest dignity of her bearing, a mind conscious of its own integrity, and superior to the malice of fortune. Elizabeth's craftiest lawyers and ablest politicians were assembled to probe her to the quick; to press home every argument against her, which ingenuity could devise and eloquence embellish; to dazzle her with a blaze of erudition, or involve her in a maze of technical perplexities. Mary had no counsellor—no adviser—no friend. Her very papers, to which she might have wished to refer, had been taken from her; and there was not one to plead her cause, or defend her innocence. Yet was she not dismayed. She knew that she had a higher Judge than Elizabeth; and that, great as was the array of Lords and Barons who appeared against her, posterity was greater than they, and that to its decision all things would be finally referred. Her bodily infirmities imparted only a greater lustre to her mental pre-eminence, and not in all the fascinating splendour of her youth and beauty—not on the morning of her first bridal day, when Paris rang with acclamations in her praise—was Mary Stuart so much to be admired, as when, weak and worn out, she stood calmly before the myrmidons of a rival Queen, to hear and refute their unjust accusations, her eye

windowe whereof there may be fr. the neither part
 beneth the barre vij. yerds and the rest for the upper
 parte. The breadeth of the chamber is vij. yerds.

“ There is another chambre for the Lords to dyne in,
 the lengthe is xiiij. yerds; the breadeth vij. yeides; and
 the deppeth ij. yerdes dm.”

radiant once more with the brilliancy of earlier years, and the placid benignity of a serene conscience lending to her countenance an undying grace.

Elizabeth's attorney-general opened the pleadings. He began by referring to the act of Parliament, in which it was made capital to be the person *for* whom any design was undertaken against the life of the Queen. He then described the late conspiracy, and attempted to establish Mary's connection with it, by producing copies of letters which, he alleged, she had written to Babington himself, and several of his accomplices. To these, having added letters from Babington to her, and the declarations and confessions which had been extorted from her secretaries, he asserted that the case was made out, and wound up his speech with a laboured display of legal knowledge and forensic oratory.

Mary was now called upon for her defence; and she entered on it with composure and dignity. She denied all connection with Babington's conspiracy, in so far as he entertained any designs injurious to Elizabeth's safety or the welfare of her kingdom: She allowed that the letters which he was said to have addressed to her might be genuine, but it had not been proved that she ever received them: She maintained that her own letters were all garbled or fabricated: * that, as to the confessions of her secre-

* As an example of some of the mistakes which the fabricators of these letters committed, it may be mentioned, that, in one of them, dated the 27th of July, 1586, Mary is made to say.—“ I am not yet brought so low but that I am able to handle my cross-bow for killing a deer, and to

taries, they had been extorted by fear, and were, therefore, not to be credited; but that, if they were in any particulars true, these particulars must have been disclosed at the expense of the oath of fidelity they had come under to her when they entered her service, and that men who would perjure themselves in one instance, were not to be trusted in any. She objected, besides, that they had not been confronted with her, according to an express law enacted in the thirteenth year of Elizabeth's reign, "that no one should be arraigned for intending the destruction of the Prince's life, but by the testimony and oath of two lawful witnesses, *to be produced face to face before him*:" She maintained, that, even supposing she were to allow the authenticity of many of the papers adduced against her, they would not prove her guilty of any crime; for she was surely doing no wrong, if, after a calamitous captivity of nineteen years, in which she had lost for ever her youth, her health, and her happiness, she made one last effort to regain the liberty of which she had been so unfairly robbed; but that, as to scheming against the life of the Queen, her sister, it was an infamy she abhorred:—"I would disdain," she said, "to purchase all that

gallop after the hounds on horseback, as this afternoon I intend to do, within the limits of this park, and could otherwise if it were permitted." Yet on the 3d of June previous, Sir Amias Paulet informed Walsingham,— "The Scottish Queen is getting a little strength, and has been out in her coach, and is sometimes carried in a chair to one of the adjoining ponds to see the diversion of duck-hunting; but she is not able to walk without support on each side." See CHALMERS, vol. 1. p. 426.

is most valuable on earth, by the assassination of the meanest of the human race; and, worn out, as I now am, with cares and sufferings, the prospect of a crown is not so inviting, that I should ruin my soul in order to obtain it. Neither am I a stranger to the feelings of humanity, nor unacquainted with the duties of religion, and it is my nature to be more inclined to the devotion of Esther, than to the sword of Judith. If ever I have given consent by my words, or even by my thoughts, to any attempt against the life of the Queen of England, far from declining the judgment of men, I shall not even pray for the mercy of God."*

Elizabeth's advocates were not a little surprised at the eloquent and able manner in which Mary conducted her defence. They had expected to have every thing their own way, and to gain an easy victory over one unacquainted with the forms of legal procedure, and unable to cope with their own professional talents. But they were disappointed and baffled; and, in order to maintain their ground even plausibly, they were obliged to protract the proceedings for two whole days. Nor, after all, did the commissioners venture to pronounce judgment, but adjourned the court to the Star-Chamber at Westminster, where they knew that Mary would not be present, and where, consequently, they would have no opposition to fear.† On the 25th of October,

* CAMDEN, p. 519, et seq.; STRANGUAGI, p. 192, et seq.; ROBERTSON, book vii; STUART, vol. II. p. 268, et seq.

† It deserves notice, that no particulars of the trial at Fotheringay have been recorded, either by Mary herself,

they assembled there, and having again examined the secretaries, Naw and Curl, who appear to have been persons of little fidelity or constancy, and who confirmed their former declarations, a unanimous judgment was delivered, that "Mary, commonly called Queen of Scots and dowager of France, was accessory to Babington's conspiracy, and had compassed and imagined divers matters within the realm of England, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the royal person of Elizabeth, in opposition to the statute framed for her protection." *

Elizabeth ordered this verdict to be laid before her Parliament, which assembled a few days afterwards; and, at Walsingham's instigation, its legality was not only confirmed, but the Lord Chancellor was sent up with an address to the Queen, in which, after stating their conviction that her security was incompatible with Mary's life, both Houses requested that she would give the sentence effect, by ordering her immediate execution. Elizabeth, though secretly rejoicing that the matter had now come to a crisis, nevertheless affected to be greatly perplexed how to act. She declared, that, if she were not afraid of endangering the welfare of her people, she would freely pardon Mary for all her treasonable practices; and she besought the House to endeavour to discover some less severe method of

or any of her friends, but are all derived from the narrative of two of Elizabeth's notaries. If Mary's triumph was so decided, even by their account, it may easily be conceived that it would have appeared still more complete, had it been described by less partial writers.

* CAMDEN, p. 525, et seq.

procedure. The Parliament, as she expected, replied firmly, that they could not recommend any more lenient measure; and, in the cant of the times, called to Elizabeth's remembrance the examples of God's vengeance upon Saul for sparing Agag, and on Ahab for sparing Benhadad. Elizabeth still affected to be irresolute; and, indeed, it was not unlikely that she was so in reality; for, though anxious to have Mary removed, she was not so hardened and insane as not to know, that, however it might be sanctioned by the world, murder was as criminal, and as contrary to the unchanging code of moral justice, when commanded by a Queen, as when perpetrated by a peasant. She desired that her Parliament should be content for the present "with an answer without an answer." "If I should say, that I will not do what you request, I might say perhaps more than I intend; and if I should say I will do it, I might plunge myself into as much inconvenience as you endeavour to preserve me from." All this manœuvring was for the purpose of conveying to the nation an impression of her extreme sensibility, and generous hesitation.

Another reason why Elizabeth did not choose to be over-precipitate, was her fear of giving any deadly offence to foreign courts. She ordered the sentence against Mary to be published both throughout her own kingdom and abroad, and she waited anxiously to observe the sensation which it should create, and the steps that might be taken in consequence. She needed not, however, to have given herself much uneasiness upon this score. Henry III of France had never been more than a very lukewarm advocate for the

Queen of Scots, the remonstrances he occasionally made in her behalf being rather for the sake of appearances, than because he was anxious that they should be successful. On the present occasion, startled by the imminence of his cousin's danger, he seems to have been a little more in earnest, and ordered his ambassador to make as forcible a representation as possible against the iniquitous severity that was intended. But Elizabeth knew that his rage would evaporate in words, and paid little attention to the harangue. In Scotland, the young King, James, was counselled by ministers who had sold themselves to England, and Elizabeth was well aware that, though he might bark, he dared not bite. Besides, the sentiments regarding his mother, which had been carefully instilled into him from his earliest years, were not such as were likely to inspire him with any decided wish to protect and avenge her. He knew her only politically, not personally. He had been constantly surrounded by her deadliest enemies; and the lesson which Buchanan taught him daily, was a lesson of hatred towards his only surviving parent. His succession, also, to the English crown, greatly depended on the friendship of Elizabeth; and she was able, in consequence, to maintain an ascendancy over him, which he dared not venture to resist. He was not, however, so entirely destitute of all ordinary filial sentiments as to consent to remain a quiet spectator of his mother's execution. "His opinion is," said his worthless minion, the Master of Gray, "that it cannot stand with his honour to be a consenter to take his mother's life; but he does not care how strictly she be kept, and is

content that all her old knavish servants should be hanged.* To prevent, if possible, this catastrophe, "which did not stand with his honour," he sent the Master of Gray and Sir Robert Melville as his ambassadors to London, to press his objections upon the attention of Elizabeth. The latter was true to the cause in which he had been sent, and his remonstrances were vigorous and sincere. But Gray, wishing to curry favour with Elizabeth, privately assured her that she had no cause to fear the King's resentment, for he was of an irresolute character and timid disposition, and that, whatever might happen, he would never think of embroiling himself in a disastrous war with England. Elizabeth listened with evident satisfaction to these artful insinuations; and desired her minister, Walsingham, to inform the Scottish monarch, that Mary's doom was already fixed by the decision of the nation, and that his mistress, the Queen, had it not in her power to save her. James received this intelligence with grief, but not with the spirit that became the only child of Mary Stuart. Instead of putting himself at the head of an army, and marching into the heart of England, he was contented to communicate his mother's unfortunate condition to his subjects, and order prayers to be said for her in all the churches,—“that it might please God to enlighten her with the light of his truth, and to protect her from the danger which was hanging over her.”

In the meantime, messengers had been sent to the Queen of Scots, to report to her the sentence

* MURDIN, p. 569.

of the commissioners, and to prepare her for the consequences which might be expected to follow. So far from receiving the news with dismay, Mary solemnly raised her hands to heaven, and thanked God that she was so soon to be relieved from her troubles. They were not yet, however, at a close; and even during the short remainder of her life, she was to be still farther insulted. Her keepers, Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury, refused any longer to treat her with the reverence and respect due to her rank and sex. The canopy of state, which she had always ordered to be put up in her apartment wherever she went, was taken down, and every badge of royalty removed. It was intimated to her, that she was no longer to be regarded as a princess, but as a criminal; and the persons who came into her presence stood before her without uncovering their heads, or paying her any obeisance. The attendance of a Catholic priest was refused, and an Episcopalian bishop sent in his stead, to point out and correct the errors of her ways. Mary bore all these indignities with a calm spirit, which rose superior to them, and which proved their unworthiness, by bringing them into contrast with her own elevation of mind. "In despite of your sovereign and her subservient judges," said she, "I will die a Queen. My royal character is indelible, and I will surrender it, with my spirit, to the Almighty God, from whom I received it, and to whom my honour and my innocence are fully known."* In December, 1586, she wrote her last letter to

Elizabeth ; and though from an unfriended prisoner to an envied and powerful sovereign, it evinces so much magnanimity and calm consciousness of mental serenity, that it is impossible to peruse it without confessing Elizabeth's inferiority, and Mary's triumph. It was couched in the following terms :—

“ Madam, I thank God from the bottom of my heart, that, by the sentence which has been passed against me, He is about to put an end to my tedious pilgrimage. I would not wish it prolonged, though it were in my power, having had enough of time to experience its bitterness. I write at present only to make three last requests, which, as I can expect no favour from your implacable ministers, I should wish to owe to your Majesty, and to no other. *First*, As in England I cannot hope to be buried according to the solemnities of the Catholic church, (the religion of the ancient Kings, your ancestors and mine, being now changed,) and as in Scotland they have already violated the ashes of my progenitors ; I have to request, that, as soon as my enemies have bathed their hands in my innocent blood, my domestics may be allowed to inter my body in some consecrated ground ; and, above all, that they may be permitted to carry it to France, where the bones of the Queen, my most honoured mother, repose : thus, that poor frame, which has never enjoyed repose so long as it has been joined to my soul, may find it at last when they will be separated. *Second*, As I dread the tyranny of the harsh men, to whose power you have abandoned me, I entreat your Majesty that

I may not be executed in secret, but in the presence of my servants and other persons, who may bear testimony of my faith and fidelity to the true church, and guard the last hours of my life, and my last sighs, from the false rumours which my adversaries may spread abroad. *Third*, I request that my domestics, who have served me through so much misery, and with so much constancy, may be allowed to retire, without molestation, wherever they choose, to enjoy for the remainder of their lives the small legacies which my poverty has enabled me to bequeath to them. I conjure you, Madam, by the blood of Jesus Christ, by our consanguinity, by the memory of Henry VII, our common father, and by the royal title which I carry with me to death, not to refuse me those reasonable demands, but to assure me, by a letter under your own hand, that you will comply with them; and I shall then die as I have lived, your affectionate sister and prisoner, MARY, Queen of Scots." *

Whether Elizabeth ever answered this letter, does not appear; but it produced so little effect, that epistles from her to Sir Amias Paulet still exist, which prove that, in her anxiety to avoid taking upon herself the responsibility of Mary's death, she wished to have her privately assassinated or poisoned. Paulet, however, though a harsh and violent man, positively refused to sanction so nefarious a scheme. Yet in the very act of instigating murder, Elizabeth could close her eyes against her own iniquity, and affect

* JEBB, vol. ii. p. 91.

indignation at the alleged offences of another.* But perceiving, at length, that no alternative remained, she ordered her secretary Davidson to bring her the warrant for Mary's execution, and, after perusing it, she deliberately affixed her signature. She then desired him to carry it to Walsingham, saying, with an ironical smile, and

* TYTLER, vol. ii. p. 319, et seq., and p. 403; CHALMERS, vol. i. p. 447. Tytler gives a strong and just exposition of the shameful nature of the Queen's correspondence with Paulet. The reader cannot fail to peruse the following passage with interest. —

“ The letters written by Elizabeth to Sir Amias Paulet, Queen Mary's keeper in her prison at Fotheringay Castle, disclose to us the true sentiments of her heart, and her steady purpose to have Mary privately assassinated. Paulet, a rude but an honest man, had behaved with great insolence and harshness to Queen Mary, and treated her with the utmost disrespect. He approached her person without any ceremony, and usually came covered into her presence, of which she had complained to Queen Elizabeth. He was therefore thought a fit person for executing the above purpose. The following letter from Elizabeth displays a strong picture of her artifice and flattery, in order to raise his expectations to the highest pitch —

‘ TO MY LOVING AMIAS.

‘ *Amias, my most faithful and careful servant*, God reward thee treblefold for the most troublesome charge so well discharged. If you knew, *my Amias*, how kindly, beside most dutifully, my grateful heart accepts and praiseth your spotless endeavours and faithful actions, performed in so dangerous and crafty a charge, it would ease your travail, and rejoice your heart; in which I charge you to carry this most instant thought, that I cannot balance in any weight of my judgment the value that I prize you at, and suppose no treasure can countervail such a faith. And you shall condemn me in that fault, that yet I never committed, if I reward not such desert, yea let me lack

in a "merry tone," that she feared he would die of grief when he saw it. Walsingham sent the warrant to the chancellor, who affixed the Great Seal to it, and despatched it by Beal, with a commission to the Earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby, and others, to see it put in execution. Davidson was afterwards made the victim of Elizabeth's

when I most need it, if I acknowledge not such a merit, *non omnibus datum.*'*

"Having thus buoyed up his hopes and wishes, Walsingham, in his letters to Paulet and Drury, mentions the proposal in plain words to them 'We find, by a speech lately made by her Majesty, that she doth note in you both a lack of that care and zeal for her service, that she looketh for at your hands, in that you have not in all this time (of yourselves, without any other provocation,) found out some way to shorten the life of the Scots Queen, considering the great peril she is hourly subject to, so long as the said Queen shall live.'—In a Postscript 'I pray you, let both this and the enclosed be committed to the fire, as your answer shall be, after it has been communicated to her Majesty, for her satisfaction.' In a subsequent letter 'I pray you let me know what you have done with my letters, because they are not fit to be kept, that I may satisfy her Majesty therein, who might otherwise take offence thereat.'

"What a cruel snare is here laid for this faithful servant! He is tempted to commit a murder, and, at the

* What a picture have we here of the heroine of England! Wooing a faithful servant to commit a clandestine murder, which she herself durst not avow! The portrait of King John, in the same predicament, practising with Hubert to murder his nephew, then under his charge, shews how intimately the great Poet was acquainted with nature

O my gentle Hubert,
We owe thee much! Within this wall of flesh,
There is a soul counts thee her creditor,
And with advantage means to pay thy love,
And, my good friend, thy voluntary oath
Lives in this bosom dearly cherished

artifice, — who, to complete the solemn farce she had been playing, pretended he had obeyed her orders too quickly, and doomed him in consequence to perpetual imprisonment. *

same time, has orders from his sovereign to destroy the warrant for doing it. He was too wise and too honourable to do either the one or the other. Had he fallen into the snare, we may guess, from the fate of Davidson, what would have been his. Paulet, in return, thus writes to Walsingham: — ‘ Your letters of yesterday coming to my hand this day, I would not fail, according to your directions, to return my answer with all possible speed, which I shall deliver unto you with great grief and bitterness of mind, in that I am so unhappy, as living to see this unhappy day, in which I am required, by direction of my most gracious sovereign, to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth. My goods and life are at her Majesty’s disposition, and I am ready to lose them the next morrow, if it shall please her. But God forbid I should make so foul a shipwreck of my conscience, or leave so great a blot to my poor posterity, as shed blood without law or warrant.’ ”

* MACKENZIE’S *Lives of the Scottish Writers*, vol. iii. p. 336; ROBERTSON, vol. ii. p. 194, CHALMERS, vol. i. p. 449.

CHAPTER XII.

MARY'S DEATH, AND CHARACTER.

ON the 7th of February, 1587, the Earls, who had been commissioned to superintend Mary's execution, arrived at Fotheringay. After dining together, they sent to inform the Queen, that they desired to speak with her. Mary was not well, and in bed; but as she was given to understand that it was an affair of moment, she rose, and received them in her own chamber. Her six waiting maids, together with her physician, her surgeon, and apothecary, and four or five male servants, were in attendance. The Earl of Shrewsbury, and the others associated with him, standing before her respectfully, with their heads uncovered, communicated, as gently as possible, the disagreeable duty with which they had been intrusted. Beal was then desired to read the warrant for Mary's execution, to which she listened patiently; and making the sign of the cross, she said, that, though she was sorry it came from Elizabeth, she had long been expecting the mandate for her death, and was not unprepared to die. "For many years," she added, "I have lived in continual affliction, unable to do good to

myself or to those who are dear to me ;—and as I shall depart innocent of the crime which has been laid to my charge, I cannot see why I should shrink from the prospect of immortality.” She then laid her hand on the New Testament, and solemnly protested that she had never either devised, compassed, or consented to the death of the Queen of England. The Earl of Kent, with more zeal than wisdom, objected to the validity of this protestation, because it was made on a Catholic version of the Bible ; but Mary replied, that it was the version, in the truth of which she believed, and that her oath should be therefore only the less liable to suspicion. She was advised to hold some godly conversation with the Dean of Peterborough, whom they had brought with them to console her ; but she declined the offer, declaring that she would die in the faith in which she had lived, and beseeching them to allow her to see her Catholic confessor, who had been for some time debarred her presence. This, however, they, in their turn, positively refused.*

Other topics were introduced, and casually discussed. Before leaving the world, Mary felt a natural curiosity to be informed upon several subjects of public interest, which, though connected with herself, and generally known, had not penetrated the walls of her prison. She asked if no foreign princes had interfered in her behalf?—if her secretaries were still alive?—if it was intended to punish them as well as her?—if

* *La Mort de la Roynie d'Ecosse*, in JEBB, vol. ii p. 611.

they brought no letters from Elizabeth or others? — and above all, if her son, the King of Scotland, was well, and had evinced any interest in the fate of a mother who had always loved and never wronged him? Being satisfied upon these points, she proceeded to inquire when her execution was to take place? Shrewsbury replied, that it was fixed for the next morning at eight. She appeared startled and agitated for a few minutes, saying, that it was more sudden than she had anticipated, and that she had yet to make her will, which she had hitherto deferred, in the expectation that the papers and letters which had been forcibly taken from her, would be restored. She soon, however, regained her self-possession; and informing the commissioners that she desired to be left alone to make her preparations, she dismissed them for the night.

During the whole of this scene, astonishment, indignation, and grief, overwhelmed her attendants, all of whom were devoted to her. As soon as the Earls and their retinue retired, they gave full vent to their feelings, and Mary herself was the only one who remained calm and undisturbed. Bourgoine, her physician, loudly exclaimed against the iniquitous precipitancy with which she was to be hurried out of existence. More than a few hours' notice was allowed, he said, to the very meanest criminal; and to limit a Princess, with numerous connections both at home and abroad, to so brief a space, was a degree of rigour which no guilt could authorize. Mary told him, that she must submit with resignation to her fate, and learn to regard it as the will of God. She then requested her attendants to kneel with her, and

she prayed fervently for some time in the midst of them. Afterwards, while supper was preparing, she employed herself in putting all the money she had by her into separate purses, and affixed to each, with her own hand, the name of the person for whom she intended it. At supper, though she sat down to table, she ate little. Her mind, however, was in perfect composure; and, during the repast, though she spoke little, placid smiles were frequently observed to pass over her countenance. The calm magnanimity of their mistress, only increased the distress of her servants. They saw her sitting amongst them in her usual health, and with almost more than her usual cheerfulness; yet they knew that it was the last meal at which they should ever be present together; and that the interchange of affectionate service upon their part, and of condescending attention and endearing gentleness on hers, which had linked them to her for so many years, was now about to terminate for ever. Far from attempting to offer her consolation, they were unable to discover any for themselves. As soon as the melancholy meal was over, Mary desired that a cup of wine should be given to her; and, putting it to her lips, drank to the health of each of her attendants by name. She requested that they would pledge her in like manner; and each, falling on his knee, and mingling tears with the wine, drank to her, asking pardon at the same time, for all the faults he had ever committed. In the true spirit of Christian humility, she not only willingly forgave them, but asked their pardon also, if she had ever forgotten her duty towards them. She besought

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them to continue constant to their religion, and to live in peace and charity together, and with all men. The inventory of her wardrobe and furniture was then brought to her; and she wrote in the margin, opposite each article, the name of the person to whom she wished it should be given. She did the same with her rings, jewels, and all her most valuable trinkets; and there was not one of her friends or servants, either present or absent, to whom she forgot to leave a memorial. *

These duties being discharged, Mary sat down to her desk to arrange her papers, to finish her will, and to write several letters. She previously sent to her confessor, who, though in the Castle, was not allowed to see her, entreating that he would spend the night in praying for her, and that he would inform her what parts of Scripture he considered most suited for her perusal at this juncture. She then drew up her last will and testament; and without ever lifting her pen from the paper, or stopping at intervals to think, she covered two large sheets with close writing, forgetting nothing of any moment, and expressing herself with all that precision and clearness which distinguished her style in the very happiest moments of her life. She named as her four executors, the Duke of Guise, her cousin-german: the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador in France; Lesley, Bishop of Ross, and Monsieur de Ruyseau, her Chancellor. She next wrote a letter to her brother-in-law, the King of France, in which she apologized for not being able to

* J.E.B.B. vol. ii. p. 622, et seq

enter into her affairs at greater length, as she had only an hour or two to live, and had not been informed till that day after dinner that she was to be executed next morning. "Thanks be unto God, however," she added, "I have no terror at the idea of death, and solemnly declare to you, that I meet it innocent of every crime. The bearer of this letter, and my other servants, will recount to you how I comported myself in my last moments." The letter concluded with earnest entreaties, that her faithful followers should be protected and rewarded. Her anxiety on their account, at such a moment, indicated all that amiable generosity of disposition, which was one of the leading features of Mary's character.* About two in the morning, she sealed up all her papers, and said she would now think no more of the affairs of this world, but would spend the rest of her time in prayer, and commune with her own conscience. She went to bed for some hours, but she did not sleep. Her lips were observed in continual motion, and her hands were frequently folded and lifted up towards heaven.†

On the morning of Wednesday, the 8th of February, Mary rose with the break of day; and her domestics, who had watched and wept all night, immediately gathered round her. She told them that she had made her will, and requested

* "Mary's testament and letters," says Ritson the antiquarian, "which I have seen, blotted with her tears, in the Scotch College, Paris, will remain perpetual monuments of singular abilities, tenderness, and affection,—of a head and heart of which no other Queen in the world was probably ever possessed."

† JEBB, vol. II. p. 628, et seq.

that they would see it safely deposited in the hands of her executors. She likewise besought them not to separate until they had carried her body to France; and she placed a sum of money in the hands of her physician to defray the expenses of the journey. Her earnest desire was, to be buried either in the Church of St Dennis, in Paris, beside her first husband Francis, or at Rheims, in the tomb which contained the remains of her mother. She expressed a wish, too, that, besides her friends and servants, a number of poor people and children from different hospitals should be present at her funeral, clothed in mourning at her expense, and each, according to the Catholic custom, carrying in his hand a lighted taper.*

She now renewed her devotions, and was in the midst of them, with her servants praying and weeping round her, when a messenger from the commissioners knocked at the door, to announce that all was ready. She requested a little longer time to finish her prayers, which was granted. As soon as she desired the door to be opened, the Sheriff, carrying in his hand the white wand of office, entered, to conduct her to the place of execution. Her servants crowded round her, and insisted on being allowed to accompany her to the scaffold. But contrary orders having been given by Elizabeth, they were told that she must proceed alone. Against a piece of such arbitrary cruelty they remonstrated loudly, but in vain; for, as soon as Mary passed into the gallery, the door was closed, and, believing that they were

* *History of Fotheringay*, p. 79.

separated from her for ever, the shrieks of the women, and the scarcely less audible lamentations of the men, were heard in distant parts of the castle.

At the foot of the staircase leading down to the hall below, Mary was met by the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury; and she was allowed to stop to take farewell of Sir Andrew Melvil, the master of her household, whom her keepers had not allowed to come into her presence for some time before. With tears in his eyes, Melvil knelt before her, kissed her hand, and declared that it was the heaviest hour of his life. Mary assured him, that it was not so to her. "I now feel, my good Melvil," said she, "that all this world is vanity. When you speak of me hereafter, mention that I died firm in my faith, willing to forgive my enemies, conscious that I had never disgraced Scotland, my native country, and rejoicing in the thought that I had always been true to France, the land of my happiest years. Tell my son," she added,—and when she named her only child, of whom she had been so proud in his infancy, but in whom all her hopes had been so fatally blasted, her feelings for the first time overpowered her, and a flood of tears flowed from her eyes,—“Tell my son, that I thought of him in my last moments, and that I have never yielded, either by word or deed, to aught that might lead to his prejudice; desire him to preserve the memory of his unfortunate parent, and may he be a thousand times more happy and more prosperous than she has been.”

Before taking a final leave of Melvil, Mary turned to the commissioners, and told them, that her three last requests were,—that her secretary,

Curl, whom she blamed less for his treachery than Naw, should not be punished; that her servants should have free permission to depart to France; and that some of them should be allowed to come down from the apartments above to see her die. The Earls answered, that they believed the two former of these requests would be granted; but that they could not concede the last, alleging, in excuse, that the affliction of her attendants would only add to the severity of her sufferings. But Mary was resolved that some of her own people should witness her last moments. "I will not submit to the indignity," she said, "of permitting my body to fall into the hands of strangers. You are the servants of a maiden Queen, and she herself, were she here, would yield to the dictates of humanity, and permit some of those who have been so long faithful to me, to assist me at my death. Remember, too, that I am cousin to your mistress, and the descendant of Henry VII; I am the Dowager of France, and the anointed Queen of Scotland." Ashamed of any farther opposition, the Earls allowed her to name four male and two female attendants, whom they sent for, and permitted to remain beside her for the short time she had yet to live.*

The same hall in which the trial had taken place, was prepared for the execution. At the upper end was the scaffold, covered with black cloth, and elevated about two feet from the floor. A chair was placed on it for the Queen of Scots.

* Among these attendants were her physician Bourgoine, who afterwards wrote a long and circumstantial narrative of her death, and Jane Kennedy, formerly mentioned on the occasion of Mary's escape from Loch-Leven.

On one side of the block stood two executioners, and on the other, the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury; Beal and the Sheriff were immediately behind. The scaffold was railed off from the rest of the hall, in which Sir Amias Paulet, with a body of guards, the other commissioners, and some gentlemen of the neighbourhood, amounting altogether to about two hundred persons, were assembled. Mary entered leaning on the arm of her physician, while Sir Andrew Melvil carried the train of her robe. She was in full dress, and looked as if she were about to hold a drawing-room, not to lay her head beneath the axe. She wore a gown of black silk, bordered with crimson velvet, over which was a satin mantle; a long veil of white crape, stiffened with wire, and edged with rich lace, hung down almost to the ground; round her neck was suspended an ivory crucifix; and the beads which the Catholics use in their prayers, were fastened to her girdle. The symmetry of her fine figure had long been destroyed by her sedentary life; and years of care had left many a trace on her beautiful features. But the dignity of the Queen was still apparent; and the calm grace of mental serenity imparted to her countenance at least some share of its former loveliness. With a composed and steady step she passed through the hall, and ascended the scaffold,—and, as she listened unmoved, whilst Beal read aloud the warrant for her death, even the myrmidons of Elizabeth looked upon her with admiration.*

* *Narratio Supplicii Mortis Mariæ Stuart*, in JEBB, vol. ii. p. 163, *La Mort de la Roynne d'Écosse*, in JEBB, vol. ii. p. 636, and 639, CAMDEN, p. 535.

Beal having concluded his task, the Dean of Peterborough presented himself at the foot of the scaffold, and, with more zeal than humanity, addressed Mary on the subject of her religion. She mildly told him, that as she had been born, so she was resolved to die, a Catholic, and requested that he would not annoy her any longer with useless reasonings. But finding that he would not be persuaded to desist, she turned away from him, and, falling on her knees, prayed fervently aloud,—repeating, in particular, many passages from the Psalms. She prayed for her own soul, and that God would send his Holy Spirit to comfort her in the agony of death; she prayed for all good monarchs, for the Queen of England, for the King her son, for her friends, and for all her enemies. She spoke with a degree of earnest vehemence, and occasional strength of gesticulation, which deeply affected all who heard her. She held a small crucifix in her hands, which were clasped, and raised to heaven; and, at intervals, a convulsive sob choked her voice. As soon as her prayers were ended, she prepared to lay her head on the block. Her two female attendants, as they assisted to remove her veil and head-dress, trembled so violently that they were hardly able to stand. Mary gently reproved them,—“Be not thus overcome,” she said; “I am happy to leave the world, and you also ought to be happy to see me die so willingly.” As she bared her neck, she took from around it a cross of gold, which she wished to give to Jane Kennedy; but the executioner, with brutal coarseness, objected, alleging that it was one of his perquisites. “My good friend,” said Mary, “she will

pay you much more than its value ;” but his only answer was, to snatch it rudely from her hand. She turned from him, to pronounce a parting benediction on all her servants, to kiss them, and bid them affectionately farewell. Being now ready, she desired Jane Kennedy to bind her eyes with a rich handkerchief, bordered with gold, which she had brought with her for the purpose ; and laying her head upon the block, her last words were, — “ O Lord, in thee I have hoped, and into thy hands I commit my spirit.” The executioner, either from a want of skill, or from agitation, or because the axe he used was blunt, struck three blows before he separated her head from her body. His comrade then lifted the head by the hair, which falling in disorder, was observed to be quite gray, and called out, “ God save Elizabeth, Queen of England !” The Earl of Kent added, “ Thus perish all her enemies ;”—overpowered by the solemnity and horror of the scene, none were able to respond, “ Amen !” *

Mary’s remains were immediately taken from her servants, who wished to pay them the last sad offices of affection, and were carried into an adjoining apartment, where a piece of old green baize, taken from a billiard-table, was thrown over that form which had once lived in the light of a nation’s eyes. It lay thus for some time ; but was at length ordered to be embalmed, and buried, with royal pomp, in the Cathedral at Peterborough,—a vulgar artifice used by Elizabeth to stifle the gnawing remorse of her own conscience, and make an empty atonement for her

* JEBB, vol. ii. p. 640, et seq.

cruelty. Twenty-five years afterwards, James VI, wishing to perform an act of tardy justice to the memory of his mother, ordered her remains to be removed from Peterborough to Henry VII's Chapel, in Westminster Abbey. A splendid monument was there erected, adorned with an inscription, which, if it spoke truth, James must have blushed with shame and indignation whenever he thought of his mother's fate.

Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, died in the forty-fifth year of her age. If the events of her life have been faithfully recorded in the preceding pages, the estimate which is to be formed of her character cannot be a matter of much doubt. To great natural endowments,—to feelings constitutionally warm,—and to a disposition spontaneously excellent, were added all the advantages which education could confer, or wealth purchase. That she was one of the most accomplished and talented women of the age, even her enemies allow. But talents do not always ensure success, nor accomplishments command happiness; and by few persons in the whole range of history was this truth more fatally experienced than by Mary Stuart. At first sight, her life and fate seem almost a paradox. That one upon whom most of the common goods of fortune had been heaped with so lavish a hand—one who was born to the enjoyment of all the rank and splendour which earth possesses—one whose personal charms and fascinations obtained for her an empire over the heart, more lasting and honourable than that which her birth gave her over a nation,—that even she should have lived to lament that she had ever beheld the light of day, is one of those

striking examples of the uncertainty of all human calculations regarding happiness, which, while it inspires the commonest mind with wonder, teaches a deeper lesson of philosophy to the wisely reflective. Circumstances are not so much the slaves of men, as men are of circumstances. Mary lived in an age, and in a country, which only rendered her risk the greater, the more exalted her station. In France, where civilization had made more progress, she might perhaps have avoided the evils which overtook her at home; but in Scotland, a Princess possessing the refinement of a foreign court, and, though endowed with a large proportion of the virtues and captivations of her sex, not entirely free from some of its weaknesses, could hardly expect to cope successfully with the turbulent spirit, the fanatical enthusiasm, the contending interests, the semi-barbarous prejudices, and the fierce passions, of the times.

Mary's failings, almost without an exception, "leant to virtue's side." They rose partly from too enthusiastic a temperament, and partly from a want of experience. Although she lived forty-four years and two months, it ought to be remembered, that she was just twenty-five when she came into England, and that all the most important events of her history happened between sixteen and twenty-five. With feelings whose strength kept pace with the unsuspecting generosity of her nature, Mary was one who, in an especial manner, stood in need of experience, to teach what the world calls wisdom. The great mass of mankind, endowed with no finer susceptibilities, and influenced by no hidden impulses of

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soul or sense, fall into the common track naturally and easily. But they whom Heaven has either cursed or blessed with minds, over which external circumstances exercise a deeper sway; whose fancies are more vivid, and whose impressions are more acute, require the aid of time to clip the wings of imagination,—to cast a soberer shade over the glowing pictures of hope,—and to teach the art of reducing an ideal standard of felicity and virtue, to one less romantic, but more practical. Had she continued longer in public life, there is every probability that the world would have been forced to own, without a dissenting voice, the talent which Mary possessed. In youth, genius is often indicated only by eccentricity and imprudence; but its errors are errors of judgment, which have their origin in an exuberance of sensibility. The sentiments of the heart have burst forth into precocious blossom, long before the reasoning faculties have reached maturity. Her youth was Mary's chief misfortune, or rather it was the source from which most of her misfortunes sprung. She judged of mankind not as they were, but as she wished them to be. Conscious of the sincerity of her own character, and the affectionate nature of her own dispositions, she formed attachments too rashly, and trusted too indiscriminately. She often found, when it was too late, that she had been deceived; and the consequence was, that she became diffident of her own judgment, and anxious to be guided by that of others. Here again, however, she fell into an opposite extreme. In yielding, on her return to Scotland, so implicitly to the counsels of Murray, she did what

few queens, young and flattered as she had been, would have done, and what, had she been older, or more experienced, she ought not to have done.

But the highest degree of excellence, both in the material and the moral world, arises out of the skilful combination of many discordant elements. Time must be allowed them to settle down into an harmonious arrangement; and time is all that is required. Prior to the age of five-and-twenty, it is not to be supposed that Mary's character had acquired that strength and stability which it would afterwards have attained. Nor was it desirable that it should; for an old head upon youthful shoulders is contrary to nature, and the anomaly frequently ends with a youthful head upon old shoulders. Mary was young—she was beautiful—she was admired—she was a woman; and to expect to have found, in the spring-time of her life, the undeviating consistency, and the cool calculations of riper years, would have been to imagine her that “faultless monster whom the world ne'er saw.” But, considering the situation in which she was placed—the persons by whom she was surrounded—the stormy temper of the age—the pious and deep-rooted prejudices of her subjects against the creed which she professed—the restless jealousy of the sovereign who reigned over the neighbouring and more powerful country of England—the unfortunate, though not precipitate marriage with Lord Darnley,—it may be very safely asked, where there is to be found an example of so much moderation, prudence, and success, in one so recently introduced to the

arduous cares of government? Had Mary been vain, headstrong, opinionative, and bigoted, she would never have yielded, as she did, to the current of popular opinion which then ran so tumultuously,—she would never have condescended to expostulate with Knox,—she would never have been ruled by Murray,—she would never have so easily forgiven injuries and stifled resentments. She was in truth only too facile. She submitted too tamely to the insolence of Knox; she was too diffident of herself, and too willing to be swayed by Murray; she was too ready to pardon those who had given her the justest cause of offence; she was too candid and open, too distrustful of her own capacity, too gentle, too generous, and too engaging.

But if her faults consisted only in an excess of amiable qualities, or in those strong feelings which, though properly directed, were not always properly proportioned, the question naturally occurs, why the Queen of Scots should have suffered so much misery? “To say that she was always unfortunate,” observes Robertson, “will not account for that long and almost uninterrupted succession of calamities which befell her; we must likewise add, that she was often imprudent.” Here the historian first mistates the fact, and then draws an inference from that mistatement. No “long and uninterrupted succession of calamities” befell Mary. She experienced an almost unparalleled reverse of fortune, but that reverse was sudden and complete. She sunk at once from a queen into a captive,—from power to weakness,—from splendour to obscurity. So long as she was permitted to be the arbitress

of her own fortune, she met and overcame every difficulty; but when lawless and ambitious men wove their web around her, she was caught in it, and could never again escape from its meshes. Had she stumbled on from one calamity to another, continuing all the while a free agent, Robertson's remark would have been just. But such was not her case;—the morning saw her a queen, and the evening found her a captive. The blow was as sudden as it was decisive; and her future life was an ineffectual struggle to escape from the chains which had been thrown round her in a moment, and which pressed her irresistibly to the ground. A calamity which no foresight could anticipate, or prudence avert, may overtake the wisest and the best; and such to Mary was the murder of Darnley, and Bothwell's subsequent treason and violence. If to these be added the scarcely less iniquitous conduct of Elizabeth, the treachery of Morton, the craftiness of Murray, and the disastrous defeat at Langside, it needs no research or ingenuity to discover, that her miseries were not of her own making.

Should a still more comprehensive view of this subject be taken, and the whole life of the Queen of Scots reviewed, from her birth to her death, it will be found, that, however great her advantages, they were almost always counterbalanced by some evil, which necessarily attended or sprung out of them. She was a queen when only a few months old; but she was also an orphan: She was destined, from her earliest childhood, to be the wife of the future monarch of France; but she was, in consequence, taken away from her

native country, and the arms of her mother: The power and talents of her uncles of Guise were constantly exerted in her behalf; but she shared, therefore, in the hatred and jealousy in which they were held by a numerous party, both at home and abroad: Her residence and education, at the court of Henry II, ensured the refinement of her manners and the cultivation of her mind; but it excited the suspicions and the fears of the people of Scotland: She was beautiful even to a proverb; but her beauty obtained for her as much envy as praise: She possessed the heart of her husband Francis; but she felt his premature loss only the more acutely: She returned to her own kingdom as the Queen-dowager of France; but her power and her pretensions made the English dread, and did not prevent her heretical subjects from openly braving her authority: She married Darnley in the hope of brightening her prospects, and securing her happiness; but he was the main cause of overclouding the one, and destroying the other: She was freed, by his death, from the wayward caprices of his ill-governed temper; but she escaped from one yoke only to be forced into another a thousand times worse. She loved her brother, and loaded him with favours; but he repaid them by placing himself upon her throne, and chasing her from the country: She escaped into England; but there she met with reproaches instead of assistance, a prison instead of an asylum, a mortal enemy instead of a sister, an axe and a scaffold instead of sympathy and protection. *

* See MEZERAU, *Histoire de France*, tome iii. .

Mary's misfortunes, therefore, it may be safely asserted, were not the result of her imprudence or her errors. But justice is not satisfied with this merely negative praise. The Queen of Scots was one who needed only to have been prosperous, to be, in the eyes of the world, all that was great and good. And though the narrow-minded are only too ready, at all times, to triumph over the fallen, and to fancy, that where there is misery there is also guilt, they must nevertheless own, that there are some whose characters only rise the higher, the more they are tried. If, on the one hand, the temptations to which Mary was exposed be duly considered,—her youth, the prejudices of her education, and the designing ministers by whom she was surrounded; and, on the other, her conduct towards the Reformers, towards her enemies, towards her friends, towards all her subjects,—the deliberate decision of calm impartiality, not of hasty enthusiasm, must be, that, illustrious as her birth and rank were, she possessed qualities which not only made her independent of the former, but raised her above them. In her better days, the vivacity and sweetness of her manners, her openness, her candour, her generosity, her polished wit, her extensive information, her cultivated taste, her easy affability, her powers of conversation, her native dignity and grace, were all conspicuous, though too little appreciated by the less refined frequenters of the Scottish court. Nor did she appear to less advantage in the season of calamity. On the contrary, she had an opportunity of displaying in adversity a fortitude and nobility of soul, which she herself might not have known

that she possessed, had she been always prosperous. Her piety and her constancy became more apparent in a prison than on a throne; and of none could it be said more truly than of her, — “*ponderibus virtus innata resistit.*” In the glory of victory and the pride of success, it is easy for a conquering monarch to float down the stream of popularity; but it is a far more arduous task to gain a victory over the natural weaknesses of one's own nature, and, in the midst of sufferings, to triumph over one's enemies. Mary did this; and was a thousand times more to be envied, when kneeling at her solitary devotions in the Castle of Fotheringay, than Elizabeth, surrounded with all the heartless splendour of Hampton Court. As she laid her head upon the block, the dying graces threw upon her their last smiles; and the sublime serenity of her death was an argument in her favour, the force of which must be confessed by incredulity itself. Mary was not destined to obtain the crown of England, but she gained instead the crown of martyrdom.*

“Many of us,” said the Archbishop of Bruges, who was appointed to preach Mary's funeral sermon in the Church of Notre Dame at Paris, “Many of us have seen, in this very place, the

* “We may say of Mary, I believe, with strict propriety,” observes Whittaker, “what has been said of one of her royal predecessors, — ‘the gracious Duncan,’ that she

‘Had borne her faculties so meek, had been
So clear in her great office, that her virtues
Will plead, like angels, trumpet-tongued, against
The deep damnation of her taking off.’”

Queen whom we now deplore, on her bridal morning, and in her royal robes, so resplendent with jewels, that they shone like the light of day, or like her own beauty, which was more resplendent still. Nothing was to be discovered around or within but embroidered hangings, and cloth of gold, and precious tapestry, and couches and thrones occupied by kings and queens, and princes and nobles, who had come from all parts to be present at the festival. In the palace were magnificent banquets, and pageants, and masquerades; in the streets and squares, joustings, tournaments, and processions. It seemed as if the overwhelming brilliancy of our age was destined to surpass the richest pomp of every preceding age—even the times when Greece and Rome were in all their splendour. A brief space has passed away like a cloud, and we have seen *her* a captive, whom we saw in triumph—a prisoner, who set the prisoners free—poor, who gave away so liberally—disdained, who was the fountain of honour. We have seen *her*, who was a two-fold queen, in the hands of a common executioner; and that fair form, which graced the nuptial couch of the greatest monarch in Christendom, dishonoured on a scaffold. We have seen that loveliness, which was one of the wonders of the world, broken down by long captivity, and at last effaced by an ignominious death. If this fatal reverse teaches the uncertainty and vanity of all human things, the patience and incomparable fortitude of the Queen we have lost, also teach a more profitable lesson, and afford a salutary consolation. Every new calamity gave her an opportunity of gaining a new

victory, and of evincing new proofs of her piety and constancy. It seems certain, indeed, that Providence made her affliction conspicuous, only to make her virtue more conspicuous. Others leave to their successors the care of building monuments, to preserve their name from oblivion ; but the life and death of this lady are her monument. Marble, and brass, and iron, decay, or are devoured by rust ; but in no age, however long the world may endure, will the memory of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, and Dowager of France, cease to be cherished with affection and admiration." *

* " *Oraison Funebre*," in JEBB, vol. II. p. 671.

AN

EXAMINATION

OF THE

LETTERS, SONNETS, AND OTHER WRITINGS, ADDUCED
IN EVIDENCE AGAINST MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

O place and greatness ! millions of false eyes
Are stuck upon thee ! Volumes of report
Run with these false and most contrarious guests
Upon thy doings ! Thousand 'scapes of wit
Make thee the father of their idle dream,
And rack thee in their fancies. —

SHAKESPEARE.

As every reader is aware of the very opposite opinions which have long been entertained, regarding the character and conduct of the Queen of Scots, no Memoir of her Life would be complete, that did not contain some examination of the evidence upon which they who believe her guilty principally rest their conviction. This evidence consists of eight Letters, eleven Love-Sonnets, and one Marriage Contract, all alleged to have been written in the Queen's own hand, and addressed to the Earl of Bothwell. In corroboration of these, another Contract, said to

have been written by the Earl of Huntly, and signed by the Queen; and the Confessions and Depositions of some of the persons who were known to be implicated in Bothwell's guilt, have been likewise produced. Of the Letters, two were supposed to have been written from Glasgow, at the time Mary went thither to visit Darnley, when he was ill, and are intended to prove her criminal connection with Bothwell; two or three from the Kirk-of-Field, for the purpose of facilitating the arrangements regarding the murder; and the rest, after that event, and before her abduction, to shew that the whole scheme of the pretended ravishment was preconcerted between them. The precise time at which it is asserted the Sonnets were composed, does not appear; but expressions in them prove, that it must have been posterior to the Queen's residence with Bothwell at Dunbar. The Contract of Marriage, in Mary's own hand, though without date, must have been written very soon after Darnley's death, and contains a promise never to marry any one but Bothwell. The Contract, said to be in Huntly's hand, is dated at Seton, the 5th of April, 1567, eight weeks after Darnley's death, a week before Bothwell's trial and acquittal, and three weeks before he was divorced from his first wife. The Confessions and Depositions are various, but only in one or two of them is any allusion made to Mary. The Letters, Sonnets, and Contracts, were said to have been discovered in a small gilt coffer, which the Earl of Bothwell left in the Castle of Edinburgh, in the custody of Sir James Balfour, at the time he fled from Edinburgh to Borthwick, about a month after

his marriage, and shortly before the affair at Carberry Hill. After his discomfiture there, he is stated to have sent his servant, Dalgleish, into Edinburgh from Dunbar, to demand the coffer from Balfour. Sir James, it was said, delivered it up, but at the same time gave intimation to the Earl of Morton, who seized Dalgleish, and made himself master of the box and its contents. The Letters and Sonnets, which were originally written in French, were afterwards all translated into Scotch, and three of the former into Latin.

Anxious to put beyond a doubt, either the forgery or the authenticity of these writings, numerous authors have exercised their ingenuity and talents, in a most minute and laborious examination, not only of their leading features, but of every line, and almost of every word. It would seem, however, not to be necessary, in so far as the great interests of truth are concerned, to descend to such microscopic investigation, and tedious verbal criticism, by which pages have been extended into volumes, and disquisitions have been rendered confused and tiresome, which might otherwise have been simple and interesting. If Mary's innocence is to be established, it must not be by the discovery of petty inconsistencies, or trifling inaccuracies: if her guilt is to be proved, the impartial reader is not to be satisfied with vague suspicions or ingenious suggestions, but must have a body of evidence set before him, which, if it does not amount to actual demonstration, contains a circumstantial strength equally calculated to convince.

It may be observed, at the outset, that unless the conclusions, to which these writings would

lead, be corroborated by the established facts of history, it cannot be expected that a great deal of weight will be attached to them. Besides, it must not be forgotten, that, as the originals have been lost, it is by means of translations alone that their alleged contents are known to the world. Upon their authority, Mary is accused of having first committed adultery, and then murder. Whatever opinion may have been formed of her from her behaviour during the rest of her existence—however gentle her dispositions may have appeared—however strong her sense of the distinction between right and wrong—however constant her religious principles—however wise her government—however excellent the culture of her mind,—if the letters are to be credited, the whole was either hypocrisy from beginning to end, or, (overcome by some sudden impulse,) a year of the grossest criminality was introduced into the very middle of a well-spent life. If she made so rapid a descent into a career of vice, she as rapidly rose again; and, re-assuming the character she had laid aside, lived and died with the purity of a saint, and the fortitude of a martyr. It cannot, therefore, be upon slight grounds that evidence so fatal to her reputation is to be admitted; and there will be little necessity to engage in minute cavilling, or to enter upon points of minor importance, if, by a distinct statement of some of the leading arguments against its authenticity, the whole shall be made to appear nugatory, improbable, and unentitled to credit.

The evidences naturally divide themselves into the two heads of *external* and *internal*; and,

without further preface, it will be best to consider these in succession.

THE EXTERNAL EVIDENCES.—It was on the 20th of June, 1567, that Dalgleish was seized with the box and writings. The official account given by Buchanan is,—“That in the Castle of Edinburgh, there was left by the Earl Bothwell, before his flying away, and was sent for by one George Dalgleish, his servant, who was taken by the Earl of Morton, a small gilt coffer, not fully a foot long, being garnished in sundry places with the Roman letter F, under a king’s crown, wherein were certain letters and writings well known, and by oaths, to be affirmed to have been written, with the Queen of Scots’ own hand, to the Earl of Bothwell.”* The question to be decided is,—whether these letters and writings are genuine, or whether they can be proved to be fabrications? That the latter is the correct conclusion, appears on the following grounds:

First, The conduct of Murray, Morton, and others of the Scottish nobility, on various occasions, proves that ambition was the ruling passion of their lives. Murray’s iniquitous extermination of the Gordons, in 1562, the influence he afterwards exercised in Mary’s councils, and his unjustifiable opposition to her marriage with Darnley, carried even the length of open rebellion, illustrate his character no less clearly, than the share he had in the murder of Rizzio, and his proceedings after the meeting at Carberry Hill, do that of Morton. A train of events, arising out of the audacious machinations of

* ANDERSON, vol. ii. p. 92.

Bothwell, placed Mary at the disposal of men thus devoted to the attainment of power. Yielding to their ruling passion, they first imprisoned, and then dethroned their sovereign. She escaped from their hands, and, though driven from the country, she threatened to return with foreign aid, to place herself at the head of her own party, which was still powerful, and to force from them their usurped authority. The urgency of the case called for a bold and decisive remedy. If Mary could prove, as there was no doubt she could, that, according to all the facts yet before the world, she had suffered severely and unjustly, they must either fall upon some means to vindicate their own actions, or be ruined for ever. Nothing would more naturally suggest itself than the expedient they adopted. The circumstance of Mary having been actually married to the man who murdered her former husband, opened a door to the very worst suspicions; and if they could artfully conceal the events which led to the marriage, and which not only justified it, but made it a matter of necessity, they hoped still to retain possession of the government. They were aware, indeed, that, by their own proclamations and acts of council, they had acknowledged Mary's innocence, and pointed out the real cause of her connection with Bothwell; and it was now not enough, after they had involved themselves in deeper responsibility, merely to retract their former allegations. They were called upon to shew *why* they departed from them;—they were called upon to prove, that when they first imprisoned her, though they confessed the Queen was innocent, they were now satisfied she was

guilty. There was a positive necessity for the appearance of the letters; and if they had not been fortunately discovered just at the proper time, Murray and his colleagues must either have had recourse to some other expedient, or have consented to Mary's restoration, and their own disgrace.

Second, That Mary may have written love-letters to Francis II, and to Darnley, before and after she was married to them, is not unlikely; that she wrote sonnets and letters of affection to many of her friends, both male and female, is beyond a doubt; but that she would ever have written such letters and sonnets to the Earl of Bothwell, whom she never loved—whom she at one time threw into prison, and at another sent into banishment—whom she knew to be a married man, and whose marriage she had herself countenanced and encouraged,—is against all probability. If Bothwell had never become Mary's husband, history does not record one circumstance which would at all lead to the belief that she was attached to him. Her very marriage, when fairly and fully considered, only makes the fact more certain, that she had no regard for Bothwell, else there would have been no forcible abduction on his part, or pretended reluctance on hers. Even though she had consented to marry Bothwell, which the clearest evidence proves her not to have done, it would afford no presumption against her, that he was afterwards discovered to have been the murderer of Darnley. He had not only been legally acquitted, but all her chief nobility had recommended him to her as a husband, stating the grounds of their recommendation to

be the high opinion they entertained of his worth and loyalty. Robertson, Laing, and others, it is true, copying Buchanan, have laboured to shew, that Mary discovered, in various ways, her extreme partiality for Bothwell. Most of their arguments have been already considered elsewhere; but it will be worth while attending for a moment to such of the circumstances collected by Robertson, and drawn up, in formidable array, in the "Critical Dissertation," subjoined to his History of Scotland, as have not yet been noticed. The answers and explanations which immediately suggest themselves are so entirely satisfactory, that we can only wonder the historian did not himself perceive them.

Robertson states, that, on the 15th of February, 1567, five days after the murder, Mary bestowed on Bothwell the reversion of the superiority of the town of Leith, and that this grant was of much importance, as it gave him both the command of the principal port in the kingdom, and a great ascendancy over the citizens of Edinburgh. But this assignation, as is expressly stated in the charter, was made to Bothwell, as a reward for his faithful services, both to Mary's mother and to herself, especially on the occasion of Rizzio's death, and must have been in contemplation for some time; nor can it be supposed to have occupied the Queen's thoughts, at a moment when she was refusing to see any one, and was shut up by herself in a dark room, a prey to the bitterest regrets. She had not yet conferred on Bothwell any adequate recompense for his fidelity and exertions after her escape from Morton; and the grant of the superiority

of the town of Leith, was only a very tardy acknowledgment of her obligations. She made presents of a similar description to others of her nobility about the same time: if any of them had afterwards forced her into a marriage, these gifts might have been raked up with equal plausibility, to prove that she was then in love with Morton, Huntly, Secretary Maitland, or any body else. At the Parliament which assembled on the 14th of April, 1567, ratifications of grants were passed to many of the principal persons in the realm; and, among others, to the Earl of Mar, Morton, Crawford, Caithness, and Lord Robert Stuart.* It will not be asserted, that Mary was attached to any of these persons; and is there any thing wonderful that she included, in the list of those to whom she made donations, her Lord High Admiral? The case, no doubt, would have been worse, had she known that Bothwell was the murderer of Darnley, but throughout the whole of this discussion, it must be remembered, that, if Mary was really innocent, she could not believe Bothwell guilty till he had been actually proved so.

Robertson states farther, that, two days after the trial, Mary allowed Bothwell to carry the sceptre before her when she went to open the Parliament; that she there granted him a ratification of all the vast possessions and honours which she had conferred upon him; and that, when Sir James Melville warned her of the danger which would attend a marriage with that nobleman, she not only disregarded his admoni-

* KEITH, p. 79.

tion, but told ~~Bothwell~~ what had passed. But, as to the carrying of the sceptre, it was surely not to be expected, that, after a full acquittal, without even the shadow of evidence being advanced against him, Mary could have ventured to refuse his accustomed honours to the most powerful noble in the realm. As to the Parliamentary ratification of "all the vast possessions and honours which she had conferred upon him," the misrepresentation is glaring in the extreme; for she never conferred on Bothwell any vast possessions and honours, and the ratification alluded only to certain lands which were given him, to defray his charges in keeping the Castle of Dunbar.* Bothwell, no doubt, enjoyed "vast possessions and honours;" but they were mostly hereditary, or had been obtained by him before Mary came into the kingdom. And as to the manner in which Mary took Sir James Melville's warning,—the facts were these:—Sir James received a letter out of England, from a person of the name of Bishop, telling him that it had been rumoured (and there is no wonder, considering the bond which had been previously obtained from the nobility) that Bothwell was to be married to her Majesty, and assuring him, that, if she consented to such an alliance, it would be much against her own reputation and interest. When Sir James shewed this letter to Mary, she immediately sent, not for Bothwell, but for Secretary Maitland, to whom she handed it, expressing her surprise at its contents, and her suspicion that it was only a device on the

* ANDERSON, vol. i. p. 117; KEITH, p. 379.

part of some of Bothwell's enemies, who wished to ruin him in her estimation. She afterwards took an opportunity to speak of it to Bothwell himself, who affected to be highly indignant, and was so enraged against Melville, that, had not Mary interfered, he would have forced him to flee from the court to save his life. Bothwell's rage is easily accounted for, considering the designs he then had in view, and the necessity for concealing them. But, had he known that Mary was disposed to favour them, he would, of course, have taken the whole matter much more easily. When Melville came upon the subject with Mary, she assured him that she did not contemplate any such alliance, and she had, in like manner, previously told Lord Herries, that "there was no such thing in her mind."* If deductions like those of Robertson, so contrary to the premises on which they are founded, be allowed, it is impossible to say to what belief they may not be made to lead.

Robertson states, lastly, that even after Mary had been separated from Bothwell, and confined in Loch-Leven, her affection for him did not abate; and that the fair conclusion from all these circumstances is, that had Mary really been accessory to the murder of her husband, "she could scarcely have taken any other steps than those she took, nor could her conduct have been more repugnant to all the maxims of prudence or of decency." But that Mary's affections for a man she had never loved, continued after she had left him to his fate, at Carberry Hill, and gone pub-

* MELVILLE, p. 175, et seq.

licly over, in the face of the whole world, to his bitterest enemies, (on whose authority alone Robertson's assertion is made, though expressly contradicted by their own previous declarations, as well as by Mary's statements whenever she regained her liberty,) is not to be believed; and had she been really innocent, "she could scarcely have taken any other steps than those she took," nor could her conduct have been more accordant with all the maxims of prudence and propriety.

Third, Supposing Mary to have actually written the letters to Bothwell, it may very fairly be asked,—Why he was so imprudent as preserve them?—why he chose to keep only eight?—why he put them all into the same box?—and why he should ever have intrusted that box to the custody of Sir James Balfour? It is extremely difficult for her calumniators to answer satisfactorily any of these questions. The only explanation which the first admits of is, that Bothwell was afraid lest Mary should afterwards quarrel with him, and resolved, therefore, not to destroy the evidence of her participation in the murder. But if he acted upon this principle, why did he limit himself to a collection of eight letters? If Mary ever corresponded with him at all, he must have had in his possession many more of her epistles; for the first of the series which has been preserved, is evidently not the letter of one commencing a correspondence, but of one who writes as a matter of course, to a person whom she has often written to before. It may be said, perhaps, that none of her previous letters bore upon the subject of Darnley's murder; but they must, at all events,

have contained expressions of affection, which would have served as an indirect proof of her guilt. If, by preserving these documents, and running the risk of their falling into the hands of his enemies, who would so eagerly use them to his disadvantage, Bothwell thought he was choosing the least of two dangers, he would certainly have been anxious to make his evidence of Mary's connection with him as full and complete as possible. Accordingly, some love-sonnets, and a contract of marriage, were said to have been put into the same box, to give additional weight to the eight letters; as if, during the whole course of his amour with the Queen, and all its anxious days and nights, she had limited herself to eight epistolary testimonials of her love. But, having preserved them, and having limited their number to eight, and having chosen to put them, not into a strong iron box, locked and padlocked, of which he alone kept the key, but into a "small gilt coffer," which never belonged to him at all, but had been a gift to Mary from her first husband Francis,—why was he so very absurd as send them to Sir James Balfour in the Castle of Edinburgh, at the very time that a rebellion was rising in the nation, and that he was beginning to suspect Balfour's fidelity? They were sent, we are informed, "before his flying away" from Edinburgh, in the beginning of June, 1567. Was this the moment at which he would be disposed to part with writings he had so carefully treasured? If he was afraid that his enemies would advance upon Edinburgh, why did he not take the "small gilt coffer" with him to Dunbar, instead of sending it to the very place where it was sure to become

their prey? If the letters were in truth forged, it was necessary for the forgers to concoct as plausible a story concerning them as possible. They knew it was not likely that Bothwell would send them to the Castle tied up as an open packet; and the idea of a box would, therefore, occur to them. But as they had not in their possession any box which belonged to Bothwell, they were forced to make use of what they could get; and finding at Holyrood, when they rifled the palace of most of the Queen's valuables, the coffer in question, they would readily avail themselves of it. It would farther occur to them, that Bothwell could not be supposed to have left the letters at Holyrood, which was not a place of any strength; and as they had not followed him to Dunbar, they were obliged to give out that he had made the Castle of Edinburgh their hiding-place. But if the letters had not been forgeries, and if they had been really preserved by Bothwell, they would have been more numerous,—they would not have been kept in one of Mary's trinket boxes,—and they would never have found their way out of his own hands into the custody of Sir James Balfour.

Fourth, The next improbability connected with this story is, that Bothwell sent to reclaim the letters at the time alleged. On the 15th of September, 1568, Murray, before going into England, to attend the conference at York, gave the Earl of Morton a receipt for the "silver box, overgilt with gold, with all missive letters, contracts or obligations for marriage, sonnets or love ballads, and all other letters contained therein, sent and passed betwixt the Queen and James,

sometime Earl Bothwell ; which box, and whole pieces within the same, were taken and found with umwhile George Dalgleish, servant to the said Earl Bothwell, upon the 20th day of June, in the year of God, 1567."* This, then, was exactly five days after Bothwell had fled from Carberry Hill, and when Edinburgh was in the possession of the opposite faction, with whom Sir James Balfour had now associated himself. Dalgleish, it appears, who was well known to be a servant of Bothwell, was able not only to effect an entrance into Edinburgh, though the city was strictly guarded, but was received into the Castle, and had the box actually delivered to him by Balfour. How he happened to be afterwards discovered, and his property taken from him, is not made out. If Balfour privately intimated to Morton what he had done, then he acted at once knavishly towards Bothwell, and most inconsiderately towards those whom he wished to befriend ; for Dalgleish might have either baffled pursuit, or he might have secreted the box, or destroyed its contents before he was taken. Thus we have a tissue of improbabilities, pervading the whole of this part of the narrative. Bothwell could never send to Edinburgh Castle for writings he would never have deposited there ; and most especially he would never send, when he himself was a fugitive, and that fortress, along with the adjacent town, in the hands of his enemies. Nor would Balfour have surrendered a box so precious ; nor, if he did, would Dalgleish have allowed it again to become the prey of those from whom it was most wished to conceal it.

* GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 90.

Fifth, What was done with the letters immediately after Morton and the other Lords got possession of them? Bothwell had been already accused of the murder of Darnley; his former acquittal had been declared unjust; he had been separated from the Queen; and she herself had been sequestered in Loch-Leven, until the whole affair should be duly investigated. Surely, then, the discovery of these letters would be regarded with signal satisfaction, and the associated Lords would lose not a moment in announcing their existence to the nation, as the best justification of their own proceedings. They had sent Mary, it is true, to Loch-Leven, five days before they were aware of her enormous guilt; but if their own ambition had prompted that step, they would now be able to free themselves from blame, and would silence at once the boldest of the Queen's defenders. As it appears by the records, that a meeting of Privy Council was held on the 21st of June, the very day after Dalgleish was seized, we shall surely find that all the papers were produced, and their contents impressively recorded in the Council-books. Nothing of the kind took place; and, though Morton was present at the meeting, not a single word was said of the letters! * Again, on the 26th of June, an act was passed for sanctioning the imprisonment of the Queen in Loch-Leven, and a proclamation issued for apprehending the Earl of Bothwell; but, though the latter was accused of having "treasonably ravished" the person of her Highness the Queen, and also of being the "principal

* KEITH, p. 406.

author of the late cruel murder," no hint was given of the evidence which had been recently discovered against him, and which, indeed, had it been in their possession, would have directly contradicted the assertion, that Bothwell had been guilty of "treasonable ravishment," or of keeping the Queen in "thraldom and bondage;" for it would have appeared, that he had obtained her previous consent for every thing he had done.* Between this date and the 11th of July, several other meetings of Council were held, and acts published, but not a whisper was heard concerning these important letters. When Sir Nicolas Throckmorton was sent by Elizabeth, as her ambassador into Scotland, the Lords presented him, on the 11th of July, with a formal justification of their doings; but, in all that long and laboured paper, the letters were never once alluded to. On the contrary, in direct opposition to them, such passages as the following occur more than once:—"How shamefully the Queen, our Sovereign, was led captive, and, by fear, force, and (as by many conjectures may be well suspected) other extraordinary and more unlawful means, compelled to become bed-fellow to another wife's husband, and to him who, not three months before, had in his bed most cruelly murdered her husband, is manifest to the world, to the great dishonour of her Majesty, us all, and this whole nation."—"It behoved us, assuredly, to have recommended the soul of our Prince, and of the most part of ourselves, to God's hands; and as we may firmly believe the soul also of our

* ANDERSON, vol. i. p. 139.

Sovereign the Queen, who should not have lived with him half a year to an end, as may be conjectured by the short time they lived together, and the maintaining of his other wife at home in his house."— "The respects aforesaid, with many others, and very necessity, moved us to enterprize the quarrel we have in hand, which was only intended against the Earl of Bothwell's person, to dissolve the dishonourable and unlawful conjunction under the name of marriage."* These are positive declarations, which not only bear no reference to the box of love-letters, but which deliberately and conclusively give the lie to their contents. When was it, then, that these momentous letters were introduced to the world? The Lords, not satisfied with "sequestrating the person" of the Queen, forced from her an abdication of her throne on the 25th of July. Surely, before venturing on so audacious a proceeding, these criminal writings would be made known to the country. But no; we in vain expect to hear any thing of them;— "shadows, clouds, and darkness" still rest upon them.

At length, a fresh actor returned to the scene; and *his* inventive genius brought the mystery to light. Early in August, the Earl of Murray rejoined his old associates; and, on the 22d of that month, he was proclaimed Regent. It was necessary for him, shortly afterwards, to hold a Parliament; and the Queen's party being then almost as strong as his own, it was still more necessary for him to fall upon some means to justify his usurpation, as well as those severe

* KEITH, p. 417.

proceedings against Mary to which he had given his sanction. Accordingly, after he had been in Scotland four months, and had cautiously prepared his body of written evidence, we find these suspicious documents mentioned, *for the first time*, in an act of Council, passed on the 4th of December, only ten days before the meeting of Parliament, and evidently in anticipation of that event. In this act it is expressly declared, "that the cause and occasion of the private conventions of the Lords, Barons, and others, and consequently their taking of arms, and coming to the field; and the cause and occasion of the taking of the Queen's person, upon the 15th day of June last, and holding and detaining of the same within the house and place of Loch-Leven, continually since, presently, and in all time coming; and generally all other things invented, spoken, or written by them since the 10th day of February last, (upon which day umwhile King Henry was shamefully and horribly murdered,) unto the day and date hereof, touching the Queen's person, cause, and all things depending thereon, was in the said Queen's own default, in as far as, by diverse her privy letters, written and subscribed with her own hand, and sent by her to James Earl of Bothwell, chief executor of the said horrible murder, as well before the committing thereof as after, and by her ungodly and dishonourable proceeding in a private marriage with him, suddenly and unprovokedly thereafter, it is most certain that she was privy, art and part, and of the actual device and deed of the forementioned murder."*

* HAYNES, p. 454; STUART, vol. i. p. 361.

act, which, after a preamble expressed in nearly the same words, sanctioned the Queen's imprisonment and Murray's regency; * and nothing more whatever is known or heard of these "privy letters," till nearly the end of the following year, 1568.

With regard to these acts of Council and Parliament, it is to be remarked, in the first place, that they refer to the Letters as the grounds upon which the nobles took up arms, separated the Queen from Bothwell at Carberry Hill, and imprisoned her at Loch-Leven; although, according to a subsequent confession, the Letters were not discovered till after she had been in captivity for five days, and although, in all the proclamations and acts of the time, Mary's innocence was openly allowed, and the bondage in which she had been kept by Bothwell as openly proclaimed. It is to be remarked, in the second place, that no account is given, either of the contents of these Letters, or of the time of their discovery, or of the evidence by which their authenticity was ascertained. Dalgleish was at the very moment in custody, and a few days afterwards was tried and executed for his share in Darnley's death, of which he made a full confession. But he was *not* brought forward and examined concerning the Letters; and there is not a word about them in his confession. † Dalgleish was never mentioned as having any connection with the Letters at all till after he was dead. If it was originally intended to refer to the Letters as the authorities

* GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 66.

† KEITH, p. 467; ANDERSON, vol. ii. p. 173.

on which the Lords sent Mary to Loch-Leven, may it not be fairly concluded, that the idea of their having been taken from Dalgleish on the 20th of June, was an after-thought, when it became necessary to account for the manner in which they had fallen into their hands? Besides, was it enough to satisfy the nation, to allude, in vague and general terms, to the existence of documents of so much weight? If they were thus obscurely locked up in Murray's custody—if nothing farther was said about them, but that they had been discovered—if all the nobility of Scotland were not requested to come and examine them—if they were not printed and published that the people might see them, and feel convinced that the Lords had acted justly,—can it be cause of wonder, that, not only all Mary's friends, but even Elizabeth herself, intimated doubts of their authenticity?

Sixth, If it is strange that these important writings were so long kept from the public eye, it is no less strange, that, when they were at length produced, a very extraordinary degree of caution and hesitation was observed regarding them. If the Regent had been sure they were not spurious, he would fearlessly have exhibited them to all who were interested in their contents. Even supposing that he had proper reasons for concealing them so long, he would have been eager to challenge for them, when he at last determined to bring them forward, the minutest examination, so that the most sceptical might be convinced they were genuine. If he acted honestly, and, on the authority of these writings, believed his sister unworthy of continuing on the



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Scottish throne, he must have been anxious that the whole country should acknowledge the propriety of his conduct ; or, if he had himself been misled, he ought not to have been unwilling to have had the forgery pointed out to him. But we look in vain for any thing frank, open, and candid, in Murray's proceedings.

When the conference began at York, there was not a word said of the letters, till it was found, that, without their aid, no plausible answer could be given to the complaints made by Mary. Even then they were not boldly produced, and openly laid before the commissioners ; but Maitland, Macgill, Wood, and Buchanan, were sent to hold a "private and secret conference" with Norfolk and his colleagues, in which they produced the letters and other papers, and asked their opinion concerning them.* As soon as Elizabeth was informed of their contents, she removed the conference to Westminster ; and Mary sent her commissioners thither, still ignorant of the alleged existence of any such writings. It was not till the 8th of December, 1568, that the letters made their appearance in an official manner. Elizabeth herself, departing from the impartiality of an umpire, had already secretly encouraged their production, and had entered into Murray's views regarding them. Still the Regent's conduct betrayed a great degree of trepidation and concealment. *On only two occasions were the originals of these writings ever shewn ; and on neither occasion does their authenticity appear to have been at all determined.* On the 8th of December,

* GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 140.

“ they produced seven several writings, written in French, and avowed by them to be written by the said Queen ; which seven writings *being copied*, were read in French, and a due collation made thereof, as near as could be, by reading and inspection, and made to accord with the originals, which the said Earl of Murray *required to be re-delivered*, and did thereupon deliver the copies, being collationed.”* Here, therefore, nothing was done except comparing copies with what were called originals, to see that they agreed. These copies were left in the hands of the commissioners, and the originals, by whomsoever they were written, were immediately returned to Murray. On the 14th of December, they again made their appearance, for the second and last time ; “ and being read, were duly conferred and compared, for the manner of writing and fashion of orthography, with sundry other letters, long since heretofore written, and sent by the said Queen of Scots to the Queen’s Majesty.”† Was this *all* the proof that was offered? Yes ; the whole. Elizabeth, who was no less anxious than Murray himself to blacken the character of the Queen of Scots, was allowed to supply the letters with which the other writings were to be compared ; and, for any thing that is known to the contrary, these “ other letters, long since heretofore written,” were only a few more forgeries from the same hand, prepared for the very use to which they were applied. Be this as it may, is it likely that, by a hasty collation of this kind, any accurate decision could be formed ? or

* GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 235.

† Ibid. p. 256.

that, in a single forenoon, a number of different individuals could come to a conclusion on so very nice a point as a comparison of hands, in so many different documents? It is a maxim in law, that "*fallacissimum genus probandi sit per comparationem litterarum*;" and surely the fallaciousness of such a proof was not diminished by the hasty examination given to them by some English nobles, probably unacquainted previously with the writing of the Queen of Scots.

But did Mary herself, it will be asked, refuse to acknowledge her own hand? Her commissioners, it will of course be supposed, were allowed to see the original letters; and to transmit, if not the whole, at least some of them, to their mistress, who, being either unable to deny them, would confess her guilt, or, perceiving them to be fabrications, would point out the means of proving them to be so. But nothing of all this was done. *Mary's commissioners were not present at the only meetings at which the originals were produced*; and when they afterwards applied for a sight of them, or for copies, they were put off from time to time till the conference was dissolved, and Murray sent back to Scotland. "Suppose a man," says Tytler, "was to swear a debt against me, and offered to prove it by bond or bill of my handwriting; if I knew this bond to be a false writing, what would be my defence? Shew me the bond itself, and I will prove it a forgery. If he withdrew the bond, and refused to let me see it, what would be the presumption? Surely that the bond was forged, and that the user was himself the forger. The case is precisely similar to the point in hand. The Queen, we have seen, repeatedly

demands to see the principal writings themselves, which she asserts are forged: Elizabeth herself says the demand is most reasonable. What follows? Is this reasonable demand of Mary complied with? Far from it: so far from seeing or having inspection of the originals, even copies of them are refused to her and her commissioners."* Under these circumstances, and as the writings were seen *only twice* by a few of the English nobility, and then finally locked up again in Murray's box, it may perhaps be granted that they once existed, but that they were Mary's own letters cannot, for a moment, be believed.

Seventh, Having effected the purpose they were meant to achieve, it might have been expected that these letters would be carefully preserved in the public archives of the Scottish nation;—that, as they had been the means of bringing about a revolution in the country, they would be regarded not as private, but as public property;—and that Murray would be anxious to lodge them where they might be referred to, both by his cotemporaries and posterity, as documents with which his own reputation, no less than that of his sister, was indissolubly connected. Here again, however, the impartial inquirer is disappointed. The Regent appears to have kept them close in his own possession till his death, and they then fell into the hands of his successor, the Earl of Lennox. Towards the end of January, 1571, Lennox delivered them to Morton; and, after Morton's execution, the box and its contents became the property of the Earl of Gowrie.

* TYTLER, vol. i. p. 144.

Knowing that he would be less anxious to maintain their authenticity, not being influenced by any of the motives of personal aggrandizement which had actuated Murray, Lennox, and Morton, and fearing lest the whole trick should be discovered, Elizabeth became now very anxious to obtain them. She ordered her ambassador in Scotland, in 1582, to promise Gowrie, that, if he would surrender them, he should "be requited to his comfort and contentment, with princely thanks and gratuity." But Gowrie was neither to be bribed nor persuaded; he knew the value of the papers too well, and the power which their possession gave him, both over James and Elizabeth. As long as they befriended him, he would be silent; but should he ever be cast off by them, he would proclaim their fabrication, and remove the stains they had cast upon Mary's honour. Elizabeth's earnest endeavours to get them into her own possession, can be accounted for only on the supposition that she knew them to be forgeries; for it was in that case alone, that any dangerous use could have been made of them. Subsequent to the correspondence with Gowrie, in 1582, nothing farther is known of these writings. In 1584, Gowrie was executed as a traitor, on account of the conspiracy in which he had engaged, and many of his effects fell into the hands of James VI; but whether these documents were among them, is uncertain. It is more probable that Gowrie had, before this, been persuaded to part with them to Elizabeth, who no doubt had them destroyed. In so far as the originals are concerned, this celebrated body of evidence is little else than a mere shadow. It was never

spoken of at all, till long after it had been discovered,—it was not produced till long after it had been first spoken of,—it appeared only for a few hours, before persons predisposed to give it all credit,—it then returned to its former obscurity, and not even *copies*, but merely *translations*, are all that were ever presented to the world in a printed shape. It is strange that any importance should have ever been attached to papers, which, before they ever fairly saw the light, were devoured by the jaws of darkness.*

* There is preserved at Hamilton Palace, a small silver box, said to be the very casket which once contained the Letters. Laing, who appears to believe in the genuineness of this relic somewhat too hastily, mentions, that “the casket was purchased from a Papist by the Marchioness of Douglas, (a daughter of the Huntly family,) about the period of the Restoration. After her death, her plate was sold to a goldsmith, from whom her daughter-in-law Anne, heiress and Duchess of Hamilton, repurchased the casket.”

“For the following accurate and satisfactory account of the casket,” adds Mr Laing, “I am indebted to Mr Alexander Young, W. S., to whom I transmitted the description of it given in Morton’s receipt, and in the Memorandum prefixed to the Letters in Buchanan’s ‘*Detection*.’”

“The silver box is carefully preserved in the Charter-room at Hamilton Palace, and answers exactly the description you have given of it, both in size and general appearance. I examined the outside very minutely. On the first glance, I was led to state, that it had none of those ornaments to which you allude, and, in particular, that it wanted the crowns, with the italic letter *F*. Instead of these, I found on one of the sides the arms of the house of Hamilton, which seemed to have been engraved on a compartment, which had previously contained some other ornament. On the top of the lock, which is of curious

Eighth, Though it would be, perhaps, as difficult to prove a negative, as to demonstrate the spuriousness of writings which do not exist, and which were hardly ever seen, the presumption against them is increased a hundred-fold, if it can be clearly established, that the same men who produced them were more than once guilty of deliberate forgery. This could be done in many instances; but it will be enough to mention two, which are sufficiently glaring. The first is the letter which Morton exhibited before Mary was taken to Loch-Leven, and which was never afterwards referred to or produced, even at the time when evidence of all kinds was raked up against her. It was a letter which would not only have

workmanship, there is a large embossed crown with *fleurs de lis*, but without any letters. Upon the bottom, however, of the casket, there are two other small ornaments—one near each end, which, at first sight, I thought resembled our silver-smiths' marks; but, on closer inspection, I found they consisted each of a royal crown above a *fleur de lis*, surmounting the italic letter *F*." LAING, vol. ii. p. 235.

Upon this description of the box, it may be remarked, that it does *not* exactly agree with the account given of it by Buchanan, for it would appear, that, in the casket preserved at Hamilton, there are only two italic *F*'s, while Buchanan describes it as "a small gilt coffer, not fully a foot long, being *garnished in sundry places* with the Roman letter *F*, under a king's crown," an expression he would not have used, had there been only two of these letters. Besides, there seems to have been a king's crown above each; but, on the coffer at Hamilton, there is only one crown on the top of the lock, and not above the letter *F*. Antiquarians, however, have investigated subjects of less curiosity, and have been willing to believe upon far more slender data.

gone a great way to corroborate the others, but, as it did not implicate the Queen in Darnley's murder, was exactly the sort of apology that was wished for keeping her "sequestered" at Loch-Leven, and forcing from her an abdication. Even though all the other epistles had been kept back, this might have been safely engrossed in the minutes of Morton's Privy Council, and referred to again and again by the King's Lords, as the great justification of their conduct. If by any chance a reason could be found, why it was first produced, and again concealed, it would still be impossible to discover why it alone was withdrawn, when all the rest were laid before Elizabeth. There is but one solution of the enigma, which is, that it was too hasty a fabrication to bear minute examination, and that, though it misled Kirkaldy of Grange, who was of a frank, unsuspecting nature, Morton and Murray were ashamed of it.

A second, and even more remarkable example of forgery, is to be found in one of the papers which Murray shewed to the English commissioners at York, but which he afterwards found it prudent to withdraw, when the writings were more publicly produced at Westminster. This paper was described as,— "The Queen's consent given to the Lords who subscribed the bond for the promotion of the said James Earl Bothwell to her marriage." * In the "private and secret conference," which Lethington, Macgill, Wood, and Buchanan, had with the commissioners at York, "they shewed unto us," say the latter, "a copy of a band, bearing date the 19th of

* GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 87.

April, 1567, to the which the most part of the Lords and Counsellors of Scotland have put to their hands; and, as they say, more for fear than any liking they had of the same. Which band contained two special points,—the one a declaration of Bothwell's purgation of the murder of the Lord Darnley, and the other a general consent to his marriage with the Queen, so far forth as the law and her own liking should allow. And yet, in proof that they did it not willingly, they procured a warrant which was now shewed unto us, bearing date the 19th of April, signed with the Queen's hand, whereby she gave them license to agree to the same; affirming, that before they had such a warrant, there was none of them that did or would set to their hands, saving only the Earl of Huntly.* This must have been a very curious and interesting warrant; and it is somewhat surprising, that it had never been heard of before. It was a very strong link in the chain; and spoke volumes of Mary's love for Bothwell, which had carried her so far, that she not only secretly wished, but openly requested her nobles to recommend him to her as a husband. Besides, if the warrant was genuine, it must have been seen by all the lords who were present at "Ainsly's supper;" and they must have been, consequently, well aware that no such thing had taken place as a forcible abduction of the Queen's person. So far from supposing that Bothwell ever kept her in "unlawful bondage," or forced her into a "pretended marriage," they would know that she had shewn greater anxiety

* GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 140.

to possess him than he had to secure her. Their only wonder would be, that after so far overcoming the natural modesty of her sex, as to point out to them one of her own subjects, whom she asked them to advise her to marry, she should so palpably have contradicted herself, as to give out afterwards, that it was not till she had been carried off, and till every argument had been used which power could supply, or passion suggest, that she reluctantly agreed to become his wife. If she openly and formally licensed her nobles to recommend him, what was the use of all her subsequent affected reluctance? It was not Murray's business to explain this problem. The warrant spoke for itself, and it was with it only that he had to do. What, then, were the comments which he made on it at Westminster, and the conclusive presumptions against Mary which he drew from it? *The "Warrant" was not produced at Westminster at all, and not a single allusion was made to it.** This fact alone is sufficient to mark the credit it deserves. It could do no harm to shew it privately to Norfolk, Sussex, and Sadler; but it would not have answered so well to have advanced it publicly, as all the nobility of Scotland would at once have known it to be a fabrication. The probability is, that this "Warrant," or "Consent," was neither more nor less than a garbled copy of the pardon which Bothwell obtained from Mary, for the Lords who had signed the bond, when he brought her out of the Castle of Edinburgh on the 14th of May, the day previous to

• * GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 235, and p. 257.

her marriage,—a pardon she would never have been asked for if she had before recommended the bond.* If Murray and his party are thus detected in fabrications so gross, that they themselves, however anxious to bolster up their cause, were afraid to make use of them, what dependence is to be placed upon the authenticity of any writings they chose to produce?

Ninth, It was Bothwell who murdered Darnley; it was Bothwell who seized the person of the Queen; it was Bothwell who was married to her; it was Bothwell whose daring ambition waded through blood and crime, till at length he set his foot upon a throne. But his triumph was of short duration. The Queen left him, and went over to his enemies; and he himself was forced into a miserable exile. It was this reverse of fortune which he had all along dreaded; and it was to be prepared for the evil day, that he had preserved the eight letters and love-sonnets so carefully in the small gilt box. He had determined, that whatever might happen, he should never lose his hold over Mary, but that, as she had participated in his guilt, she should be made to share his subsequent fortunes. He cannot have been well pleased with her conduct at Carberry Hill; and it was perhaps to revenge himself upon her, that he sent Dalgleish for the casket, part of the contents of which he may have intended to disclose to the world. Dalgleish and the casket were seized, but the secret of Mary's

* The authentic "Warrant" and "Consent" has been already described, *supra*, vol. ii. p. 90, and may be seen at length in ANDERSON, vol. i. p. 87.

criminality was still in Bothwell's possession; and there was surely no occasion that he should become odious in the eyes of all men, whilst his paramour and accomplice preserved her reputation. Did he never, then, throughout the whole course of his life, utter a word, or issue a declaration, or make a confession, which in the slightest degree implicated Mary? It is surely a strong presumption in her favour if he never did.

Before Darnley was murdered, Bothwell went to meet Morton at Whittingham, to consult him on the subject. Morton told him, that unless he could produce proof, under the Queen's hand, of her consent to have her husband removed, he would not interfere in the matter. Before going to Whittingham, Bothwell must have received the two letters which Mary is alleged to have written to him from Glasgow; *yet he was unable to shew Morton any writing to corroborate his assertion, that the Queen would not be offended at the proposed murder.* He promised, however, that he would do all he could to procure the warrant which Morton desired. Some time afterwards, "I being at St Andrews," says Morton, in his confession, "to visit the Earl of Angus, a little before the murder, Mr Archibald Douglas came to me there, both with write and credit of the Earl Bothwell, to shew unto me that the purpose of the King's murder was to be done, and near a point; and to request my concurrence and assistance thereunto. My answer to him was, that I would give no answer to that purpose, seeing I had not got the Queen's warrant in write, which was promised; and, therefore, seeing the Earl Bothwell never reported any warrant of the

Queen to me, I never meddled farther with it." * As all that Morton wished, before giving Bothwell his active support, was "the Queen's hand-write of the matter for a warrant," what would have been more natural or easy for Bothwell than to have produced any of the letters he had got from Mary, which would exactly have answered the purpose, and satisfied all Morton's scruples? As Bothwell told him that the Queen approved of the design, he could not have any objection to make good that assertion, by any written evidence in his possession. He need not even have shewn the whole of any one letter, but only such detached parts of it as bore directly on the subject in question. It is strange, that Bothwell should have gone so far, and should have been so anxious to secure the co-operation of Morton; yet, that he did not obviate the only objection which Morton started, by putting into his hands a letter, or letters, which, if they ever existed, he must have then had. †

Various occasions occurred afterwards, which held out every inducement to Bothwell to produce the letters and accuse the Queen. Passing over his silence at Carberry Hill, notwithstanding her desertion of him there, and during all the rest of the time that he remained in Scotland, it may be mentioned, that Murray, shortly after he had been appointed Regent, wrote to the King of Denmark, to request that Bothwell should

* LAING, *Appendix*, vol. ii p. 356.

† See, in farther corroboration of the facts stated above, a *Letter of Archibald Douglas to the Queen of Scots*, in ROBERTSON'S *Appendix*, or in LAING, vol. ii. p. 363.

be delivered up to him. The King refused, on several grounds, and, among others, that Bothwell maintained he had been unjustly driven from the kingdom,—that he had been legally tried and acquitted,—that he had been lawfully married to the Queen,— and that *no blame whatever attached to her.** As Murray was by no means satisfied with this answer, Mr Thomas Buchanan was afterwards sent out to Denmark, to obtain possession, if possible, of Bothwell's person. Buchanan, of course, made himself acquainted with all that Bothwell had been saying and doing, since he fled from Scotland; and in January, 1571, he sent home a full account of his discoveries to his constituents. The letter was addressed to the Earl of Lennox, who was then Regent; but it fell first into the Earl of Morton's hands, who was at that time in London. Perceiving that it contained matter by no means favourable to their cause, and afraid lest it might produce some effect on the mind of Elizabeth, he played the same game with her he had formerly been so successful in with Mary, and passed off upon her a garbled copy as a genuine transcript of the original. "We had no will," the Earl of Morton wrote to Lennox, "that the contents of the letter should be known, fearing that some words and matters mentioned in the same being dispersed here as news, would rather have hindered than furthered our cause. And, therefore, being desired at court to shew the letter, we gave to understand

* "Nec ullam hac in causa Reginæ accusationem intervenire." See the *King of Denmark's Letter*, in LAING, vol. II. p. 328.

that we had sent the principal away, and delivered a copy, omitting such things as we thought not meet to be shewn, as your Grace may perceive by the like copy, which also we have sent you herewith; which you may communicate to such as your Grace thinks it not expedient to communicate the whole contents of the principal letter unto."* Both the original despatch and the spurious copy have unfortunately been lost, or were more probably destroyed by Lennox himself, so that their contents can only be conjectured; but it is evident, that, so far from tending to hurt Mary's reputation, they must rather have served to exculpate her.

In the year 1576, Mary wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow, that she had received intelligence of Bothwell's death, and that, before his decease, he had declared himself the murderer of Darnley, and expressly freed her from any share in it, attesting her innocence in the most solemn manner. "If this be true," Mary added, "this testimony will be of great importance to me against the false calumnies of my enemies. I therefore beseech you to take every means in your power to discover the real state of the case."† The Archbishop proposed, in consequence, to send a messenger to Denmark, to procure a properly authenticated copy of the testament; but, for want of money, and other causes, it appears that he was never able to carry his intentions into effect. The confession was transmitted to Elizabeth by the King of Denmark, but its pub-

* GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 382.

† KEITH, *Appendix*, p. 141.

lication was anxiously suppressed by her ;* and is now lost. Its place, however, has been not unsatisfactorily supplied by a discovery which has recently been made in the Royal Library at Drottningholm, entitled, a " Declaration of the Earl of Bothwell," made by him when a prisoner at Copenhagen, in the year 1568. It contains a full account of all the principal events of his past life ; and though it was written, not as a confession, but as a justification, and is consequently an artful piece of special pleading in his own defence, and not always particularly accurate in its detail of facts, it cannot fail, nevertheless, to be regarded as an interesting and important document. One thing is especially to be remarked, that, throughout the whole, he never attempts, in the most distant manner, to implicate Mary in the blame attachable to his own conduct. On the contrary, he speaks of her throughout with the utmost respect. It may be said, that, if Bothwell had accused Mary, he could not have defended himself, and that he abstained only from a selfish motive. There were, however, a thousand different degrees of responsibility with which he might have charged Mary. There was no necessity to have accused her of the murder of Darnley, or of a criminal attachment to him ; but, if it had been the truth, it would certainly have been for his own interest, to have proved that the Queen loved him sincerely and warmly. Even this he does not venture to state ; and the impression left by the whole tone of the declaration unquestionably is, that he felt it would be for his advantage

• JEBB, vol. ii. p. 227 ; KEITH, *Appendix*, p. 143.

to say as little about Mary as possible, knowing that, of all others, he had offended most against her, and that to attempt to cast any imputation upon her innocence, would be only to throw a darker shade over his own villany.*

Tenth, Some writers have ventured to assert, that however little credit they might be disposed to give to the statements of such men as Murray and Morton, they have been somewhat startled to find that Mary herself never denied them very positively, or evinced much indignation against them. These writers cannot have looked very deeply into the records on this subject, else they would have found that the fact was exactly the reverse of what they suppose it to have been. "And yet is there one injury more," says Bishop Lesley, "that doth grieve and molest this good, guiltless lady more than all their foretold villanous pranks played by them against her, and surely not without just cause of grief; for, indeed, it far passeth and exceedeth them all, and that is, their shameful and most traitorous defaming her, being altogether innocent therein, with the death of her husband, as though that she had suborned the Earl of Bothwell thereto, and rewarded him therefor with the marriage of her own body."† But it is quite unnecessary to refer to any particular authorities upon this subject; for a volume might be easily filled

* The Declaration alluded to above, has since been printed for the Bannatyne Club. By the kindness of Henry Cockburn, Esq and Thomas Maitland, Esq, by whom this important document was edited, the author is enabled to give it in the Appendix to the present edition.

† *Lesley's Defence* in ANDERSON, vol. 1. p. 40.

with letters, despatches, and instructions, from Mary, which not only deny her guilt, but, by the arguments which they contain, go very far to establish her innocence. A communication, which she addressed, in the year 1569, to the States of Scotland, must, however, be mentioned, as it distinctly shews what her feelings then were towards Bothwell; for whom, indeed, she had so little affection, that, very soon after her arrival in England, she lent a favourable ear to the proposals of marriage made by the Duke of Norfolk. Her letter to the Scottish Parliament is to be considered in connection with this contemplated marriage. Its purpose was, to obtain the sanction of the States to a divorce from Bothwell; and she alluded to him in the following terms:—

“ Forasmuch as we are credibly informed, by sundry and diverse noblemen of our realm, that the pretended marriage, some time contracted, and in a manner solemnized, between us and James Earl of Bothwell, was, for diverse respects, unlawful, and may not of good conscience and law stand betwixt us, (albeit it seemed otherwise to us and our Council at that time);—considering, therefore, with ourselves, and thinking that the same does touch us as highly in honour and conscience that it daily and hourly troubles and vexes our spirit quite through, we are moved to seek remedy.” * The very Lords, however, who had before affected so much anxiety to free her from that “ ungodly alliance,” now refused to take any steps towards forwarding the divorce;

* MISS BENDER, *Appendix*, vol. II. p. 494.

and they were thus convicted of another inconsistency.* Little more than eighteen months had elapsed since they not only imprisoned her, but forced her to surrender her crown, because, as they alleged, she "would not consent, by any persuasion, to abandon the Lord Bothwell for her husband, but avowed constantly that she would live and die with him, saying, that if it were put to her choice to relinquish her crown and kingdom, or the Lord Bothwell, she would leave her kingdom and dignity, to go as a simple damsel with him, and would never consent that he would fare worse, or have more harm than herself."† Yet she now expressly asked a divorce from this Lord Bothwell, her connection with whom had "daily and hourly troubled and vexed her spirit;" and the Lords, forgetting all their former protestations, were not disposed to accede to it.

Nor was it by Mary herself alone that a direct contradiction was given to the defamatory accusations of the Regent and his associates. Numerous state papers exist which shew, that all the impartial and disinterested part, not only of her own nobility, but of Elizabeth's, considered her entirely innocent. In the year 1568, letters were addressed to the Queen of England, by many of the Lords of Scotland, which spoke very strongly in Mary's behalf. Among the signatures to these will be found the names of the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Earl of Huntly, Argyle, Crawford,

* BUCHANAN, book xix; STUART, vol. 1. p. 460.

† ROBERTSON, *Appendix* to vol. i. No. XXII.

Errol, Rothes, Cassilis, Eglinton, and Caithness, and the Lords Fleming, Ross, Sanquhar, Ogilvy, Boyd, Oliphant, Drummond, Maxwell, and others.* In England, the great number of Lords and gentlemen of the first rank who joined with Norfolk in aid of Mary, affords perhaps a still stronger presumption in her favour. But Robertson, on the other hand, asserts, that her father and mother-in-law, Lord and Lady Lennox, were convinced of her guilt. This is a very rash assertion. By attaching himself to the Prince's faction, Lennox came to be elected Regent, and consequently it cannot be matter of much wonder that he affected to believe all that Mary's enemies advanced against her; for he had, in truth, identified his interests with those of Murray and Morton, and if their fabrications had been detected, he must have suffered along with them. But in so far as regards the Countess of Lennox, Robertson's statement is directly contrary to the fact. He quotes a letter, it is true, written by Mary to that Lady, in the year 1570, in which, with ingenuous sincerity, the Queen laments that the Countess should allow herself to be persuaded to think evil of her. But Robertson either did not know, or chose to conceal, the fact, that she saw cause, soon after receiving this letter, decidedly to change her opinions. In 1578, Mary wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow to this effect:— "The Countess of Lennox, my mother-in-law, died about a month ago. This good Lady, thanks to God, has been in very good intelligence and correspondence with me for the last five or six

* ANDERSON, VOL. IV. part 1. p. 120, and 125.

years. She has confessed to me, by diverse letters under her hand, which I carefully keep, the wrong she did me in the unjust prosecutions which she allowed to proceed against me in her name, and which originated partly in erroneous information, but principally in the express commands of the Queen of England, and persuasions of those of her Council who were always averse to our reconciliation. As soon as she became persuaded of my innocence, she desisted from these prosecutions, and resolutely refused to countenance the proceedings which were carried on against me under her name."* Thus, however prejudiced her husband necessarily was, the Countess was unable to resist the force of truth, as soon as she could investigate the matter impartially. It may farther be mentioned, that, in France, there was scarcely an individual who thought Mary guilty; and that the funeral orations which were ordered by the government to be preached upon her death, were attended by hundreds, who wept over the injuries and the misfortunes of their beloved Queen-dowager.† It appears, therefore, both by Mary's own declarations, repeated over and over again, with undeviating consistency, up to the very hour of her death, when she passed into the presence of her Maker, solemnly protesting her innocence, and by the deliberate opinions of nearly all her contemporaries who are deserving of credit, that the strongest and most positive contradiction was given to the malicious insinuations of the opposite party.

* KETCH, *Appendix*, p 145.

† JIBB, vol II p 671

Eleventh, and Lastly. A considerable number of Bothwell's accomplices were tried, condemned, and executed, for their share in the murder; and before their death, they all made Depositions and Confessions, which still exist, and have been printed by Goodall, Anderson, Laing, and others. Among these are the Examinations, Depositions, and Confessions of Powrie, Dalgleish, Hay, Hepburn, and Paris; the evidence of Nelson, Darnley's servant, and the Confessions of Ormiston, and the Earl of Morton. Here, then, is a tolerably voluminous collection of facts, supplied by those who were most intimate with Bothwell, and who, if he had any undue intimacy with the Queen, would in all probability have known something concerning it, and have had it in their power to throw some light upon the subject. These documents, therefore, will be anxiously read by all who aim at discovering the real perpetrators and devisers of the murder. The result of their readings will be the discovery, that, in every one of these documents, which is properly authenticated and ascertained to be genuine, Bothwell, and Bothwell alone, is mentioned as the executor of the deed; and there is not a syllable in any of them which can be construed to the disadvantage of the Queen. On the contrary, various particulars are mentioned, which have a direct tendency to disprove her connection with him. Some of these have been already alluded to; but a few of the circumstances most decisive in the Queen's favour may be recapitulated here. 1. Hepburn deponed, that, as it took longer time to get the powder into the lower part of Darnley's house than was expected, Bothwell became impa-

tient, and told them to make haste, for they would not find so much commodity if the Queen came out.* 2. Hepburn and Paris deponed, that Bothwell got false keys made for opening all the doors of the house in which Darnley lodged, for which he would have had no occasion if the Queen had been in the plot with him.† 3. Ormiston being asked, “if ever the Queen spoke to him at any time concerning the murder, or if he knew what was her mind unto it?” replied,—“As I shall answer to God, she spoke never to me, nor I to her, of it, nor I know nothing of her part, but as my Lord Bothwell told me.” As if alluding to some bribe which had been offered him if he would accuse the Queen, he added,—“I will not speak but the truth for all the gold of the earth, which I desire you, good minister, bear record of, and as you have written, I pray you read over to me, let me also see it.”‡ 4. Paris can have had no suspicion that the Queen countenanced the proposed murder; for, in the conversation he had with Bothwell, when the Earl first disclosed his intention to him, he beseeched him to desist from his enterprize, telling him that he was “already the most powerful nobleman in the country, and that, having lately married, he ought now or never to be anxious to keep himself out of trouble.”§ 5. Paris farther deponed, that Bothwell asked him to procure the key of the Queen’s chamber, at the Kirk-of-Field, telling him, that he had got him transferred to the

* ANDERSON, vol. II. p. 185.

† Ibid. p. 187, LAING, vol. II. p. 296

‡ LAING, *Appendix*, p. 323.

§ Ibid. vol. II. p. 298.

Queen's service, solely in the hope of finding him useful on this occasion.* Had Mary herself known of the plot, Bothwell need not have run the risk of disclosing it to Paris. 6. Though Dalgleish was minutely examined regarding all the circumstances of the murder, not one question was put to him upon the subject of the box and letters, which were of so much importance; nor was it ever mentioned, till after his death, that the casket had been in his custody. On the 20th of June, 1567, Dalgleish is said to have been seized, and this is probably the fact: he was examined six days afterwards, before Morton and the other Lords of the Privy Council, and his examination has been preserved entire. "This remarkable particular," says Tytler, "naturally occurs to be observed in it, that it was surely of great importance for Morton, who then had the box in his custody, to have confronted Dalgleish with the persons who apprehended him, and to have asked him some questions relating to this box, such as, Whether or not this box was in his custody when he was seized?—What orders he received from his master, Bothwell, concerning it?—Who delivered it to him? or where he found it?—Whether open, or locked?—If open, what it contained?—and, Where he was to have carried it? Dalgleish, and the persons who seized him, in a matter so recent, only six days before, could have given distinct answers to those questions."†—There can be little doubt, that as no such questions were put, no such transaction as the seizure

* LAING, *Appendix*, p. 300.

† TYTLER, vol. 1. p. 81.

of a box and papers had taken place. Laing endeavours to account for this very suspicious circumstance in the following manner:—"The depositions are strictly confined to the murder, as the design was to procure judicial evidence against Bothwell and his associates, not to implicate the Queen in his guilt." But, in the first place, these letters were themselves the very best "judicial evidence" they could have found; and, in the second, questions might have been put concerning them, without, in the mean time, making any disclosure of their contents. The total silence of the Privy Council, and of Dalgleish, is fatal to their supposed existence. 7. The Earl of Morton confessed, that, though he told Bothwell he would give him more active assistance if he could shew him any writing of the Queen, which proved that she sanctioned the murder; yet that Bothwell, after undertaking to procure such writing, was never able to fulfil his promise; and this was at a time posterior to the date of some of the love-letters which Mary was afterwards alleged to have written to him. Thus, these Confessions, Depositions, and Examinations, though they were collected with the anxious wish of eliciting some circumstances which would seem to criminate Mary, must have been felt, by the rebel Lords themselves, to be as much in her favour as it was possible for any negative evidence to be. *

* It is unnecessary to enter into any discussion regarding the second Confession of Paris, which has been so satisfactorily proved to be spurious, by Tytler, Whittaker, and Chalmers, and on which Robertson acknowledges "no stress is to be laid," on account of the "improbable

Having thus stated the leading External Evidences against the genuineness of these Letters, it will be worth while to examine, for a moment, Robertson's "external proofs" in support of them, —which, when contrasted with those stated above, will be found to be of little weight. The historian argues for their authenticity, on the following grounds:—*First*, "Murray and the nobles who adhered to him, affirmed, upon their word and honour, that the letters were written with the Queen's own hand, with which they were well acquainted." This is an odd enough argument to begin with, as if men who forged letters for a particular purpose, would themselves confess that they were forged. *Second*, "The Letters were publicly produced in the Parliament of Scotland, December, 1567, and were so far considered as genuine, that they are mentioned in the act against Mary, as one chief argument of her guilt." This is nothing but a repetition, in other words, of the former powerful argument; for the Parliament of December, 1567, was the Parliament assembled by Murray, after he had been elected Regent, and he was able to secure the passing of any act he chose. Where Robertson learned, that, at this Parliament, "the letters were publicly produced," does not appear, as his reference to Goodall (vol. ii. p. 66) by no means authorizes the assertion. *Third*, "The Letters seem to have been considered genuine by Elizabeth's commissioners, both at York and West-

circumstances" it contains. See TYTLER, vol. i. p. 286; WHITTAKER, vol. ii. p. 305; CHALMERS, vol. ii. p. 50; ROBERTSON, vol. iii. p. 20.

minster, as appears by letters which Norfolk, Sussex, and Sadler, wrote from York; and as, in the journal of the proceedings at Hampton Court, it is said, that, when the letters, supposed to be written by the Queen of Scots, 'were duly conferred and compared, for the manner of writing and fashion of orthography, with sundry other letters, long since heretofore written, and sent by the said Queen of Scots to the Queen's Majesty, in the collation no difference was found.'" It has been seen, however, that whatever Norfolk chose to write concerning those letters, with the view of pleasing Elizabeth, and concealing from her his own engagements and designs, he was, in truth, so little influenced by them, that he avowed a passion for Mary, and risked his life and fortune in order to become her husband. It has been also seen, that the hasty collation, made by the nobles at Hampton Court, of these pretended letters, with others, "long since heretofore written," and furnished by Elizabeth herself, is, in truth, no collation at all, or one upon which no dependence can be placed. *Fourth*, "The Earl of Lennox, both in public, and in a private letter he wrote to his own wife, so expressed himself, that it is plain he not only thought the Queen guilty, but believed the authenticity of her letters to Bothwell." This matter has been already investigated. The Regent Lennox was obliged to maintain Mary's guilt for his own sake; and it is scarcely to be supposed he would have been so imprudent as write to his wife, to inform her that the opinions he had so strenuously supported before the world were not those of his heart and conscience.

Murray himself would as soon have acknowledged that the letters were fabricated as Lennox. But it is a strong fact, that, though she had every inducement to think as her husband did, Lady Lennox believed Mary innocent. These are all Robertson's "external proofs of the genuineness of Mary's letters." *

The external evidence against these writings, is probably enough to convince every impartial reader that they are forgeries. But, as they exist in one shape or other, it may be as well to go a step farther, and see whether their perusal will strengthen or weaken the belief of their fabrication. This brings us to the second division of the subject, which will not detain us so long as the first.

INTERNAL EVIDENCES.—Considering the weight which Mary's enemies have attached to these letters, the first question the impartial inquirer will naturally ask is, whether properly authenticated copies of what Mary is alleged to have written can still be seen,—whether the *ipsissima verba* which she used have been preserved,—and whether an opportunity can thus be had of judging of the precise shade of meaning of particular passages, and of the general style and tenor of these strange compositions? In answer to these inquiries, it has to be stated, that the letters, as taken out of the casket, were exhibited only to a few noblemen, who acted under Elizabeth; and that nothing but translations of them are now extant. They were given to the world, for the first time, in the year 1571,

* ROBERTSON, vol. iii. p. 21.

when an edition of Buchanan's "Detection of Queen Mary's Doings" was published both in Latin and Scotch. The former contained only the three first letters translated into Latin; the latter contained all the eight letters translated into Scotch.* The originals were thus left at the mercy of translators; and, in particular, at the mercy of such a translator as Buchanan, who cannot be supposed to have had any great desire to be scrupulously accurate. In 1572, a French edition of the "Detection" was published at London, to which were subjoined seven French letters and the love-sonnets. For nearly two hundred years, no one doubted but that these were Mary's original letters, and they were always referred to as such in any controversies which took place on the subject. In 1754, however, Mr Walter Goodall, keeper of the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, published his "Examination of the Letters," and shewed, in the clearest manner, that these seven French letters were nothing but re-translations from the Latin and Scottish translations, which had been previously published. This was certainly an important and interesting discovery, although it scarcely warranted the conclusion which Goodall thought he was entitled to draw from it, that no French copy of the letters had, in reality, ever existed, until the Latin and Scottish editions were first fabricated. Robertson and others have maintained more justly, that, though they acknowledge Goodall to have proved that the existing French copies of the letters are

* GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 371, and 375; ROBERTSON, vol. iii. p. 28.

only translations from translations; there is, nevertheless, no reason to believe that the French letters produced by Murray at York and Westminster, copies of which they grant have never been given to the world, were translations also. The true state of the case is made more apparent by the French editor's own admission in his Preface: "The letters subjoined to this work," he says, "were written by the Queen, partly in French and partly in Scotch, and were afterwards translated altogether into Latin; but having no knowledge of the Scottish language, I have preferred translating accurately from the Latin copy, lest, by being over scrupulous about changing a single syllable, I might frustrate the reader in his desire to ascertain precisely to whom the fault of the execrable murder, and other enormities mentioned in them, ought to be ascribed." * Thus, both by the ignorance which this translator evinces, in alleging, contrary to the assertions which had been made by Murray, that the letters were originally written, *partly* in French, and *partly* in Scotch, and, by his own confession, that he preferred translating from the Latin, wherever he could get it, rather than from the Scotch, it is perfectly evident, that no such thing as the original French letters have ever appeared; and that the French letters which do exist, are not so much to be depended on as even the Scotch or Latin, which were probably translated directly from the epistles which Murray produced.

In what condition, then, do we find these won-

* The French edition of the *Detection*, p. 2; GOODALL, vol. i. p. 103.

derful letters, about which so much has been written? We have three in Latin, eight in Scotch, and seven in French. The French are only re-translations from the Latin and Scottish; and they, in their turn, are translations from the invisible French originals. And under whose superintendence were these translations, into the Scottish and Latin, made? Either under that of Murray, or of Elizabeth and Cecil. The former, after merely shewing the letters at Westminster, took them back with him to Scotland; but intrusted the latter with copies.* It is not very likely that the Scottish translation could be made in England; and the three that have been rendered into Latin, have been commonly attributed to George Buchanan. Laing, however, labours to shew that this is a mistake, and that the translation was made by a Dr Wilson, Elizabeth's master of requests. Be this as it may, in what court of law or equity would such documents as these be admitted as evidence? The grossest errors have often been made by translators, even where they were anxious to be as faithful as possible. Yet we are now called upon to form an opinion of letters, which exist in languages different from that in which they were originally written, and which are either translations from translations, or translations executed by those who had every motive and desire to pervert the original, and make it appear much worse than it really was. What jury would for a moment look at such letters? What impartial judge would allow his mind to be biassed by them, altered

* GOODALL, vol. II. p. 235.

and garbled as they must unquestionably be, even supposing that their originals once existed? It was to Buchanan's *Detection* that these letters were always subjoined. At Westminster, Murray produced a *Book of Articles*, in five parts, containing certain presumptions, likelihoods, and circumstances, whereby it should evidently appear, that, as Bothwell was the chief murderer of the King, so was the Queen a deviser and maintainer thereof. "From the explanation given in Buchanan's *History*," says Laing, "the *Book of Articles* corresponds, and was undoubtedly the same with the *Detection of the Doings of Mary*."* Buchanan, identifying, as he did, his interests with those of Murray, was from the first one of the most active of the Queen's prosecutors. The dependence to be placed upon his accuracy and honesty as a controversialist, has been already pretty clearly established; and the sort of translations he would make, of any of Mary's writings, may be very easily conjectured.

Laing, however, claims the merit of a discovery, which, at first sight, appears somewhat remarkable,—neither more nor less than a copy of one of the eight Love-letters, in the original French, found in the State-Paper Office, in a book containing, "Letters upon Scottish Affairs to Queen Elizabeth." Whether this letter be in the original French or not, it is certainly different from the French translation, published with the French edition of the *Detection*, in 1572, and has altogether a greater air of originality about it. But being confessedly only a copy, it is of

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• LAING, vol. 1. p. 250.

course quite impossible to say whether it is Mary's French, or that of some one who chose to write French in her name. It is strange, too, that, even though it could be proved to demonstration to be a copy of a genuine letter, it does not contain a single word which, in the slightest degree, would implicate Mary. Introduced, it is true, as one of a series, all of which, as was maintained, were addressed to Bothwell, something suspicious might easily be made out of it. But, as it stands by itself, it must be taken by itself; and as it bears no address or date, it may just as well be supposed to have been written to Darnley, or even to a female friend. The subject spoken of is the ungrateful conduct of one of Mary's female attendants; and the advice of the person to whom it is written is asked, as to what is proper to be done in consequence. To this person, whoever it was, several natural terms of endearment are also applied, such as, "*Mon cœur*," and, "*Ma chère vie*;" and these are all the grounds of suspicion which this "Copy from the State-Paper Office" contains.*

* See the Letter in LAING, vol. ii. p. 202; and an unsuccessful attempt to give a criminal interpretation to it, in vol. i. p. 311. It is quite unnecessary to allude here to several other flimsy forgeries which, at a later period, have been attempted to be palmed upon the world as genuine letters of Mary. In 1726, a book was published, entitled, "The genuine Letters of Mary Queen of Scots, to James Earl of Bothwell, found in his Secretary's Closet after his Decease, and now in the Possession of a Gentleman at Oxford. Translated from the French by Edward Simmons, late of Christ-Church College, Oxford." These had only to be read, to be seen to be fabrications. Yet, so late as the year 1824, a compilation.

Having thus shewn the extreme uncertainty which must attend any argument against Mary, founded on any minute or literal examination of these Letters, a very few objections farther may be stated to them, upon evidences which they themselves afford.

Although it is impossible to form any opinion of the *words* which Mary may have used in these letters, some conclusions may be drawn from the *sentiments*, which the translators, of course, pretend not to have altered. These are, in many respects, directly contradictory of the character which history proves her to have possessed. Whatever follies Mary may have committed—whatever weaknesses she may have fallen into—it cannot be denied, even by her worst enemies, that she was a woman of a proud spirit, and too much accustomed to admiration and flattery, to consider her esteem a gift of little value. Yet, through all these writings, she is made to evince a degree of ardour and forwardness of affection for Bothwell, at once against every notion of female delicacy, and all individual probability.

was published by Dr Hugh Campbell, containing, among other things, eleven letters, which the Doctor thought were original love-letters of the Queen to Bothwell, although, with a very trifling variation, they were the same as those published in 1726, only, not being described as translations, and being written in comparatively modern English, which Mary never could write, they bear still more evidently the stamp of forgery. This is put beyond a doubt, by a short Examination of them, published by Murray, London, 1825, and entitled, “A Detection of the Love-Letters, lately attributed, in Hugh Campbell’s Work, to Mary Queen of Scots, wherein his plagiarisms are proved, and his fictions fixed.”

She is continually made to express fears that he does not return her love with an equal warmth, —that he loves his wife, the Lady Jane Gordon, better than he does her, —and that he is not so zealous in bringing about their mutual purposes as she could wish. If Bothwell had ever carried on these criminal intrigues with Mary, one of his first objects would have been to remove from her mind all suspicion that he was not in truth devotedly attached to her. Whether he was successful in deceiving her or not, is it likely that Mary Queen of Scots, whose hand had been sought by all the first Princes in Christendom, would have condescended to servility, meanness, and abject cringing in her advances to him? If the letters were forged, Murray would naturally wish to put, in as strong a point of view as possible, Mary's anxiety to urge Bothwell on to all the crimes which he perpetrated. But if letters had been really written by her, many compunctious visitings of conscience would surely be apparent in them — many a fear would be expressed — many a symptom would be discovered of the reluctance with which she yielded to the overwhelming strength of Bothwell's passion and entreaties. Yet in these letters nothing of the kind is to be found. Passages occur frequently, in which, far from there being any of the conscious confusion and hesitation which would necessarily have marked the style of one who was, for the first time, deviating so far from the paths of virtue, nothing is to be discovered but the hardened vice and shameless effrontery of a confirmed and *masculine villain*.

Another peculiarity is to be observed in the

first and longest of these letters. In describing a conversation which she had with Darnley at Glasgow, Mary is made to give very minutely all his defence of his own conduct, in reply to some charges which she brought against him; and to make it evident that he was in the right, and that she herself, even when instigating Bothwell to his murder, must have felt him to be so. "This is another proof of forgery," says Whittaker: "that the Queen should repeat all the King's defences of himself, and should not repeat her replies to them, is contrary to every principle of the human heart. Our natural fondness for ourselves puts us constantly upon a conduct the very reverse of all this. We shorten the defences, we lengthen the replies; or, if we are fair enough to give the full substance of the former, we are always partial enough to do the same by the latter."* The forger, however, in his anxiety to throw as much odium as possible upon Mary, was willing to diminish some of even Bothwell's responsibility, and disposed to vindicate Darnley entirely; but he took a clumsy method of effecting his purpose.

Notwithstanding these considerations, Robertson was of opinion, as usual, that the style and sentiments of these letters tended on the whole to prove that they were genuine. His principal reason for entertaining this belief is, that "there are only imperfect hints, obscure intimations, and dark expressions in the letters, which, however convincing evidence they might furnish if found in real letters, bear no resemblance to that glare

* WHITTAKER, vol. II. p. 79.

and superfluity of evidence which forgeries commonly contain." "Had Mary's enemies been so base as to have recourse to forgery, is it not natural to think, that they would have produced something more explicit and decisive?"—"Mary's letters, especially the first, are filled with a multiplicity of circumstances extremely natural in a real correspondence, but altogether foreign to the purpose of the Queen's enemies, and which it would have been perfect folly to have inserted, if they had been altogether imaginary and without foundation." There is some plausibility in this view of the subject; and Laing and others have dwelt upon it at great length, and with much confidence. But it is divested of all force as soon as we come to consider the manner in which these letters would be prepared, if they were in truth forgeries. The long time which elapsed after Mary's imprisonment in Loch-Leven, before any allusion was made to them, and the still longer time they were allowed to lie dormant after their existence had been first asserted, has been already described. Upon the hypothesis that they were fabrications, it was during this period that Murray and his associates were engaged in preparing them; and they would probably reason on the following grounds, as to what ought to be the nature of their contents: The point they wished to establish was, "that as the Earl of Bothwell was chief executor of the horrible and unworthy murder; so was the Queen of the fore-knowledge, counsel, device, persuader and commander of the said murder to be done." They knew that, in so far as appearances went, nothing made this latter part of

the assertion in the least probable, except the circumstance of Mary having been married to Bothwell, which they themselves had declared was a forced marriage, and which Mary had proved to be so, by taking the first opportunity which occurred to desert him. It had become necessary, however, even at the expense of their own consistency, to accuse the Queen of having acted in concert with Bothwell throughout. No evidence whatever would establish this fact, (the more especially as all the confessions and depositions of Bothwell's accomplices tended to exculpate her,) except writings under her own hand, acknowledging her guilt. In order to make it appear possible that Mary had committed an account of that guilt to paper, the idea of letters to a confidential friend naturally suggested itself; and to none could these letters with so much propriety be addressed as to Bothwell himself; because, having subsequently married him, it was to be shewn that it was her inordinate affection for him that induced her to wish for the death of Darnley. The train being thus laid, the next question was, in what precise manner Mary was to be made to address Bothwell. The forgers would at once perceive, that it would not do to make her speak straight out, and in plain terms command the perpetration of the murder, and arrange all the preliminary steps for it. This would have been to represent Mary as at once a Messalina and a Medea, which even Murray felt would have been going too far. The letters were to shew her guilt, but to shew it in such a manner as she herself might be naturally supposed to have exhibited it, had she actually written

them ; and nothing therefore was to be introduced but those " imperfect hints, obscure intimations, and dark expressions," which, without the " glare and superfluity" of common forgeries, furnished convincing evidence when found in letters alleged to be real. Murray, Morton, Maitland, and Buchanan, were no ordinary forgers ; and if *they* were not able to conceive and express the whole so artfully, that it would cost some difficulty to detect them, then forgery in every instance must be hopeless and manifest.

There were, besides, two circumstances which afforded them peculiar facilities, and of which they were no doubt glad to avail themselves. The first was, that Mary's handwriting was not very difficult of imitation. " It was formed," says Goodall, " after what is commonly called Italic print, which it much resembled both in beauty and regularity."* All the letters being shaped according to certain definite rules, there would be fewer singularities in the writing, and less danger of the forger committing mistakes. Mary herself alluded to the facility with which her hand could be imitated, in her instructions to her commissioners, on the opening of the conferences, and mentioned also another important fact: " In case they allege," she says, " that they have any writings of mine, which may infer presumption against me, you shall desire the principals to be produced, and that I myself may have inspection thereof, and make answer thereto. For you shall affirm, in my name, I never wrote any thing concerning that matter to

* GOODALL, vol. i. p. 79, LAING, vol. 1. p. 209.

any creature ; and if any such writings be, they are false and feigned, forged and invented by themselves, only to my dishonour and slander. And there are divers in Scotland, both men and women, that can counterfeit my handwriting, and write the like manner of writing which I use, as well as myself, and principally such as are in company with themselves."*—"There are sundry who can counterfeit her handwrite," says Lesley, "who have been brought up in her company ; of whom there are some assisting themselves, as well of other nations as of Scotland. And I doubt not but your Majesty," (he is addressing Elizabeth,) "and divers others of your Highness's court, have seen sundry letters sent here from Scotland, which would not be known from her own handwrite ; and it may be well presumed, in so weighty a cause, that they who have put hands on their prince, imprisoned her person, and committed such heinous crimes, if a counterfeit letter be sufficient to save them, to maintain their cause, and conquer for them a kingdom, will not leave the same unforged, '*cum si violandum est jus, imperii causa violandum est.*'" In still farther confirmation of these facts, Blackwood mentions that the handwriting of Mary Beaton, one of her maids of honour, could not possibly be distinguished from that of the Queen ; † and Camden and other contemporary authors speak of it as a matter of established notoriety, that Maitland often counterfeited her hand. ‡

* GOODALL, vol. II. p. 342.

† JLEB, vol. II. p. 244.

‡ CAMDEN, p. 143 ; TYTLER, vol. I. p. 101.

The second facility which the forgers enjoyed, arose from their either possessing among them, or having access to, many genuine letters of Mary. This is a circumstance of some consequence, and has scarcely been sufficiently attended to by the various writers on the subject. It at once obviates Robertson's cause of wonder, that the letters should be "filled with a multiplicity of circumstances, extremely natural in a real correspondence, but altogether foreign to the purpose of the Queen's enemies." In all probability, Mary wrote to her Secretary Maitland from Glasgow, and had of course written to him a hundred times before. There is every reason to believe also, that she corresponded with Maitland's wife, Mary Fleming, who had been one of her friends and attendants from infancy. Murray, too, must have had in his possession numerous letters from his sister. Where, then, was the difficulty of founding these forgeries upon writings which were not forgeries, and of making it almost impossible for any one but Mary herself to detect what was genuine in them from what was fabricated? Many passages might be introduced which Mary had actually written, but which she had applied in some very different manner; and here and there might be artfully interwoven a few sentences which she never wrote, but which seemed so naturally connected with the rest, that they fixed upon her soul the guilt of adultery and murder. There is nothing which ought to be more constantly borne in mind, whenever these writings are read or discussed, than the probability—we might almost say the certainty—that the originals contained parts which had been actually written by Mary, although,

neither addressed to Bothwell, nor ever meant to be twisted into the sense which was afterwards put upon them; and which appeared the true meaning, only in consequence of their having been so much garbled and disfigured.

Were we disposed to enter still more minutely into an examination of these writings, it would not be difficult to shew, as Goodall, Tytler, Whittaker, and Chalmers have, in various instances, done, that they abound in many other symptoms of forgery, which, though not perhaps conclusive, when taken separately, make up, when combined, a very strong presumption against them. It might be shewn, for example, *first*, That, as Mary, in all probability, did not set off for Glasgow till Friday the 24th of January, 1567, and staid a night at Callendar, on the way, it is quite impossible she could have been at Glasgow on Saturday the 25th, though her second letter ends with these words:—"From Glasgow, this Saturday, in the morning."* She is thus made to have written two letters from Glasgow, one of them a very long one, by Saturday morning; while, in point of fact, she could not have reached that town till Saturday afternoon. "*Non sunt hæc satis divisa temporibus.*"† It might be shewn, *second*, That these letters were neither addressed, signed, nor sealed; and that, in the words of Whittaker, "it

* GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 31.

† It is proper to state, that Robertson has considered this argument at some length; and though he has not overturned, he has certainly invalidated the strength of the evidence adduced by Goodall in support of it. GOODALL, vol. i. p. 118; WHITTAKER, vol. i. p. 383; CHALMERS, vol. ii. p. 375; LAING, vol. i. p. 315.

violates every principle of probability to suppose, that letters with such a plenitude of murderous evidence in them should be sent open.* It might be shewn, *third*, That before the appearance of the letters, they were differently described at different times, as if they were gradually undergoing changes ;—that, in the act of Privy Council, in which they are first referred to, they are mentioned as Mary's "Privy Letters, written and *subscribed* with her own hand ;"—but in the act of Parliament passed a few weeks afterwards, they are only spoken of as "*written wholly* with her own hand," not, "written and subscribed ;"† —that though, at first, nothing was spoken of as having been found in the box but the "Privy Letters," "written and subscribed with her own hand," and afterwards only "wholly written with her own hand," yet, before the box made its appearance at York, love-sonnets and contracts of marriage were also found in it ;—and that, at York and Westminster, only five letters were laid before the commissioners, though the number afterwards printed was eight. "Did the three remaining letters," asks Whittaker, "lie still lower in the box, under the contracts and sonnets, and so escape the notice of the rebels?"‡ It might be shewn, *fourth*, That all the letters are contradicted and overthrown by the first three lines of the ninth sonnet, which are, in French,

— " Pour luy aussi j'ay jeté mainte larme,
Premier qu'il fust de ce corps possesseur,
De quel, alors, il n'avout pas le cœur ,"

* WHITTAKER, vol. i. p. 332.

† GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 64, and 67.

‡ WHITTAKER, vol. i. p. 408.

and in English,—“ For him also I shed many a tear, when he first made himself possessor of this body, *of which he did not then possess the heart.*”* In the letters, Mary is made, with the most violent protestations of love, to suggest arrangements for her pretended abduction by Bothwell; yet here she expressly says, that, when he first carried her off, he did not possess her heart. How then could she have written him love-letters before this event? These and other things might be insisted on. The sonnets and contracts of marriage, might be also minutely examined and proved, both to contradict one another, and to be liable, in a still stronger degree, to almost all the objections which have been advanced against the letters.† But it is much better to rest Mary’s innocence on the broad basis of her life and character, and a distinct statement of leading and incontrovertible facts, than on wranglings about dates, or disputations concerning detached incidents and ill-authenticated papers.

From a full review of the proof on both sides, and an ample examination of all the principal facts advanced in the controversy, it appears evident that one of two conclusions must be formed: Either that Mary, having formed a criminal attachment to Bothwell, encouraged him

* GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 51.

† Regarding these sonnets, the curious reader may consult WHITTAKER, vol. iii. p. 55; STUART, vol. i. p. 395; JEBB, vol. ii. p. 481, and LAING, vol. i. p. 230, 347, 349, and 368. For remarks on the marriage-contracts, see GOODALL, vol. ii. p. 54, and 56, and vol. i. p. 126; WHITTAKER, vol. i. p. 392; and STUART, vol. i. p. 397.

to perpetrate the murder, and that, having thus become responsible for at least an equal share of the guilt, was justly imprisoned and dethroned; or that, never having had any excessive love for Bothwell, she was altogether ignorant of his designs, and irresponsible for the crimes of which his lawless ambition made her the victim, and with which the treachery of Murray, Morton, and Elizabeth, too successfully contrived to involve her for the remainder of her life. That the latter conclusion, is that to which impartial inquiry must inevitably lead, these Memoirs, it is hoped, have sufficiently established. That the arguments in Mary's favour, drawn from the history of her life and death, are not invalidated by the contents of the "gilt coffer," it has been the object of the present Examination to prove.

It has been seen, first, by external evidence, that these papers are spurious, because the notorious ambition of Morton and Murray, and the perilous predicament in which it finally placed them, rendered their fabrication necessary to save themselves from ruin,—because Mary could not have written any love-letters or sonnets to Bothwell, for whom, at best, she never felt any thing but common regard, and who was obliged to seize and carry off her person, in order to force her into an unwilling marriage,—because such letters, if they had been written, would not have been preserved by Bothwell, or, if preserved, would have been more numerous,—because the story of their discovery is altogether improbable, since Bothwell, for the most satisfactory reasons, would never have thought of sending for them to the Castle of Edinburgh.

on the 20th of June, 1567,—because not a word was said about them long after it was pretended they were discovered, but, on the contrary, motives quite inconsistent with their contents assigned for sequestrating Mary's person in Loch-Leven,—because, though Dalgleish was tried, condemned, and executed, not a question was put to him, as appears by his examination still extant, concerning these letters,—because the originals were only produced twice, and *that* under suspicious and unsatisfactory circumstances,—because nothing but translations, and translations from translations, of these originals, now exist, from which no fair arguments can be drawn,—because Murray and his associates have been convicted of open forgery in several other instances, and are, therefore, the more liable to be doubted in this,—because Bothwell not only never accused Mary, but was unable to shew Morton any writing of her's sanctioning the murder, and, by subsequent declarations, seems to have exculpated her from all share in it,—because Mary herself invariably denied that she had ever written such letters, undertaking to prove that they were fabrications, if the originals, or even copies, were shewn to her,—because Lady Lennox, Darnley's mother, many of the most respectable of the Scottish nobility, Norfolk, and a numerous party in England, and all her continental friends, avowed their belief of her innocence,—because the confessions and depositions of Bothwell's accomplices, so far from implicating, tended to acquit her of all blame, though the persons by whom the depositions were made, had every inducement to . accuse her, if it had been in their power,—and

because the external evidence advanced in support of the letters, by Robertson and others, is entirely nugatory.

It has been seen, second, by internal evidence, that the letters are spurious,—because the translations differ from each other,—because the style and composition of many passages, are not such as could ever have come from Mary's pen,—because every facility was given to forgery by the nature of her handwriting, and by the access which the forgers had to genuine letters and papers, of which they could make a partial use,—because, at the time in which they are alleged to have been written, Mary was, in all probability, not at the places from which they are dated,—because the letters contradict each other, and are all contradicted by the sonnets,—and because the arguments in support of them, drawn from internal evidence, by Robertson and others, are equally inconclusive with their external proofs.

If Mary's innocence, from all the blacker crimes with which she has been charged, must still continue matter of doubt, it is not too much to declare all history uncertain, and virtue and vice merely convertible terms.

APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

I.

MEMOIR

OF

EARL BOTHWELL'S AFFAIRS

IN THE YEAR 1568.

THE history of the following interesting and well authenticated document, has been already briefly alluded to in the foregoing pages. It has been translated, expressly for the present edition of this work, from the original French, and, we doubt not, will be perused with much interest by our readers. It will, however, be at once perceived, that it is little better than a piece of special pleading from beginning to end. The ingenious manner in which Bothwell contrives to misstate facts, or to pervert them to his own purpose, affords of itself the most convincing proof of his guilt, for wherever truth is so systematically departed from, it is evident that the party in question dare not meet it. It is unnecessary to caution the reader against yielding his belief to almost any statement which the writing contains. It is curious and valuable only as a record left us, by one of the most unprincipled men of his times, of the gloss which he was anxious to give to the leading events of his turbulent life. It shews us the *arcana* of Bothwell's mind, and carries us back with great vividness into the heart of his machinations and villainies.

To the end that the King of Denmark, and the Council of his kingdom, may better and more clearly understand the wickedness and treachery of my accusers, hereafter

mentioned, I have, as briefly as possible, related, and truly declared, the causes of the disturbances and commotions which have happened, of which they themselves alone are the principal authors and originators, since the year 1559 until the present time. I have likewise narrated their calumnies, not forgetting the great dishonour and injury they have done to me.

All which things I can and will maintain to be true, as, by the help of God, every one may clearly see and understand. Copenhagen, on the Eve of Epiphany, 1568.

Here followeth a list of the names of the principal chiefs and authors of all these disturbances and seditions —

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------------|
| The Earl of Murray, | The Lord Lindsay, |
| Athol, | The Secretary Lethington, |
| Glencarn, | The Clerk Register, |
| Morton, | The Clerk of Justice. |
| Marr, | |

Item of those who have united with the above named noblemen in these last disturbances —

| | |
|-----------------|---------------------------|
| The Lords Hume, | Tullibardin, |
| Sanquhar, | The Provost of Edinburgh, |
| Sempel, | Sir James Balfour |
| Ruthven, | |

First sedition. The above named Lords, being weary of the obedience and fidelity which they owed their superior, commenced agitations and the forming of secret assemblies throughout the kingdom, wishing to seduce the multitude to favour their enterprizes, and, in order to persuade them the more readily of the goodness and justice of the cause, they made a pretext of religion, the preservation of which they pretended to be their aim. Thus, the conspiracy which they had formed against their Queen—many other points and articles of their guilt I omit—began by the siege of the town of Leith; and their efforts against her Majesty, and the Lords of her Council, as well as against her other faithful subjects of the said town, were unremitting. They likewise persecuted those who resided in their houses in the

country, when they refused to join them, doing to them all the injury they could, plundering their houses and castles, and, throughout the country, effecting much mischief to several persons of wealth, notwithstanding that the Queen, together with the secular nobility and some others of her subjects, previously had resolved to reform the religion, and establish it on such a footing, that they should be in no manner aggrieved thereby.

They, however, not being satisfied with this, persevered in their evil machinations; and, in order to re-excite new disorders, they gave free entry to the English, our ancient enemies, allying themselves, and treating with them secretly against the Queen and the subjects of her kingdom. They besieged again the town of Leith, (having formerly been compelled to raise the siege of that place,) in order to drive away, by their forces, the French who guarded the said city against the attacks of our ancient enemies aforesaid.

His Most Christian Majesty had some time before espoused the young Queen of Scotland, which caused the secular nobility, and other subjects of the said kingdom, to enter into certain engagements with him, and even by letters which they sent by their ambassadors to France, to offer him their faithful service, according to the devoir of good subjects. I am, however, ignorant of the reason which prompted them to do this

In the meantime, by means of the succours which they received from England, the aforesaid town (Leith) was surrendered by a treaty made between her said Majesty and the Queen of England, which was arranged by their ambassadors, and by which it was stipulated, that all hatred and rancour on both sides should be extinguished. Their hearts, however, were so envenomed, that they never ceased seeking out those who had formerly offended and annoyed them during the said siege, me in particular, who, unworthy of such a favour, had, by the Queen, my mistress, been chosen lieutenant-general, to provide for the emergencies of the war; during which, I, according to the laws of arms, made several prisoners, both Scotch and English, always acting to the

Second sedition

The cause and commencement of their hatred towards me

best of my ability, and conducting myself as my duty required. I also took, on the frontiers, a certain sum of money coming from England, destined for the pay and maintenance of their soldiers.

A short time after the surrender of the town of Leith, and the return of the French to their country, his most Christian Majesty died. Then the Queen, by the advice of her friends, and conformably with the request of her faithful subjects, resolved to return to her kingdom. This she did, in order that she might, with more convenience, maintain and strengthen the alliance and treaty aforesaid, and also in order to recompense the faithful services of her said subjects during her absence. Me she rewarded much more liberally and honourably than I had merited. This displeased my enemies to such a degree, that, by their slanderous fictions and malice, they caused the Queen to change her singular favour and good-will towards me. They likewise caused the Earls of Arran and Huntly to be driven into exile. this they did because the Earl of Arran was nearly related to the Queen, and might succeed to the crown. The Earl of Huntly and myself they exiled, because they suspected that we might hinder their design.

The principal in this sedition was the Earl of Murray, a bastard son of her said Majesty's father, formerly a canon and prior of St Andrew's, who thought that our ruin would be greatly to his advantage, and hoped, when we were defeated, that he would easily accomplish his purpose, which was to become the second person in the kingdom, and, after that, he would so manœuvre that the Queen, the secular nobility, and all the other subjects, and in general all the states of Scotland, should unanimously consent to his being declared heir to the crown, the title reverting to his progeny, or his near relations, in case the Queen should die without issue.

In order to have a pretext for his arrogance, he circulated the false report, that the Earl of Arran and myself (having a short time before been reconciled, after a differ-

The Queen re-
turns to Scotland
from France

Murray's subtle
measures and con-
trivances in order
to succeed to the
crown.

ence which existed between us,) had resolved to put him to death, and also some of the Lords of the Council; likewise, that I intended to take the Queen by surprise, and carry her off to some one of my country houses, whichever I should think most secure.

In consequence of these false accusations, it was ordered, that we should be confined in close prison in Edinburgh Castle, although we had previously demanded to be heard in this cause, and proceeded against as was usual in all such cases: but this was not permitted.

Our imprisonment.

The Earl of Huntly having been charged with the same crime, and not entertaining any suspicion, was taken unawares, on a journey in the country, and secretly put to death, by the said Earl of Murray. The son of the said Earl of Huntly was also taken, indicted, and condemned, and all his houses and property confiscated to the crown.

The Earl of Huntly taken and put to death

When I heard of this horrible murder, and of this unjust persecution, I considered by what means I might ascertain what will the Queen bore toward me, and at length I was told that she well knew that I was accused from hatred and envy she could, however, in no manner aid or assist me, as she herself had no authority at all; but she recommended me to do my best for my deliverance.

This answer made me exert myself to get out of prison; and, when I was at large, I determined to go to France by sea, but storm and tempest drove me toward England, where the Queen of England shewed me great friendship; and some of her faithful servants treated me with great kindness; indeed, much more than I had ever expected, particularly as, during the war, I had done irreparable injuries on the frontiers, and even to the inhabitants of that country. I then, pursuant to my plan of going to France, left England, having received certain letters from the Queen of Scotland, sent to me by her before I left England, for his most Christian Majesty, and the Lords of his Council, desiring that I might enjoy those *privileges** with which the nobility of my country are honoured

* *Estatz* is the French word.

I was made captain of the Scottish Guard.

there, in conformity with ancient treaties, arranged between the two kingdoms aforesaid, France and Scotland. Being thus provided with these letters, and having proceeded to France, I received others from the Queen of Scotland, by which she ordered me to return to Scotland for the reasons following :

The Queen having understood their cunning and evil designs, and wishing to establish good order and police in her kingdom, for the benefit and comfort of her subjects,

The Queen of Scotland marries a young prince of the name of Henry Stuart.

resolved to marry a young prince of her own blood royal, who, accordingly, had arrived from England. She expected, (and with reason,) that no person could or would pretend to lay any impediment in the way of the match : this, however, the agitators aforementioned did to the utmost of their power, wishing, above all things, that the Queen should have no children, for the reasons already stated ; and, moreover, they could not endure that any body should have any authority in the kingdom but themselves ; and they foresaw that they would be deprived of authority by the said marriage.

The third sedition and the plans of my enemies.

For this reason, having deliberated about the matter, they determined to put the said Prince to death ; and they assembled their friends and accomplices for this purpose. Likewise, a short time after the nuptials of the said Queen and the said Prince, the said conspirators determined to seize the Queen—to carry her away captive, and detain her as a prisoner, as they also most wickedly did afterwards, contrary to pledged faith and promises, and the conditions to which they altogether had agreed, as will be seen from that which follows.

The conspirators driven out of the country.

I being now returned from France, the Queen intrusted me with the command of a number of soldiers, her faithful subjects, and my particular friends, by whose assistance I endeavoured to chase the said Earl of Murray out of the kingdom of Scotland into England ; and this I effected. In the meantime, all the states of the kingdom were assembled in order to take cognizance of and judge of such property as might be confiscable to the crown.

There were some of the accomplices of the said Earl of Murray, following the court of the Queen, who, in order to prevent the execution of the sentence pronounced against him, excited new disorders, by means of the murder perpetrated on a person called Signor David, the Italian, which was committed in the Queen's saloon, in the palace of Edinburgh, while she was at supper, where none of her guards were present, nor even any of those who usually waited on the Queen. If some noblemen and myself had not avoided the danger, by escaping through a back window of the palace, we should have received the same treatment, for such was the determination they had come to; or at least we should have been compelled to give our approval to so wicked and horrible a transaction.

Fourth sedition, caused by the death of Signor David.

This murder having been perpetrated by the counsel and instigation of the said Earl of Murray, the said Earl returned from England, hoping to get the government into his own hands, and to detain the Queen as a prisoner, whom they already before sufficiently confined in her own residence of Holyroodhouse.

The Earl of Morton, Lord Lindsay, Lord Ruthven, and others.

In order to give some pretext to this murder, they said that they had received an express command from the King, and, for greater surety, even letters under his seal.

Their false pretexts, in order to give a colour to the said murder seal.

Having left the said Queen's palace, and finding ourselves in security, we gathered our most intimate friends, her Majesty's faithful subjects, together, in order to deliver her and the King, her husband, from the captivity in which they were kept; and this we effected partly by stratagem, and partly by force. The day following, their Majesties went together towards Edinburgh, with a good number of people, and pursued the said Earl of Murray and his accomplices so vigorously, that they were compelled to leave the country. The Queen, also, highly indignant at such an assassination, held them in the greatest abhorrence; as did the nobility,

4000 men
The Earl of Murray driven away a second time.

The Declaration of the King of Scotland respecting the letters and permission which the said murderers stated themselves to have received from his Majesty

and the other subjects of the kingdom; and the King hated them even more. For as soon as he arrived in the said city, he ordered it to be notified by public proclamation, that what the murderers (who had killed Signor David) had propagated concerning his Majesty was by them falsely invented: and he expressly ordered to all the state officers of the said kingdom, to make a diligent search, and imprison those who had assisted the said murderers in the said deed, whosoever they might be, and bring them to capital punishment. And if there were any who secretly aided them, he desired that they should be subjected to bodily punishment; likewise, that those who faithfully executed the said order should be liberally rewarded; and, in order to shew an example to others, he had, in the meantime, four of those who were present at the said murder apprehended, of whom two were executed on the spot.

Some friends of those who were in exile, observing the severe punishment to which the King subjected them, did not fail to advertise the others of it, who, for this reason, conceived such a hatred against the King, that they industriously sought every opportunity of revenging themselves on his Majesty; for he had publicly denied the order which they said he had given to them, and the letters with which they stated he had furnished them; and they were well assured that, during his life, they could in no manner remain with safety in Scotland, but that they would always be in an uncertainty of their lives, their property, and honours. Many others were also of the same opinion.

The hatred which they conceived against the King, on account of his declaration

Some time after, to the end that they might the more readily accomplish their wicked design, they promised to forget all that was passed, and by good offices of true friends, to satisfy those whom they had formerly offended and bore hatred to; and by such persuasions and sweet words, they solicited those who could aid them in regaining the Queen's good graces, and, among

The cunning by which they executed their design

other noblemen, they also applied to me for the same purpose ; wherein I did all I could, in such a manner that they obtained their request, for they had great confidence in me, on account of the favour with which her Majesty honoured me, and the influence which I had with her, which I had acquired solely by the faithful discharge of my duty in the wars of the late Queen, her mother, and also in the troubles of her own reign, in which I repeatedly hazarded my own life, and incurred great expense, for which she has generously rewarded me, as well by presents as by offices of high rank. Having obtained their pardon, and permission for them to follow the court, I intended to live in peaceful retirement, after the imprisonment and anxiety of mind I had suffered, and think no more of revenge or quarrel. But those to whom this grace had been shewn, following the court, became so obedient and exhibited such benign manners to every one, that all the nobility and gentry of the kingdom greatly rejoiced thereat ; and particularly at the extinction of all quarrels in the said court. Notwithstanding this, they persevered in their evil designs, without intermission, day and night, seeking out means of putting the King to death.

My determination

Their dissimulation

Some time after, the King fell sick of the small-pox,* and a lodging was prepared for him in a place called Kirk-of-field, (to prevent his injuring the Queen's and the infant's health,) until such time as he should recover. This was done by the consent of the Queen and the Lords of her Council, who wished to preserve the health of all parties.

Then the traitors finding the opportunity so favourable, brought a quantity of gunpowder, and took it into the house where the King

Fifth sedition

* The words of the original are "*petite romole*," and it is remarkable, that "*petite verole*" (small-pox) had been written before, and the word *verole* expunged, apparently by Bothwell himself, *romole* being written instead of it above the line. Thus it appears plain, that he wished to express a disease different from the small-pox. *Romole*, more modernly spelt *rognole*, means *itch*. What sort of *itch* Bothwell may have alluded to, it is impossible to say. The word "*petite*," belonging to *verole*, and not to *romole*, may have been left unexpunged by inadvertance.

was, and put it under his bed, afterwards setting it on fire, so that the King was blown up and killed. This was done at the house of Sir James Balfour, on whom the Queen had at that time bestowed a benefit, and to whom she had given the government of Edinburgh Castle, with all her treasures, jewels, vessels of silver, wardrobe, and furniture, this being the strongest place in the realm.

The same night on which this deed was committed, some noblemen of the Council happened to be with the Queen at the Palace of Holyrood, as usual. I was also lodged within the precincts where the guard usually is quartered, which consisted of fifty men. And being in my bed with my first princess, the sister of Earl Huntly, her brothers came in the morning to inform me of the King's death, at which I was highly distressed, as also many other noblemen with me.

The said Earl of Huntly was of opinion, that a Council should be held immediately, to deliberate about the means of apprehending the traitors who had committed the said deed. Then we were ordered by the Queen, who was greatly distressed and afflicted, with the Lords of the Council aforesaid, to gather together some soldiers, in order to make a diligent search for the said traitors, and apprehend them. This we did, and, coming to the house where

the King lay a corpse, we first put his body under a guard of honour, and then we found a barrel, or cask, in which the powder had been, which we preserved, having taken note of the mark upon it.

In our fury, we apprehended some persons suspected of the deed, and put them under arrest, until they should render to us a sure account of the place they had been when the murder was committed. Nor did I ever cease making strict search, that I might get at the bottom of the whole; for I could not imagine that I could ever be suspected. Some Lords of the Council, fearing lest the Queen and myself should make inquiries respecting them, united themselves, and manœuvred against the Queen and

the rest of us, in order to prevent our arriving at any certainty. They did not fail also to make use of all their cunning and falsehood, fixing advertisements and placards during the night on the town-house and doors of churches, and about public places and thoroughfares, in order to throw on me the suspicion that I had committed the said deed.

Their contrivance to throw suspicion on others.

By these means, finding myself blamed and accused of a crime of which I and all mine were innocent, (God be my witness¹) I entreated the Queen and the Lords of her Council to permit that I might stand my trial in a court of justice; and, when a strict inquisition had been made, if I were found guilty, that I should be punished according to the nature of such a crime; in the same manner, if I were found innocent, (as I actually was,) then that a stop should be put to the rumour and the scandal circulated. This was agreed to, and a day fixed on which I was to appear in court.

My earnest entreaty to be tried

The Lords of the Council assembled at the place appointed for my trial, and along with them a great number of the nobility and commoners. Among the Lords of the Council, and the said nobility, who were to judge in my cause, there were even those who had taken a part against me. the Earl of Morton, the Lord Ruthven, the Lord Lindsay, the Lord Sempel, the Secretary, the Clerk of Justice, and the Clerk Register; and, after the points of impeachment against me had been read, and my adversaries (particularly the prosecutor, the Earl of Lennox, who, having been summoned, did not, however, appear,) had found that they had no just cause against me in any manner whatever, neither against my person, my property, nor my honour, I was, according to the custom of the country, by the sentence of the judges, and the consent of the prosecutors then present, declared innocent, free, and discharged of every point in my indictment, which was for being art and part in the plan and execution of the murder committed on the

My first appearance in court, and my defence.

My sentence

person of King Henry, my lord and master ; a charge which could in no manner be proved, but, on the contrary, I established an *alibi* by competent witnesses. My enemies and prosecutors having found that I was free and discharged, and that I had gained my

Protestation of my adversaries cause, rose and ardently entreated me not to call them to account for the unjust complaints they had made against me ; but their proposals were as far from their heart as they were near their lips, as I have afterwards experienced, and feel at this present.

My letters of defiance, publicly exhibited in my just cause.

A second time, according to the custom of the said country, and in conformity with the laws of arms, I caused a proclamation to be made in Edinburgh, and letters, under my seal, to be affixed on the church doors, on the town house, and other public places, in the following form : — “ In defence of my honour and reputation, if there be any noble or commoner, rich or poor, who presumes to accuse me of treason, open or secret, let him present himself, that I may give him battle in this just cause.” To which no man ever responded.

The third time I asserted my innocence in the presence of a general assembly of the Three Estates, the secular nobility, all the bishops, abbots, and friars, and all the principal inhabitants of the kingdom, where my entire process and sentence were read and reviewed, all points being well considered, whether my cause were legally judged or not, and whether there were not some points or articles fraudulently introduced.

It was by them declared, that the procedure had been according to right and justice, and the laws of the country ; and, consequently, I remained free and discharged of all accusations. Moreover, it was proclaimed and published, that, on pain of death, none should be so presumptuous, after the said day, to accuse or calumniate me, or mine, for this said cause.

Having gained my cause, as aforesaid, there came to my place of residence twenty-eight of the said parliament,

of their own free accord, without being asked; being twelve earls, eight bishops, and eight lords, doing me the honour of offering me their alliance and friendship, in the manner following:—

In the first place, they expressed themselves satisfied of my having done my duty in clearing my honour of all things laid to my charge, and that they accordingly would devote their own persons, property, relations, and friends, and every thing thereon depending, to defend me against, and in opposition to, all those who should, in time to come, call me to account, in any manner whatever, for the said crime. Moreover, they returned me thanks, every one in particular, that I had comported myself so amicably towards them. And they farther thus addressed me — That they observed that the Queen was a widow, and might have more children, having, as yet, had only a young prince; that they would not permit her to marry a stranger, and that I appeared to them the most worthy of those that were in the kingdom; that they were, therefore, resolved to do all in their power to the end that this marriage might be accomplished; and that they would oppose all those who should in any way hinder it.

The polite offers, alliances, and promises, which were made to me by the Lords of Parliament.

At the same time, they deliberated in what manner I could lawfully repudiate my first princess, according to the divine laws of the church, and the customs of the country; on which they instantly agreed.

My wife repudiated

In the like manner they presently had a conference with the Queen about the means by which her marriage with me might be solemnly accomplished, in their own presence, and that of the church assembled.

The marriage between the Queen of Scotland and me

The marriage being consummated, and every thing conducted in right and due order, they presented me with the government of the realm, that I might regulate the police, especially on the English frontiers, on account of the murders, plunders, and larcenies, which were there committed

The Lords of the Council desire me to go to the frontiers to establish order there.

on both sides. To this I agreed; and, accordingly, I took my departure from Edinburgh, along with the Queen, who wished to accompany me to the castle of Borthwick, situated seven leagues from the town, where she intended to abide my return.

Arriving on the border, I found the marauders so strong, that it was impossible for me to put them down, for which cause I instantly returned to Borthwick, where the said Queen was, in order to assemble greater forces.

Then the rebels, my enemies aforesaid, finding that I had taken the field with a small number of people, used every effort to surround and to slay me. for this reason, I suddenly departed, in order to gather together my friends, and the Queen's faithful subjects, which I did so effectually, that I released the Queen from the said castle, routed my enemies, and pursued them to Edinburgh, where they were received; the said city and castle deserting our cause and surrendering to them.

The Earl of Huntly and the Archbishop of St Andrews, with several other Lords of the Council, who were then in Edinburgh, armed themselves immediately, when they observed this chance, in order to defend themselves against the said rebels, and preserve the said city. This, however, they were unable to do, as the opposite party was stronger. Thus we found ourselves deceived in that quarter.

When the said Earl and Archbishop found that they could not resist the rebels, they, in order to save themselves, repaired voluntarily to the castle, stipulating that they should be at liberty to return whenever they pleased. But neither faith nor promise was kept with them.

Then the Queen and myself, in order to deliver them, departed from the castle of Dunbar, with as great a number of soldiers and faithful subjects of her Majesty as we could assemble in so short a time, and approached the said city of Edinburgh, within the distance of a German league. The said rebels came out of the city, and encamped opposite to us, at the distance of a cannon shot.

Shortly after, a gentleman from their side presented

himself; and exhibited the principal causes of their appearance there, printed as follows:—In the first place, in order to deliver the said Queen from the captivity in which they said she was held by me; and, in the second place, in order to avenge the death of the King, of which I have spoken before, and of which I and mine were accused.

They state the causes which induced them to take the field.

I answered to the first point, that I held the Queen in no captivity, but that I loved and honoured her with such humility as she deserved, for which I referred them to herself.

To the second, I constantly denied having participated in, or consented to, the death of his said Majesty; and, although I had been already sufficiently cleared of it, I presented myself anew, if there were any nobleman of honour and of irreproachable descent, who should accuse me of such a deed; and stated myself to be ready to defend my honour and my life, on the spot, between the two armies, according to the letters which I had before published in Edinburgh, and the ancient customs of arms.

I accepted the challenge of Lord Lindsay.

To which I received answer, that there was one called Lord Lindsay, who was willing to meet me in the field; but this the Queen, and the Lords who were with her, did not find reasonable, for the following reasons:—that the said Lord Lindsay was not of so great a parentage that he could compare himself to me, nor of such ancestry, or house; and, moreover, that I was a husband worthy of the Queen.

I, however, so persuaded the Queen, and all the rest of them, with many reasons in my just cause, that finally they consented that the combat should take place as aforesaid.

A little after, I went to the place appointed for the said combat, there to abide my enemy, where I remained until very late in the evening, he not shewing himself, nor making any sign of his intending to appear, as I shall prove, whenever it shall be necessary, by the testimony of a thousand gentlemen,

He who offered battle to me did not make his appearance.

on pain of losing my life. When the night approached, I prepared myself to give them battle, and put my harquebussiers in order for marching against them: they, on their side, did the same.

The Queen observing me and her good subjects on the one side, and the rebels on the other, ready for the attack, the Laird of Grange (who was one of the best warriors among our opponents) put her in mind, that he and his

The Queen's answer respecting the captivity in which they said I held her

associates were gathered together to deliver her Majesty from the miserable servitude in which I kept her,—a thing which she denied openly in the presence of them all.

We thus being ready for the charge on the one side, and they on the other, the Queen, seeking by

The Queen holds a conference with the rebels.

all means to prevent blood being spilled on either side, went over to them, accompanied by the said Laird of Grange,

intending to negotiate with them, and accommodate matters amicably; and, inasmuch as she expected that she could go and meet them in safety without any treason, and that no person would presume or dare seize her person, she desired me not to advance with

The counsel I gave the Queen not to confide in their fair promises.

my soldiers. I then requested her to consider well what she did, and to take care that she should not be a loser by her goodness; for I sufficiently knew their

hearts to be full of treason, and that, if she did not consent to their demands, they would take her prisoner, and afterwards deprive her of her authority, without any just cause. I likewise entreated her to retire to Dunbar, and let us fight for her just quarrel, according to the zeal which we had for her honour and service, and the love we bore to the public good and the tranquillity of our country.

But finding it impossible for me to dissuade her from her purpose, or incline her to listen to any remonstrance, I requested her to have herself furnished with a safe-conduct, with certain conditions which I should

A guarantee for the Queen's safety is demanded.

propose to them. The said Laird of Grange, who

appeared in behalf of the opposite party, did himself, in their name, give such a promise and assurance.

For it must be observed, that the said Laird of Grange stated, that he was, for this only reason, delegated by all the others jointly, for offering the Queen, as their superior, true homage, and for giving her assurance and safe-conduct, while going to meet them : he said, that every one of them, according to his degree and dignity, desired nothing more than to yield to her all honour and obedience (next after God) in every thing which her Majesty might be pleased to command. All this having been agreed upon, and promise given that it should be inviolably kept and adhered to, by both armies, in the presence of the nobility and commoners who were there on the spot, she desired me to return to Dunbar with my army, where she would shortly meet me herself, or at least send me word.

False assurances
given to the
Queen.

Thus I parted with her, she having requested me so to do, relying on the pledged faith and promises which they had given to her by word of mouth, as well as printed letters, (*lettres imprimées.*) These things being considered, every one may clearly perceive that their intention was, has always been, and still is, unjustly to encroach on the authority and power of the Queen, their lawful princess; they themselves, under such a pretext, (after having deprived her of her authority,) wishing to govern the kingdom, and dictate the law to it universally.

After these transactions, I parted with the Queen, and she went to meet them, who instantly took her prisoner, and put her under a strong guard. They first carried her away to Edinburgh Castle, where she only remained one night. The day following, they brought her to another castle, situated on a small island called Loch-Leven, thus preventing her from communicating with others, or receiving tidings from us, fearing lest we might make an attempt to deliver her from the said castle.

The Queen taken
prisoner

Brought to Edin-
burgh

To Loch-Leven

Thus finding the long-meditated and treacherous plans of our enemies successful, we had a meeting with the

The Council assembles to deliberate about the Queen's liberation.

following noble lords; first, in the western part of the country, and afterwards in the north, and deliberated about every means by which her deliverance might be effected.

| The Duke of Chatelherault. | | |
|---|--|---|
| <i>Earls.</i> | <i>Bishops.</i> | <i>Lords.</i> |
| The Earl of Huntly, Argyle, Crawford, Errol, Mareschal, Eglintoun, Cassils, Roths, Montrose, Caithness, Sutherland, Monteith. | The Archbishop of St Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Murray, Ross, Dunblane, Galloway, Argyle, Brechin, The Isles. | The Lords Herries, Setoun, Oliphant, Boyd, Borthwick, Gray, Ogilvy, Glamis, Yester, Sommervil, Drummond. Lovat, Saltoun, Forbes, Elphinstoun, Fleming, Livingston. |
| Arbroath, Dunfermline, Melrose, | <i>The Abbots of</i> Kilwinning, Deir, Kinross, | Glencross, Corsraguel. |

We were all of opinion, that it would be best to wait a little, and not be too hasty in pursuing them, they being at that time extremely furious, fearing lest we might wish to deliver the Queen whom they detained, whose life would have been in danger if we had pressed them too hard.

Accordingly, all those who were present resolved unanimously, and those who were prevented from attending ratified that resolution by their letters

The Council determines that I should go to France by way of Denmark.

and seals, that I should pursue my journey to France, through the kingdom of Denmark, where I could provide myself with every thing which my situation would require; preparatory to sending soldiers,

into Scotland, both by sea and land. I was also to lay my complaint before the King of Denmark, and explain to him my whole case, being assured that this would induce the said King to give me his good counsel, assistance, and favour. and, in order to obtain this more readily, I was to offer him my service with all that I could command, and they were assured that the Queen would approve of it. Yet, for more certainty, I actually obtained her opinion, which was, that she was perfectly pleased with what the Lords had advised me, desiring me to carry it into effect as speedily as possible.

This being accomplished, I embarked on the northern coast of Scotland as aforesaid, intending to follow this counsel; and, on my road, having business to transact in the isles of Orkney and Shetland, I went thither, and remained there only two days. I landed in Shetland, where I found some vessels from Bremen and Hamburg, and I wished to make an agreement with the masters of these vessels respecting the rate at which I should pay them a-month, as long as they should be in my service; for being in such a hurry and so pressed, I could not provide myself with such vessels as I wished, and had only small vessels, such as I then could procure.

I embark from the north of Scotland :

I arrive in the Orkney Islands :

Land in Shetland.

The agreement which I made with the Bremois, named Gerard Hemlin, was as follows.—that I should pay him fifty silver dollars a-month for the time he served me; and if, during the said service, the vessel were lost, or even if I should wish to keep it myself, I was to pay him sixteen (hundred) dollars, and for his artillery, one hundred silver dollars, as will appear from the contracts made between us two. The same conditions were agreed to between the Hamburger and me. But while I was on shore at the house of the receiver, some of my enemies arrived and separated my vessels, as I now shall state.

The rebels aforementioned, had got together four vessels, well armed and equipped with fighting men and artillery, under the command of the gentleman aforesaid, of Grange and Tullibardin, who, at the break of day, entered the

My enemies pursue me with four ships

harbour in the said island, called *Bresse Sund*, where there lay four of my vessels : and when the masters of the vessels perceived them, my captains and soldiers being on shore, they cut their cables, as also the ropes by which the boats were fastened, and retired to another harbour on the north of the said island, called *Ounst*.

In the meantime, their leading vessel, which pursued us diligently, watched that one among my vessels which was the slowest sailer, and this they pursued. my vessel was a-head ; the other followed. But it so happened that the enemy's vessel (pursuing mine which was not a good sailer) struck upon a sunken rock, together with mine, in such a manner that their said vessel, which was their best, and carried their flag, stuck fast, but mine, although somewhat damaged, got off. When I heard that my enemies were about to land, in order to pursue my people, I immediately embarked with them in the said harbour of *Ounst*, where I had never intended to stay, but only to make head against my enemies ; but their three vessels came on me so unawares, and so pressed me, (as they had also done on a former occasion,) that I could not resist them. Thus I was compelled to set sail, and I ordered one of my ships (in which there was the remainder of my plate, wardrobe, and moveables, which I had brought with me from the castle of *Edinburgh*) to go to a harbour called *Schallowe*, and there meet the *Hamburgher* aforesaid, and bring the ship after me ; I keeping my course for *Denmark* as I had resolved. This the rest of my people, whom I had left in the said island, promised to do. The said rebels pursued

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Our engagement at sea. | me and pressed me in such a manner, that we continued fighting during three hours, |
| My main-mast shot away | and finally, by a cannon shot, they cut off the main-mast of the best of my vessels |
| I reach the coast of Norway | and suddenly there arose such a tempest from the south-west, that it was impossible for me to keep my said course, and I was driven upon the coast of Norway, where I was obliged to repair and victual my ships, which, on account of my hurried departure, were not provided with all that was needed. |

The day after my departure from *Shetland*, I arrived on

the coast of Norway, in a place called Carmsund, whither I was brought in a vessel from Rostock, which had followed us during the night, in order to conduct us the next day into the said harbour; for my pilots were not acquainted with the place. The captain of the vessel from Rostock did actually bring us into the harbour; and he sent us his boat for bringing one of our cables on shore.

In the meantime arrived Christen Olborg, captain of one of the King of Denmark's ships, called the Bear, who asked us from whence we came, and whither we were going to which the master of my ship answered, that we were noblemen from Scotland, intending to go to Denmark to serve his majesty. I ordered that the honour customary in the seas and jurisdictions of foreign princes should be done to him.

The said Captain Christen Olborg demanded to see our passports, or ship's papers, that he might know our charge. But I being in the same condition in which I am even now, that is to say, destitute and deprived of every thing belonging to my rank, in consequence of having left one of my vessels,

The cause why I would not discover myself at first.

which I hourly expected, was unwilling to make myself known before I should have recovered it, and even to go on shore before I should arrive in Denmark. I, however, sent him one of my gentlemen, to inform him, that, in consequence of the vigorous pursuit which had been set on foot against me in Scotland, I had not been able to take with me the certificates, or the ship's papers which he demanded, and that she [the Queen] who ought to have furnished them, was detained in close captivity. Some time after, he desired, that, if there were any person with me who could speak divers languages, he should come and pass the time with him; and to this I agreed.

Item,— He requested the master of my ship, and several others of our party, to come on board his ship, for the purpose of victualling our own, and accommodating us with other things necessary, giving us to understand, that there was arrived a ship in the said harbour, which had wherewithall to assist us. but having got them all over into his ship, he amused them the following night, speak-

ing them fair, and then called the country people from the neighbourhood, requesting them to assist the King of Denmark's ships, there being arrived, as he conceived, some pirates and freebooters, whom he wished to make prisoners, according to the orders he had from the King, his master. He did not let this be known, however, to my people, whom he had with him in his said ship, but persuaded them that he would bring them up to Bergen only, in order to provide them with such things as they might need. The said King's ship was, in respect of numbers, greatly inferior to ours.

Moreover, he desired me to permit, that eighty of my people might remain in his ship, not that he entertained any evil opinion or suspicion respecting us, but only that, with regard to provision, this arrangement was more convenient, as no provisions were to be had in that place for money and he gave a promise to us on his honour, that he would let every one of us return to his ship, and take our departure whenever we pleased, (and this promise he gave to us, by written letters under his own seal,) and moreover assured us, that we should have a safe-conduct to go, without any impediment, wherever we pleased: but he kept none of these promises.

Captain Olborg's
written promises
broken.

Having complied with every part of his demands, he proceeded to separate our people, who amounted nearly to the number of one hundred and forty, breaking his pledged faith and promise, without our knowing any cause, as we had never offended his Majesty, or done the least injury to any of his subjects, nor violated the laws of the sea, nor even taken the value of a penny without paying for it. I then declared who I was, and whither I intended to go; in spite of which, he continued to detain me as prisoner like the others, contrary to my expectation for, if I had had any suspicion of this, I might have acted and conducted myself towards him and his followers in whatever way I pleased, being twice his superior in numbers.

Arrival in Ber-
gen

Arrived in Bergen, I desired Erich Rosenkrantz to let me obtain for my money proper vessels for the purpose of rowing me along the coast, (inasmuch as I was so sea-sick,) that I

might as soon as possible reach Denmark, and requested him also to provide me with a passport. In the meantime, I remained during a whole month, sometimes in the castle, sometimes on board ship with my people, and, during twenty days, I several times took a walk through the town wherever I pleased thus, if I had felt myself to be guilty of any crime, I had an opportunity to go wherever I listed. But I am thankful to the good Lord Rosenkrantz for the confidence he had in me.

Having long time waited for my passport, without which I would not depart, it was stated to me, by some magistrates of the city, that Erich Rosenkrantz and the said magistrates had ordered that I should go with the ships of the said King to Denmark, it not being permitted that my people should follow me, unless it were four or five of them; and they dismissed the others, that they might go to Scotland, or even wherever they might please.

I was deprived of my followers, and then sent to Denmark, with only four or five of them.

The vessel which I had sent to Shetland, (in which was my property, my plate, my wardrobe, and jewels,) in order to bring my people, whom I left there, hearing, as she proceeded along the coast of Norway, that I was detained, and my people sent back, returned also. In this manner, I have not only been detained and arrested, as well here as elsewhere, nearly four months and a half, contrary to my expectation, as I thought I was come among friends, although unprovided with a passport, but I have also been slandered, and accused unjustly by my enemies, and been deprived of all things which my rank requires. This, however, I consider of far less consequence than the contumelies and indignities which I have suffered in this prison, and that I am, without any cause, detained and hindered from prosecuting the business which I have in certain kingdoms, with some princes and noblemen, for the liberation of the Queen, my princess, and, as I think, to our dishonour, injury, and ruin, by those of whom I had expected aid and assistance.

The ship which was to follow me arriving off the coast of Norway, instantly returns.

SECOND LETTER

FROM JAMES, EARL OF BOTHWELL, TO THE KING
OF DENMARK.

IT not being permitted to me to speak in person to his Majesty, nor to the Lords of his Council, to inform them of the cause why I undertook to visit this kingdom, I am constrained to put in writing what I had indeed hoped to explain by word of mouth, and I desire this good Lord Peter Oxe, prime minister of the said kingdom, to present this my letter to his Majesty. In the first place, there have occurred great troubles and disunions in Scotland, as well amongst the rulers as the commonalty of the said kingdom, because some of the said rulers have, under the cloak of religion, sought their private advantage, wishing in future, by such unlawful means and false pretences, to reduce the kingdom under their power and authority; and for this cause, the said kingdom is divided into two parties. The Queen and myself having considered and understood that we could not appease them, nor put an end to this state of things, by rigorous means, without infinite calamities and great effusion of blood, we endeavoured to remedy it, and prevent such misfortune and evils by kindness: to this end, the Queen demanded security and safe-conduct from our adversaries for going and coming to them, in order to consult and treat with them of means which should be acceptable to both parties, and which might, in the first place, serve to establish a perfect union and concord among her subjects, and be of utility and profit to the realm.

For this reason, our adversaries aforesaid, with their accomplices, promised to the Queen, the Lady Mary, and gave in writing their security and inviolable safe-conduct, which afterwards they falsified and broke, when the said

Queen went to meet them, detaining her as prisoner, and then carrying her away to the Castle of Loch-Leven, where she is yet to this day, as is more fully declared in the writing which I made on my defence, which I desire may be delivered to his Majesty, that he may know the intention and final will of the said Queen, and of the Lords of her Council. Being as follows —

In the first place, that I should request of his Danish Majesty, as the Queen's ally and confederate, aid, favour, and assistance in providing me with soldiers, and with ships for liberating her from captivity.

Item, — For the expense which may be incurred, that I should offer his said Majesty to surrender the Islands of Orkney and Shetland free, quit, and without any hinderance, to the crown of Denmark and Norway, as they have been sometime heretofore.

Moreover, to the end that his Majesty and the Lords of his Council may be better assured of what is written above, (of that which is stated in the writing which I made in my defence, as well as what here is briefly repeated,) I entreat his Majesty to be pleased to have the letters of cession, of the said Islands of Orkney and Shetland, prepared with such and so strict conditions, as his said Majesty and the Council of the kingdom of Denmark shall deem most satisfactory and secure; and I do, in good faith, pledge myself, that the said letters shall be sealed by the Queen, by myself, and by the Council of the kingdom of Scotland, and signed by every one of us with his own hand.

Whereupon I beseech his said Majesty to be pleased to give me an answer, in order that I may fulfil the promise which I have given to the Queen of Scotland, and to the Council of that kingdom, at their earnest request, and also, that they may know what they have to hope in this their extreme distress and necessity.

At Malmoe, the 13th of January, 1568

The following Attestation appears to be by Mons. Charles Dantzay, Ambassador from the King of France to the Court of Denmark.

Je receus ceste instruction au Chasteau de Malmeu, le 13 jour de Janvier, l'an 1568, du Sieur Jaques de Boduel, Conte de Boduel, Duc des Isles de Orquenay, mary de la Royne d'Escosse, &c. et l'ay presente à Holsengbourg au Sieurs Peter Oxe, presens les Jehan Friz, Chancelier, le 16 de Janvier. Surquoy, je receus d'eux mesmes la response au Chasteau de Copenhaguen ; le xxj du dict mois.

II.

PORTRAIT

OF

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

THROUGH the kindness of William Traill, Esq. of Woodwick, Orkney, we are enabled to give the following authentic genealogical account of the manner in which the interesting portrait of Mary Queen of Scots, engraved for this Work, and particularly described in Vol. I. Chap. IV. came into the possession of his family.

“ Sir Robert Stewart of Strathdon, son of King James V, by Eupham, daughter of Alexander, 1st Lord Elphingston, obtained a grant of the crown lands of Orkney and Shetland from his sister, Queen Mary, in 1565. He was created Earl of Orkney by his nephew, James VI, 28th October, 1581. He married Lady Jean Kennedy, daughter of Gilbert, fourth Earl of Cassilis.

“ George Traill, son of the Laird of Blebo, in Fife, married, first, Jean Kennedy of Carmunks, a relative of the Earl's lady. He accompanied the Earl to Orkney; got a grant from the Earl of the lands of Quandale, in the Island of Ronsay, and, as steward, or factor, managed the affairs of the earldom. By Jean Kennedy he had one son, the first Thomas Traill of Holland. He afterwards married Isobel Craigie of Gairsay, by whom he had James Traill of Quandale, who married Ann Baikie of Burness. Lady Barbara Stewart, the Earl's youngest daughter, married Hugh Halcro of Halcro, a descendant of the royal family of Denmark, and who possessed a great part of the islands of Orkney. For her patrimony, the Earl wadset to Halcro, lands in Widewall, Ronaldsvoe, and in South Ronaldshay, which lands were afterwards redeemed by Patrick Stewart, the Earl's eldest son, 1598. *Vide*

Bishop Law's Rentall, 1614. Lady Barbara, being the youngest and the last of the Earl's family, succeeded to her father's furniture, plate, pictures, and other moveables, and, amongst the rest, the family picture of Queen Mary. Hugh Halcro of that ilk, the eldest son of this marriage, succeeded his father, and married Jean, daughter of William Stewart of Mains and Burray. *Vide Charters 1615 and 1620.* In 1644, this Hugh Halcro executed a settlement in favour of Hugh his oye, and his heirs; whom failing, to Patrick his brother; whom failing, to Harry son of Aikrs; whom failing, to Edward of Hauton; whom all failing, to the name of Halcro. Hugh the oye, married Margaret, daughter of James Stewart of Gromsny. *Vide Charter by him in her favour of lands in South Ronaldshay and the Island Cava, 12th June, 1630.* Their son, Hugh Halcro of that ilk, married Barbara Greem, by whom he had two daughters, Jean and Sibella Halcro. Jean married Alexander Mouat Swenze, and Sibella married James Baikie of Burness; and the estate of Halcro was divided between these families by decreet-arbitral, 21st and 22d December, 1677—Arthur Baikie of Tankerness, and John Kennedy of Carmunks, arbiters. which decreet is in the possession of the present William Traill of Woodwick, Esquire, as is the picture of Queen Mary, and other family relics."

THE END.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by ANDREW SHORTREED, Thistle Lane

