

CHAP. V.

1572 - 1574.

Regency of Morton.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>England.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Portugal.</i>	<i>Pope.</i>
Elizabeth.	Charles IX.	Maximilian II.	Philip II.	Sebastian.	Pius VI.

THE death of Mar, over which there hung some suspicion of poison, threw Killigrew, the English ambassador, into much perplexity,¹ and Burghley, who had received the news as early as the 3d of November, wrote on that day to Walsingham, the English ambassador at the French court, in much anxiety. "The 29th of the last," said he, "the good regent of Scotland is dead, as I think by a natural sickness, and yet the certainty is not known. This will make our causes the worse in Scotland, for I fear the conveyance away of the king; and yet there is care taken for his surety, but I can almost hope for no good, seeing our evils fall by heaps, and why the heaps fall not upon ourselves

¹ MS. Letter, Caligula, B. viii. f. 302. Killigrew to Leicester, begun 28th Oct. finished 31st. Oct. 1572.

personally, I see no cause to the let thereof in ourselves. God be merciful to us * *.”¹

Elizabeth, who felt the importance of the event, and dreaded the success of French money and intrigues in Scotland, lost not a moment in taking measures to preserve her party. She wrote to the Countess of Mar, recommending her to watch over the safety of the young prince, her dear relative, in whose welfare she took the deepest interest, and she sent a flattering letter to the Earl of Morton, in which with unusual condescension, she addressed him as if already regent, calling him her well-beloved cousin, commending the wisdom with which he had governed himself in times past in seasons of great difficulty, and expressing her hope that he and the nobility would take measures for the safety of the young king, and the repose of the realm. For more particulars she referred him to Killigrew, her ambassador, and alluding to the necessity of appointing a new regent, trusted that the election would not disturb the quiet of the country.²

These were politic steps, as Morton was undoubtedly at this time the most able and powerful of the nobility. Even under Mar he had regulated every public measure, and when it was certain that the regent was on his death bed, the whole administration of affairs seems naturally to have devolved

¹ MS. Letter, Vespasian F. vi. fol. 181 d. Burghley to Walsingham, 3 Nov. 1572.

² Copy, St. P. Off. 4th Nov. 1572. Elizabeth to Morton.

on him.¹ He was supported by the great majority of the nobles, by the influential party of the church, and by the friendship of England. Against such influence the Castilians and their friends could do little, and after a feeble opposition, he was chosen Regent in a parliament held at Edinburgh on the 24th of November, and proclaimed next day with the usual solemnity.²

At this parliament Elizabeth's letters to the Scottish nobility were publicly read, and although these were not so decided in their language as her partizans had desired, there can be little doubt that the knowledge of her favour to Morton produced the greatest influence. On informing his royal mistress and her minister Burghley of the late events, Killigrew earnestly advised some more effectual assistance to be sent to the new Regent. He had in vain endeavoured to induce the two factions to refer their controversies to Elizabeth. The Castilians were still confident in the strength of their fortress, and looked to speedy aid from France; Morton on the other hand, although he admitted the desirableness of peace, had invariably asserted, that to storm the castle and utterly subdue the king's enemies would be the only means to establish a firm government, and restore

¹ MS. Letter, Caligula, B. viii. fol. 300. Killigrew to Burghley, and Leicester, 29 6th Oct. 1572.

² Copy, St. P. Off. Killigrew to the Queen, 2 Dec. 1572. See MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 19 Nov. 1572. Noblemen, and others, met at the convention in Edinburgh.

security alike to Scotland and England. But it was evident that this could not be done without some effectual assistance. The regent and the nobles were too poor to maintain any sufficient body of troops on their own resources, and the danger seemed to be, that if not supported by Elizabeth, they would look to France.

“This regent,” said Killigrew, in his letter to Burghley, “is a shrewd fellow, and I fear little Douglas be not come home out of France without some offers to him among others, howbeit hitherto I can perceive nothing at all, for he assureth me still to run the course of England as much as ever regent did. Notwithstanding I see not how he can make war till the parliament be ended, tho he had aid of money, and that for two reasons. The one the parliament is appointed in this town, which cannot well be holden because of the castle if it were war, and the parliament must of necessity be holden for many weighty reasons. The other is the regent’s indisposition, as he is not like to travel for a month or two, but rather to keep his bed or chamber under the surgeon’s care for a disease that hath much troubled him this five or six years.”¹

A few days after the dispatch of this letter, Killigrew made a rapid journey to Berwick to hold a conference with Sir William Drury on Scottish matters, and obtain his advice and assistance. He was recalled suddenly, however, to Edinburgh, by

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Killigrew to Burghley, Dec. 10th, 1572. Edin.

a report of Morton's extreme danger, but found him much recovered, and soon after had the satisfaction of receiving an assurance from England that the queen had determined to give effective support to the new regent both in money and troops.¹ Of the money, part was instantly paid down, and, by Elizabeth's directions, two skilful engineers, Johnson and Fleming, repaired to Edinburgh and examined the strength of the castle. They reported, that with a proper force and battering trains it might be taken in twenty days, and it was resolved, as soon as the season of the year permitted, to begin the siege.

It was in the midst of these transactions, and on the very day on which Morton was chosen regent, that the celebrated reformer Knox died, in his house at Edinburgh.² He was scarcely to be called an aged man, not having completed his sixty-seventh year, but his life had been an incessant scene of theological and political warfare, and his ardent and restless intellect had worn out a frame which at no period had been a strong one.

There is perhaps no juster test of a great man, than the impression which he has left, or the changes he has wrought, upon his age, and under

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B. C. Sir William Drury to Burghley, 21st Dec. 1572. Great secrecy was to be used in the delivery of the money to Morton. The sum was 2,500*l.*, to be defrayed in extraordinary causes. Orig. St. P. Off. B. C. Sir Valentine Brown to Lord Burghley, 26th Dec, 1572.

² Bannatyne's Memorials, p. 280.

this view, none is more entitled to this appellation than Knox, who has been deservedly regarded as the father of the Reformation in Scotland. The history of his life is indeed little else than the history of this great religious revolution, and none can deny him the praise of courage, integrity, and indefatigable exertion in proclaiming that system of truth which he believed to be founded upon the word of God. To this he was faithful to the last, and although it appears to me, that on many occasions he acted upon the principle, (so manifestly erroneous and anti-christian), that the end justified the means, on no one occasion do we find him influenced by selfish or venal motives. In this respect he stands alone, and pre-eminent over all the men with whom he laboured. To extirpate a system which in its every part he believed to be false and idolatrous, and to replace it by another, of which he was as firmly persuaded that it was the work of God, seem to have been the master passion of his mind. In the accomplishment of this, none who has studied the history of the times, or his own writings, will deny, that he was often fierce, unrelenting, and unscrupulous, but he was also disinterested, upright, and sincere. He neither feared nor flattered the great; the pomp of the mitre or the revenues of the wealthiest diocese, had no attractions in his eyes, and there cannot be a doubt of his sincerity, when in his last message to his old and long-tryed friend Lord Burghley, he assured him that he counted it higher

honour to have been made the instrument that the Gospel was simply and truly preached in his native country, than to have been the highest prelate in England.

During his last illness, his time was wholly occupied in offices of devotion, and in receiving the visits of a few religious friends, who affectionately assisted his family in the attendance which his feeble and helpless condition required. A few days before his death, he sent for Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. James Lawson, and the elders and deacons of the church,¹ and raising himself in his bed, addressed them in these solemn words: "The time is approaching for which I have long thirsted, wherein I shall be relieved of all cares, and be with my Saviour Christ for ever. And now God is my witness, whom I have served with my spirit, in the Gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrine of the Gospel, and that the end I proposed in all my preaching, was to instruct the ignorant, to confirm the weak, to comfort the consciences of those who were humbled under the sense of their sins, and bear down with the threatenings of God's judgments such as were proud and rebellious. I am not ignorant that many have blamed, and yet do blame, my too great rigour and severity, but God knows that in my heart I never hated the persons of those against whom I thundered God's judgments. I did only hate their sins, and laboured at all my power to

¹ Bannatyne's Memorials, p. 264, 283.

gain them to Christ. That I forbore none of whatsoever condition, I did it out of the fear of my God, who had placed me in the function of the ministry, and I knew would bring me to an account. Now, brethren, for yourselves, I have no more to say, but that you take heed to the flock over whom God hath placed you overseers, and whom he hath redeemed by the blood of his only begotten son. And you, Mr. Lawson (this was his successor), fight a good fight. Do the work of the Lord with courage and with a willing mind, and God from above bless you and the church whereof you have the charge. Against it, so long as it continueth in the doctrine of truth, the gates of hell shall not prevail.”¹

During his illness, he continued to exhibit all his wonted interest in public affairs, often bewailed the defection of Grange, one of his oldest friends, and sent a message to him which at the time was regarded as almost prophetic. “Go,” said he, addressing Lindsay the minister of Leith, “to yonder man in the castle, whom you know I have loved so dearly, and tell him that I have sent you yet once more to warn him, in the name of God, to leave that evil cause. * * * Neither the craggy rock in which he miserably confides, nor the carnal prudence of that man (meaning the secretary Lethington) whom he esteems a demi-god, nor the assistance of strangers shall preserve him, but he shall

¹ Spottiswood, p. 265, 266. Bannatyne's Memorials, p. 283.

be disgracefully dragged from his nest to punishment, and hung on a gallows against the face of the sun, unless he speedily amend his life and flee to the mercy of God.”¹

It appears to me, that in this and other similar predictions, the dying reformer, who was not only intimately acquainted with, but personally engaged in the secret correspondence between his party and England, availed himself of this knowledge to fulminate his threats and warnings, which he knew the advance of the English army was so soon likely to fulfil.

During this time his weakness rapidly increased, and on Friday the 21st of November he desired his coffin to be made. The succeeding Saturday and Sunday were spent by him almost uninterruptedly in meditation and prayer, in pious ejaculations, and earnest advices addressed to his family and friends. On Monday the 24th these sacred exercises were resumed till he was exhausted and fell into a slumber from which he awoke to have the evening prayers read to him. “About eleven o’clock (I use the words of his excellent biographer) he gave a deep sigh, and said, ‘now, it is come,’ upon which Richard Bannatyne, his faithful servant and secretary, drew near, and desired him to think of those comfortable promises of our Saviour Christ which he had so often declared to others; and perceiving that he was speechless, requested him to give them a sign that he heard them and died in peace.

¹ Macrie’s Life, by Crichton, pp. 300, 302. Melvil’s Diary, p. 27.

Upon this he lifted up one of his hands, and sighing twice, expired without a struggle."¹

The death of Knox was followed by the complete recovery of Morton and the renewal of the war after a vain attempt to prolong the abstinence.² But although hostilities re-commenced, a parliament assembled in the capital, the house where it met being protected from the fire of the castle by a bulwark, and in this, after the election of the regent had been confirmed by the three estates, all measures adopted since the coronation of the young king were ratified, and every proceeding conducted in the name of the captive queen declared invalid and treasonable. Measures also were taken to urge forward a reconciliation between the regent and such of the nobility as had not yet acceded to his government. Of these the greatest were the Duke of Chastelherault, the whole of the Hamiltons, Argile, Huntly, and his gallant brother Sir Adam Gordon, who still maintained his ascendancy in the north. With a view to facilitate an accommodation, it was secretly resolved that for the present no enquiry into the murder of the late king should take place, nor any prosecution be instituted against such persons as were suspected of this crime. The regent was also empowered to pardon all persons accessory to the death of the Earl of Lennox.

¹ Macrie's Life, by Crichton, p. 309. Bannatyne, p. 289.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 1st January, 1572-3. Killigrew to Burghley.

The object of all this was quite apparent. Morton himself, Huntly, Argile, and Sir James Balfour, (who had lately deserted his friends in the castle) were all of them concerned in the murder of Darnley, whilst the assassination of Lennox the late regent was as certainly the work of the Hamiltons. Any resolution to prosecute the perpetrators of either crime, must have at once put an end to the hopes of a reconciliation, and it was determined for the present to say and do nothing upon either subject.¹

During the first sitting of the parliament Killigrew was absent at Berwick, whither he had gone for the purpose of consulting with Sir William Drury and expediting the preparations for the approaching siege of the castle. Before his departure, however, he had a meeting with Nicholas Elphinston on the "great matter," or to speak more plainly, the secret project for having Mary executed—a subject which, although interrupted by Mar's decease, appears to have been resumed on the election of Morton. It seemed, however, that this dark design of Elizabeth, by which she hoped to rid herself of her enemy without her hand appearing in the transaction, was invariably destined to be thwarted. We have just seen, that, for the security of Huntly, Argile, and the regent himself, it had been resolved to accuse no person of

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 26th Jan. 1572-3. Notes and titles of Acts as were passed in the parliament began at Edinburgh 15th Jan. 1572.

the murder, and the same prudent considerations made it expedient, at this moment, to say and do nothing against the queen. In a letter addressed at this time by Elphinston to Killigrew, this is clearly explained. "The other matter," said he, "I doubt not, you know perfectly well, cannot nor may not at this time be touched, because presently the murder may not be spoken of, seeing some suspected thereof to be in terms of appointment, as I shall at meeting cause you more clearly to understand; but of this matter I trust hereafter shortly to see a good beginning."¹

In this parliament a conference took place between the Kirk and certain commissioners appointed by the three estates, in which an important ecclesiastical measure was carried. This was the confirmation of that order for the election of bishops, which had been drawn up in the Book of Discipline devised at Leith many years before. The change amounted to nothing less than the establishment of episcopacy in the Scottish Church. It was decided, that the title and office of Archbishop and Bishop should be continued as in the time which preceded the Reformation, and that a spiritual jurisdiction should be exercised by the bishops in their respective dioceses. It was determined that all abbots, priors, and other inferior prelates who were presented to benefices should be tried by the bishop or superin-

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. N. Elphinston to Killigrew, 17th Jan., 1572-3.

tendent of the diocese concerning their fitness to represent the church in parliament, and that to such bishoprics as were presently void, or which should become vacant, the king and regent should take care to recommend qualified persons, whose election should be made by the chapters of their cathedral churches. It was also ordered, that all benefices with cure under prelacies, should be disposed of to ministers who should receive ordination from the bishop of the diocese, upon their taking an oath to recognise the authority of the king, and to pay canonical obedience to their ordinary.¹

In the midst of these proceedings Killigrew returned to Edinburgh, and on the succeeding day was admitted to an audience of the parliament. The message which he delivered, and the assurances he conveyed of the determination of his royal mistress to protect the young king and support the government of the regent, produced an immediate effect, and a convention for a general pacification was soon after held at Perth, between commissioners appointed by the regent on the one

¹ Spottiswood, p. 260.

Mr. David Lindsay, a minister and commissioner, communicated these important measures to Killigrew in a letter written during the sitting of the Conference, and when the guns of the castle were thundering in their ears. Its concluding sentence is worthy of notice, as it seems to show that Killigrew had still in view such measures as he judged necessary for the prosecution of the "great matter" confided to him. "The article which your Lordship desired me to remember, touching the murder, is not

side, and Huntly and the Lord of Arbroath as the representative of the Duke of Chastelherault on the other. It was attended by the English ambassador, in whose lodging the conferences took place, and who exerted himself so successfully to compose all subjects of difference, that at last a complete reconciliation was effected. "And now," said the successful diplomatist to Lord Burghley, "there remaineth but the castle to make the king universally obeyed, and this realm united, which peradventure may be done without force after the accord; notwithstanding, in my simple opinion, which I submit unto your honour's wisdom, it standeth with more reason and policy for her Majesty to hasten the aid rather now than before this conference. I mean, so that it may be ready, if need require, to execute—otherwise not.¹

At this moment the fortunes of the Castilians (so Grange and the Queen's party were called) seemed reduced to the lowest ebb, and disaster after disaster threatened to bring total ruin upon their cause. Verac, who had been commissioned to bring them relief from the French king, was driven by a tempest into Scarborough, and detained in Eng-

like to pass, lest it should hold back some that are willing to come to composition. I cannot tell how long the parliament shall last, but I suppose all will be ended this next Wednesday at the farthest. This day the castle has declared their ill will with great shooting and little harm." * * * MS. Letter, St. P. Off. David Lindsay, to Mr. Killigrew, Leith, 16th Jan. 1572-3.

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 18th Feb. 1572, Killigrew to Burghley.

land. Sir James Kirkaldy, Grange's brother, who had landed at the Castle of Blackness, with a large supply of money, arms, and military stores, was betrayed and seized, whilst the castle itself fell into the hands of the regent;¹ the example of Huntly and the Hamiltons, in acceding to the king's authority, was speedily followed by the submission of the Lords Gray, Oliphant, the Sheriff of Ayr, and the Lairds of Buccleugh and Johnston; whilst in the north Huntly undertook to bring over to terms his gallant brother, Sir Adam Gordon, who, during the conferences at Perth, had surprised and routed the king's adherents at Aberdeen. With this view the indefatigable Killigrew had hurried from Perth to the capital, where he obtained the regent's signature to the articles of pacification.³

Even, under all these gloomy appearances, the spirit of Grange was unbroken, and the resources of Lethington undiminished. A long experience of the parsimony of Elizabeth had persuaded them that she would never submit to the expence of sending an army and a battering train into Scotland. They looked with confidence to the arrival of assistance from France, and trusted that even

¹ History of James the Sext, p. 127. It was betrayed to the enemy by the treachery of the wife of Sir James Kirkaldy.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Killigrew to Burghley, 23rd Feb. 1572-3. "God so blessed this treaty, as this day, being the 23rd aforenoon, the Articles of Accord and Pacification were signed."

if long delayed, the strength of their walls would still bid defiance to the enemy.¹

For a brief season these sanguine anticipations seemed to be realised, and the Queen of England, at the moment when Burghley imagined he had convinced her of the necessity of sending her forces into Scotland, began to waver. She dreaded bringing on a war with France, represented to her Council the great expence and hazard of the siege, and asserted that Morton ought to be able to reduce it without her assistance. Killigrew was in despair. He wrote instantly, that if the expedition were abandoned, Scotland would be lost to them, and as surely united in a league with France. Every thing, he contended, proved this. Lord Seaton had been already negotiating with the regent to win him to France. What had been Verac's late commission? To corrupt the garrison of Dumbarton, to bribe the governors of the young king, and to convey him out of Scotland. What was Stephen Wilson's message out of France, when he was lately seized, and his letters to the captain of the Castle of Edinburgh intercepted? Did he not bring assurances from the French king and the Bishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador in Paris, and had he not confessed the Pope's designs, and that of the rest of the Romish league, to be mainly directed against England and Scotland. Nay,

¹ Copy of the time, St. P. Off. 23 Feb. 1572-3. Lord of Lettington and Grange to the Earl of Huntly.

were not the papal coffers already unlocked, and the man's name known who was shortly to bring the money, and begin the attack? And would her Majesty shut her eyes to all this, and this too at the very crisis when a decided effort, and no very great sum, might enable her to confound these plans and secure her ground in Scotland? Would she countermand her army, and abandon the advantages which were within her reach, or rather which she had already secured? "If so," said the ambassador, in the end of an eloquent letter to Burghley, "God's will be done. For mine own part, if this castle be not recovered, and that with expedition, I see, methinks, the beginning of sorrows, and her Majesty's peaceable reign hitherto decaying, as it were in post, which God of his mercy defend. The reasons be so apparent, as I need not to trouble your honour with them, whose shoulders, next her Majesty's, shall not carry the least burthen, and therefore I pray God send you strength to overcome."¹

These arguments produced the desired effect, Elizabeth's parsimonious fears gave way under the alarming arguments of her ambassador, and orders were dispatched to Sir W. Drury, who had been chosen to command the enterprise, to have every thing in readiness for the march of the army and the transport of the cannon at a moment's notice. A last attempt to bring the Castilians to terms was

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 9 March, 1572-3. Killigrew to Burghley.

now made by the Earl of Rothes, but it led to no result. Kirkaldy and Lethington declared that though deserted by all their friends, they would keep the castle to the last, and on the 25th of April, the English army, consisting of five hundred hakbutters, and a hundred and forty pikemen, entered the capital. They were joined by seven hundred soldiers of the regent, and the battering train having at the same time arrived by sea, the operations of the siege commenced.

In the midst of these martial transactions, the regent assembled a parliament, which confirmed the league with England, ratified the late pacification, restored Huntly and Sir James Balfour to their estates and honours, and pronounced a sentence of treason and forfeiture against the Castilians. A summons of surrender was then sent to Grange in the name of Morton and of the English general,¹ and operations for the undermining the "Spur," or Blockhouse, and erecting the batteries on the principal spots which commanded the walls, proceeded with little interruption from the besieged. Their obstinacy, indeed, was surprising, and can only be accounted for by the extraordinary influence which Lethington possessed, and his fatal conviction that succours would yet arrive from France. His power over Kirkaldy was described by Killi-

¹ Copy, St. P. Off. 25 April, 1573. Sir W. Drury's Summons. Also Ibid. The Regent's Summons. MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Killigrew to Burghley, 27 April, 1573. Also MS. Ibid. Acts of the Parliament, 30th April, 1573.

grew as something like enchantment ; and although Robert Melvil, Pitadrow, and other leading men, would fain have come to terms, though they argued that their powder and ammunition were exhausted, their victuals and supply of water on the point of failing, and their distress increasing every moment, still the governor declared he would hold the castle till he was buried in its ruins.

On the 2nd of May Killigrew, who himself assisted in the trenches, wrote thus to Burghley. "Yesterday I did advertise your honour of the end of the parliament. This day Sir Henry Ley, with his company dined with the Regent, and upon Monday, the 4th of this month, the general doth intend to begin to plant his batteries. They within make good show, and fortify continually to frustrate the first battery, although the Regent and others here be of opinion, that they will never abide the extremity. Their water will soon be taken from them when the ordnance shall be laid both within and without. Hope of succour there is none, and therefore their obstinacy must needs be vain. I send your lordship the roll of their names within, both tag and rag, and as I am informed, eighteen of the best of them would fain be out."¹ All such hopes of escape, however, were now utterly vain, for Drury perceived his advantage, and Morton had determined to receive nothing but an unconditional surrender. In England the result of the

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 2d May, 1573. Killigrew to Burghley.

siege was regarded with deep interest, and many young cavaliers, amongst whom was Thomas Cecil, Burghley's eldest son, repaired from the English court to join the army and work in the trenches.

On the 17th of May the batteries were completed, and, beginning to play upon the principal bastion, named David's Tower, were answered by a long and loud shriek from the women in the castle, which was distinctly heard in the English camp. "This day" (17th May) said Killigrew in one of his journal letters to Burghley, "at one of the clock in the afternoon, some of our pieces began to speak such language as it made both them in the castle I am sure, think more of God than they did before, and all our men and a great many others, think the enterprise not so hard as before they took it to be. * * I trust, to be short, that after the battery shall be outlaid, which as they say will be ready by the 21st of this month, the matter will be at a point, before the end of the same, * * thanks be to God although it be longsome, it hath hitherto been with the least blood that ever was heard in such a case, and this conjecture we have to lead us, that they want store of powder within, for they have suffered us to plant all the ordnance, and to shoot yesterday all the afternoon without any harm from them. * *"¹

From this time till the twenty-third, the cannon

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Edin. Killigrew to Burghley, 17th May, 1573. Also Drury to Burghley, 18 May 1573. "After the first tyre of ordnance great cries and shouts was made by the women of the castle, terming the day and hour black."

played incessantly upon the castle, the guns of the garrison were silenced, and in the afternoon of that day the southern wall of David's Tower fell, with a great crash; next day its east quarter, the portcullis and an outer bastion named Wallace Tower, were beaten down; and on the 26th the English, with little resistance, stormed the "Spur" or Blockhouse.¹ Preparations were now made for a general assault; and Morton, who had determined to lead the Scottish forces, was exulting in the near prospect of laying hands upon his victims, when to his mortification Grange presented himself on the wall with a white rod in his hand, and obtained from his old friend and fellow soldier Drury, an abstinence of two days, preparatory to a surrender. This was in the evening, and a meeting immediately took place between Grange and Robert Melvil, on the part of the Castilians, Killigrew and Drury for the queen of England, and Lord Boyd for the regent. Kirkaldy's requests were, to have surety for their lives and livings, not be spoiled of their goods within the castle, to have license for Lord Hume and Lethington to retire into England, and himself to be allowed to remain unmolested in his own country.²

To these conditions Drury would probably have

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Drury to Burghley, 28 May, 1573.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Killigrew to Burghley, 27 May, 1573. Also *Ibid.* Orig. Sir W. Drury to Burghley, 28 May, 1572, in which Drury says, "I will not harken unto the request of the Castilians, further than the regent and our ambassador shall allow of."

agreed, but they were scornfully rejected by Morton. As to the great body of the garrison, he said, he was ready if they came out singly without arms, and submitted to his mercy, to grant them their lives, and permit them to go where they pleased; but there were nine persons who must be excepted from these conditions, Grange himself, William Maitland of Lethington the secretary, Alexander Lord Hume, Robert Melvil of Murdocairny, the Bishop of Dunkeld, and the Lairds of Restalrig, Drylaw, and Pitadrow. These must submit themselves unconditionally, and their fate be determined by the queen of England, according to the treaty already made between her majesty and his sovereign.¹

This stern reply made it evident to these unfortunate men, that the Regent would be contented with nothing but their lives, and convinced of this they rejected his terms, and declared their resolution to abide the worst. But this was no longer in their power, for the soldiers began to mutiny, threatened to hang the Secretary over the walls within six hours if he did not advise a surrender, and were ready to deliver the captain and his companions to the enemy.² In this dread dilemma an expedient was adopted, suggested probably by the fertile brain of Lethington. Grange, after refusing the

¹ Copy of the time, St. P. Off. "The Regent's answer to the Castilians," May 28, 1573. Also St. P. Off. Copy, "Conditions of rendering the castle."

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Killigrew to Burghley, 20 June. 1573.

terms in open conference sent a secret message to Drury, in consequence of which two companies of the besieging force were admitted within the walls on the night of the 29th, and to them in the morning he and his companions surrendered, expressly stating, that they submitted, not to the regent of Scotland, but to the queen of England, and her general, Sir William Drury. They were accordingly carried to his quarters, and notwithstanding some remonstrances upon the part of the regent, received with courtesy.¹ Morton, however, was not thus to be baulked of his prey. He instantly wrote to Burghley, warning him that the chief authors of all the mischief were now remaining without condition in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers, intreating the queen's immediate decision upon their fate, and requesting them to be delivered to him, that they might suffer for their crimes.² Killigrew, too, had the barbarity to advise their execution, and Drury anxiously awaited his next orders. At this trying moment, Grange and Lethington addressed the following letter to one

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Sir W. Drury to Burghley, Leith, June 5, 1573. There is a passage in his letter which is curious. He says, "By computation there hath been near 3000 great shot bestowed against the castle in this service, and the bullets of all or the most part recovered, and brought again part by our own labours, and part by the Scots paying to the Scottish people a piece of their coin called a *bawbee* for every bullet, which is in value English, one penny and a quarter."

² MS. Letter, Caligula, C. IV. fol. 85. Morton to Burghley, 31 May, 1573.

who had once been knit to them in ties of the strictest friendship, the Lord Treasurer Burghley.

“ My Lord—The malice of our enemies is the more increased against us, that they have seen us rendered in the Queen’s majesty’s will; and now to seek refuge at her Highness’s hands. And, therefore, we doubt not, but they will go about by all means possible to procure our mischief; yea, that their cruel minds shall lead them to that impudency to crave our bloods at her majesty’s hands. But whatsoever their malice be, we cannot fear that it shall take success, knowing with how gracious a princess we have to do, which hath given so many good proofs to the world of her clemency and mild nature, that we cannot mistrust, that the first example of the contrary shall be shown upon us. We take this to be her very natural, *Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos*.

“ We have rendered ourselves to her majesty, which to our own countrymen we would never have done, for no extremity [that] might have come. We trust her majesty will not put us out of her hands to make any others, especially our mortal enemy, our masters. If it will please her majesty to extend her most gracious clemency towards us, she may be as assured to have us as perpetually at her devotion as any of this nation; yea, as any subject of her own, for now with honour we may oblige ourselves to her majesty farther than before we might, and her majesty’s benefit will bind us perpetually. In the case we are in

we must confess we are of small value. Yet may her majesty put us in case, that perhaps hereafter we will be able to serve her majesty's turn, which, occasion being offered, assuredly there shall be no inlack of good will. Your lordship knoweth already what our request is. We pray your lordship to further it. There was never time, wherein your lordship's friendship might stand us in such stead. As we have oftentimes heretofore tasted thereof, so we humbly pray you let it not inlack us now in time of this our great misery, when we have more need than ever we had. Whatsoever our deservings have been, forget not your own good natural. If by your lordship's mediation, her majesty conserve us, your lordship shall have us perpetually bound to do you service. * * Let not the misreports of our enemies prevail against us. When we are in her majesty's hands she may make us what pleaseth her. * * * From Edinburgh, the 1st June, 1573."¹

This letter produced no effect. Elizabeth, indeed, did not instantly decide, and requested particular information to be sent her of the "quality and quantity of the prisoners' offences, but Killigrew and Morton so strongly advised their execution, that the queen commanded them to be delivered up to the regent, to be dealt with as he pleased. This, as she must have known, was equivalent to signing their death warrant. Before,

¹ MS. Letter, Brit. Mus. Caligula, C. iv. fol. 86. Lethington and Grange to Lord Burghley, 1st June, 1573.

however, the final order arrived, Lethington died in prison. It was reported that he had swallowed poison, but the rumour was uncertain, and was treated by many as an invention of his enemies.¹ Ten days after this, Drury reluctantly complied with the orders of Elizabeth, and delivered Grange, Hume, John Maitland Lethington's younger brother, and Robert Melvil, to the regent;² Grange's brother Sir James Kirkaldy being already in Morton's hands.

Much interest was now exerted to save the life of Grange, but without success. He had made himself too conspicuous, and his talents for war were much dreaded by his adversaries. A hundred gentlemen his friends and kinsmen, offered for his pardon to become perpetual servants to the house of Angus and Morton in "Bond of Manrent," a species of obligation well known in those times, and to pay two thousand pounds to the regent, besides an annuity of three thousand merks; but although Morton's prevailing vice was avarice, he was compelled to resist the temptation, influenced, as he stated in a letter to Killigrew, by the "denunciations of the preachers,"³ who cried out that God's plague would

¹ Brit. Mus. Caligula, C. iv. fol. 97.—Copy. Elizabeth to Morton, 9th June, 1573. Ibid. fol. 101, Killigrew to Burghley, 13th June, 1573. Also MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Killigrew to Burghley, 20th June, 1573.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Drury to Burghley, Leith, June 18, 1573.

³ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Morton to Killigrew, Aug. 5, 1573. See Notes and Illustrations, No. xii. Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 336.

not cease till the land were purged with blood. They were aware of the prediction of Knox so recently uttered upon his death-bed, that Grange should be shamefully dragged from the rock wherein he trusted, and hanged in the face of the sun. The success of Drury had fulfilled the first part, and the violence with which the ministers opposed every intercession for mercy, affords a melancholy proof of their determination that the second head of the reputed prophecy should be as punctually accomplished.

Nor were they disappointed. On the 3rd of August Sir William Kirkaldy and his brother were brought from Holyrood to the cross of Edinburgh, and executed in the presence of an immense concourse of spectators. They were attended on the scaffold by Mr. David Lindsay, a martial clergyman of those times, to whose hands, if we may believe Melvil, it was difficult to say whether the bible or the hagbut were most congenial instruments. Grange received his ministrations with gratitude, and expressed on the scaffold deep penitence for his sins, and unshaken attachment to his captive sovereign.¹

Thus died the famous Laird of Grange, a gentleman who, although his character will not bear examination if we look to consistency and public

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Killigrew to Burghley, Aug. 3, 1573. Melvil's Diary, p. 26, 27, 28.

principle, was justly reputed one of the best soldiers and most accomplished cavaliers of his time.¹

The year 1573 was thus fatal to the cause of Mary, whose last hope expired with the execution of this brave man, and the surrender of the Castle of Edinburgh. In England she had seen all her plans blasted by the death of Norfolk, and the imprisonment of the Bishop of Ross. To France she could no longer look for active interference in her behalf, for Elizabeth had recently entered into the defensive treaty of Blois, with that kingdom, and Catherine of Medicis was negotiating a marriage between the English Queen, and her son, the Duke D'Alençon, a proposal hollow indeed, and insincere on both sides, yet, for the time, rendering all interference with Scotland on the part of France unadvisable. Even Spain she could no longer regard with any confidence. The Duke of Alva was the friend and secret correspondent of Burghley and Elizabeth; and although the Roman Catholic refugees in Flanders were incessant in their intrigues, and Philip himself seemed disposed to annoy her on the side of Ireland and Scotland, the influence of this minister effectually counteracted any decided enterprise.² With the death of Kirkaldy,

¹ Melvil's Memoirs, p. 257. His character of Grange is very expressive' "He was," says he, "humble, gentle, and meek, like a lamb in the house, but a lion in the field—a lusty, stark, and well-proportioned personage, and of a hardy and magnanimous courage." See also Melvil's Diary, p. 28.

² Gonzalez, p. 370, 371.

therefore, the reign of Mary properly terminates, for immediately after that event, her last intrepid supporter, Sir Adam Gordon of Auchendown retired to France, and from that period till her death, no subject dared to acknowledge her as his sovereign.