

HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.

CHAP. I.

JAMES THE SIXTH.

1586-7—1589.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>England.</i> Elizabeth.		<i>France.</i> Henry III. Henry IV.		<i>Germany.</i> Rudolph II.		<i>Spain.</i> Philip II.		<i>Portugal.</i> Philip II.		<i>Pope.</i> Sixtus V.
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THE conduct of Elizabeth on the death of the Queen of Scots was marked by much dissimulation and injustice. After having signed the warrant for her execution, commanded it to be carried to the Seals, and positively interdicted Davison, to whom she delivered it, from any further communication with her till it was obeyed, she suddenly turned fiercely round upon him and her Council, and cast on them the whole guilt of Mary's blood. In a moment she denied, or pretended to forget, everything which she had done. She had declared to Sir Robert Melvil, that she would not spare his royal mistress' life for one hour; now she swore vehemently that she never intended to take it. She had assured Davison,

with a great oath, that she meant the execution to go forward; now she loudly protested that she had commanded him to keep the warrant till he received further orders. She had laboured anxiously with Paulet to have Mary secretly made away with; and now she did not scruple to call God to witness, under awful obtestations, that her determined resolution had been all along to save her life.¹ And her subsequent conduct was perfectly in character with all this. On the day after the execution, Lord Shrewsbury wrote from Fotheringay to the Court, which was then at Greenwich. Next morning, at nine, his letters were brought to the palace by his son Henry Talbot, and the news became public. Soon after, the bells of the city, and the blazing of bonfires, proclaimed the happiness of the people.² It was impossible that these demonstrations should have escaped the notice of Elizabeth; and we know from Davison, every word of whose "Apology" carries truth and conviction with it, that the Queen that same night was made aware of Mary's execution;³ but she took no notice, and kept an obstinate silence. Apparently none of her ministers dared to allude to the event; and when after four days the news was at last forced upon her, she broke into a hypocritical

¹ *Supra*, Vol. VIII. p. 383. Life of Thomas Egerton, Lord Chancellor, p. 119. Chasteauneuf to Henry III., 28th February, 1587. Also, MS. Minutes of Carey's Message. Warrender MSS.

² Life of Egerton, pp. 117, 119. Letter of Chasteauneuf to Henry III., 28th February, 1587. It ought to be remembered that Chasteauneuf uses the new style.

³ Sir Harris Nicolas' Life of Davison, p. 268.

passion of astonishment, tears, and indignation. She upbraided her councillors with having purposely deceived her,¹ chased Burghley from her presence, and committed Secretary Davison to the Tower. It was in vain that this upright and able, but most unfortunate of men pleaded, with all the energy of truth, the commands of his Sovereign for everything that he had done. She knew he had no witnesses of their conversation; charged him with falsehood and disobedience; compelled Burghley, who must have been well assured of his innocence, to draw up a severe memorial against him; had him tried before the Star Chamber; degraded him from his office of Secretary; inflicted on him a fine which amounted to absolute ruin; and never afterwards admitted him to the least enjoyment of her favour.²

All this was in keeping with the subtlety and disregard of truth which sometimes marked Elizabeth's proceedings, when she had any great object to gain. It was part of a premeditated plan by which she hoped to mislead Europe, and convince its States that she was really guiltless of Mary's blood: but ultimately it had no effect on the Continent; and it was too palpably fictitious to be successful for a moment in Scotland, where the facts were well known. In that country, the news of Mary's execution was received with a universal burst of indigna-

¹ Wright, *Life and Times of Elizabeth*, vol. ii. p. 332. Wolley to Leicester, Sunday, 1586. This Sunday was the 12th February.

² Nicolas' *Life of Davison*, pp. 82, 83; and Appendix, pp. 235, 236, 260, 263.

tion, and open threats of revenge. But the English wardens, Lord Scrope and Sir John Foster, were provided against immediate attack; and the season of the year, which was seed-time, rendered it difficult for the Scots to assemble in any force.¹

It was Mr Roger Ashton, a gentleman of James' bed-chamber, whom he had sent to London some time before this, that brought the King the first certain intelligence of his mother's death. Ashton arrived in Edinburgh about the seventh day after the execution; and Lord Scrope, who had despatched a spy to watch James' motions, wrote in alarm to Walsingham, that the monarch was grievously offended, and had sworn that so foul an act of tyranny and injustice should not pass unrevenged.² The feelings, however, of this Prince were neither deep nor lasting. Even at this sad moment, selfishness and the assurance of undivided sovereignty neutralized his resentment; and he suffered some expressions of satisfaction to escape him, which his chief minister, Secretary Maitland, did not choose should reach any but the most confidential ears.³ Meantime, as Ashton's information was secret, James took no public notice of it, but sent in haste for Lord Maxwell, Ker of

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C., Sir John Foster to Walsingham, 26th February, 1586-7. Also MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C., Scrope to Walsingham, 14th February, 1586-7.

² Lord Scrope to Walsingham. Queen Elizabeth and her Times, vol. ii. p. 333, 21st February, 1586-7. Also St. P. Off. B.C., Sir H. Woddrington to Walsingham, 25th February, 1586-7.

³ MS. Calderwood. Brit. Mus., Ayscough, 4738, fol. 974.

Ancrum, and young Fernyhirst.¹ These were reckoned amongst his most warlike Border leaders; and whilst the country rang with threats of revenge, the King shut himself up in his palace, and held conference with them and his most confidential nobles.

Amid these consultations, Mr Robert Carey was despatched by the English Queen to convey her apology to Scotland. This young courtier was the son of Lord Hunsdon, Elizabeth's cousin-german, and she selected him as a personal favourite of the Scottish King. He carried with him a letter written in her own hand, in which she expressed the excessive grief which overwhelmed her mind, in consequence of what she termed, "the miserable accident which had befallen, far contrary to her meaning;"² and he was instructed to throw the entire blame of the tragedy at Fotheringay upon Davison and her Council. On arriving at Berwick, Carey forwarded a letter requesting an audience; but this the King declined to grant till the Envoy had stated, on his honour, whether his mother, the Queen of Scots, was dead or alive; and when it was answered that she was executed, James peremptorily refused to see the ambassador, and commanded him to proceed no farther into Scotland. He added, however, that he would send some members of his Council to Berwick, to whom the letter and message of the English Queen might be delivered.

¹ Lord Scrope to Walsingham, 21st February, 1586-7. Wright's Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 333.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C., Woddrington to Walsingham, 25th February, 1586-7. Also Warrender MS. Vol. A, p. 240. MS. Letter. Elizabeth to James.

On any other occasion the wrath of Elizabeth would have blazed high and fierce at such an indignity; but at this moment she was placed in circumstances which compelled her to digest the affront; and Carey communicated her false and ungenerous version of the story of Mary's death to Sir Robert Melvil and the Laird of Cowdenknowes, who met him for this purpose at Berwick.¹ All this failed, as may readily be believed, to convince James, or appease the general indignation of the people. By this time the execution of the Scottish Queen, with its affecting details, was known throughout the country; and whatever may have been the King's secret resolutions upon the subject, he felt that it would be almost impossible to resist the deep and increasing current of popular fury which was sweeping on to its revenge.

Many symptoms daily occurred to show this: Already the Scottish Border chiefs had so strictly waylaid every road and pass, that not a letter or scrap of intelligence could be conveyed to the English Court: three Scottish scouts, with troopers trained to the duty, and armed to the teeth, were stationed at Linton Bridge, Coldingham Moor, and beyond Haddington, who watched day and night, and pounced on every packet. The system of secret intelligence was at a stand; Walsingham pined for news, and complained that his "little blue-cap lads," who used to bring him word of all occurrences, were

¹ Warrender MSS. Vol. A, p. 241. Mr Carey's Credit. MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C., Woddrington to Walsingham, 10th March, 1586-7.

no more the men he had known them. Although the season of the year was unfavourable, the Borders were already stirring; some minor Scottish forays took place; and Bothwell, whose power was almost kingly on the marches, intimated unequivocally, that he only delayed his blow that it might fall the more heavily. He refused to put on mourning, striking his mailed glove on his breast, and declaring that the best "dule weed" for such a time, was a steel coat. Nor did he stand alone in these sentiments. Lord Claud Hamilton, and his brother, Arbroath, offered, on the moment, to raise three thousand men, and carry fire and sword to the gates of Newcastle; whilst Buccleugh, Cessford, and Fernyhirst, were only restrained from an outbreak by the positive injunctions of the King, and stood full armed, and fiery-eyed, straining like blood-hounds in the slip, ready to be let loose on a moment's warning against England.

The first circumstance which offered any perceptible check to these dread appearances, was the arrival of an able letter addressed by Walsingham to Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane, the Scottish Secretary of State, which was evidently meant for the King's eye. Thirlestane, originally bred to the law, was then high in his master's favour, and had risen by his talents as a statesman to be his most confidential minister. He was the son of Sir Richard Maitland, and younger brother of the Secretary Lethington; and although his powers were less brilliant and commanding than those wielded by that extraordinary man, his good sense, indefatigable application to

business, and personal intrepidity, made him a valuable servant to his Sovereign, and a formidable antagonist to the higher nobility, who envied and disliked him. To him, therefore, Walsingham wisely addressed this letter, or rather memorial, in which he argued the question of peace or war, and pointed out the extreme folly and impolicy of those Councils which, at such a moment, urged the young King to a rupture with England. His reasons were well calculated to make an impression upon James.¹ Adverting to the injustice of the quarrel, he described, with great force of argument, the effects that a war with England must inevitably produce on his title to the succession after the Queen's death, and the certain alienation of the whole body of the English nobility and people from a Prince who first revived the ancient and almost forgotten enmity between the two nations, and then hoped to be welcomed as the successor of so great and popular a Princess as Elizabeth. As for Spain and France, on whose assistance it was reported he chiefly depended, could he for a moment imagine that Spain would prove true to him?—a country which hated him for his religion; or France, whose policy was to counteract, by every possible method, an event which must be so fatal to her power as the union, whether by conquest or otherwise, of the Crowns of England and Scotland? Could he believe that the French monarch would assist him to a conquest which, if com-

¹ His letter, which is very long, is printed entire by Spottiswood, pp. 359, 360, 361, 362.

pleted, must threaten his own crown? Had he forgotten that the monarchs of England still insisted on their right to the throne of France? Besides, could it be credited for an instant, that the King of that country would ever cordially unite his interests with a monarch so nearly allied as James to the family of Guise—a house which Henry hated in his heart, and which he suspected to aim at his deposition?

There can be no doubt, that these arguments of so far-sighted a statesman as Walsingham, were not thrown away eventually upon James; but at the moment the impression was scarcely perceptible, and for some time everything portended war.

The Scottish Borders, which during the winter and spring had been kept in tolerable quietness, broke into open hostility as the summer advanced. Six successive Scottish forays swept with relentless havoc through the Middle Marches; and Sir Cuthbert Collingwood, who commanded in those parts, found himself too weak to restrain the incursions of the fierce marauders of Cessford, Fernyhirst, Bothwell, and Angus. In a piteous letter to Walsingham, he described the country as having been reduced to a desert—wasted with fire and sword, and filled with lamentation and dismay;¹ and he remonstrated with the Scottish wardens in strong terms. But so little impression did Collingwood's complaints make on the

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C., Collingwood to Walsingham, 12th July, 1587. Ibid. B.C., Same to same, 21st May, 1587. Ibid. B.C., Same to same, with Enclosure, 23d June, 1587; and Ibid., Same to same, 23d August, 1587.

Scottish government, and so inadequate was the assistance sent him by his own, that Buccleugh, Cessford, and Johnston, with a force of two thousand men, attacked him in his castle at Eslington, slew seventeen of his garrison, took one of his sons prisoner, severely wounded another, and but for the fleetness of his horse had made captive the Warden himself.

It seems difficult to reconcile these flagrant outrages, which continued more or less throughout the year 1587, though unnoticed by our general historians, with James' warm coalition with Elizabeth in 1588. The probable explanation may be, that the young King of Scots, without serious intentions of war, was not displeased that Elizabeth should have a little temporary experience of his power of disturbing her; that he was not annoyed by such excesses; and even, as Foster asserted and Burghley suspected, secretly encouraged them.¹ He knew that Elizabeth was anxious to conciliate him, and had determined, at all hazards, to purchase peace with Scotland; and he, on his side, had resolved that he would not sell it too cheap. He was well aware of the embarrassments with which the English Queen was now surrounded. The mighty preparations of Spain against England were no secret. The rebellion of Tyrone in Ireland was at its height. In Scotland the Catholic lords, Huntly, Errol, Angus, Maxwell, and their adherents were powerful, warlike, and stirring, animated

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C., Robert Carvyle to Walsingham, 4th December, 1587. Also, MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Burghley to Fowler, 17th April, 1588.

with the bitterest animosity against Elizabeth, whom they detested as the murderess of their Queen and the implacable enemy of their religion. Another thorn in the side of England was the constant friendly intercourse between the Irish insurgents and the Scottish Isles. From these nurseries of warlike seamen and soldiers, strong reinforcements had already joined Tyrone; and the chiefs, who were as fierce and potent as so many little sea kings, drove a lucrative trade by serving him against England at a high price. This was another weapon in the hand of James. By means of his lieutenants, Huntly and Argyle, to whom the administration of the northern parts of his dominions was entrusted, he could let loose the Islesmen against Elizabeth, or detain them at home as suited his policy; and that Queen repeatedly requested him to exert this influence in her favour. To do this, however, with greater profit to himself, the King was not unwilling she should feel his power; and, with this view, he shut his eyes to the Border inroads, delayed remonstrating with Huntly on his intrigues with Spain, refused to apprehend the Jesuits who were lurking in his dominions, and gave himself no trouble to check the rising animosity against England. Yet in his heart he had no inclination for war. He felt the truth of Walsingham's argument, that any prolonged struggle at this moment with England would be fatal to his hopes of succession; and he flattered himself that he had the reins over the Catholic lords and the Spanish intriguers so completely in his hands, that he could

command peace with England at whatever moment the Queen chose to have his amity on his own terms. In such a hope it turned out that he was deceived. The Catholic party, supported by the money of Spain, commanding nearly all the northern counties; and having with them the sympathies of the people, who were enraged at the execution of Mary, gained in a short time a strength on which he had not calculated, and, far from being bridled, for some time dictated terms to him. But it is time to return from this digression to the course of events in Scotland.

The King, who was now on the eve of his majority, assembled a Convention of his nobility at Edinburgh, and determined to despatch ambassadors to the courts of France and Denmark.¹ To Henry the Third he proposed a renewal of the ancient league between the two kingdoms; whilst to the Danish monarch he made overtures of a matrimonial alliance.² But Henry, who was at this moment disposed to be on favourable terms with England, treated James' advances coldly; and although the Danish alliance eventually took place, its first suggestion does not appear to have been very cordially welcomed.³

The same Convention was signalized by an event

¹ Moyse's Memoirs. Bannat. ed., p. 64.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C., Carvyle to Walsingham, 3d June, 1587.

³ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., A. B. to Walsingham, 19th August, 1587. Also, Car to Walsingham, B.C., St. P. Off., 11th Sept., 1587. Moyse's Memoirs, p. 65.

which brought a merited punishment on one of the basest of men. This was the fall of the Master of Gray, who was tried for high treason, condemned, and on the point of being executed, when his life was spared, and the sentence changed to banishment, at the intercession of the Earl of Huntly and Lord Hamilton. His accuser was Sir William Stewart, now about to proceed on the French embassy; and in his *dittay* or indictment, which has been preserved, were contained various points of treason.¹ But his most flagrant offence, which was completely proved, was the base betrayal of his trust in his recent negotiation in England, where he secretly recommended the death, instead of pleading for the life, of the Scottish Queen. At first, with his wonted effrontery, he attempted to brazen out the matter and overawe his enemies; but in the end he pleaded guilty; and, as abject as he had been insolent, threw himself on the King's mercy. None lamented his disgrace; for, although still young in years, Gray was old in falsehood and crime. Brilliant, fascinating, highly educated, and universally reputed the handsomest man of his time, he had used all these advantages for the most profligate ends; and his life, which to the surprise of many was now spared, had been little else than a tissue of treachery. He retired to France; and although, after some years, he was again permitted

¹ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. part iii. p. 157. Historie of James the Sext, p. 227. Spottiswood, p. 363.

to return to Scotland, he never recovered the commanding station from which he fell.¹

James had now attained majority, and important subjects began to occupy his mind. Amid much that was frivolous and volatile, this young Prince sometimes evinced a sagacity in detecting abuses, and a vigour in devising plans for the amelioration of his kingdom, which surprised even those who knew him best. To reconcile his nobility, and extinguish those fierce and sanguinary family feuds which so frequently defied the laws and tore the kingdom in pieces,—to arrange the affairs of the Kirk, provide for its ministers, and establish a certain form of ecclesiastical polity,—to escape from the pressure of an enormous debt by recovering the crown lands, which had been greatly dilapidated during his minority,—and to take some decisive steps on the subject of his marriage; these were the chief points which now pressed themselves upon his attention, and to which he directed the labours of his principal minister, the Secretary Maitland. But difficulties encountered him at every step. Outwardly, indeed, the King's desire for a reconciliation amongst the nobles was accomplished; and, at the conclusion of the Parliament held in the capital,² the principal street exhibited a singular spectacle. A table was spread at the Cross, where a banquet was prepared by the magistrates; and a long line of nobles,

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C., Woddrington to Walsingham, 29th April, 1587. Ibid., Carvyle to Walsingham, 12th May, 1587.

² Historie of James the Sext, p. 229.

who had been previously reconciled and feasted by the King in the palace at Holyrood, was seen to emerge from its massive gateway, and walk in peaceful procession up the principal street of the city. Bothwell and Angus, Hume and Fleming, Glamis and Crawford, with many other fierce opponents who had been compelled by their sovereign's threats or entreaties to an unwilling embrace, marched hand in hand to take their seats at the board of concord, where they drank to each other amid the thunder of the castle guns, and the songs and shouts of the citizens. It was an imposing ceremony, but really an idle and hollow farce. The deep wounds of feudal hatred, and the sacred duty of feudal revenge, were not so easily cured or forgotten; and many of the hands now locked in each other were quivering with a desire to find occupation rather in grappling the throat than pledging the health of their brother. Before the year concluded, all accordingly was nearly as bad as before.

There was one point, however, on which all seemed agreed—a desire to attack England and avenge the death of Mary. So deep was this feeling, that Thirlestane, now raised to the high office of Chancellor, in closing the Parliament, made a stirring appeal to the assembled Estates; and such was the impression of his eloquence, that the nobles, in a transport of pity and enthusiasm, threw themselves upon their knees before the King, and, amid the clang of their weapons and imprecations against Elizabeth, took a

vow that they would hazard their lives and fortunes in the quarrel.¹

These indications encouraged Huntly and the potent faction of the Catholic lords to a renewal, or rather more active continuance, of their intrigues with Spain and the Low Countries. Messengers were despatched thither, (not without the connivance of James,) who held out hopes to Philip of Scottish assistance in his great enterprise against England.² Various Jesuits and seminary priests in disguise (of whom Gordon and Dury were the most active) glided through Northumberland into Scotland, proceeded to the late convention at Edinburgh, and from thence to Aberdeen, where they continued their efforts, in conjunction with their foreign brethren, for the re-establishment of the Catholic faith and the dethronement of Elizabeth.³ Apparently, all this was encouraged by the Scottish King. It is, indeed, sometimes exceedingly difficult to get at the real sentiments of a prince who prided himself upon his dissimulation: but, either from policy or necessity, he was soon so utterly estranged from England, and so completely surrounded by the Spanish faction, that Elizabeth began to be in serious alarm.⁴

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C., Carvyle to Walsingham, 3d August, 1587.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C., Car to Walsingham, 11th Sept., 1587. Also, Ibid. B.C., Woddrington to Walsingham, 29th April, 1587.

³ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C., Collingwood to Walsingham, 21st May, 1587.

⁴ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C., Lord Hunsdon to Burghley, 14th Nov. 1587.

That great Princess was at this moment surrounded by dangers of no ordinary magnitude. Philip the Second of Spain was collecting against her that mighty armament, which was idly deemed to be invincible. The ports of Spain and Flanders rang with the din of arms and the bustle and confusion of military preparation. The Queen had been persuaded by Burghley and her chief councillors, that the execution of the Queen of Scots would prove a death-blow to the Catholic party, extricate her from all her difficulties, and confer upon her life and crown a security to which she had for many years been a stranger. But she was miserably disappointed. The accounts of the death of Mary were received by the whole of Christendom with one universal burst of astonishment and indignation. No sovereign had enforced more rigidly than Elizabeth the dogma of the inviolability and divine right of Princes, and their responsibility to God alone. The doctrine was generally received and acted upon by her royal allies; and they now arraigned her as an apostate from her own principles, and an open despiser of all that was holy, just, and true. Mary's servants and household were many of them foreigners; and, returning to their homes, spread over the Continent the touching story of her death. The hypocritical pretences of the Queen of England, by which she had endeavoured to shield herself from the odium of the execution, were generally discredited. It was said, that for the gratification of her own private revenge she had not scrupled to stain her hands with the blood of an innocent Queen; and that,

to escape the infamy of the fact, she had meanly and falsely thrown the blame upon an innocent councillor. The press teemed throughout Catholic Europe with innumerable publications. Histories, poems, pamphlets, and funeral orations, were circulated in every quarter on the alleged martyrdom of the Scottish Queen, and the execrable guilt of her by whom she had been murdered. The whole course of Elizabeth's public and private life was dissected, attacked, and exaggerated; and she was held up to the detestation of the world as the true daughter and inheritrix of all the wickedness, cruelty, irreligion, tyranny, and lust of her father, Henry the Eighth. The effect of all this, and the impression it made upon the Catholic mind throughout Christendom, was great; and when Philip began his mighty preparations against England, the projected invasion of that country partook of something like the sanctity of a crusade.

Surrounded by such complicated difficulties, it was not without alarm that Elizabeth heard of the estrangement of the Scottish King, and the bold proceedings of her enemies the Catholic lords. Confident of the assistance of Spain, with whose vast preparations they were well acquainted, they hoped to revolutionize Scotland, get possession of the King's person, destroy his Protestant advisers, and reëstablish the Catholic religion.¹ It was one principal branch of their plan to produce a diversion

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., ¶¶ to Walsingham, 1st January, 1587-8.

against England in Ireland and the Western Isles, which should take place at the moment of the invasion by the Armada. For the accomplishment of these great designs, Lord Maxwell, a leading and powerful Catholic lord, was on the Continent in communication with Spain and Rome; Archibald Douglas was suspected to be seconding their efforts in England, and the disgraced Master of Gray in France; whilst Sir William Stewart, the brother of the once-powerful Arran, was busy at the head-quarters of the Prince of Parma.¹ In Scotland, Huntly, the great leader of the Catholic lords, with Lord Claud Hamilton, Mar, Angus, and Bothwell, were prepared, on the briefest warning, to assemble a force which the King, in his present circumstances of poverty and desertion, could not control. As was usual in Scotland, schemes of private assassination were mixed up with plots against the Government: not only the Chancellor Maitland but the King himself considered their lives in danger;² and James, in self-defence, was compelled to dissemble, and to aim at a neutrality which promised a temporary security.³ But throughout all this, the real sentiments of the monarch experienced no alteration. He continued firm in his opposition to Spain, true to the reformed religion,

¹ MS. St. P. Off., "January, 1587-8. Occurrences out of Scotland.

² MS. Letter, Brit. Mus., Caligula D, fol. Hunsdon to Burghley, 25th Nov., 1587. Also, MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C., Same to same, 14th Dec., 1587: and Ibid., same to same, 27th Dec., 1587.

³ Id. Ibid.

and ready to league with England the moment Elizabeth, throwing off her parsimony, showed a sincere determination to assist him with money and troops. This the imminent dangers with which she was surrounded at length compelled her to do; and Lord Hunsdon, her cousin, who had recently gained an intimate knowledge of the intrigues of France by robbing the French Ambassador, Courcelles, of his despatches, was selected to open a communication with the King of Scots. But at this moment a circumstance, apparently slight, had nearly overturned all. Jane Kennedy, the daughter of a noble house, who had attended Mary in her last hours, suddenly arrived from France, obtained a private audience of the King, was closeted with him for two hours, and gave so touching an account of the tragedy at Fotheringay, that James refused to be comforted; and denouncing vengeance, broke off the conferences with England. But these feelings were evanescent: the violence of the northern earls, the fear of losing Elizabeth and cutting himself out of the succession, restored him to his calmer mood; and he despatched the Laird of Carmichael to meet Hunsdon on the Borders at Hutton Hall.¹ All, however, had to be transacted with the utmost secrecy; and nothing could be more alarming than the picture of the kingdom drawn by the English diplomatist. Huntly and the Catholics, he said, were almost in open re-

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C., Hunsdon to Burghley, 23d January, 1587-8. Also, *Ibid.*, same to same, 17th Jan. 1587-8.

bellion, earnestly pressing Philip and the Duke of Parma to attack England through Scotland; and offering, the moment the Spaniards made their descent, to join them with a body of troops which should overwhelm Elizabeth.¹ Against this there was little to oppose: for the Scottish King and the Kirk were on bad terms; and the Chancellor Maitland, the only man of statesmanlike views, although in heart a Protestant and a friend to England, lived in hourly dread of assassination by Bothwell or some of his desperate associates.² Under such trying circumstances, it says something for the King of Scots that he resisted the high offers made to him at this crisis by foreign princes, declared himself the determined opponent of Spain, resolved to support the reformed opinions, and coöperated cordially with the Queen of England. He assured Elizabeth that she could not detest more deeply than himself the plots of the Papists; that none of the messengers of Antichrist, their common enemy, should be encouraged; and that his single reason for suspending their usual loving intelligence was a feeling that she had failed to vindicate herself from the guilt of his mother's blood. To prove his sincerity against the Catholics, he summoned his forces, attacked the Castle of Lochmaben belonging to Lord Maxwell, who had now assumed

¹ MS. 1588-9, St. P. Off. Intercepted letters of Huntly, Morton, and Lord Claud Hamilton, in the name of the Catholic gentlemen of Scotland, to the King of Spain. This is a decipher by the noted Phelips.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B.C., Hunsdon to Burghley, 31st March, 1588.

the title of Morton, and, reinforced by an English battering-train, beat the castle about the ears of its captain, David Maxwell, whom he hanged with six of his men.¹ This spirit and severity enchanted Elizabeth; and she forthwith despatched Mr William Ashby to the Scottish Court with her thanks and congratulations. But the Ambassador promised far more than the Queen had the least intention of performing. His royal mistress, he said, was ready to settle a Duchy on her good brother, with a yearly pension of five thousand pounds. She would immediately raise for him a body-guard of fifty Scottish gentlemen; and, to meet the danger of a revolt by the Popish lords on the approach of the Armada, she would levy a corps of a hundred horse and a hundred infantry to act upon the Borders.² With these high offers James immediately closed; and Walsingham, for whose piercing glance and universal intelligence nothing was too minute or remote, having discovered that Thomas Fowler, an attached friend of the House of Lennox and a favourite of the Scottish King, was about to proceed on some private personal affairs to Edinburgh, contrived, through his means, to open a secret correspondence with James and Maitland his chief minister, which enabled them to traverse and overthrow the designs of Huntly and the Spanish faction.³ All this was of the utmost

¹ Historie of James the Sext, p. 236.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., William Ashby to Lord Burghley, 6th August, 1588.

³ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Ashby to Walsingham, 13th November, 1588. Also, Ibid. Fowler to Walsingham, 18th December, 1588.

importance to Elizabeth. Ireland was saved from any invasion by the Islesmen; the Borders between England and Scotland were kept quiet; no Scottish auxiliaries were permitted to pass over to the service of her enemies; and she was enabled to concentrate her whole naval and military energies to meet the great crisis of her fate—the meditated invasion of the Armada. This she did, accordingly, in the noblest and most effective manner: and the result is familiar to all, in the utter discomfiture and dispersion of that mighty armament.

Not long after this occurred the assassination of the Duke of Guise and his brother the Cardinal of Lorraine, which removed two of her most powerful and talented opponents: so that, although the clouds still lowered, the imminency of the danger on the side of Spain and France had passed.

James now naturally looked for the performance of her promises; but he was cruelly disappointed. With the cessation of alarm, Elizabeth's deep-rooted habits of parsimony revived: the promised Duchy with its princely revenue, the annual pension, the intended body-guard, the English auxiliaries to act upon the Borders, melted away and were no more heard of:—Ashby, the Ambassador, it was alleged, had much exceeded his instructions; and the King, in great wrath, complained that he had been dandled and duped like a boy.¹ These irritated feelings were encouraged by the Spanish faction. Many

¹ MS. St. P. Off., Fowler to Walsingham, 29th Dec., 1588.

urged the King to seek revenge. Bothwell, ever anxious for broils, boasted that, without charging his master a farthing, he would bleed Elizabeth's Exchequer at the rate of two hundred thousand crowns a-year, or lay the country waste to the gates of Newcastle. The more moderate party hardly dared to advise; and the Chancellor Maitland, hitherto the firm friend of England, found himself compelled to unite with Huntly. The character of the young prince, and the dangerous and unsettled state of Scotland at this time, were strikingly described by Fowler in one of his letters to Walsingham. He found James, he said, a virtuous prince, stained by no vice, and singularly acute in the discussion of all matters of state; but indolent and careless, and so utterly profuse, that he gave to every suitor, even to vain youths and proud fools, whatever they desired. He did not scruple to throw away, in this manner, even the lands of his Crown; and so reckless was he of wealth, that, in Fowler's opinion, if he were to get a million from England, it would all go the same way. His pleasures were hunting, of which he was passionately fond; and playing at the *mawe*, an English game of chance, in which he piqued himself on excelling. In his dress he was slovenly, and his Court and household were shabby and unkingly; but he sat often in council, was punctual in his religious duties, not missing the sermons thrice a-week; and his manners betrayed no haughtiness or pride. It was evident to Fowler that he detested the rude and ferocious bearing of his great nobles, who were content to obey

him in trifles, but in all serious matters, touching life or justice, took the law into their own hands, and openly defied him. Upon this subject Fowler's expressions were remarkable. When it came to the execution of justice, it was evident, he said, his subjects feared him not, whilst he was terrified to deal with so many at once, looking tremblingly to the fate of his ancestors, of whom such as attempted to execute justice with severity, were uniformly put to death by their nobles.¹ Often had the King assured the intimate friend who wrote these letters, that it was misery to be constrained to live amid the wickedness of his barons, and that they made his existence a burden to him. Nor could he look for redress to his Council. Even the wisest and greatest amongst them, not excepting the Chancellor Maitland, were infinitely more occupied in private quarrels and family feuds than with the public business of the State; and, to increase their individual power, were content to flatter the King in the basest manner, and become suitors at Court for everything ungodly and unreasonable. Well might Walsingham exclaim, in answer to this sad dark picture of regal weakness and feudal misrule, "God send that young prince, being of himself every way well-inclined, good, wise, and faithful counsellors, that may carry him in a constant course for the upholding of religion, and the establishing of

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Fowler to Walsingham, 18th December, 1588. Also, *Ibid.*, Fowler to Walsingham, 29th December, 1588.

justice in that realm.”¹ As a cure for this miserable condition, the English Secretary recommended a Court of Star-chamber, and a change of councillors from the great nobles to the barons and burgesses. But neither measure was practicable; and Maitland, at this moment James’ chief adviser, assured Fowler that the death of the Guises, instead of being attended with any favourable result in strengthening the English party in Scotland, would have an opposite effect. “Your Queen,” said he, “thinks that she has lost in Guise a great enemy, and my master a great friend. Be assured it is not so. For a long time the King hath had no dealings with the Guise: he loved him not—nor is he sorry but rather glad that he is gone. But, mark me, this will make the King of Spain seek my master, and esteem him more than before: for by the Duke of Guise that Prince thought to have had all France at his devotion, except the Protestants,—to have subdued even them ere long, and to have been so strong as to have had his revenge on England, without our help here; but now Scotland is his only card to play against England, and that you will see ere long.”²

These predictions were soon fully verified. The Popish earls, led by Huntly and Errol, entered into a more active and deep-laid correspondence with Spain and Rome. Large sums of money were remitted to them from Philip and the Pope; and letters

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Orig. Draft, Walsingham to Fowler, 22d Dec., 1588.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Fowler to Walsingham, 4th Jan., 1588-9.

were intercepted by Burghley, which proved, in the clearest manner, an intended rebellion. They were seized on the person of a Scotsman, who was detected carrying them to the Prince of Parma; and expressed, on the part of Huntly, Morton, Errol, and the rest of the Catholic noblemen and gentry of Scotland, their infinite regret at the discomfiture of the Armada, and their sorrow that the fleet had passed so near their coast without visiting them, when they were able to have raised a force such as could not have been resisted. They assured the Spanish King, that the outlay of a single Galeass in Scotland would have gone farther than ten on the broad seas; and that six thousand Spaniards once landed there, would be joined by an infinite multitude of Scotsmen animated with the bitterest hatred to England, and who would serve him as faithfully as his own subjects. Huntly at the same time assured Parma, that his late confession and his signature to the Protestant Articles had been extorted from him against his conscience; but that in spite of all this he continued a true Catholic, and by this pretended change had acquired a greater power over the young King. In the same letters Errol professed the utmost devotion to the Catholic faith, congratulating himself on having been called from darkness to light; and Bruce informed Parma of the seasonable arrival of Chisholm, their agent, with the large sum entrusted to him, and of their having secured the Earl of Bothwell, who, though still a Protestant, had been bribed to embrace their party.

Copies of these letters were instantly sent down to James, who at first disbelieved the whole story, and dealt so leniently with the principal conspirators, that the plot, instead of being crushed in its first growth, spread its ramifications throughout the country, especially the northern counties, and grew more dangerous than before. Huntly was, indeed, imprisoned; but his confinement was a mere farce. The King visited him in his chamber and dined there; permitted his wife and servants to communicate freely with him; wrote him an affectionate remonstrance, and even kissed and caressed him.¹ This could end only one way. The captive, after a brief imprisonment, during which he made the most solemn asseverations of his innocence, was restored by the too credulous monarch to his former authority, and basely abused the royal forgiveness by seducing the fierce and potent Earl of Bothwell from his allegiance, and breaking into open rebellion.

This insurrection at first assumed the most formidable appearance: the whole of Scotland north of Aberdeen was on the eve of revolt; and Bothwell threatened, that if James ventured to take arms against the remoter insurgents, he would ravage the south in his absence and compel him to draw homewards. But this bravado, instead of intimidating, effectually roused the King, who, for the first and almost the last time in his life, exhibited a military spirit worthy of his ancestors. An army was instantly

¹ MS. St. P. Off., Ashby to Burghley, Edinburgh, 10th March, 1588-9. Also, *Ibid.*, Same to same, 14th March, 1588-9.

assembled; a conspiracy for the seizure of James and his chief minister, Maitland the Chancellor, promptly discovered and defeated.¹ The Protestant nobles, led by the young Duke of Lennox and the Chancellor, rallied in great strength; the Earl of Mar, the three Lords Warden, Hume, Cessford, and Carmichael, the Earls of Morton, Angus, Marshal, Athol, and the Master of Glamis, gathered and concentrated their forces beyond the Forth; and the monarch, who was described by Ashby the English Ambassador, as "*fellon crabbed*," pushed on, at the head of his troops, to St Johnston, loudly declaring his resolution to wreck his rebels, and destroy them with fire and sword.²

This vigour and resolution had the best effect. The formidable stories of the mighty strength and preparations of the Catholic earls were found false and ridiculous,—their troops melted away. Bothwell's force, which was to effect such wonders, soon shrunk to thirty horse; and James, advancing by Dundee and Brechin, carried everything before him, and compelled the rebels to evacuate Aberdeen, the centre of their strength. It had been expected that the enemy would here give battle, but their courage failed them. Crawford secretly fled; others openly deserted; and the King, who had shown unusual hardihood, and watched two nights in his arms, was disappointed of an opportunity to win his spurs. But the expedition was completely successful: Huntly was driven from

¹ MS. St. P. Off., Ashby to Burghley, 8th April, 1589.

² MS. St. P. Off., Fowler to Burghley, 9th April, 1589.

Aberdeen to Strathbogie, his own country, where he surrendered himself prisoner, and was carried in triumph by the King to Edinburgh. Slanes, the principal castle of Errol, was taken and garrisoned; the Lairds of Fren draught, Grant, and Macintosh, the powerful clans of the Drummonds and the Forbeses, with many others who had been seduced from their allegiance by the Catholic faction, submitted themselves; and James, in high spirits and exultation, returned to his capital with the resolution of proceeding instantly against Bothwell. But this fierce chief, who was now crest-fallen and in no state to make resistance, threw himself on his knees before the King in the Chancellor's garden, and was sent prisoner to Holyrood.¹

A Convention of the nobility was now held at Edinburgh, and the rebel earls, Huntly and Crawford, having been brought to trial and convicted of high treason, escaped with imprisonment,—contrary to the remonstrances of the leaders of the Kirk, who clamoured for the death of idolaters. Their confession, however, had softened the King; and their high connexions rendered it dangerous to use extremities. Bothwell also was brought to trial; but, after his usual fierce fashion, declared his innocence; reviled and accused the Chancellor, and stood on his defence. The circumstance of his being in arms against the Government, and his cordial coöperation with the

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Ashby to Walsingham, 12th May, 1589.

Northern rebellion, was, indeed, notorious to all; but the dread of his power and revenge intimidated the Court. The trial was prolonged till midnight, and it required the presence and remonstrances of the King to procure a conviction. He was then shut up in Tantallon;¹ but was enlarged, after a few months, on payment of a heavy fine to the Crown.²

This unusual exertion of James in destroying the designs of Huntly and the Catholics, was followed by a fit of extraordinary activity on another subject—his marriage with Denmark. At the time of the first proposal of a matrimonial alliance with this kingdom, Arran was in power, and had engaged to Elizabeth that his royal master should continue single for three years. Accordingly, on the arrival of the Danish Ambassadors, they found themselves treated with such irritating coldness and neglect, that it required much management on the part of Sir James Melvil to prevent an open rupture, and convince them that the affront proceeded not from the young King but his haughty minister.³ His endeavours, however, succeeded; and although the Danish monarch, in some disgust, disposed of his eldest daughter, the Princess Royal, the intended bride of James, to the Duke of Brunswick, he afterwards declared his willingness to bestow her sister, the Princess Anne,

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Ashby to Walsingham, 25th May, 1589. Ibid., Fowler to Walsingham, 26th May, 1589.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Ashby to Walsingham, 26th Aug., 1589.

³ Melvil's Memoirs, Bannat. ed. p. 337.

upon the Scottish King. The intrigues of England, however, continued. Elizabeth, who had gained to her interest the Chancellor Maitland, recommended the Princess of Navarre; and the celebrated poet Du Bartas visited Scotland on a secret mission to propose the match. This preference probably proceeded from a suspicion that the Princess Anne was not sound in her attachment to the Protestant opinions, which afterwards turned out to be well founded; but James utterly disrelished the dictation of the Queen and the boldness of his Council. It was time, he felt, that in so weighty a matter as his marriage he should vindicate his liberty of choice and follow his own judgment: he had, besides, heard a report that the Princess of Navarre was old and crooked; and although his great nobles affected the alliance with France, the bulk of his people, the Burgh towns and the merchants, were all keen for Denmark.¹ This decided the young King; and he now despatched the Earl Marshal, with a noble suite, to proceed to Copenhagen and conclude the match.

On his arrival, the Scottish Ambassador found that, if cold or slow at first, the Danish Court were hot enough (to use Ashby's expression to Walsingham) as soon as there was a serious proposal made. All was soon arranged, and the utmost bustle prevailed. In some amusing contemporary letters, the Queen-mother is described as the soul and centre of the

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Ashby to Walsingham, 22d July, 1589. Melvil's Memoirs, pp. 363, 364.

whole preparations—perpetually buying silks, or cheapening jewellery, or urging on a corps of five hundred tailors, who sat daily stitching and getting up the most princely apparel. Women, guards, pages, lackeys, all, from the highest to the lowest, who were to compose the suite of the bride, received orders to hold themselves in readiness. A fleet of twelve sail with brass ordnance, was fitted out to transport her; and it was reported that she was likely to land in Scotland before James' wedding hose were ready or a house furnished to receive her.¹ But these anticipations proved fallacious; and the King, who had worked up his usually phlegmatic temper to an extraordinary pitch of chivalrous admiration, was kept for some weeks in an agony of suspense by contrary winds and contrary councils. This did not prevent him, however, from forwarding to his ambassadors a gentle remonstrance touching the smallness of the "tocher," or dowry; but Denmark refused to add a farthing to it; and the monarch, affecting the utmost anxiety for the young Princess, who, he had persuaded himself, was utterly in despair and love-sick at the delay, urged her instant departure.² At length she sailed; but the squadron encountered a tremendous storm, which shattered and dispersed the ships, and compelled them to return to Norway in so leaky and disabled a condition, that every hope of resuming

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Ashby to Walsingham, 22d July, 1589. Fowler to Walsingham, 5th August, 1589.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Fowler to Walsingham, 5th August, 1589.

their voyage for that season was abandoned.¹ During all this period of suspense, the young King's romantic agitation continued. He was a true lover, as Ashby described him to Walsingham in a letter from the Court at Holyrood; thinking every day a year till he saw his love and joy approach: at one time, flying to God, and commanding prayers and fasting for her safe arrival; at another, falling upon the Scottish witches, to whose unhallowed rites and incantations he ascribed the tempests which delayed her. Nor were these pretended agonies: for when at last the news arrived of her danger and escape, he suddenly adopted the idea of proceeding in person to Norway, and determined (to use the poetic phraseology of Ashby to Queen Elizabeth) "to commit himself and his hopes, Leander like, to the waves of the ocean, all for his beloved Hero's sake."²

This resolution he carried into effect on the twenty-second of October—embarking at Leith, accompanied by the Chancellor Maitland, who had been forced to waive his repugnance to the match; by his favourite minister and chaplain Mr David Lindsay, and a select suite of his nobility. On the day after his departure, a Declaration of the reasons which had prompted so unusual a step was delivered to the Privy Council, and afterwards made public. It was

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Ashby to Walsingham, 5th, 24th Sept., 1589. Also, *Ibid.*, same to same, 2d Oct., 1589. *Ibid.*, same to same, 10th Oct., 1589. *Ibid.*, same to Queen Elizabeth, 23d Oct., 1589.

² Spottiswood, pp. 377, 378.

written wholly in the King's hand, and is ludicrously characteristic of the monarch. We learn from his own lips that it had been very generally asserted by his loving subjects, that their sovereign was a "barren stock," indisposed to marriage, and careless of having children to succeed him in the throne. His mind, too, had been attacked in most unmannerly terms: it was insinuated that the Chancellor "led him by the nose," as if he were an unreasonable creature, a mere child in intellect and resolution, or an "impudent ass that could do nothing of himself." To confute the first slander, he had determined to seek his Queen forthwith, and marry her as speedily as the winds and waves would permit. To give the lie to the second aspersion, he assured his people, on the honour of a Prince, that he alone, unknown to Chancellor or Council, had conceived the first idea of this winter voyage; that his resolution was taken in the solitude of his chamber at Craigmillar; and that, till the preparations were concluded, and he was ready to step on board, the purpose was shut up in his own bosom. Let no man, therefore, (he concluded,) grudge at this proceeding, but conform to the directions I have left.¹

These directions, notwithstanding the undignified singularity of the paper which accompanied them, were marked by prudence and good sense. The chief authority during the royal absence was committed to the Duke of Lennox, who was made President of the Privy Council. Bothwell, whose

¹ Spottiswood, pp. 377, 378-379.

turbulent disposition and power upon the Borders rendered it dangerous for him to be disobliged, was conciliated by being placed next in rank and authority to Lennox. The other councillors were, the Treasurer, Comptroller, the Lord Privy-Seal, the Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, with the Lord Advocate and Clerk Register. A committee of noblemen was ordered to attend "in their courses," at Edinburgh, for fifteen days: the Earls of Angus and Athol, with Lords Fleming and Innermeath, to begin; and the next course to be kept by the Earls of Mar and Morton, with Lords Seton and Yester. The chief military power, as Lord-Lieutenant, was entrusted to Lord Hamilton, to be assisted in any emergency by Lords Boyd, Herries, Maxwell, Home, Cessford, and other principal barons within the marches. All conventions of the nobles were prohibited during the King's absence; and the ministers and preachers enjoined to exhort the people to obedience, and to commend their sovereign and his journey in their prayers to God.¹

Having given these directions, the King set sail; and his insulated fit of love and chivalry met with its reward. After an initiatory gale, just sufficient to try the royal courage, the squadron reached Upsal on the fifth day, and James rode to the palace, where his *inamorata* awaited him; hurried, "booted and spurred," into her presence; and, in the rude fashion of Scotland, would have kissed her, had he not been repulsed by the offended maidenhood of Denmark.

¹ Spottiswood, p. 379.

But she was soon appeased; explanations followed; the manners of the royal bridegroom's land were comprehended; and, "after a few words privily spoken between his Majesty and her, there passed," we are told by a homely chronicler of the day, "familiarity and kisses."¹

The marriage took place (November 23) in the Church at Upsal: the ceremony being performed by the King's favourite minister, Mr David Lindsay. Much rejoicing and banqueting, as usual, succeeded; and it appears to have required little argument in the Queen-mother to persuade her new son-in-law to eschew the dangers of a winter voyage, and convert his intended visit of twenty days into a residence of nearly six months in Denmark. This interval was passed by the King to his entire satisfaction. The time being divided between in-door revelries and pageants; out-door sports; discussions on astronomy with Tycho Brahe, whom he visited at Uranibourg; disputes with the learned Hemingius, on predestination and other points in divinity; and consultations with the Chancellor Maitland, regarding the safest method of curbing the overgrown power of his nobles, and vindicating, on his return, the authority of the Crown. In the spring he determined on his voyage home; and carrying his youthful Queen along with him, accompanied by a splendid retinue of Danish nobles and ladies,² arrived at Leith on the first of May, 1590. The royal pair were received, on dis-

¹ Moyse's Memoirs, Bannat. ed., p. 81.

² Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xvi. p. 51-60.

embarking, by the Duke of Lennox, Lord Hamilton, the Earl of Bothwell, and a crowd of his nobility. A Latin oration of welcome was followed by a sermon of Mr Patrick Galloway; and after divine service the King, mounting his horse, followed by his youthful bride in her chariot, drawn by eight horses gorgeously caparisoned, proceeded to the Palace of Holyrood. She was encircled by a galaxy of Danish and Scottish beauty, and attended by all the chivalry of her new dominions.

Her Coronation followed not long after, performed on a scale of unusual magnificence, and only clouded by a dispute between the King and the Kirk, on the subject of "anointing;" a ceremony represented on the side of the Puritans as Jewish, Papal, and abominably superstitious—on the other, as Christian, holy, and Catholic. The royal arguments, however, were enforced by a threat that one of the Bishops should be sent for. The dread of this worse profanation procured the admission of the lesser: the ceremony was allowed to proceed according to the King's wishes; and, to use the *naïve* expression of a contemporary, "the Countess of Mar, having taken the Queen's right arm, and opened the *craigs* of her gown, Mr Robert Bruce immediately poured forth upon those parts of her breast and arm of quhilk the clothes were removed, a bonny quantity of oil."¹

¹ The Coronation of the Quenis Majestie, p. 53. One of the curious tracts, reprinted by Mr Gibson-Craig in his interesting volume presented to the Bannatyne Club, entitled, "Papers Relative to the Marriage of James the Sixth of Scotland.

The coronation was followed by the Queen's triumphal entry into her new capital; a ceremony conducted by the worthy merchants and burgesses, on a scale of splendour which argued increasing wealth and success in commercial enterprise. But the particulars, though curiously illustrative of manners, would fatigue by their complexity. Latin addresses were, as usual in this age, the great staple of compliment; and when the Danish Princess entered the gates, she was greeted in a classical panegyric by "Master John Russell, appointed thereto by the township;" whilst the son of the orator, "little Master John Russell," who had been artificially and wonderfully shut up in a gilded globe stuck upon the top of the gate, fluttered down in the dress of an angel, and delivered to Her Majesty the keys of the city in silver.¹

¹ Papers Relative to the Marriage of James the Sixth, pp. 39, 40.