

## QUEEN MARY'S SURRENDER AT CARBERRY.\*

A.D. 1567.

EVERY reader of Scottish history is familiar with the misfortunes of Queen Mary—a princess whose name is still mentioned with devoted attachment, and whose unhappy fate has occasioned for her a sympathy which will never be forgotten. The rash and unfortunate marriage of Mary to the Earl of Bothwell, after the murder of her husband,

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\* Keith's History; Goodall's Queen Mary; Calderwood's MS.; History of King James VI.; Melville's Memoirs; Spottiswoode's History; Anderson's Collections; Stuart's History of Scotland; Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots; Birrell's Diary; Knox's History; Lesley's Defence of Queen Mary.

Lord Darnley, by that unprincipled nobleman, may be said to have been the climax of her fate. When in the great hall of the Palace of Holyroodhouse, and not in the Chapel-Royal, as her marriage with Darnley had been celebrated, Mary united herself to Bothwell, whom she had created Duke of Orkney, she formed a connection the bitterness of which she soon experienced. The great object of various snares and conspiracies having been thus accomplished, a powerful confederacy was formed against her by some of those very noblemen who were not only deeply implicated in the murder of Darnley, but who had actually urged both the Queen and Bothwell to this marriage. Their chief object was to dethrone Mary, and to crown her infant son, who was not a year old, by which procedure the ambition of several of the nobility would be amply rewarded by the prospect of a long minority. Of this confederacy the leading persons were the Earls of Argyle, Athole, Morton, Mar, and Glencairn, Lords Home, Sempill, and Lindsay, Kirkaldy of Grange, whose fate is narrated in the account of the Siege of Edinburgh Castle, Murray of Tullibardine, and Maitland of Lethington. The Earl of Moray was then in France, but he was nevertheless the concealed partner in this as in other combinations, and he was eventually the real gainer, for it procured for him the regency, the great object of all his aims.

Without entering into minute details of proclamations issued by the Queen which were disregarded, and representations published by the Confederates which abounded with false statements and studied perversions of the real state of affairs, it may be sufficient to observe, that the insurgents soon raised a considerable body of troops composed chiefly of their own vassals. Being supported by many of the people, they advanced upon Edinburgh, before the Queen's forces could assemble. Mary and Bothwell suspected that the gates of the Castle would be shut against

them, the fidelity of Sir James Balfour, the deputy-governor, having been corrupted by the Earl of Mar and Sir James Melville. The Queen, from what she had heard, considered it prudent to retire from Holyroodhouse to the Castle of Borthwick, about nine miles south-east of Edinburgh, accompanied by Bothwell. The associated Lords, informed of her flight, took the road to this baronial residence with 2000 horse, and Lord Home by a rapid march presented himself before it with the division under his command. The Castle was surrounded, with the intention of bringing the insurrection to a speedy issue by the capture of the Queen and of Bothwell, but the latter contrived to escape to Dunbar Castle, and the Queen also, disguised in male apparel, succeeded in reaching that sea-beaten fortress, where the strength of the fortification gave them a full security against any attempt at a surprise.

The Confederates now advanced to Edinburgh, where they resolved to augment their strength by new partizans. On the 12th of June they issued a proclamation, the substance of which was that the Queen, being detained in captivity, was neither able to govern her realm, nor to try the murderers of her husband; and they therefore commanded all the subjects of the Queen, and the citizens of Edinburgh, to assist in her deliverance, in preserving the prince, and in punishing the murderers of Darnley. The Earl of Huntly, Lord Boyd, the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Bishop of Ross, and the Abbot of Kilwinning, were on the side of the Queen, and they endeavoured to excite the inhabitants to defend the city, and to rise in behalf of their sovereign. Although the tide of popularity was rather in favour of the Confederates, yet the representations of Huntly and his colleagues were not without effect; and the only additions to their numbers which the insurgents appear to have received in consequence of their proclamations, and published libels, both in prose and rhyme, to

“move the hearts of the people,” were two hundred harquebusiers furnished by the Corporation of Edinburgh. The magistrates indeed ordered the gates of the city to be shut, but this was all the resistance to the Confederates which that body intended. They found an easy admittance by the gate at the Cowgate Port, near St Mary’s Wynd, and took possession of the city, while the Earl of Huntly and the Queen’s friends found refuge in the Castle, where Sir James Balfour agreed to protect them, though he was at the same time in treaty with the insurgents.

The Queen and Bothwell were in the meantime not inactive at Dunbar. The royal proclamations brought many vassals, and before three days elapsed two thousand men, chiefly belonging to the Merse and Lothian, flocked to her standard. On the 14th of June the Queen and Bothwell set out with their army towards Edinburgh, and halted at Gladsmuir, almost on the ground where, nearly two centuries afterwards, her descendant Prince Charles Edward Stuart routed the forces of George II. Here a proclamation was read to the army, replying to all the statements of the insurgents, and engaging to reward her followers for their valorous services. The Queen lay at Seaton, on the sea side, and her troops were quartered in the adjacent villages.

Intelligence of the movements of the Queen soon reached Edinburgh, and the Confederates instantly marched out of the city to Restalrig, in the neighbourhood, where they encamped for one night. On the morning of Sunday the 15th of June, they advanced to Musselburgh, five miles distant, where they refreshed themselves. Here they learned that the Queen had marched her forces to Carberry Hill, an eminence in the parish of Inveresk, above the town of Musselburgh, and commanding a fine view of the Frith, and of the adjacent country. This hill overlooks the scene

of that disastrous conflict called the Battle of Pinkie, fought a few years before, between the English and the Scots, and has ever since been known by the name of the *Queen's Seat*. It was here that the Queen sat upon a stone while she held a conference with Kirkaldy of Grange, before Bothwell took his final leave of her, and rode off the field to Dunbar. The proprietor of Carberry has marked this interesting spot by planting it with copsewood.

The Queen halted at Carberry, her forces being under the command of Bothwell, and under him Lords Seton, Borthwick, and Yester. Meanwhile the insurgents marched out of Musselburgh, and by taking a circuit they seemed to retreat to Dalkeith, but wheeling about they soon approached to offer battle. They were ranged in two divisions, the one commanded by the Earl of Morton and Lord Home; the other was directed by the Earls of Athole, Mar, and Glencairn, with Lords Lindsay, Ruthven, Sempill, and Sanquhar.

It is generally admitted, that if the Queen had not been imprudently advised to take the field so hastily, there was a chance that the Confederates would have dispersed, for they were not on this occasion supported in any way by England. Many of the nobility were adverse to the movement, and some of them neutral; they were ill provided with arms, and the chiefs, beginning to doubt the success of their cause, had thoughts of dissolving the association, if the Queen had remained a few days longer at Dunbar. But Bothwell could not hazard a delay, and his chief hope was that he would be able to surprise his adversaries. The two armies, almost equal in numbers, stood opposed to each other, when Le Croc, the French ambassador, advanced to the insurgent leaders, and endeavoured to effect an accommodation. He assured them that the Queen was desirous to prevent bloodshed, and wished for peace—that she would grant them pardons, and declare a general oblivion

of what had been done—and that they should all be indemnified for taking up arms against her. Morton replied that they were not in arms against the Queen, but they were in the field against the murderer of her husband, and if she would deliver him (Bothwell) to punishment, or separate from him, they would all return to their dutiful obedience. The Earl of Glencairn added, with his usual rudeness—“That they were not come into the field to ask pardon for what they had done, but rather to give pardon to those who have offended.” The French ambassador, seeing that it was in vain to attempt a reconciliation, took leave of the Queen, and withdrew to Edinburgh.

The unfortunate Mary was fully alive to her perilous situation. She saw that she was surrounded with dangers on account of a man with whom she ought never to have been connected; she rode through the ranks of her soldiers, and found them dispirited: whatever respect they entertained for her, they had none for him; and his own retainers and dependants were only the persons willing to fight for him. Bothwell, however, threw down the gauntlet of defiance to his adversaries by offering single combat to prove his innocence. He sent a herald to the Confederates, and challenged any one of them. Murray of Tullibardine and his elder brother, the comptroller of the Queen's household, offered to accept the gauntlet of defiance, but Bothwell objected to them, because they were not peers. It is said that Kirkaldy of Grange also accepted the challenge, and was refused for the same reason.

Bothwell now challenged Morton, who is said to have accepted the defiance, and appointed the conflict to be on foot with two-handed swords. Lord Lindsay, however, stepped out, and entreated Morton to allow him the honour of fighting Bothwell, and the Earl readily assented, but the Queen interposed, and prohibited the combat. She saw that the most prudent course she could adopt was

to capitulate, for her soldiers were secretly deserting in small parties, and it would have been as dangerous to attempt to retreat as to fight. A herald was sent to the Confederates, desiring that Kirkaldy of Grange should confer with the Queen on terms of accommodation. This gallant soldier waited on Mary, authorized to effect a reconciliation. His proposal was that Bothwell, being suspected of Darnley's murder, should be allowed to *pass off the field* until the cause was tried, and that she would come over to them; and they in return would acknowledge their allegiance, and obey her as their sovereign.

To these conditions the Queen readily assented, and having intimated to the Confederates the result of his interview, they ratified the stipulations of Kirkaldy. He communicated this resolution to her, and taking Bothwell by the hand, advised him to depart, promising that no one should oppose or follow him. Overwhelmed with disappointment, remorse, and despair, this unhappy nobleman turned his eyes to Mary for the last time, and left the field. The Queen then held out her hand to Kirkaldy, who kissed it, and taking the bridle of her horse, led her to the confederated nobles. They affected to approach her with the greatest reverence. "I am come, my Lords," she said, "to express my respect, and to conclude our agreement. I am ready to be instructed by the wisdom of your counsels, and I am confident you will treat me as your sovereign." "Madam," replied Morton, "you are here among us in your proper place, and we will pay to you as much honour, service, and obedience, as ever in any former period was offered by the nobility to the princes your predecessors."

The Confederates returned in triumph from Carberry Hill, but the Queen had not been long among them till she was treated as a captive. They conducted her to Edinburgh by the road leading from Musselburgh in front of

Craigmillar Castle, and entering the road to Dalkeith, approached the city on the south, near the Kirk of Field, on the site of which the University is built. They entered the city about seven in the evening, and carried the Queen through the streets covered with dust and bedewed with tears. Instead of conveying her to the Palace of Holyrood, they led her to the dwelling-house of the Provost, at the top of Peebles Wynd, near the head of the present Niddry Street, but long since removed to make room for the buildings of the South Bridge. During her progress she was insulted by the mob, who exhibited before her eyes, swollen with excess of grief, a banner of white taffety, on which was painted the murdered Darnley, and the young prince James on his knees, exclaiming, "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord." Mary lodged in the Provost's house during that night, and it is unnecessary to say found little repose. The house was commonly called the *Black Turnpike*, and contained a small apartment thirteen feet square and eight feet in height, with a window to the High Street. Into this miserable room they thrust the Queen without a single female attendant to wait upon her. The Provost to whom this house belonged was Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar, who held the civic office in 1567 and 1568. The insults of the people, aggravated by the perfidy of the nobility, increased her misery. In the morning the same banner was displayed before her, at the sight of which she burst into tears, and calling to the crowd who were gazing upon her from the street, she said, "Good people, either satisfy your cruelty and hatred by taking my miserable life, or relieve me from the hands of such inhuman and infamous traitors." But a feeling had now arisen in favour of the Queen, and the more respectable citizens, concluding that they had been deceived by the confederated nobles, felt indignant at her imprisonment. They were preparing to



rescue her from insult when they were pacified by the declarations of the Lords, who solemnly promised to restore her to her freedom and dignity. Though nothing was farther from their intention, it was necessary to make show of sincerity, and in the evening the Queen was removed to the Palace of Holyroodhouse.

This was the last time Queen Mary was under the roof of her Palace of Holyrood. Late in the evening of that day, (June 16,) or rather about midnight, the Queen was deprived of all her princely ornaments, compelled to array herself in coarse brown apparel, and in this disguise she was entrusted to the care of Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, who conveyed her to the destined place of her imprisonment, the insulated Castle of Lochleven, in the lake of that name, attended by a strong armed force. Kirkaldy of Grange protested against this perfidy, and expostulated with the Confederates for their breach of honour and veracity, but vague or false excuses were the only answers he received, in which they exhorted him to rely on the integrity of their motives, spoke of her passion for Bothwell, and maintained that it was dangerous to trust her with power. The Castle of Lochleven was the property and residence of William Douglas, uterine brother of the Earl of Moray, and the presumptive heir of the Earl of Morton. The mother of Moray and of Douglas resided in the Castle, and to her tender mercies was the unfortunate Queen committed, and doomed to experience a series of insults, from which she was only freed by her well known escape from the Castle. Here, however, she was compelled, on the 24th of July, to resign the crown to her son, and to appoint the Earl of Moray to the regency.

It only remains to be added, in this melancholy episode of Mary's unhappy history, that two days after her imprisonment in Lochleven Castle the associated nobles seized

her plate, jewels, and other valuable moveables in Holyroodhouse. They coined the whole of her plate, nor did they even spare an antique silver cupboard, but converted the whole of it into money. On the same day the Earl of Glencairn and his followers broke into the Chapel-Royal, and demolished all its furniture, ornaments, and decorations. This exploit, however, gave great offence to several of the insurgent leaders, as Glencairn committed this mischief without any order, and before they had finally determined how to dispose of the Queen.

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