

THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

1567. **THE** confederate lords had proceeded to such extremities against their sovereign, that it now became almost impossible for them either to stop short, or to pursue a course less violent. Many of the nobles had refused to concur with them in their enterprise; others openly condemned it. A small circumstance might abate that indignation with which the multitude were at present animated against the queen, and deprive them of that popular applause which was the chief foundation of their power. These considerations inclined some of them to treat the queen with great lenity.

Deliberations of the nobles concerning the queen.

But, on the other hand, Mary's affection for Bothwell continued as violent as ever; she obstinately refused to hearken to any proposal for dissolving their marriage, and determined not to abandon a man, for whose love she had already sacrificed so much*. If they should allow her to recover the supreme power, the first exertion of it would be to recall Bothwell; and they had reason, both from his resentment, from her conduct, and from their own, to expect the severest effects of her vengeance. These considerations surmounted every other motive; and, reckoning themselves absolved by Mary's incurable attachment to Bothwell, from the engagements which they had come under,

* Keith, 419. 446. 449. Melv. 167. See Appendix, No. XXII.

when she yielded herself a prisoner, they, without regarding the duty which they owed her as their queen, and without consulting the rest of the nobles, carried her next evening, under a strong guard, to the castle of Lochleven, and signed a warrant to William Douglas, the owner of it, to detain her as a prisoner. This castle is situated in a small island in the middle of a lake. Douglas, to whom it belonged, was a near relation of Morton's, and had married the earl of Murray's mother. In this place, under strict custody, with a few attendants, and subjected to the insults of a haughty woman, who boasted daily of being the lawful wife of James the fifth, Mary suffered all the rigour and miseries of captivity^b.

1567.

They im-
prison her in
Lochleven.

Immediately after the queen's imprisonment the confederates were at the utmost pains to strengthen their party; they entered into new bonds of association; they assumed the title of 'lords of the secret council,' and, without any other right, arrogated to themselves the whole regal authority. One of their first acts of power was to search the city of Edinburgh for such as had been concerned in the murder of the king. This show of zeal gained reputation to themselves, and threw an oblique reflection on the queen for her remissness. Several suspected persons were seized. Captain Blackadder and three others were condemned and executed. But no discovery of importance was made. If we believe some historians, they were convicted by sufficient evidence. If we give credit to others, their sentence was unjust, and they denied, with their last breath, any knowledge of the crime for which they suffered^c.

An unexpected accident, however, put into the hands of Mary's enemies what they deemed the fullest evidence of her guilt. Bothwell having left in the castle of Edinburgh a casket, containing several sonnets and

^b Keith, 403. note (b).

^c Cald. vol. ii. 53. Crawf. Mem. 35.

1567. letters written with the queen's own hand; he now sent one of his confidants to bring to him this precious deposit. But as his messenger returned, he was intercepted, and the casket seized by Morton^d. The contents of it were always produced by the party, as the most ample justification of their own conduct; and to these they continually appealed, as the most unanswerable proof of their not having loaded their sovereign with the imputation of imaginary crimes^e.

Some of the nobles favour the queen.

But the confederates, notwithstanding their extraordinary success, were still far from being perfectly at ease. That so small a part of the nobles should pretend to dispose of the person of their sovereign, or to assume the authority which belonged to her, without the concurrence of the rest, was deemed by many of that body to be unprecedented and presumptuous. Several of these were now assembled at Hamilton, in order to deliberate what course they should hold in this difficult conjuncture. The confederates made some attempts towards a coalition with them, but without effect. They employed the mediation of the assembly of the church, to draw them to a personal interview at Edinburgh, but with no better success. That party, however, though its numbers were formidable, and the power of its leaders great, soon lost reputation by the want of unanimity and vigour; all its consultations evaporated in murmurs and complaints, and no scheme was concerted for obstructing the progress of the confederates^f.

Elizabeth interposes in her behalf.

There appeared some prospect of danger from another quarter. This great revolution in Scotland had been carried on without any aid from Elizabeth, and even without her knowledge^g. Though she was far from being displeased at seeing the affairs of that king-

^d Anders. vol. ii. 92. Good. vol. ii. 90.

^e See Dissertation at the end of the History.

^f Keith, 407.

^g Ibid. 415.

dom embroiled, or a rival, whom she hated, reduced to distress; she neither wished that it should be in the power of the one faction entirely to suppress the other, nor could she view the steps taken by the confederates without great offence. Notwithstanding the popular maxims by which she governed her own subjects, her notions of royal prerogative were very exalted. The confederates had, in her opinion, encroached on the authority of their sovereign, which they had no right to control, and had offered violence to her person, which it was their duty to esteem sacred. They had set a dangerous example to other subjects, and Mary's cause became the common cause of princes^b. If ever Elizabeth was influenced with regard to the affairs of Scotland by the feelings of her heart, rather than by considerations of interest, it was on this occasion. Mary, in her present condition, degraded from her throne, and covered with the infamy attending an accusation of such atrocious crimes, could be no longer the object of Elizabeth's jealousy, either as a woman or as a queen. Sympathy with a sovereign in distress seems, for a moment, to have touched a heart not very susceptible of tender sentiments; and, while these were yet warm, she despatched Throckmorton into Scotland, with power June 30. to negotiate both with the queen and with the confederates. In his instructions there appears a remarkable solicitude for Mary's liberty, and even for her reputation; and the terms upon which she proposed to re-establish concord between the queen and her subjects, appear to be so reasonable and well-digested, as might have ensured the safety and happiness of both. Zealous as Throckmorton was to accomplish this, all his endeavours and address proved ineffectual. He found not only the confederate nobles, but the nation in general, so far alienated from the queen, and so much offended with the indecent precipitancy of her marriage

^b Keith, 412. 415.

1567. with the reputed murderer of her former husband, as to be incapable of listening to any proposition in her favour.

During the state of anarchy occasioned by the imprisonment of the queen, and the dissolution of the established government, which afforded such ample scope for political speculation, four different schemes had been proposed for the settlement of the nation. One, that Mary should be replaced upon the throne, but under various and strict limitations. The second, that she should resign the crown to her son, and, retiring out of the kingdom, should reside, during the remainder of her days, either in England or in France. The third, that Mary should be brought to public trial for her crimes, and, after conviction, of which no doubt was entertained, should be kept in perpetual imprisonment. The fourth, that after trial and condemnation, capital punishment should be inflicted upon her. Throkmorton, though disposed, as well by his own inclination as in conformity to the spirit of his instructions, to view matters in the light most favourable to Mary, informed his court, that the milder schemes, recommended by Maitland alone, would undoubtedly be reprobated, and one of the more rigorous carried into execution.

In justification of this rigour, the confederates maintained that Mary's affection for Bothwell was still unabated, and openly avowed by her; that she rejected with disdain every proposal for dissolving their marriage; and declared, that she would forego every comfort, and endure any extremity, rather than give her consent to that measure. While these were her sentiments, they contended, that concern for the public welfare, as well as attention to their own safety, rendered it necessary to put it out of the queen's power to restore a daring man, exasperated by recent injuries, to his former station, which must needs prove fatal to both. Notwithstanding their solicitude to conciliate the

good-will of Elizabeth, they foresaw clearly what would be the effect, at this juncture, of Throkorton's interposition in behalf of the queen, and that she, elated with the prospect of protection, would refuse to listen to the overtures which they were about to make to her. For this reason they peremptorily denied Throkorton access to their prisoner; and what propositions he made to them in her behalf they either refused or eluded¹. 1567.

Meanwhile, they deliberated with the utmost anxiety concerning the settlement of the nation, and the future disposal of the queen's person. Elizabeth, observing that Throkorton made no progress in his negotiations with them, and that they would listen to none of his demands in Mary's favour, turned towards that party of the nobles who were assembled at Hamilton, incited them to take arms in order to restore their queen to liberty, and promised to assist them in such an attempt to the utmost of her power². But they discovered no greater union and vigour than formerly, and, behaving like men who had given up all concern either for their queen or their country, tamely allowed an inconsiderable part of their body, whether we consider it with respect to numbers or to power, to settle the government of the kingdom, and to dispose of the queen's person at pleasure. Many consultations were held, and various opinions arose with regard to each of these. Some seemed desirous of adhering to the plan, on which the confederacy was at first formed; and after punishing the murderers of the king, and dissolving the marriage with Bothwell; after providing for the safety of the young prince, and the security of the protestant religion; they proposed to reestablish the queen in the possession of her legal authority. The success with which their arms had been accompanied, inspired others with bolder and more desperate thoughts, and

¹ Keith, 417. 427.

² See Appendix, No. XXIII.

1567. nothing less would satisfy them than the trial, the condemnation, and punishment of the queen herself, as the principal conspirator against the life of her husband and the safety of her son¹: the former was Maitland's system, and breathed too much of a pacific and moderate spirit, to be agreeable to the temper or wishes of the party. The latter was recommended by the clergy, and warmly adopted by many laics; but the nobles durst not, or would not, venture on such an unprecedented and audacious deed^m.

They oblige the queen to resign the government.

Both parties agreed at last upon a scheme, neither so moderate as the one, nor so daring as the other. Mary was to be persuaded or forced to resign the crown; the young prince was to be proclaimed king; and the earl of Murray was to be appointed to govern the kingdom, during his minority, with the name and authority of regent. With regard to the queen's own person, nothing was determined. It seems to have been the intention of the confederates to keep her in perpetual imprisonment; but, in order to intimidate herself, and to overawe her partisans, they still reserved to themselves the power of proceeding to more violent extremes.

It was obvious to foresee difficulties in the execution of this plan. Mary was young, ambitious, high-spirited, and accustomed to command. To induce her to acknowledge her own incapacity for governing, to renounce the dignity and power which she was born to enjoy, to become dependent on her own subjects, to consent to her own bondage, and to invest those persons whom she considered as the authors of all her calamities, with that honour and authority of which she herself was stripped, were points hard to be gained. These, however, the confederates attempted, and they did not

¹ Keith, 420, 421, 422. 582.

^m The intention of putting the queen to death seems to have been carried on by some of her subjects: at this time we often find Elizabeth boasting that Mary owed her life to her interposition. Digges's Compl. Amb. 14, etc. See Appendix, No. XVIII.

want means to ensure success. Mary had endured, for several weeks, all the hardships and terrour of a prison; no prospect of liberty appeared; none of her subjects had either taken arms, or so much as solicited her relief^a; no person, in whom she could confide, was admitted into her presence; even the ambassadors of the French king, and queen of England, were refused access to her. In this solitary state, without a counsellor, or a friend, under the pressure of distress and the apprehension of danger, it was natural for a woman to hearken almost to any overtures. The confederates took advantage of her condition and of her fears. They employed lord Lindsay, the fiercest zealot in the party, to communicate their scheme to the queen, and to obtain her subscription to those papers which were necessary for rendering it effectual. He executed his commission with harshness and brutality. Certain death was before Mary's eyes, if she refused to comply with his demands. At the same time she was informed by sir Robert Melvil, in the name of Athol, Maitland, and Kirkaldy, the persons among the confederates who were most attentive to her interest, that a resignation extorted by fear, and granted during her imprisonment, was void in law, and might be revoked, as soon as she recovered liberty. Throkmorton, by a note which he found means of conveying to her, suggested the same thing^o. Deference to their opinion, as well as concern for her own safety, obliged her to yield to every thing which was required, and to sign all the papers which Lindsay presented to her. By one of these she resigned the crown, renounced all share in the government of the kingdom, and consented to the coronation of the young king. By another, she appointed the earl of Murray regent, and conferred upon him all the powers and privileges of that high office. By a third, she substituted some other nobleman in

1567.

^a Keith, 425.

^o Keith, 425. note (b). Melv. 169.

1567. Murray's place, if he should refuse the honour which was designed for him. Mary, when she subscribed these deeds, was bathed in tears; and while she gave away, as it were with her own hands, the sceptre which she had swayed so long, she felt a pang of grief and indignation, one of the severest, perhaps, which can touch the human heart^p.

James the sixth crowned, and Murray chosen regent.

The confederates endeavoured to give this resignation all the weight and validity in their power, by proceeding without delay to crown the young prince. The ceremony was performed at Stirling, on the twenty-ninth of July, with much solemnity, in presence of all the nobles of the party, a considerable number of lesser barons, and a great assembly of the people. From that time, all public writs were issued, and the government carried on, in the name of James the sixth^q.

No revolution so great was ever effected with more ease, or by means so unequal to the end. In a warlike age, and in less time than two months, a part of the nobles, who neither possessed the chief power, nor the greatest wealth in the nation, and who never brought three thousand men into the field, seized, imprisoned, and dethroned their queen, and, without shedding a single drop of blood, set her son, an infant of a year old, on the throne.

Reasonings of both parties.

During this rapid progress of the confederates, the eyes of all the nation were turned on them with astonishment; and various and contradictory opinions were formed concerning the extraordinary steps which they had taken.

Even under the aristocratical form of government which prevails in Scotland, said the favourers of the queen, and notwithstanding the exorbitant privileges of the nobles, the prince possesses considerable power, and his person is treated with great veneration. No encroachments should be made on the former, and no

^p Keith, 430. *Crawf. Mem.* 38.

^q Keith, 437.

injury offered to the latter, but in cases where the liberty and happiness of the nation cannot be secured by any other means. Such cases seldom exist, and it belongs not to any part, but to the whole, or at least to a majority of the society, to judge of their existence. By what action could it be pretended that Mary had invaded the rights or property of her subjects; or what scheme had she formed against the liberty and constitution of the kingdom? Were fears, and suspicions, and surmises, enough to justify the imprisoning and the deposing a queen, to whom the crown descended from so long a race of monarchs? The principal author of whatever was reckoned culpable in her conduct, was now driven from her presence. The murderers of the king might have been brought to condign punishment, the safety of the prince have been secured, and the protestant religion have been established, without wresting the sceptre out of her hands, or condemning her to perpetual imprisonment. Whatever right a free parliament might have had to proceed to such a rigorous conclusion, or whatever name its determinations might have merited, a sentence of this nature, passed by a small party of the nobility, without acknowledging or consulting the rest of the nation, must be deemed a rebellion against the government, and a conspiracy against the person of their sovereign.

The partisans of the confederates reasoned very differently. It is evident, said they, that Mary either previously gave consent to the king's murder, or did afterwards approve of that horrid action. Her attachment to Bothwell, the power and honours which she has conferred upon him, the manner in which she suffered his trial to be carried on, and the indecent speed with which she married a man stained with so many crimes, raise strong suspicions of the former, and put the latter beyond all doubt. To have suffered the supreme power to continue in the hands of an ambitious man, capable of the most atrocious and desperate ac-

1567. tions, would have been disgraceful to the nation, dishonourable to the queen, and dangerous to the prince. Recourse was, therefore, had to arms. The queen had been compelled to abandon an husband so unworthy of herself. But her affection toward him still continuing unabated; her indignation against the authors of this separation being visible, and often expressed in the strongest terms; they, by restoring her to her ancient authority, would have armed her with power to destroy themselves, have enabled her to recall Bothwell, and have afforded her an opportunity of pursuing schemes fatal to the nation with greater eagerness, and with more success. Nothing, therefore, remained, but, by one bold action, to deliver themselves and their country from all future fears. The expedient they had chosen was no less respectful to the royal blood, than necessary for the public safety. While one prince was set aside as incapable of governing, the crown was placed on his head who was the undoubted representative of their ancient kings.

Whatever opinion posterity may form on comparing the arguments of the two contending parties, whatever sentiments we may entertain concerning the justice or necessity of that course which the confederates held, it cannot be denied that their conduct, so far as regarded themselves, was extremely prudent. Other expedients, less rigorous towards Mary, might have been found for settling the nation; but, after the injuries which they had already offered the queen, there was none so effectual for securing their own safety, or perpetuating their own power.

To a great part of the nation, the conduct of the confederates appeared not only wise, but just. The king's accession to the throne was every where proclaimed, and his authority submitted to without opposition. Though several of the nobles were still assembled at Hamilton, and seemed to be entering into some combination against his government, an association for

supporting it was formed, and signed by so many persons of power and influence throughout the nation, as entirely discouraged the attempt^r. 1567.

The return of the earl of Murray, about this time, added strength to the party, and gave it a regular and finished form. Soon after the murder of the king, this nobleman had retired into France, upon what pretence historians do not mention. During his residence there, he had held a close correspondence with the chiefs of the confederacy, and, at their desire, he now returned. He seemed, at first, unwilling to accept the office of regent. This hesitation cannot be ascribed to the scruples either of diffidence or of duty. Murray wanted neither the abilities nor the ambition which might incite him to aspire to this high dignity. He had received the first accounts of his promotion with the utmost satisfaction; but, by appearing to continue for some days in suspense, he gained time to view with attention the ground on which he was to act; to balance the strength and resources of the two contending factions; and to examine whether the foundation on which his future fame and success must rest, were sound and firm.

Before he declared his final resolution, he waited on Mary at Lochlevin. This visit, to a sister, and a queen, in a prison, from which he had neither any intention to relieve her, nor to mitigate the rigour of her confinement, may be mentioned among the circumstances which discover the great want of delicacy and refinement in that age. Murray, who was naturally rough and uncourtly in his manner^s, expostulated so warmly with the queen concerning her past conduct, and charged her faults so home upon her, that Mary, who had flattered herself with more gentle and brotherly treatment from him, melted into tears, and abandoned herself entirely to despair^t. This interview, from which

^r Anders. vol. ii. 231.

^s Keith, 96.

^t Ibid. 445, 446.

1567. Murray could reap no political advantage, and wherein he discovered a spirit so severe and unrelenting, may be reckoned among the most bitter circumstances in Mary's life, and is certainly one of the most unjustifiable steps in his conduct.

Aug. 22. Soon after his return from Lochleven, Murray accepted the office of regent, and began to act in that character without opposition.

Fate of Bothwell. Amidst so many great and unexpected events, the fate of Bothwell, the chief cause of them all, hath been almost forgotten. After his flight from the confederates, he lurked for some time among his vassals in the neighbourhood of Dunbar. But finding it impossible for him to make head, in that country, against his enemies, or even to secure himself from their pursuit, he fled for shelter to his kinsman, the bishop of Murray; and when he, overawed by the confederates, was obliged to abandon him, he retired to the Orkney isles. Hunted from place to place, deserted by his friends, and accompanied by a few retainers, as desperate as himself, he suffered, at once, the miseries of infamy and of want. His indigence forced him upon a course which added to his infamy. He armed a few small ships, which had accompanied him from Dunbar, and, attacking every vessel which fell in his way, endeavoured to procure subsistence for himself and his followers by piracy. Kirkaldy and Murray of Tullibardin were sent out against him by the confederates; and, surprising him while he rode at anchor, scattered his small fleet, took a part of it, and obliged him to fly with a single ship towards Norway. On that coast he fell in with a vessel richly laden, and immediately attacked it; the Norwegians sailed with armed boats to its assistance, and, after a desperate fight, Bothwell and all his crew were taken prisoners. His name and quality were both unknown, and he was treated at first with all the indignity and rigour which the odious crime of piracy merited. His real character was soon dis-

covered; and, though it saved him from the infamous death to which his associates were condemned, it could neither procure him liberty, nor mitigate the hardships of his imprisonment. He languished ten years in this unhappy condition; melancholy and despair deprived him of reason, and at last he ended his days, unpitied by his countrymen, and unassisted by strangers^a. Few men ever accomplished their ambitious projects by worse means, or reaped from them less satisfaction. The early part of his life was restless and enterprising, full of danger and of vicissitudes. His enjoyment of the grandeur, to which he attained by so many crimes, was extremely short; embittered by much anxiety, and disquieted by many fears. In his latter years, he suffered the most intolerable calamities to which the wretched are subject, and from which persons who have moved in so high a sphere are commonly exempted.

The good effects of Murray's accession to the re-^{Success of the regent's administration.}gency were quickly felt. The party forming for the queen was weak, irresolute, and disunited; and no sooner was the government of the kingdom in the hands of a man so remarkable both for his abilities and popularity, than the nobles, of whom it was composed, lost all hopes of gaining ground, and began to treat separately with the regent. So many of them were brought to acknowledge the king's authority, that scarce any appearance of opposition to the established government was left in the kingdom. Had they adhered to the queen with any firmness, it is probable, from Elizabeth's disposition at that time, that she would have afforded them such assistance as might have enabled them to face their enemies in the field. But there appeared so little vigour or harmony in their councils, that she was discouraged from espousing their cause; and the regent, taking advantage of their situation, obliged them to submit to his government, with-

^a Melv. 168.

1567. out granting any terms, either to themselves or to the queen^x.

The regent was no less successful in his attempt to get into his hands the places of strength in the kingdom. Balfour, the deputy-governor, surrendered the castle of Edinburgh; and, as the reward of his treachery in deserting Bothwell his patron, obtained terms of great advantage to himself. The governor of Dunbar, who discovered greater fidelity, was soon forced to capitulate: some other small forts surrendered without resistance.

A parliament.
Dec. 15.

This face of tranquillity in the nation encouraged the regent to call a meeting of parliament. Nothing was wanting to confirm the king's authority, and the proceedings of the confederates, except the approbation of this supreme court; and, after the success which had attended all their measures, there could be little doubt of obtaining it. The numbers that resorted to an assembly which was called to deliberate on matters of so much importance, were great. The meeting was opened with the utmost solemnity, and all its acts passed with much unanimity. Many, however, of the lords who had discovered the warmest attachment to the queen, were present. But they had made their peace with the regent. Argyll, Huntly, and Herries, acknowledged, openly in parliament, that their behaviour towards the king had been undutiful and criminal^y. Their compliance, in this manner, with the measures of the regent's party, was either the condition on which they were admitted into favour, or intended as a proof of the sincerity of their reconciliation.

Confirms the proceedings of the confederates.

The parliament granted every thing the confederates could demand, either for the safety of their own persons, or the security of that form of government which they had established in the kingdom. Mary's resigna-

^x Keith, 447. 450. 463.

^y Anders. vol. iv. 163. See Appendix, No. XXIV.

tion of the crown was accepted, and declared to be valid. The king's authority, and Murray's election, were recognised and confirmed. The imprisoning the queen, and all the other proceedings of the confederates, were pronounced lawful. The letters which Mary had written to Bothwell were produced, and she was declared to be accessory to the murder of the king^a. At the same time, all the acts of parliament of the year one thousand five hundred and sixty, in favour of the protestant religion, were publicly ratified; new statutes to the same purpose were enacted; and nothing that could contribute to root out the remains of popery, or to encourage the growth of the reformation, was neglected.

1567.

It is observable, however, that the same parsimonious spirit prevailed in this parliament, as in that of the year one thousand five hundred and sixty. The protestant clergy, notwithstanding many discouragements, and their extreme poverty, had, for seven years, performed all religious offices in the kingdom. The expedients fallen upon for their subsistence had hitherto proved ineffectual, or were intended to be so. But, notwithstanding their known indigence, and the warm remonstrances of the assembly of the church, which met this year, the parliament did nothing more for their relief, than prescribe some new regulations concerning the payment of the thirds of benefices, which did not produce any considerable change in the situation of the clergy.

A few days after the dissolution of parliament, four of Bothwell's dependents were convicted of being guilty of the king's murder, and suffered death as traitors. Their confessions brought to light many circumstances relative to the manner of committing that barbarous crime; but they were persons of low rank, and seem not to have been admitted into the secrets of the conspiracy^a.

1568.

Jan. 3.

^a Good. vol. ii. 66. Anders. vol. ii. 206.^a Anders. vol. ii. 166.

1568.

Notwithstanding the universal submission to the regent's authority, there still abounded in the kingdom many secret murmurs and cabals. The partisans of the house of Hamilton reckoned Murray's promotion an injury to the duke of Chatelherault, who, as first prince of the blood, had, in their opinion, an undoubted right to be regent. The length and rigour of Mary's sufferings began to move many to commiserate her case. All who leaned to the ancient opinions in religion dreaded the effects of Murray's zeal. And he, though his abilities were great, did not possess the talents requisite for soothing the rage or removing the jealousies of the different factions. By insinuation, or address, he might have gained or softened many who had opposed him; but he was a stranger to these gentle arts. His virtues were severe; and his deportment towards his equals, especially after his elevation to the regency, distant and haughty. This behaviour offended some of the nobles, and alarmed others. The queen's faction, which had been so easily dispersed, began again to gather and to unite, and was secretly favoured by some who had hitherto zealously concurred with the confederates^b.

Mary
escapes
from Loch-
levin.

Such was the favourable disposition of the nation towards the queen, when she recovered her liberty, in a manner no less surprising to her friends, than unexpected by her enemies. Several attempts had been made to procure her an opportunity of escaping, which some unforeseen accident, or the vigilance of her keepers, had hitherto disappointed. At last, Mary employed all her art to gain George Douglas, her keeper's brother, a youth of eighteen. As her manners were naturally affable and insinuating, she treated him with the most flattering distinction; she even allowed him to entertain the most ambitious hopes, by letting fall some expressions, as if she would choose him for her

^b Melv. 179.

husband^c. At his age, and in such circumstances, it was impossible to resist such a temptation. He yielded, and drew others into the plot. On Sunday, the second of May, while his brother sat at supper, and the rest of the family were retired to their devotions, one of his accomplices found means to steal the keys out of his brother's chamber, and, opening the gates to the queen and one of her maids, locked them behind her, and then threw the keys into the lake. Mary ran with precipitation to the boat which was prepared for her, and, on reaching the shore, was received with the utmost joy by Douglas, lord Seaton, and sir James Hamilton, who, with a few attendants, waited for her. She instantly mounted on horseback, and rode full speed towards Niddrie, lord Seaton's seat in West-Lothian. She arrived there that night, without being pursued or interrupted. After halting three hours, she set out for Hamilton; and, travelling at the same pace, she reached it next morning. 1568.

On the first news of Mary's escape, her friends, whom, in their present disposition, a much smaller accident would have roused, ran to arms. In a few days, her court was filled with a great and splendid train of nobles, accompanied by such numbers of followers, as formed an army above six thousand strong. In their presence she declared that the resignation of the crown, and the other deeds which she had signed during her imprisonment, were extorted from her by fear. Sir Robert Melvil confirmed her declaration; and on that, as well as on other accounts, a council of the nobles and chief men of her party pronounced all these transactions void and illegal. At the same time, an association was formed for the defence of her person and authority, and subscribed by nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, and many gentlemen of distinction^d. Among them we find several who had been present in Arrives at Hamilton, and raises a numerous army. May 8.

^c Keith, 469. 481. note.

^d Keith, 475.

1568.

the last parliament, and who had signed the counter-association in defence of the king's government; but such sudden changes were then so common, as to be no matter of reproach.

Consternation of the regent's adherents.

At the time when the queen made her escape, the regent was at Glasgow, holding a court of justice. An event so contrary to their expectations, and so fatal to their schemes, gave a great shock to his adherents. Many of them appeared wavering and irresolute; others began to carry on private negotiations with the queen; and some openly revolted to her side. In so difficult a juncture, where his own fame, and the being of the party, depended on his choice, the regent's most faithful associates were divided in opinion. Some advised him to retire, without loss of time, to Stirling. The queen's army was already strong, and only eight miles distant; the adjacent country was full of the friends and dependents of the house of Hamilton, and other lords of the queen's faction; Glasgow was a large and unfortified town; his own train consisted of no greater number than was usual in times of peace; all these reasons pleaded for a retreat. But, on the other hand, arguments were urged of no inconsiderable weight. The citizens of Glasgow were well affected to the cause; the vassals of Glencairn, Lennox, and Semple, lay near at hand, and were both numerous and full of zeal; succours might arrive from other parts of the kingdom in a few days; in war, success depends upon reputation, as much as upon numbers; reputation is gained, or lost, by the first step one takes; on all these considerations, a retreat would be attended with all the ignominy of a flight, and would, at once, dispirit his friends, and inspire his enemies with boldness. In such dangerous exigencies as this, the superiority of Murray's genius appeared, and enabled him both to choose with wisdom and to act with vigour. He declared against retreating, and fixed his head-quarters at Glasgow. And while he amused the queen for some days, by pre-

His prudent conduct.

tending to hearken to some overtures, which she made for accommodating their differences, he was employed, with the utmost industry, in drawing together his adherents from different parts of the kingdom. He was soon in a condition to take the field; and, though far inferior to the enemy in number, he confided so much in the valour of his troops and the experience of his officers, that he broke off the negotiation, and determined to hazard a battle*.

At the same time, the queen's generals had com-^{May 13.}manded her army to move. Their intention was, to conduct her to Dunbarton castle, a place of great strength, which the regent had not been able to wrest out of the hands of lord Fleming, the governor; but if the enemy should endeavour to interrupt their march, they resolved not to decline an engagement. In Mary's situation, no resolution could be more imprudent. A part only of her forces was assembled. Huntly, Ogilvie, and the northern clans, were soon expected; her sufferings had removed or diminished the prejudices of many among her subjects; the address with which she surmounted the dangers that obstructed her escape, dazzled and interested the people; the sudden confluence of so many nobles added lustre to her cause; she might assuredly depend on the friendship and countenance of France; she had reason to expect the protection of England; her enemies could not possibly look for support from that quarter. She had much to hope from pursuing slow and cautious measures; they had every thing to fear.

But Mary, whose hopes were naturally sanguine, and her passions impetuous, was so elevated by her sudden transition from the depth of distress, to such an unusual appearance of prosperity, that she never doubted of success. Her army, which was almost double to the enemy in number, consisted chiefly of the Hamiltons

* Buchan. 369.

1568. and their dependents. Of these the archbishop of St. Andrew's had the chief direction, and hoped, by a victory, not only to crush Murray, the ancient enemy of his house, but to get the person of the queen into his hands, and to oblige her either to marry one of the duke's sons, or, at least, to commit the chief direction of her affairs to himself. His ambition proved fatal to the queen, to himself, and to his family^f.

Battle of
Langside.

Mary's imprudence in resolving to fight, was not greater than the ill conduct of her generals in the battle. Between the two armies, and on the road towards Dunbarton, there was an eminence called Langside Hill. This the regent had the precaution to seize, and posted his troops in a small village, and among some gardens and enclosures adjacent. In this advantageous situation he waited the approach of the enemy, whose superiority in cavalry could be of no benefit to them on such broken ground. The Hamiltons, who composed the vanguard, ran so eagerly to the attack, that they put themselves out of breath, and left the main battle far behind. The encounter of the spearmen was fierce and desperate; but as the forces of the Hamiltons were exposed, on the one flank, to a continued fire from a body of musketeers, attacked on the other by the regent's most choice troops, and not supported by the rest of the queen's army, they were soon obliged to give ground, and the rout immediately became universal. Few victories in a civil war, and among a fierce people, have been pursued with less violence, or attended with less bloodshed. Three hundred fell in the field. In the flight almost none were killed. The regent and his principal officers rode about, beseeching the soldiers to spare their countrymen. The number of prisoners was great, and among them many persons of distinction. The regent marched back to Glasgow, and returned public thanks to God

The queen's
army de-
feated.

^f Anders. vol. iv. 32. Melv. 181.

for this great, and, on his side, almost bloodless victory ^a. 1568.

During the engagement, Mary stood on a hill, at no ^{Her flight.} great distance, and beheld all that passed in the field, with such emotions of mind as are not easily described. When she saw the army, which was her last hope, thrown into irretrievable confusion, her spirit, which all her past misfortunes had not been able entirely to subdue, sunk altogether. In the utmost consternation, she began her flight; and so lively were her impressions of fear, that she never closed her eyes, till she reached the abbey of Dundrenan in Galloway, full sixty Scottish miles from the place of battle ^b.

These revolutions in Mary's fortune had been no less rapid than singular. In the short space of eleven days she had been a prisoner at the mercy of her most inveterate enemies; she had seen a powerful army under her command, and a numerous train of nobles at her devotion. And now she was obliged to fly, in the utmost danger of her life, and to lurk, with a few attendants, in a corner of her kingdom. Not thinking herself safe, even in that retreat, her fears impelled her to an action, the most unadvised, as well as the most unfortunate, in her whole life. This was her retiring into England; a step, which, on many accounts, ought to have appeared to her rash and dangerous.

Before Mary's arrival in Scotland, mutual distrust ^{Resolves} and jealousies had arisen between her and Elizabeth. ^{on retiring} All their subsequent transactions had contributed to ^{into Eng-} exasperate and inflame these passions. She had endeavoured, by secret negotiations and intrigues, to disturb the tranquillity of Elizabeth's government, and to advance her own pretensions to the English crown. Elizabeth, who possessed great power, and acted with less reserve, had openly supported Mary's rebellious subjects, and fomented all the dissensions and troubles

^a Keith, 477.

^b Ibid. 481.

1568. in which her reign had been involved. The maxims of policy still authorized that queen to pursue the same course; as, by keeping Scotland in confusion, she effectually secured the peace of her own kingdom. The regent, after his victory, had marched to Edinburgh, and, not knowing what course the queen had taken, it was several days before he thought of pursuing her¹. She might have been concealed in that retired corner, among subjects devoted to her interest, until her party, which was dispersed, rather than broken, by the late defeat, should gather such strength that she could again appear with safety at their head. There was not any danger which she ought not to have run, rather than throw herself into the hands of an enemy, from whom she had already suffered so many injuries, and who was prompted, both by inclination and by interest, to renew them.

But, on the other hand, during Mary's confinement, Elizabeth had declared against the proceedings of her subjects, and solicited for her liberty, with a warmth which had all the appearance of sincerity. She had invited her to take refuge in England, and had promised to meet her in person, and to give her such a reception as was due to a queen, a kinswoman, and an ally². Whatever apprehension Elizabeth might entertain of Mary's designs, while she had power in her hands, she was, at present, the object, not of fear, but of pity; and to take advantage of her situation, would be both ungenerous and inhuman. The horrors of a prison were fresh in Mary's memory; and if she should fall a second time into the hands of her subjects, there was no injury to which the presumption of success might not embolden them to proceed. To attempt escaping into France, was dangerous, and, in her situation, almost impossible; nor could she bear the thoughts

¹ *Crawf. Mem.* 59.

² *Camd.* 489. *Anders.* vol. iv. 99. 120. *Murdin*, 369.

of appearing as an exile and a fugitive in that kingdom where she had once enjoyed all the splendour of a queen. England remained her only asylum; and in spite of the entreaties of lord Herries, Fleming, and her other attendants, who conjured her, even on their knees, not to confide in Elizabeth's promises of generosity, her infatuation was invincible, and she resolved to fly thither. Herries, by her command, wrote to Lowther, the deputy-governor of Carlisle, to know what reception he would give her; and, before his answer could return, her fear and impatience was so great, that she got into a fisherboat, and, with about twenty attendants, landed at Wirkington in Cumberland, and thence she was conducted with many marks of respect to Carlisle¹.

1568.

Her reception at Carlisle. May 16.

As soon as Mary arrived in England, she wrote a long letter to the queen, representing, in the strongest terms, the injuries which she had suffered from her own subjects, and imploring that pity and assistance which her present situation demanded^m. An event so extraordinary, and the conduct which might be proper in consequence of it, drew the attention and employed the thoughts of Elizabeth and her council. If their deliberations had been influenced by considerations of justice or generosity alone, they would not have found them long or intricate. A queen, vanquished by her own subjects, and threatened by them with the loss of her liberty, or of her life, had fled from their violence, and thrown herself into the arms of her nearest neighbour and ally, from whom she had received repeated assurances of friendship and protection. These circumstances entitled her to respect and to compassion, and required that she should either be restored to her own kingdom, or, at least, be left at full liberty to seek aid from any other quarter. But with Elizabeth and her counsellors, the question was not, what was most

Elizabeth deliberates concerning the manner of treating her.

¹ Keith, 483. Anders. vol. iv. 2.

^m Anders. vol. iv. 29.

1568. just or generous, but what was most beneficial to herself, and to the English nation. Three different resolutions might have been taken, with regard to the queen of Scots. To reinstate her in her throne, was one; to allow her to retire into France, was another; to detain her in England, was a third. Each of these drew consequences after it, of the utmost importance, which were examined, as appears from papers still extant^a, with that minute accuracy which Elizabeth's ministers employed in all their consultations upon affairs of moment.

To restore Mary to the full exercise of the royal authority in Scotland, they observed, would render her more powerful than ever. The nobles who were most firmly attached to the English interest would quickly feel the utmost weight of her resentment. As the gratitude of princes is seldom strong or lasting, regard to her own interest might soon efface the memory of her obligations to Elizabeth, and prompt her to renew the alliance of the Scottish nation with France, and revive her own pretensions to the English crown. Nor was it possible to fetter and circumscribe the Scottish queen, by any conditions that would prevent these dangers. Her party in Scotland was numerous and powerful. Her return, even without any support from England, would inspire her friends with new zeal and courage; a single victory might give them the superiority, which they had lost by a single defeat, and render Mary a more formidable rival than ever to Elizabeth.

The dangers arising from suffering Mary to return into France, were no less obvious. The French king could not refuse his assistance towards restoring his sister and ally to her throne. Elizabeth would, once more, see a foreign army in the island, overawing the Scots, and ready to enter her kingdom; and, if the commotions in France, on account of religion, were

^a Anders. 34. 99. 102.

settled, the princes of Lorrain might resume their ambitious projects, and the united forces of France and Scotland might invade England where it is weakest and most defenceless. 1568.

Nothing, therefore, remained but to detain her in England; and to permit her either to live at liberty there, or to confine her in a prison. The former was a dangerous experiment. Her court would become a place of resort to all the Roman catholics, to the disaffected, and to the lovers of innovation. Though Elizabeth affected to represent Mary's pretensions to the English crown as ill-founded, she was not ignorant that they did not appear in that light to the nation, and that many thought them preferable even to her own title. If the activity of her emissaries had gained her so many abettors, her own personal influence was much more to be dreaded; her beauty, her address, her sufferings, by the admiration and pity which they would excite, could not fail of making many converts to her party^o.

It was indeed to be apprehended, that the treating Mary as a prisoner would excite universal indignation against Elizabeth; and that, by this unexampled severity towards a queen, who implored, and to whom she had promised, her protection, she would forfeit the praise of justice and humanity, which was hitherto due to her administration. But the English monarchs were often so solicitous to secure their kingdom against the Scots, as to be little scrupulous about the means which they employed for that purpose. Henry the fourth had seized the heir of the crown of Scotland, who was forced by the violence of a storm to take refuge in one of the ports of his kingdom; and, in contempt of the rights of hospitality, without regarding his tender age, or the tears and entreaties of his father, detained him a prisoner for many years. This action, though de-

Resolves to
detain her
in England.

^o Anders. vol. iv. 56. 60.

1568. tested by posterity, Elizabeth resolved now to imitate. Her virtue was not more proof than that of Henry had been, against the temptations of interest; and the possession of a present advantage was preferred to the prospect of future fame. The satisfaction which she felt in mortifying a rival, whose beauty and accomplishments she envied, had, perhaps, no less influence than political considerations in bringing her to this resolution. But at the same time, in order to screen herself from the censure which this conduct merited, and to make her treatment of the Scottish queen look like the effect of necessity rather than of choice, she determined to assume the appearance of concern for her interest, and of deep sympathy with her sufferings.

May 20. With this view, she instantly despatched lord Scrope, warden of the west marches, and sir Francis Knollys, her vicechamberlain, to the queen of Scots, with letters full of expressions of kindness and condolence. But, at the same time, they had private instructions to watch all her motions, and to take care that she should not escape into her own kingdom^p. On their arrival, Mary demanded a personal interview with the queen, that she might lay before her the injuries which she had suffered, and receive from her those friendly offices which she had been encouraged to expect. They answered, that it was with reluctance admission into the presence of their sovereign was at present denied her; that while she lay under the imputation of a crime so horrid as the murder of her husband, their mistress, to whom he was so nearly allied, could not, without bringing a stain upon her own reputation, admit her into her presence; but, as soon as she had cleared herself from that aspersion, they promised her a reception suitable to her dignity, and aid proportioned to her distress^q.

Nothing could be more artful than this pretence; and it was the occasion of leading the queen of Scots

Mary demands admittance into Elizabeth's presence.

She offers to vindicate her conduct.

^p Anders. vol. iv. 36. 70. 92.

^q Idem, vol. iv. 8. 55.

into the snare in which Elizabeth and her ministers wished to entangle her. Mary expressed the utmost surprise at this unexpected manner of evading her request; but, as she could not believe so many professions of friendship to be void of sincerity, she frankly offered to submit her cause to the cognizance of Elizabeth, and undertook to produce such proofs of her own innocence, and of the falsehood of the accusations brought against her, as should fully remove the scruples, and satisfy the delicacy, of the English queen. This was the very point to which Elizabeth laboured to bring the matter. In consequence of this appeal of the Scottish queen, she now considered herself as the umpire between her and her subjects, and foresaw that she would have it entirely in her own power to protract the inquiry to any length, and to perplex and involve it in endless difficulties. In the mean time, she was furnished with a plausible reason for keeping her at a distance from court, and for refusing to contribute towards replacing her on the throne. As Mary's conduct had been extremely incautious, and the presumptions of her guilt were many and strong, it was not impossible her subjects might make good their charge against her; and if this should be the result of the inquiry, she would, thenceforth, cease to be the object of regard or of compassion, and the treating her with coldness and neglect would merit little censure. In a matter so dark and mysterious, there was no probability that Mary could bring proofs of her innocence, so incontestable, as to render the conduct of the English queen altogether culpable; and, perhaps, impatience under restraint, suspicion of Elizabeth's partiality, or the discovery of her artifices, might engage Mary in such cabals as would justify the using her with greater rigour.

Elizabeth early perceived many advantages which would arise from an inquiry into the conduct of the Scottish queen, carried on under her direction. There

1568.

Elizabeth
takes ad-
vantage of
this offer.

1668. was some danger, however, that Mary might discover her secret intentions too soon, and, by receding from the offer which she had made, endeavour to disappoint them. But, even in that event, she determined not to drop the inquiry, and had thought of several different expedients for carrying it on. The countess of Lennox, convinced that Mary was accessory to the murder of her son, and thirsting for that vengeance which it was natural for a mother to demand, had implored Elizabeth's justice, and solicited her, with many tears, in her own name, and in her husband's, to bring the Scottish queen to a trial for that crime'. The parents of the unhappy prince had a just right to prefer this accusation; nor could she, who was their nearest kinswoman, be condemned for listening to so equitable a demand. Besides, as the Scottish nobles openly accused Mary of the same crime, and pretended to be able to confirm their charge by sufficient proof, it would be no difficult matter to prevail on them to petition the queen of England to take cognizance of their proceedings against their sovereign; and it was the opinion of the English council, that it would be reasonable to comply with the request'. At the same time, the obsolete claim of the superiority of England over Scotland began to be talked of; and, on that account, it was pretended that the decision of the contest between Mary and her subjects belonged of right to Elizabeth'. But, though Elizabeth revolved all these expedients in her mind, and kept them in reserve to be made use of as occasion might require, she wished that the inquiry into Mary's conduct should appear to be undertaken purely in compliance with her own demand, and in order to vindicate her innocence; and so long as that appearance could be preserved, none of the other expedients were to be employed.

' Camd. 412. Haynes, 469.

* Anders. vol. iv. part i. 37.

† Anders. vol. iv. part i. 37.

When Mary consented to submit her cause to Elizabeth, she was far from suspecting that any bad consequences could follow, or that any dangerous pretensions could be founded on her offer. She expected that Elizabeth herself would receive and examine her defences^u; she meant to consider her as an equal, for whose satisfaction she was willing to explain any part of her conduct that was liable to censure, not to acknowledge her as a superior, before whom she was bound to plead her cause. But Elizabeth put a very different sense on Mary's offer. She considered herself as chosen to be judge in the controversy between the Scottish queen and her subjects, and began to act in that capacity. She proposed to appoint commissioners to hear the pleadings of both parties, and wrote to the regent of Scotland to empower proper persons to appear before them in his name, and to produce what he could allege in vindication of his proceedings against his sovereign. 1568.

Mary had hitherto relied with unaccountable credulity on Elizabeth's professions of regard, and expected that so many kind speeches would at last be accompanied with some suitable actions. But this proposal entirely undeceived her. She plainly perceived the artifice of Elizabeth's conduct, and saw what a diminution it would be to her own honour to appear on a level with her rebellious subjects, and to stand together with them at the bar of a superior and a judge. She retracted the offer which she had made, and which had been perverted to a purpose so contrary to her intention. She demanded, with more earnestness than ever, to be admitted into Elizabeth's presence; and wrote to her in a strain very different from what she had formerly used, and which fully discovers the grief and indignation that preyed on her heart. July 13.

"In my present situation," says she, "I neither will

^u Anders. vol. iv. 10.

1568. nor can reply to the accusations of my subjects. I am ready, of my own accord, and out of friendship to you, to satisfy your scruples, and to vindicate my own conduct. My subjects are not my equals; nor will I, by submitting my cause to a judicial trial, acknowledge them to be so. I fled into your arms, as into those of my nearest relation and most perfect friend. I did you honour, as I imagined, in choosing you, preferably to any other prince, to be the restorer of an injured queen. Was it ever known that a prince was blamed for hearing, in person, the complaints of those who appealed to his justice, against the false accusations of their enemies? You admitted into your presence my bastard brother, who had been guilty of rebellion; and you deny me that honour! God forbid that I should be the occasion of bringing any stain upon your reputation! I expected that your manner of treating me would have added lustre to it. Suffer me either to implore the aid of other princes, whose delicacy on this head will be less, and their resentment of my wrongs greater; or let me receive from your hands that assistance which it becomes you, more than any other prince, to grant; and, by that benefit, bind me to yourself in the indissoluble ties of gratitude*.”

April 24.

June 20.
Elizabeth's
precautions
against her.

This letter somewhat disconcerted Elizabeth's plan, but did not divert her from the prosecution of it. She laid the matter before the privy council, and it was there determined, notwithstanding the entreaties and remonstrances of the Scottish queen, to go on with the inquiry into her conduct; and, until that were finished, it was agreed that Elizabeth could not, consistently with her own honour, or with the safety of her government, either give her the assistance which she demanded, or permit her to retire out of the kingdom. Lest she should have an opportunity of escaping, while she resided so near Scotland, it was thought

* Anders. vol. iv. part i. 94.

advisable to remove her to some place at a greater distance from the borders⁷. 1568.

While the English court was occupied in these deliberations, the regent did not neglect to improve the victory at Langside. That event was of the utmost importance to him. It not only drove the queen herself out of the kingdom, but left her adherents dispersed, and without a leader, at his mercy. He seemed resolved, at first, to proceed against them with the utmost rigour. Six persons of some distinction, who had been taken prisoners in the battle, were tried, and condemned to death, as rebels against the king's government. They were led to the place of execution, but, by the powerful intercession of Knox, they obtained a pardon. Hamilton of Bothwelhaugh was one of the number, who lived to give both the regent and Knox reason to repent of this commendable act of lenity⁸.

Proceedings
of the re-
gent against
the queen's
adherents.

Soon after, the regent marched with an army, consisting of four thousand horse and one thousand foot, towards the west borders. The nobles in this part of the kingdom were all the queen's adherents; but, as they had not force sufficient to obstruct his progress, he must either have obliged them to submit to the king, or would have laid waste their lands with fire and sword. But Elizabeth, whose interest it was to keep Scotland in confusion, by preserving the balance between the two parties, and who was endeavouring to sooth the Scottish queen by gentle treatment, interposed at her desire. After keeping the field two weeks, the regent, in compliance to the English ambassador, dismissed his forces; and an expedition, which might have proved fatal to his opponents, ended with a few acts of severity⁹.

The resolution of the English privy council, with Mary car-

⁷ Anders. vol. iv. part i. 102.

⁸ Cald. vol. ii. 99.

⁹ Cald. vol. ii. 99.

1568. regard to Mary's person, was soon carried into execution; and, without regarding her remonstrances or complaints, she was conducted to Bolton, a castle of lord Scrope's, on the borders of Yorkshire^b. In this place, her correspondence with her friends in Scotland became more difficult, and any prospect of making her escape was entirely cut off. She now felt herself to be completely in Elizabeth's power, and, though treated as yet with the respect due to a queen, her real condition was that of a prisoner. Mary knew what it was to be deprived of liberty, and dreaded it as the worst of all evils. While the remembrance of her late imprisonment was still lively, and the terrour of a new one filled her mind, Elizabeth thought it a proper juncture to renew her former proposition, that she would suffer the regent and his adherents to be called into England, and consent to their being heard in defence of their own conduct. She declared it to be far from her intention to claim any right of judging between Mary and her subjects, or of degrading her so far as to require that she should answer to their accusations. On the contrary, Murray and his associates were summoned to appear, in order to justify their conduct in treating their sovereign so harshly, and to vindicate themselves from those crimes with which she had charged them. On her part, Elizabeth promised, whatever should be the issue of this inquiry, to employ all her power and influence towards replacing Mary on her throne, under a few limitations, by no means unreasonable. Mary, deceived by this seeming attention to her dignity as a queen, soothed, on one hand, by a promise more flattering than any which she had hitherto received from Elizabeth, and urged, on the other, by the feelings which were natural on being conducted into a more interior part of England, and kept there in more rigorous confine-

1568.

ried to
Bolton.

July 13.

July 28.

Agrees that
an inquiry
be made
into her
conduct.^b Anders. vol. iv. 14. See Appendix, No. XXV.

ment, complied at length with what Elizabeth required, and promised to send commissioners to the conferences appointed to be held at York^c. 1568.

In order to persuade Elizabeth that she desired nothing so much as to render the union between them as close as possible, she showed a disposition to relax somewhat in one point; with regard to which, during all her past and subsequent misfortunes, she was uniformly inflexible. She expressed a great veneration for the liturgy of the church of England; she was often present at religious worship, according to the rites of the reformed church; made choice of a protestant clergyman to be her chaplain; heard him preach against the errors of popery with attention and seeming pleasure; and discovered all the symptoms of an approaching conversion^d. Such was Mary's known and bigoted attachment to the popish religion, that it is impossible to believe her sincere in this part of her conduct; nor can any thing mark more strongly the wretchedness of her condition, and the excess of her fears, than that they betrayed her into dissimulation, in a matter concerning which her sentiments were, at all other times, scrupulously delicate.

At this time the regent called a parliament, in order to proceed to the forfeiture of those who refused to acknowledge the king's authority. The queen's adherents were alarmed, and Argyll and Huntly, whom Mary had appointed her lieutenants, the one in the south and the other in the north of Scotland, began to assemble forces to obstruct this meeting. Compassion for the queen, and envy at those who governed in the king's name, had added so much strength to the party, that the regent would have found it difficult to withstand its efforts. But as Mary had submitted her cause to Elizabeth, she could not refuse, at her desire,

^c Anders. vol. iv. part i. p. 11, 12, etc. 109, etc. Haynes, 468, etc. State Trials, edit. Hargrave, i. 90.

^d Anders. vol. iv. part i. 113. Haynes, 509. See Appendix, No. XXVI.

1568. to command her friends to lay down their arms, and to wait patiently until matters were brought to a decision in England. By procuring this cessation of arms, Elizabeth afforded as seasonable relief to the regent's faction, as she had formerly given to the queen's^e.

The regent, however, would not consent, even at Elizabeth's request, to put off the meeting of parliament^f. But we may ascribe to her influence, as well as to the eloquence of Maitland, who laboured to prevent the one half of his countrymen from exterminating the other, any appearances of moderation which this parliament discovered in its proceedings. The most violent opponents of the king's government were forfeited; the rest were allowed still to hope for favour^g.

Elizabeth requires the regent to defend his conduct.

No sooner did the queen of Scots submit her cause to her rival, than Elizabeth required the regent to send to York deputies properly instructed for vindicating his conduct, in presence of her commissioners. It was not without hesitation and anxiety that the regent consented to this measure. His authority was already established in Scotland, and confirmed by parliament. To suffer its validity now to be called in question, and subjected to a foreign jurisdiction, was extremely mortifying. To accuse his sovereign before strangers, the ancient enemies of the Scottish name, was an odious task. To fail in this accusation was dangerous; to succeed in it was disgraceful. But the strength of the adverse faction daily increased. He dreaded the interposition of the French king in its behalf. In his situation, and in a matter which Elizabeth had so much at heart, her commands were neither to be disputed nor disobeyed^h.

Both the queen and he appoint commissioners.

The necessity of repairing in person to York added to the ignominy of the step which he was obliged to take. All his associates declined the office; they

^e Anders. vol. iv. 125.

^f Buchan. 371.

^g See Appendix, No. XXVII.

^h Buch. 372. See Appendix, No. XXVIII.

were unwilling to expose themselves to the odium and danger with which it was easy to foresee that the discharge of it would be attended, unless he himself consented to share these in common with them. The ^{1568.} Sept. 18. earl of Morton, Bothwell, bishop of Orkney, Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermling, and lord Lindsay, were joined with him in commission. Macgill of Rankeilor, and Balnaves of Hallhill, two eminent civilians, George Buchanan, Murray's faithful adherent, a man whose genius did honour to the age, Maitland, and several others, were appointed to attend them as assistants. Maitland owed this distinction to the regent's fear, rather than to his affection. He had warmly remonstrated against this measure. He wished his country to continue in friendship with England, but not to become dependent on that nation. He was desirous of reestablishing the queen in some degree of power, not inconsistent with that which the king possessed; and the regent could not, with safety, leave behind him a man, whose views were so contrary to his own, and who, by his superior abilities, had acquired an influence in the nation, equal to that which others derived from the antiquity and power of their families¹.

Mary empowered Lesley, bishop of Ross, lord Livingston, lord Boyd, lord Herries, Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning, sir John Gordon, of Lochinvar, and sir James Cockburn, of Stirling, to appear in her name².

Elizabeth nominated Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, Thomas Radcliffe, earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler, her commissioners to hear both parties.

The fourth of October was the day fixed for opening the 'conference.' The great abilities of the deputies on both sides, the dignity of the judges before whom they were to appear, the high rank of the per-

The conference at York.

¹ Buchan. 371. Anders. vol. iv. 35. Melv. 186. 188.

² Anders. vol. iv. 33.

1568. sons 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 at her disposal.

Views of the
different
parties.

The views, however, with which the several parties consented to this conference, and the issue to which they expected to bring it, were extremely different.

Mary's chief object was the recovering of her former authority. This induced her to consent to a measure against which she had long struggled. Elizabeth's promises gave her ground for entertaining hopes of being restored to her kingdom; in order to which, she would have willingly made many concessions to the king's party; and the influence of the English queen, as well as her own impatience under her present situation, might have led her to many more¹. The regent aimed at nothing but securing Elizabeth's protection to his party, and seems not to have had the most distant thoughts of coming to any composition with Mary. Elizabeth's views were more various, and her schemes more intricate. She seemed to be full of concern for Mary's honour, and solicitous that she should wipe off the aspersions which blemished her character. This she pretended to be the intention of the conference; amusing Mary, and eluding the solicitations of the French and Spanish ambassadors in her behalf, by repeated promises of assisting her, as soon as she could

¹ Anders. vol. iv. part ii. 33. Good. vol. ii. 337.

venture to do so without bringing disgrace upon herself. But, under this veil of friendship and generosity, Elizabeth concealed sentiments of a different nature. She expected that the regent would accuse Mary of being accessory to the murder of her husband. She encouraged him, as far as decency would permit, to take this desperate step^m. And as this accusation might terminate in two different ways, she had concerted measures for her future conduct suitable to each of these. If the charge against Mary should appear to be well-founded, she resolved to pronounce her unworthy of wearing a crown, and to declare that she would never burthen her own conscience with the guilt of an action so detestable as the restoring her to her kingdomⁿ. If it should happen, that what her accusers alleged did not amount to a proof of guilt, but only of maleadministration, she determined to set on foot a treaty for restoring her, but on such conditions as would render her hereafter dependent, not only upon England, but upon her own subjects^o. As every step in the progress of the conference, as well as the final result of it, was in Elizabeth's own power, she would still be at liberty to choose which of these courses she should hold; or, if there appeared to be any danger or inconvenience in pursuing either of them, she might protract the whole cause by endless delays, and involve it in inextricable perplexity.

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The conference, however, was opened with much solemnity. But the very first step discovered it to be Elizabeth's intention to inflame, rather than to extinguish, the dissensions and animosities among the Scots. No endeavours were used to reconcile the contending parties, or to mollify the fierceness of their hatred, by bringing the queen to offer pardon for what was past, or her subjects to promise more dutiful obedience for

Complaint
of the
queen's
commission-
ers against
the regent.

^m Anders. vol. iv. part ii. 11. 45. Haynes, 487.

ⁿ Anders. vol. iv. part ii. 11. ^o Id. *ibid.* 16.

1668. the future. On the contrary, Mary's commissioners
 Oct. 8. were permitted to prefer a complaint against the regent and his party, containing an enumeration of their treasonable actions, of their seizing her person by force of arms, committing her to prison, compelling her to resign the crown, and making use of her son's name to colour their usurpation of the whole royal authority; and of all these enormities they required such speedy and effectual redress, as the injuries of one queen demanded from the justice of another^p.

It was then expected that the regent would have disclosed all the circumstances of that unnatural crime to which he pretended the queen had been accessory, and would have produced evidence in support of his charge. But, far from accusing Mary, the regent did not even answer the complaints brought against himself. He discovered a reluctance at undertaking that office, and started many doubts and scruples, with regard to which he demanded to be resolved by Elizabeth herself^q. His reserve and hesitation were no less surprising to the greater part of the English commissioners than to his own associates. They knew that he could not vindicate his own conduct without charging the murder upon the queen, and he had not hitherto shown any extraordinary delicacy on that head. An intrigue, however, had been secretly carried on, since his arrival at York, which explains this mystery.

Intrigues
 of Norfolk
 with the re-
 gent.

The duke of Norfolk was, at that time, the most powerful and most popular man in England. His wife was lately dead; and he began already to form a project, which he afterwards more openly avowed, of mounting the throne of Scotland, by a marriage with the queen of Scots. He saw the infamy which would be the consequence of a public accusation against Mary, and how prejudicial it might be to her pretensions to the English succession. In order to save her

^p Anders. vol. iv. part ii. 52.

^q Haynes, 478.

from this cruel mortification, he applied to Maitland, and expressed his astonishment at seeing a man of so much reputation for wisdom, concurring with the regent in a measure so dishonourable to themselves, to their queen, and to their country; submitting the public transactions of the nation to the judgment of foreigners; and publishing the ignominy, and exposing the faults of their sovereign, which they were bound, in good policy, as well as in duty, to conceal and to cover. It was easy for Maitland, whose sentiments were the same with the duke's, to vindicate his own conduct. He assured him, that he had employed all his credit to dissuade his countrymen from this measure; and would still contribute, to the utmost of his power, to divert them from it. This encouraged Norfolk to communicate the matter to the regent. He repeated and enforced the same arguments which he had used with Maitland. He warned him of the danger to which he must expose himself by such a violent action as the public accusation of his sovereign. Mary would never forgive a man, who had endeavoured to fix such a brand of infamy on her character. If she ever recovered any degree of power, his destruction would be inevitable, and he would justly merit it at her hands. Nor would Elizabeth screen him from this, by a public approbation of his conduct. For, whatever evidence of Mary's guilt he might produce, she was resolved to give no definitive sentence in the cause. Let him only demand that the matter should be brought to a decision immediately after hearing the proof, and he would be fully convinced how false and insidious her intentions were, and, by consequence, how improper it would be for him to appear as the accuser of his own sovereign'. The candour which Norfolk seemed to discover in these remonstrances, as well as the truth which they contained, made a deep

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1568. impression on the regent. He daily received the strongest assurances of Mary's willingness to be reconciled to him, if he abstained from accusing her of such an odious crime, together with the denunciations of her irreconcilable hatred, if he acted a contrary part^a. All these considerations concurred in determining him to alter his purpose, and to make trial of the expedient which the duke had suggested.

Oct. 9.

He demanded, therefore, to be informed, before he proceeded further, whether the English commissioners were empowered to declare the queen guilty, by a judicial act; whether they would promise to pass sentence, without delay; whether the queen should be kept under such restraint, as to prevent her from disturbing the government now established in Scotland; and whether Elizabeth, if she approved of the proceedings of the king's party, would engage to protect it for the future^b. The paper containing these demands was signed by himself alone, without communicating it to any of his attendants, except Maitland and Melvil^c. But, lest so many precautions should excite any suspicion of their proceedings, from some consciousness of defect in the evidence which he had to produce against his sovereign, Murray empowered Lethington, Macgill, and Buchanan, to wait upon the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler, and to lay before them, not in their public characters as commissioners, but as private persons, Mary's letters to Bothwell, her sonnets, and all the other papers, upon which was founded the charge of her being accessory to the murder of the king, and to declare that this confidential communication was made to them, with a view to learn whether the queen of England would consider this evidence as sufficient to

^a Anders. vol. iv. part ii. 77. Good. vol. ii. 157. See Appendix, No. XXIX.

^b Anders. vol. iv. part ii. 55. State Trials, i. 91. etc.

^c Anders. vol. iv. part ii. 56. Melv. 190.

establish the truth of the accusation. Nothing could be more natural than the regent's solicitude, to know on what footing he stood. To have ventured on a step so uncommon and dangerous, as the accusing his sovereign, without previously ascertaining that he might take it with safety, would have been unpardonable imprudence. But Elizabeth, who did not expect that he would have moved any such difficulty, had not empowered her commissioners to give him that satisfaction which he demanded. It became necessary to transmit the articles to herself, and by the light in which Norfolk placed them, it is easy to see that he wished that they should make no slight impression on Elizabeth and her ministers. "Think not the Scots," said he, "over-scrupulous or precise. Let us view their conduct as we would wish our own to be viewed in a like situation. The game they play is deep; their estates, their lives, their honour, are at stake. It is now in their own power to be reconciled to their queen, or to offend her irrecoverably; and, in a matter of so much importance, the utmost degree of caution is not excessive^x."

While the English commissioners waited for fuller instructions with regard to the regent's demands, he gave in an answer to the complaint which had been offered in the name of the Scottish queen. It was expressed in terms perfectly conformable to the system which he had at that time adopted. It contained no insinuation of the queen's being accessory to the murder of her husband; the bitterness of style peculiar to the age was considerably abated; and though he pleaded, that the infamy of the marriage with Bothwell made it necessary to take arms in order to dissolve it; though Mary's attachment to a man so odious justified the keeping her, for some time, under restraint; yet nothing more was said on these subjects than was

^x Anders. vol. iv. 77.

1568. barely requisite in his own defence. The queen's commissioners did not fail to reply^y. But while the article with respect to the murder remained untouched, these were only skirmishes at a distance, of no consequence towards ending the contest, and were little regarded by Elizabeth, or her commissioners.

Oct. 17. The conference removed to Westminster. The conference had, hitherto, been conducted in a manner which disappointed Elizabeth's views, and produced none of those discoveries which she had expected. The distance between York and London, and the necessity of consulting her upon every difficulty which occurred, consumed much time. Norfolk's negotiation with the Scottish regent, however secretly carried on, was not, in all probability, unknown to a princess so remarkable for her sagacity in penetrating the designs of her enemies, and seeing through their deepest schemes^z. Instead, therefore, of returning any answer to the regent's demands, she resolved to remove the conference to Westminster, and to appoint new commissioners, in whom she could more absolutely confide. Both the queen of Scots and the regent were brought, without difficulty, to approve of this resolution^a.

We often find Mary boasting of the superiority in argument obtained by her commissioners during the conference at York, and how, by the strength of their reasons, they confounded her adversaries, and silenced all their cavils^b. The dispute stood, at that time, on a footing which rendered her victory not only apparent, but easy. Her participation of the guilt of the king's murder was the circumstance upon which her subjects must have rested, as a justification of their violent proceedings against her; and, while they industriously avoided mentioning that, her cause gained as much as

^y Anders. vol. iv. part ii. 64. 80.

^z Good. vol. ii. 160. Anders. vol. iii. 24.

^a Haynes, 484. Anders. vol. iv. 94.

^b Good. vol. ii. 186. 284. 350.

that of her adversaries lost by suppressing this capital argument. 1568.

Elizabeth resolved that Mary should not enjoy the same advantage in the conference to be held at Westminster. She deliberated with the utmost anxiety, how she might overcome the regent's scruples, and persuade him to accuse the queen. She considered of the most proper method for bringing Mary's commissioners to answer such an accusation; and as she foresaw that the promises with which it was necessary to allure the regent, and which it was impossible to conceal from the Scottish queen, would naturally exasperate her to a great degree, she determined to guard her more narrowly than ever; and, though lord Scrope had given her no reason to distrust his vigilance or fidelity, yet, because he was the duke of Norfolk's brother-in-law, she thought it proper to remove the queen, as soon as possible, to Tuthbury in Staffordshire, and commit her to the keeping of the earl of Shrewsbury, to whom that castle belonged^c.

Mary began to suspect the design of this second conference; and, notwithstanding the satisfaction she expressed at seeing her cause taken more immediately under the queen's own eye^d, she framed her instructions to her commissioners in such a manner, as to avoid being brought under the necessity of answering the accusation of her subjects, if they should be so desperate as to exhibit one against her^e. These suspicions were soon confirmed by a circumstance extremely mortifying. The regent having arrived at London, in order to be present at the conference, was immediately admitted into Elizabeth's presence, and received by her, not only with respect, but with affection. This Mary justly considered as an open declaration of that queen's partiality towards her adversaries. In the first Nov. 22.
Claims a
personal au- emotions of her resentment, she wrote to her commis-

Mary's sus-
picions of
Elizabeth's
intentions.
Oct. 21.

^c Haynes, 487.

^d Anders. vol. iv. part ii. 95.

^e Good. vol. ii. 349.

1568.
 dience of
 Elizabeth.

sioners, and commanded them to complain, in the presence of the English nobles, and before the ambassadors of foreign princes, of the usage she had hitherto met with, and the additional injuries which she had reason to apprehend. Her rebellious subjects were allowed access to the queen; she was excluded from her presence: they enjoyed full liberty; she languished under a long imprisonment: they were encouraged to accuse her; in defending herself she laboured under every disadvantage. For these reasons she once more renewed her demand, of being admitted into the queen's presence; and if that were denied, she instructed them to declare, that she recalled the consent which she had given to the conference at Westminster, and protested, that whatever was done there, should be held to be null and invalid^f.

This, perhaps, was the most prudent resolution Mary could have taken. The pretences on which she declined the conference were plausible, and the juncture for offering them well chosen. But either the queen's letter did not reach her commissioners in due time, or they suffered themselves to be deceived by Elizabeth's professions of regard for their mistress, and consented to the opening of the conference^g.

Nov. 25.

To the commissioners who had appeared in her name at York, Elizabeth now added sir Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great seal, the earls of Arundel and Leicester, lord Clinton, and sir William Cecil^h. The difficulties which obstructed the proceedings at York were quickly removed. A satisfying answer was given to the regent's demands; nor was he so much disposed to hesitate, and raise objections, as formerly. His negotiation with Norfolk had been discovered to Morton by some of Mary's attendants, and he had communicated it to Cecilⁱ. His personal safety, as well as the continu-

^f Good. vol. ii. 184.

^h Id. vol. iv. part ii. 99.

^g Anders. vol. iii. 25.

ⁱ Melv. 191.

ance of his power, depended on Elizabeth. By favouring Mary, she might at any time ruin him; and by a question which she artfully started, concerning the person who had a right, by the law of Scotland, to govern the kingdom during a minority, she let him see, that, even without restoring the queen, it was an easy matter for her to deprive him of the supreme direction of affairs^k. These considerations, which were powerfully seconded by most of his attendants, at length determined the regent to produce his accusation against the queen. 1668.

He endeavoured to lessen the obloquy, with which he was sensible this action would be attended, by protesting, that it was with the utmost reluctance he undertook this disagreeable task; that his party had long suffered their conduct to be misconstrued, and had borne the worst imputations in silence, rather than expose the crimes of their sovereign to the eyes of strangers; but that now the insolence and importunity of the adverse faction forced them to publish, what they had hitherto, though with loss to themselves, endeavoured to conceal^l. These pretexts are decent; and the considerations which he mentions had, during some time, a real influence upon the conduct of the party; but, since the meeting of parliament held in December, they had discovered so little delicacy and reserve with respect to the queen's actions, as renders it impossible to give credit to those studied professions. The regent and his associates were drawn, it is plain, partly by the necessity of their affairs, and partly by Elizabeth's artifices, into a situation where no liberty of choice was left to them; and they were obliged either to acknowledge themselves to be guilty of rebellion, or to charge Mary with having been accessory to the commission of murder.

The accusation itself was conceived in the strongest

^k Haynes, 484.

^l Anders. vol. iv. part. ii. 115.

1568. terms. Mary was charged, not only with having consented to the murder, but with being accessory to the contrivance and execution of it. Bothwell, it was pretended, had been screened from the pursuits of justice by her favour; and she had formed designs no less dangerous to the life of the young prince, than subversive of the liberties and constitution of the kingdom. If any of these crimes should be denied, an offer was made to produce the most ample and undoubted evidence in confirmation of the charge^m.

Nov. 29. At the next meeting of the commissioners, the earl of Lennox appeared before them; and, after bewailing the tragical and unnatural murder of his son, he implored Elizabeth's justice against the queen of Scots, whom he accused, upon oath, of being the author of that crime, and produced papers, which, as he pretended, would make good what he alleged. The entrance of a new actor on the stage so opportunely, and at a juncture so critical, can scarce be imputed to chance. This contrivance was manifestly Elizabeth's, in order to increase, by this additional accusation, the infamy of the Scottish queenⁿ.

Her commissioners refuse to answer.
Dec. 4.

Mary's commissioners expressed the utmost surprise and indignation at the regent's presumption, in loading the queen with calumnies, which, as they affirmed, she had so little merited. But, instead of attempting to vindicate her honour, by a reply to the charge, they had recourse to an article in their instructions, which they had formerly neglected to mention in its proper place. They demanded an audience of Elizabeth; and having renewed their mistress's request of a personal interview, they protested, if that were denied her, against all the future proceedings of the commissioners^o. A protestation of this nature, offered just at the critical time when such a bold accusation had been preferred against

^m Anders. vol. iv. part ii. 119.

ⁿ Id. *ibid.* 122.

^o Id. *ibid.* 133. 158, etc.

Mary, and when the proofs in support of it were ready to be examined, gave reason to suspect that she dreaded the event of that examination. This suspicion received the strongest confirmation from another circumstance: Ross and Herries, before they were introduced to Elizabeth, in order to make this protestation, privately acquainted Leicester and Cecil, that as their mistress had, from the beginning, discovered an inclination towards bringing the differences between herself and her subjects to an amicable accommodation, so she was still desirous, notwithstanding the regent's audacious accusation, that they should be terminated in that manner^p.

Such moderation seems hardly to be compatible with the strong resentment which calumniated innocence naturally feels; or with that eagerness to vindicate itself which it always discovers. In Mary's situation, an offer so ill-timed must be considered as a confession of the weakness of her cause. The known character of her commissioners exempts them from the imputation of folly, or the suspicion of treachery. Some secret conviction, that the conduct of their mistress could not bear so strict a scrutiny as must be made into it, if they should reply to the accusation preferred by Murray against her, seems to be the most probable motive of this imprudent proposal, by which they endeavoured to avoid it.

It appeared in this light to Elizabeth, and afforded Dec. 4. her a pretence for rejecting it. She represented to Mary's commissioners, that, in the present juncture, nothing could be so dishonourable to their mistress as an accommodation; and that the matter would seem to be huddled up in this manner, merely to suppress discoveries, and to hide her shame; nor was it possible that Mary could be admitted, with any decency, into her presence, while she lay under the infamy of such a public accusation.

^p Anders. vol. iv. part ii. 134. Cabbala, 157.

1568.

Upon this repulse, Mary's commissioners withdrew; and, as they had declined answering, there seemed now to be no farther reason for the regent's producing the proofs in support of his charge. But without getting these into her hands, Elizabeth's schemes were incomplete; and her artifice for this purpose was as mean, but as successful, as any she had hitherto employed. She commanded her commissioners to testify her indignation and displeasure at the regent's presumption, in forgetting so far the duty of a subject, as to accuse his sovereign of such atrocious crimes. He, in order to regain the good opinion of such a powerful protectress, offered to show that his accusations were not malicious, nor ill-grounded. Then were produced and submitted to the inspection of the English commissioners, the acts of the Scottish parliament in confirmation of the regent's authority, and of the queen's resignation; the confessions of the persons executed for the king's murder; and the fatal casket which contained the letters, sonnets, and contracts, that have been so often mentioned.

Elizabeth
treats Mary
with greater
rigour.
Dec. 14.

As soon as Elizabeth got these into her possession, she laid them before her privy council, to which she joined, on this occasion, several noblemen of the greatest eminence in her kingdom; in order that they might have an opportunity of considering the mode in which an inquiry of such public importance had been hitherto conducted, as well as the amount of the evidence now brought against a person, who claimed a preferable right of succession to the English crown. In this respectable assembly all the proceedings in the conferences at York and Westminster were reviewed, and the evidence produced by the regent of Scotland against his sovereign was examined with attention. In particular, the letters and other papers said to be written by the queen of Scots, were carefully compared "for the manner of writing and orthography," with a variety of letters which Elizabeth had received at different

times from the Scottish queen; and, as the result of a most accurate collation, the members of the privy council, and noblemen conjoined with them, declared that no difference between these could be discovered⁹. Elizabeth, having established a fact so unfavourable to her rival, began to lay aside the expressions of friendship and respect which she had hitherto used in all her letters to the Scottish queen. She now wrote to her in such terms, as if the presumptions of her guilt had amounted almost to certainty; she blamed her for refusing to vindicate herself from an accusation which could not be left unanswered, without a manifest injury to her character; and plainly intimated, that, unless that were done, no change would be made in her present situation^r. She hoped that such a discovery of her sentiments would intimidate Mary, who was hardly recovered from the shock of the regent's attack on her reputation, and force her to confirm her resignation of the crown, to ratify Murray's authority as regent, and to consent that both herself and her son should reside in England, under English protection. This scheme Elizabeth had much at heart; she proposed it both to Mary and to her commissioners, and neglected no argument nor artifice, that could possibly recommend it. Mary saw how fatal this would prove to her reputation, to her pretensions, and even to her personal safety. She rejected it without hesitation. "Death," said she, "is less dreadful than such an ignominious step. Rather than give away, with my own hands, the crown which descended to me from my ancestors, I will part with life; but the last words I utter, shall be those of a queen of Scotland^s."

At the same time she seems to have been sensible how open her reputation lay to censure, while she suffered such a public accusation to remain unanswered;

⁹ Anders. vol. iv. part ii. 170, etc.

^r Id. *ibid.* 179. 183. Good. vol. ii. 260.

^s Haynes, 497. See Appendix, No. XXX. Good. vol. ii. 274. 301.

1568. and, though the conference was now dissolved, she empowered her commissioners to present a reply to the allegations of her enemies, in which she denied, in the strongest terms, the crimes imputed to her; and recriminated upon the regent and his party, by accusing them of having devised and executed the murder of the king^t. The regent and his associates asserted their innocence with great warmth. Mary continued to insist on a personal interview, a condition which she knew would never be granted^u. Elizabeth urged her to vindicate her own honour. But it is evident from the delays, the evasions, and subterfuges, to which both queens had recourse by turns, that Mary avoided, and Elizabeth did not desire, to make any farther progress in the inquiry.

Dec. 24.

1569.

Feb. 2.
Dismisses
the regent
without
either ap-
proving or
condemning
his conduct;

The regent was now impatient to return into Scotland, where his adversaries were endeavouring, in his absence, to raise some commotions. Before he set out, he was called into the privy council, to receive a final declaration of Elizabeth's sentiments. Cecil acquainted him, in her name, that, on one hand, nothing had been objected to his conduct, which she could reckon detrimental to his honour, or inconsistent with his duty; nor had he, on the other hand, produced any thing against his sovereign, on which she could found an unfavourable opinion of her actions; and, for this reason, she resolved to leave all the affairs of Scotland precisely in the same situation in which she had found them at the beginning of the conference. The queen's commissioners were dismissed much in the same manner^x.

After the attention of both nations had been fixed so earnestly on this conference upwards of four months, such a conclusion of the whole appears, at first sight, trifling and ridiculous. Nothing, however, could be

^t Good. ii. 285.

^u Ibid. 283. Cabbala, 157.

^x Good. ii. 315. 333.

more favourable to Elizabeth's future schemes. Notwithstanding her seeming impartiality, she had no thoughts of continuing neuter; nor was she at any loss on whom to bestow her protection. Before the regent left London, she supplied him with a considerable sum of money, and engaged to support the king's authority to the utmost of her power⁷. Mary, by her own conduct, fortified this resolution. Enraged at the repeated instances of Elizabeth's artifice and deceit, which she had discovered during the progress of the conference, and despairing of ever obtaining any succour from her, she endeavoured to rouse her own adherents in Scotland to arms, by imputing such designs to Elizabeth and Murray, as could not fail to inspire every Scotchman with indignation. Murray, she pretended, had agreed to convey the prince, her son, into England; to surrender to Elizabeth the places of greatest strength in the kingdom; and to acknowledge the dependence of the Scottish upon the English nation. In return for this, Murray was to be declared the lawful heir of the crown of Scotland; and, at the same time, the question with regard to the English succession was to be decided in favour of the earl of Hartford, who had promised to marry one of Cecil's daughters. An account of these wild and chimerical projects was spread industriously among the Scots. Elizabeth, perceiving it was calculated of purpose to bring her government into disreputation, laboured to destroy its effects, by a counter-proclamation, and became more disgusted than ever with the Scottish queen⁸.

The regent, on his return, found the kingdom in the utmost tranquillity. But the rage of the queen's adherents, which had been suspended, in expectation that the conference in England would terminate to her

⁷ Good. ii. 313. Carte, iii. 478.

⁸ Haynes, 500. 503. See Appendix, No. XXXI.

1569. advantage, was now ready to break out with all the violence of civil war. They were encouraged too by the appearance of a leader, whose high quality and pretensions entitled him to great authority in the nation. This was the duke of Chatelherault, who had resided for some years in France, and was now sent over by that court with a small supply of money, in hopes that the presence of the first nobleman in the kingdom would strengthen the queen's party. Elizabeth had detained him in England for some months, under various pretences, but was obliged at last to suffer him to proceed on his journey. Before his departure, Mary invested him with the high dignity of her lieutenant-general in Scotland, together with the fantastic title of her adopted father.

Feb. 25.

His vigorous conduct breaks her party.

The regent did not give him time to form his party into any regular body. He assembled an army with his usual expedition, and marched to Glasgow. The followers of Argyll and Huntly, who composed the chief part of the queen's faction, being seated in corners of the kingdom very distant from each other, and many of the duke's dependents having been killed or taken in the battle of Langside, the spirit and strength of his adherents were totally broken, and an accommodation with the regent was the only thing which could prevent the ruin of his estate and vassals. This was effected without difficulty, and on no unreasonable terms. The duke promised to acknowledge the authority both of the king and of the regent; and to claim no jurisdiction in consequence of the commission which he had received from the queen. The regent bound himself to repeal the act which had passed for attainting several of the queen's adherents; to restore all who would submit to the king's government to the possession of their estates and honours; and to hold a convention, wherein all the differences between the two parties should be settled by mutual consent. The duke gave hostages for his faithful performance of the

treaty; and, in token of their sincerity, he and lord Herries accompanied the regent to Stirling, and visited the young king. The regent set at liberty the prisoners taken at Langside^a. 1569.

Argyll and Huntly refused to be included in this treaty. A secret negotiation was carrying on in England, in favour of the captive queen, with so much success, that her affairs began to wear a better aspect, and her return into her own kingdom seemed to be an event not very distant. The French king had lately obtained such advantages over the hugonots, that the extinction of that party appeared to be inevitable, and France, by recovering domestic tranquillity, would be no longer prevented from protecting her friends in Britain. These circumstances not only influenced Argyll and Huntly, but made so deep an impression on the duke, that he appeared to be wavering and irresolute, and plainly discovered that he wished to evade the accomplishment of the treaty. The regent saw the danger of allowing the duke to shake himself loose, in this manner, from his engagements; and instantly formed a resolution equally bold and politic. He commanded his guards to seize Chatelherault in his own house in Edinburgh, whither he had come in order to attend the convention agreed upon; and, regardless either of his dignity, as the first nobleman in the kingdom, and next heir to the crown, or of the promises of personal security, on which he had relied, committed him and lord Herries prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh^b. A blow so fatal and unexpected dispirited the party. Argyll submitted to the king's government, and made his peace with the regent on very easy terms; and Huntly, being left alone, was at last obliged to lay April 16. down his arms.

Soon after, lord Boyd returned into Scotland, and

^a Cabbala, 161. Crawford. Mem. 106.

^b Crawford. Mem. 111. Melv. 202.

1569. brought letters to the regent, both from the English and Scottish queens. A convention was held at Perth, in order to consider them. Elizabeth's letter contained three different proposals with regard to Mary; that she should either be restored to the full possession of her former authority; or be admitted to reign jointly with the king her son; or at least be allowed to reside in Scotland, in some decent retirement, without any share in the administration of government. These overtures were extorted by the importunity of Fénélon, the French ambassador, and have some appearance of being favourable to the captive queen. They were, however, perfectly suitable to Elizabeth's general system with regard to Scottish affairs. Among propositions so unequal and disproportionate, she easily saw where the choice would fall. The two former were rejected; and long delays must necessarily have intervened, and many difficulties have arisen, before every circumstance relative to the last could be finally adjusted^c.

July 21.
A proposal
in favour
of Mary
rejected.

Norfolk's
scheme for
marrying
the queen
of Scots.

Mary, in her letter, demanded that her marriage with Bothwell should be reviewed by the proper judges, and, if found invalid, should be dissolved by a legal sentence of divorce. This fatal marriage was the principal source of all the calamities she had endured for two years; a divorce was the only thing which could repair the injuries her reputation had suffered by that step. It was her interest to have proposed it early; and it is not easy to account for her long silence with respect to this point. Her particular motive for proposing it at this time began to be so well known, that the demand was rejected by the convention of estates^d. They imputed it not so much to any abhor-

^c Spotswood, 230.

^d Spotswood, 231. In a privy council, held July 30, 1569, this demand was considered; and, of fifty-one members present, only seven voted to comply with the queen's request. Records Priv. Council, manuscript in the Lyon Office, p. 148.

rence of Bothwell, as to her eagerness to conclude a marriage with the duke of Norfolk. 1569.

This marriage was the object of that secret negotiation in England, which I have already mentioned. The fertile and projecting genius of Maitland first conceived this scheme. During the conference at York, he communicated it to the duke himself, and to the bishop of Ross. The former readily closed with a scheme so flattering to his ambition: the latter considered it as a probable device for restoring his mistress to liberty, and replacing her on her throne. Nor was Mary, with whom Norfolk held a correspondence, by means of his sister, lady Scrope, averse from a measure, which would have restored her to her kingdom with so much splendour*. The sudden removal of the conference from York to Westminster suspended, but did not break off this intrigue. Maitland and Ross were still the duke's prompters, and his agents; and many letters and lovetokens were exchanged between him and the queen of Scots.

But as he could not hope, that under an administration so vigilant as Elizabeth's, such an intrigue could be kept long concealed, he attempted to deceive her by the appearance of openness and candour, an artifice which seldom fails of success. He mentioned to her the rumour that was spread of his marriage with the Scottish queen; he complained of it as a groundless calumny; and disclaimed all thoughts of that kind, with many expressions full of contempt both for Mary's character and dominions. Jealous as Elizabeth was of every thing relative to the queen of Scots, she seems to have credited these professions^f. But, instead of discontinuing the negotiation, he renewed it with greater vigour, and admitted into it new associates. Among these was the regent of Scotland. He had given great

Conceals it
from Elizabeth.

* Camd. 419. Haynes, 573. State Trials, i. 73.

^f Haynes, 574. State Trials, i. 79, 80.

1569. offence to Norfolk, by his public accusation of the queen, in breach of the concert into which he had entered at York. He was then ready to return into Scotland. The influence of the duke in the north of England was great. The earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, the most powerful noblemen in that part of the kingdom, threatened to revenge upon the regent the injuries which he had done his sovereign. Murray, in order to secure a safe return into Scotland, addressed himself to Norfolk; and, after some apology for his past conduct, he insinuated that the duke's scheme of marrying the queen, his sister, was no less acceptable to him than beneficial to both kingdoms, and that he would concur with the utmost ardour in promoting so desirable an event^s. Norfolk heard him with the credulity natural to those who are passionately bent upon any design. He wrote to the two earls to desist from any hostile attempt against Murray, and to that he owed his passage through the northern counties without disturbance.

Gains the consent of the English nobles.

Encouraged by his success in gaining the regent, he next attempted to draw the English nobles to approve his design. The nation began to despair of Elizabeth's marrying. Her jealousy kept the question with regard to the right of succession undecided. The memory of the civil wars which had desolated England for more than a century, on account of the disputed titles of the houses of York and Lancaster, was still recent. Almost all the ancient nobility had perished, and the nation itself had been brought to the brink of destruction in that unhappy contest. The Scottish queen, though her right of succession was generally held to be undoubted, might meet with formidable competitors. She might marry a foreign and a popish prince, and bring both liberty and religion into danger. But, by marrying her to an Englishman, a zea-

^s Anders. iii. 34.

lous protestant, the most powerful and most universally beloved of all the nobility, an effectual remedy seemed to be provided against all these evils. The greater part of the peers, either directly or tacitly, approved of it, as a salutary project. The earls of Arundel, Pembroke, Leicester, and lord Lumley, subscribed a letter to the Scottish queen, written with Leicester's hand, in which they warmly recommended the match, but insisted, by way of preliminary, on Mary's promise, that she should attempt nothing, in consequence of her pretensions to the English crown, prejudicial to Elizabeth, or to her posterity; that she should consent to a league, offensive and defensive, between the two kingdoms; that she should confirm the present establishment of religion in Scotland, and receive into favour such of her subjects as had appeared in arms against her. Upon her agreeing to the marriage and ratifying these articles, they engaged that the English nobles would not only concur in restoring her immediately to her own throne, but in securing to her that of England in reversion. Mary readily consented to all these proposals, except the second, with regard to which she demanded some time for consulting her ancient ally, the French king^b.

The whole of this negotiation was industriously concealed from Elizabeth. Her jealousy of the Scottish queen was well known, nor could it be expected that she would willingly come into a measure, which tended so visibly to save the reputation, and to increase the power of her rival. But, in a matter of so much consequence to the nation, the taking a few steps without her knowledge could hardly be reckoned criminal; and while every person concerned, even Mary and Norfolk themselves, declared, that nothing should be concluded without obtaining her consent, the duty and allegiance of subjects seemed to be fully preserved.

^b Anders. vol. iii. 51. Camd. 420.

1569. The greater part of the nobles regarded the matter in this light. Those who conducted the intrigue, had farther and more dangerous views. They saw the advantages which Mary would obtain by this treaty, to be present and certain; and the execution of the promises which she came under, to be distant and uncertain. They had early communicated their scheme to the kings of France and Spain, and obtained their approbation¹. A treaty concerning which they consulted foreign princes, while they concealed it from their own sovereign, could not be deemed innocent. They hoped, however, that the union of such a number of the chief persons in the kingdom would render it necessary for Elizabeth to comply; they flattered themselves that a combination so strong would be altogether irresistible; and such was their confidence of success, that when a plan was concerted in the North of England for rescuing Mary out of the hands of her keepers, Norfolk, who was afraid that if she recovered her liberty, her sentiments in his favour might change, used all his interest to dissuade the conspirators from attempting it².

In this situation did the affair remain, when lord Boyd arrived from England; and, besides the letters which he produced publicly, brought others in ciphers from Norfolk and Throkmorton, to the regent, and to Maitland. These were full of the most sanguine hopes. All the nobles of England concurred, said they, in favouring the design. Every preliminary was adjusted; nor was it possible that a scheme so deep-laid, conducted with so much art, and supported both by power and by numbers, could miscarry, or be defeated in the execution. Nothing now was wanting but the concluding ceremony. It depended on the regent to hasten that, by procuring a sentence of divorce, which would remove the only obstacle that stood

¹ Anders. vol. iii. 63.

² Camd. 420.

in the way. This was expected of him, in consequence of his promise to Norfolk; and if he regarded either his interest or his fame, or even his safety, he would not fail to fulfil these engagements¹. 1569.

But the regent was now in very different circumstances from those which had formerly induced him to affect an approbation of Norfolk's schemes. He saw that the downfall of his own power must be the first consequence of the duke's success; and if the queen, who considered him as the chief author of all her misfortunes, should recover her ancient authority, he could never expect favour, nor scarce hope for impunity. No wonder he declined a step so fatal to himself, and which would have established the grandeur of another on the ruins of his own. This refusal occasioned a delay. But, as every other circumstance was settled, the bishop of Ross, in the name of his mistress, and the duke, in person, declared, in presence of the French ambassador, their mutual consent to the marriage, and a contract to this purpose was signed, and intrusted to the keeping of the ambassador^m.

The intrigue was now in so many hands, that it could not long remain a secret. It began to be whispered at court; and Elizabeth calling the duke into her presence, expressed the utmost indignation at his conduct, and charged him to lay aside all thoughts of prosecuting such a dangerous design. Soon after Leicester, who perhaps had countenanced the project with no other intention, revealed all the circumstances of it to the queen. Pembroke, Arundel, Lumley, and Throkmorton, were confined and examined. Mary was watched more narrowly than ever; and Hastings, earl of Huntingdon, who pretended to dispute with the Scottish queen her right to the succession, being

August 13.
Elizabeth
discovers
the duke's
design, and
defeats it.

¹ Haynes, 520. Spotsw. 230. See Appendix, No. XXXII.

^m Carte, vol. iii. 486.

1569. joined in commission with Shrewsbury, rendered her imprisonment more intolerable, by the excess of his vigilance and rigour^a. The Scottish regent, threatened with Elizabeth's displeasure, meanly betrayed the duke; put his letters into her hands, and furnished all the intelligence in his power^o. The duke himself retired first to Howard house, and then, in contempt of the summons to appear before the privy council, fled to his seat in Norfolk. Intimidated by the imprisonment of his associates; coldly received by his friends in that county; unprepared for a rebellion; and unwilling perhaps to rebel; he hesitated for some days, and at last obeyed a second call, and repaired to Windsor. He was first kept as a prisoner in a private house, and then sent to the tower. After being confined there upwards of nine months, he was released upon his humble submission to Elizabeth, giving her a promise, on his allegiance, to hold no farther correspondence with the queen of Scots^p. During the progress of Norfolk's negotiations, the queen's partisans in Scotland, who made no doubt of their issuing in her restoration to the throne, with an increase of authority, were wonderfully elevated. Maitland was the soul of that party, and the person whose activity and ability the regent chiefly dreaded. He had laid the plan of that intrigue which had kindled such combustion in England. He continued to foment the spirit of disaffection in Scotland, and had seduced from the regent lord Home, Kirkaldy, and several of his former associates. While he enjoyed liberty, the regent could not reckon his own power secure. For this reason, having by an artifice allured Maitland to Stirling, he employed captain Crawford, one of his creatures, to accuse him of being accessory to the murder of the king; and, under that pretence, he was arrested and

Maitland
imprisoned
by the re-
gent.

^a Haynes, 525. 526. 530. 532.

^o See Appendix, No. XXXIII.

^p Haynes, 525. 597.

carried as a prisoner to Edinburgh. He would soon 1569.
 have been brought to trial, but was saved by the
 friendship of Kirkaldy, governor of the castle, who,
 by pretending a warrant for that purpose from the
 regent, got him out of the hands of the person to
 whose care he was committed, and conducted him into
 the castle, which, from that time, was entirely under
 Maitland's command^q. The loss of a place of so much
 importance, and the defection of a man so eminent for
 military skill as Kirkaldy, brought the regent into some
 disreputation, for which, however, the success of his ally
 Elizabeth, about this time, abundantly compensated.

The intrigue carried on for restoring the Scottish A rebellion
 queen to liberty having been discovered, and disap- against
 pointed, an attempt was made to the same purpose, Elizabeth
 by force of arms; but the issue of it was not more by Mary's
 fortunate. The earls of Northumberland and West- adherents.
 morland, though little distinguished by their personal
 abilities, were two of the most ancient and powerful
 of the English peers. Their estates in the northern
 counties were great, and they possessed that influence
 over the inhabitants, which was hereditary in the po-
 pular and martial families of Percy and of Nevil.
 They were both attached to the popish religion, and
 discontented with the court, where new men and a
 new system prevailed. Ever since Mary's arrival in
 England, they had warmly espoused her interest; and
 zeal for popery, opposition to the court, and commi-
 seration of her sufferings, had engaged them in dif-
 ferent plots for her relief. Notwithstanding the vigi-
 lance of her keeper, they held a close correspondence
 with her, and communicated to her all their designs^r.
 They were privy to Norfolk's schemes; but the cau-
 tion with which he proceeded did not suit their ardour
 and impetuosity. The liberty of the Scottish queen
 was not their sole object. They aimed at bringing

^q Spotsaw, 232.

^r Haynes, 505. Murdin, 44. 62, etc.

1569. about a change in the religion, and a revolution in the government of the kingdom. For this reason, they solicited the aid of the king of Spain, the avowed and zealous patron of popery in that age. Nothing could be more delightful to the restless spirit of Philip, or more necessary towards facilitating his schemes in the Netherlands, than the involving England in the confusion and miseries of a civil war. The duke of Alva, by his direction, encouraged the two earls, and promised, as soon as they either took the field with their forces, or surprised any place of strength, or rescued the queen of Scots, that he would supply them both with money and a strong body of troops. La Mothe, the governor of Dunkirk, in the disguise of a sailor, sounded the ports where it would be most proper to land. And Chiapini Vitelli, one of Alva's ablest officers, was despatched into England, on pretence of settling some commercial differences between the two nations; but in reality that the rebels might be sure of a leader of experience, as soon as they ventured to take arms*.

Defeated. The conduct of this negotiation occasioned many meetings and messages between the two earls. Elizabeth was informed of these; and, though she suspected nothing of their real design, she concluded that they were among the number of Norfolk's confidants. They were summoned, for this reason, to repair to court. Conscious of guilt, and afraid of discovery, they delayed giving obedience. A second and more peremptory order was issued. This they could not decline, without shaking off their allegiance; and, as no time was left for deliberation, they instantly erected their standard against their sovereign. The reestablishing the catholic religion; the settling the order of succession to the crown; the defence of the ancient nobility; were the motives which they alleged to justify

Nov. 9.

* Carte, vol. iii. 489, 490. Camd. 421.

their rebellion[†]. Many of the lower people flocked to them with such arms as they could procure; and, had the capacity of their leaders been, in any degree, equal to the enterprise, it must have soon grown to be extremely formidable. Elizabeth acted with prudence and vigour, and was served by her subjects with fidelity and ardour. On the first rumour of an insurrection, Mary was removed to Coventry, a place of strength, which could not be taken without a regular siege; a detachment of the rebels, which was sent to rescue her, returned without success. Troops were assembled in different parts of the kingdom; as they advanced, the malecontents retired. In their retreat their numbers dwindled away, and their spirits sunk. Despair and uncertainty whither to direct their flight, kept together for some time a small body of them among the mountains of Northumberland; but they were at length obliged to disperse, and the chiefs took refuge among the Scottish borderers. The two earls, together with Dec. 21. the countess of Northumberland, wandering for some days in the wastes of Liddisdale, were plundered by the banditti, exposed to the rigour of the season, and left destitute of the necessaries of life. Westmorland was concealed by Scott of Buccleugh and Ker of Fernihurst, and afterwards conveyed into the Netherlands. Northumberland was seized by the regent, who had marched with some troops towards the borders, to prevent any impression the rebels might make on those mutinous provinces[‡].

Amidst so many surprising events, the affairs of the Church church, for two years, have almost escaped our notice. affairs. Its general assemblies were held regularly; but no business of much importance employed their attention. As the number of the protestant clergy daily increased, the deficiency of the funds set apart for their subsistence became greater, and was more sensibly felt.

[†] Strype, vol. i. 547.

[‡] Cabbala, 171. Camd. 422.

1570. of the town not far distant. Some indistinct information of the danger which threatened him had been conveyed to the regent, and he paid so much regard to it, that he resolved to return by the same gate through which he had entered, and to fetch a compass round the town. But as the crowd about the gate was great, and he himself unacquainted with fear, he proceeded directly along the street; and, the throng of the people obliging him to move very slowly, gave the assassin time to take so true an aim, that he shot him with a single bullet, through the lower part of his belly, and killed the horse of a gentleman who rode on his other side. His followers instantly endeavoured to break into the house whence the blow had come, but they found the door strongly barricaded; and before it could be forced open, Hamilton had mounted a fleet horse, which stood ready for him at a back-passage, and was got far beyond their reach. The regent died the same night of his wound^a.

His character.

There is no person in that age about whom historians have been more divided, or whose character has been drawn in such opposite colours. Personal intrepidity, military skill, sagacity, and vigour in the administration of civil affairs, are virtues which even his enemies allow him to have possessed in an eminent degree. His moral qualities are more dubious, and ought neither to be praised nor censured without great reserve, and many distinctions. In a fierce age he was capable of using victory with humanity, and of treating the vanquished with moderation. A patron of learning, which, among martial nobles, was either unknown or despised. Zealous for religion, to a degree which distinguished him, even at a time when professions of that kind were not uncommon. His confidence in his friends was extreme, and inferior only in his liberality towards them, which knew no bounds. A disinterested

^a Buchan. 385. Crawf. Mem. 124. Cabbala, 171.

passion for the liberty of his country, prompted him to oppose the pernicious system which the princes of Lorrain had obliged the queen-mother to pursue. On Mary's return into Scotland, he served her with a zeal and affection, to which he sacrificed the friendship of those who were most attached to his person. But, on the other hand, his ambition was immoderate; and events happened that opened to him vast projects, which allured his enterprising genius, and led him to actions inconsistent with the duty of a subject. His treatment of the queen, to whose bounty he was so much indebted, was unbrotherly and ungrateful. The dependence on Elizabeth, under which he brought Scotland, was disgraceful to the nation. He deceived and betrayed Norfolk with a baseness unworthy of a man of honour. His elevation to such unexpected dignity inspired him with new passions, with haughtiness and reserve; and instead of his natural manner, which was blunt and open, he affected the arts of dissimulation and refinement. Fond, towards the end of his life, of flattery, and impatient of advice, his creatures, by soothing his vanity, led him astray, while his ancient friends stood at a distance, and predicted his approaching fall. But amidst the turbulence and confusion of that factious period, he dispensed justice with so much impartiality, he repressed the licentious borderers with so much courage, and established such uncommon order and tranquillity in the country, that his administration was extremely popular, and he was long and affectionately remembered among the commons, by the name of the GOOD REGENT.

1570.