

Towards the end of the year, a convention of estates was held, chiefly on account of ecclesiastical affairs. The assembly of the church, which sat at the same time, presented a petition, containing many demands with respect to the suppressing of popery, the encouraging the protestant religion, and the providing for the maintenance of the clergy°. The last was a matter of great importance, and the steps taken towards it deserve to be traced.

A new regulation concerning the revenues of the church.

Though the number of protestant preachers was now considerably increased, many more were still wanted, in every corner of the kingdom. No legal provision having been made for them, they had hitherto drawn a scanty and precarious subsistence from the benevolence of their people. To suffer the ministers of an established church to continue in this state of indigence and dependence, was an indecency equally repugnant to the principles of religion, and to the maxims of sound policy; and would have justified all the imputations of avarice, with which the reformation was then loaded by its enemies. The revenues of the popish church were the only fund which could be employed for their relief;

▪ Keith, 201. 204. Knox, 286.

▪ Keith, 196.

• Ibid, 210.

but, during the three last years, the state of these was greatly altered. A great majority of abbots, priors, and other heads of religious houses, had, either from a sense of duty, or from views of interest, renounced the errors of popery; and, notwithstanding this change in their sentiments, they retained their ancient revenues. Almost the whole order of bishops, and several of the other dignitaries, still adhered to the Romish superstition; and, though debarred from every spiritual function, continued to enjoy the temporalities of their benefices. Some laymen, especially those who had been active in promoting the reformation, had, under various pretences, and amidst the license of civil wars, got into their hands possessions which belonged to the church. Thus, before any part of the ancient ecclesiastical revenues could be applied towards the maintenance of the protestant ministers, many different interests were to be adjusted; many claims to be examined; and the prejudices and passions of the two contending parties required the application of a delicate hand. After much contention, the following plan was approved by a majority of voices, and acquiesced in even by the popish clergy themselves. An exact account of the value of ecclesiastical benefices, throughout the kingdom, was appointed to be taken. The present incumbents, to whatever party they adhered, were allowed to keep possession: two thirds of their whole revenue were reserved for their own use, the remainder was annexed to the crown; and out of that, the queen undertook to assign a sufficient maintenance for the protestant clergy <sup>P</sup>.

As most of the bishops and several of the other dignitaries were still firmly attached to the popish religion, the extirpation of the whole order, rather than an act of such extraordinary indulgence, might have been expected from the zeal of the preachers, and from the

<sup>P</sup> Keith, Append. 175. Knox, 194.

1561. spirit which had hitherto animated the nation. But, on this occasion, other principles obstructed the operations of such as were purely religious. Zeal for liberty, and the love of wealth, two passions extremely opposite, concurred in determining the protestant leaders to fall in with this plan, which deviated so manifestly from the maxims by which they had hitherto regulated their conduct.

If the reformers had been allowed to act without control, and to level all distinctions in the church, the great revenues annexed to ecclesiastical dignities could not, with any colour of justice, have been retained by those in whose hands they now were; but must either have been distributed amongst the protestant clergy, who performed all religious offices, or must have fallen to the queen, from the bounty of whose ancestors the greater part of them was originally derived. The former scheme, however suitable to the religious spirit of many among the people, was attended with manifold danger. The popish ecclesiastics had acquired a share in the national property, which far exceeded the proportion that was consistent with the happiness of the kingdom; and the nobles were determined to guard against this evil, by preventing the return of those possessions into the hands of the church. Nor was the latter, which exposed the constitution to more imminent hazard, to be avoided with less care. Even that circumscribed prerogative, which the Scottish kings possessed, was the object of jealousy to the nobles. If they had allowed the crown to seize the spoils of the church, such an increase of power must have followed that accession of property, as would have raised the royal authority above control, and have rendered the most limited prince in Europe the most absolute and independent. The reign of Henry the eighth presented a recent and alarming example of this nature. The wealth which flowed in upon that prince, from the suppression of the monasteries, not only changed the

maxims of his government, but the temper of his mind ; 1661.  
and he, who had formerly submitted to his parliaments, and courted his people, dictated from that time to the former with intolerable insolence, and tyrannized over the latter with unprecedented severity. And, if his policy had not been extremely short-sighted, if he had not squandered what he acquired, with a profusion equal to his rapaciousness, and which defeated his ambition, he might have established despotism in England, on a basis so broad and strong, as all the efforts of the subjects would never have been able to shake. In Scotland, where the riches of the clergy bore as great a proportion to the wealth of the kingdom, the acquisition of church lands would have been of no less importance to the crown, and no less fatal to the aristocracy. The nobles, for this reason, guarded against such an increase of the royal power, and, thereby, secured their own independence.

Avarice mingled itself with their concern for the interest of their order. The reuniting the possessions of the church to the crown, or the bestowing them on the protestant clergy, would have been a fatal blow, both to those nobles who had, by fraud or violence, seized part of these revenues, and to those abbots and priors who had totally renounced their ecclesiastical character. But as the plan which was proposed, gave some sanction to their usurpation, they promoted it with their utmost influence. The popish ecclesiastics, though the lopping off a third of their revenues was by no means agreeable to them, consented, under their present circumstances, to sacrifice a part of their possessions, in order to purchase the secure enjoyment of the remainder; and, after deeming the whole irrecoverably lost, they considered whatever they could retrieve as so much gain. Many of the ancient dignitaries were men of noble birth; and, as they no longer entertained hopes of restoring the popish religion, they wished their own relations, rather than the crown, or the protestant

1561. clergy, to be enriched with the spoils of the church. They connived, for this reason, at the encroachments of the nobles; they even aided their avarice and violence; they dealt out the patrimony of the church among their own relations, and, by granting 'feus' and perpetual leases of lands and tithes, gave, to the utmost of their power, some colour of legal possession to what was formerly mere usurpation. Many vestiges of such alienations still remain<sup>1</sup>. The nobles, with the concurrence of the incumbents, daily extended their encroachments, and gradually stripped the ecclesiastics of their richest and most valuable possessions. Even that third part, which was given up, in order to silence the clamours of the protestant clergy, and to be some equivalent to the crown for its claims, amounted to no considerable sum. The 'thirds' due by the more powerful nobles, especially by such as had embraced the reformation, were almost universally remitted. Others, by producing fraudulent rentals; by estimating the corn, and other payments in kind, at an undervalue; and by the connivance of collectors, greatly diminished the charge against themselves<sup>2</sup>: and the nobles had much reason to be satisfied with a device which, at so small expense, secured to them such valuable possessions.

The protestant clergy no gainers by it.

Nor were the protestant clergy considerable gainers by this new regulation; they found it to be a more easy matter to kindle zeal, than to extinguish avarice. Those very men, whom formerly they had swayed with absolute authority, were now deaf to all their remonstrances. The prior of St. Andrew's, the earl of Argyll, the earl of Morton, and Maitland, all the most zealous leaders of the congregation, were appointed to assign, or, as it was called, to 'modify' their stipends. An hundred merks Scottish was the allowance which their liberality afforded to the generality of ministers. To a few three

<sup>1</sup> Keith, 507. Spotaw. 175.

<sup>2</sup> Keith, Append. 188. Spotaw. 183.

hundred merks were granted<sup>†</sup>. About twenty-four thousand pounds Scottish appears to have been the whole sum allotted for the maintenance of a national church, established by law, and esteemed throughout the kingdom the true church of God<sup>‡</sup>. Even this sum was paid with little exactness, and the ministers were kept in the same poverty and dependence as formerly.

1561.

The gentleness of the queen's administration, and the elegance of her court, had mitigated, in some degree, the ferocity of the nobles, and accustomed them to greater mildness and humanity; while, at the same time, her presence and authority were a check to their factious and tumultuary spirit. But, as a state of order and tranquillity was not natural to the feudal aristocracy; it could not be of long continuance; and this year became remarkable for the most violent eruptions of intestine discord and animosity.

1562.  
Dissensions  
among the  
nobles.

Among the great and independent nobility of Scotland, a monarch could possess little authority, and exercise no extensive or rigorous jurisdiction. The interfering of interest, the unsettled state of property, the frequency of public commotions, and the fierceness of their own manners, sowed among the great families the seeds of many quarrels and contentions. These, as we have already observed, were frequently decided not by law, but by violence. The offended baron, without having recourse to the monarch, or acknowledging his superior authority, assembled his own followers, and invaded the lands of his rival in an hostile manner. Together with his estate and honours, every nobleman transmitted some hereditary feud to his posterity, who were bound in honour to adopt and to prosecute it with unabated rancour.

Such a dissension had subsisted between the house of Hamilton and the earl of Bothwell, and was heightened by mutual injuries during the late commotions<sup>§</sup>.

<sup>†</sup> Knox, 301.<sup>‡</sup> Keith, Append. 188.<sup>§</sup> Keith, 215.

1592. February. The earl of Arran and Bothwell happening to attend the court at the same time, their followers quarrelled frequently in the streets of Edinburgh, and excited dangerous tumults in that city. At last, the mediation of their friends, particularly of Knox, brought about a reconciliation, but an unfortunate one to both these noblemen\*.

A few days after, Arran came to Knox, and, with the utmost terrour and confusion, confessed first to him, and then to the prior of St. Andrew's, that, in order to obtain the sole direction of affairs, Bothwell, and his kinsmen the Hamiltons, had conspired to murder the prior, Maitland, and the other favourites of the queen. The duke of Chatelherault regarded the prior as a rival, who had supplanted him in the queen's favour, and who filled that place at the helm, which he imagined to be due to himself, as first prince of the blood. Bothwell, on account of the personal injuries which he had received from the prior, during the hostile operations of the two contending parties, was no less exasperated against him. But whether he and the Hamiltons had agreed to cement their new alliance with the blood of their common enemy, or whether the conspiracy existed only in the frantic and disordered imagination of the earl of Arran, it is impossible, amidst the contradiction of historians and the defectiveness of records, positively to determine. Among men inflamed with resentment and impatient for revenge, rash expressions might be uttered, and violent and criminal expedients proposed; and, on that foundation, Arran's distempered fancy might rear the whole superstructure of a conspiracy. All the persons accused, denied their guilt with the utmost confidence. But the known characters of the men, and the violent spirit of the age, added greatly to the probability of the accusation, and abundantly justify the conduct of the queen's ministers,

\* Knox, 305.

who confined Bothwell, Arran, and a few of the ring-leaders, in separate prisons, and obliged the duke to surrender the strong castle of Dumbarton, which he had held ever since the time of his resigning the office of regent<sup>1</sup>.

1562.

The designs of the earl of Huntly against the prior of St. Andrew's were deeper laid, and produced more memorable and more tragical events: George Gordon, earl of Huntly, having been one of the nobles who conspired against James the third, and who raised his son, James the fourth, to the throne, enjoyed a great share in the confidence of that generous prince<sup>2</sup>. By his bounty, great accessions of wealth and power were added to a family already opulent and powerful. On the death of that monarch, Alexander, the next earl, being appointed lord-lieutenant of all the counties beyond Forth, left the other nobles to contend for offices at court; and retiring to the north, where his estate and influence lay, resided there in a kind of princely independence. The chieftains, in that part of the kingdom, dreaded the growing dominion of such a dangerous neighbour, but were unable to prevent his encroachments. Some of his rivals he secretly undermined, others he subdued by open force. His estate far exceeded that of any other subject, and his 'superiorities' and jurisdictions extended over many of the northern counties. With power and possessions so extensive, under two long and feeble minorities, and amidst the shock of civil commotions, the earls of Huntly might have indulged the most elevated hopes. But, happily for the crown, an active and enterprising spirit was not the characteristic of that family; and, whatever object their ambition might have in view, they chose rather to acquire it by political address, than to seize it openly, and by force of arms.

The earl of Huntly's enmity to the queen's ministers.

The conduct of George, the present earl, during the

<sup>1</sup> Knox, 307, 308.

<sup>2</sup> Crawford, Officers of State, 56.



1562. late commotions, had been perfectly suitable to the character of the family in that age, dubious, variable, and crafty. While the success of the lords of the congregation was uncertain, he assisted the queen regent in her attempts to crush them. When their affairs put on a better aspect, he pretended to join them, but never heartily favoured their cause. He was courted and feared by each of the contending parties; both connived at his encroachments in the north; and, by artifice and force, which he well knew how to employ alternately, and in their proper places, he added every day to the exorbitant power and wealth which he possessed.

He observed the growing reputation and authority of the prior of St. Andrew's with the greatest jealousy and concern, and considered him as a rival, who had engrossed that share in the queen's confidence, to which his own zeal for the popish religion seemed to give him a preferable title. Personal injuries soon increased the misunderstanding occasioned by rivalry in power. The queen having determined to reward the services of the prior of St. Andrew's, by creating him an earl, she made choice of Mar, as the place whence he should take his title; and, that he might be better able to support his new honour, bestowed upon him, at the same time, the lands of that name. These were part of the royal demesnes<sup>a</sup>, but the earls of Huntly had been permitted, for several years, to keep possession of them<sup>b</sup>. On this occasion the earl not only complained, with some reason, of the loss which he sustained, but had real cause to be alarmed at the intrusion of a formidable neighbour into the heart of his territories, who might be able to rival his power, and excite his oppressed vassals to shake off his yoke.

June 27. An incident, which happened soon after, increased and confirmed Huntly's suspicions. Sir John Gordon,

<sup>a</sup> Crawford. Peer. 297.

<sup>b</sup> Buch. 334.

his third son, and lord Ogilvie, had a dispute about the property of an estate. This dispute became a deadly quarrel. They happened unfortunately to meet in the streets of Edinburgh; and, being both attended with armed followers, a scuffle ensued, in which lord Ogilvie was dangerously wounded by sir John. The magistrates seized both the offenders, and the queen commanded them to be strictly confined. Under any regular government, such a breach of public peace and order would expose the person offending to certain punishment. At this time some severity was necessary, in order to vindicate the queen's authority from an insult, the most heinous which had been offered to it, since her return into Scotland. But, in an age accustomed to license and anarchy, even this moderate exercise of her power, in ordering them to be kept in custody, was deemed an act of intolerable rigour; and the friends of each party began to convene their vassals and dependents, in order to overawe or to frustrate the decisions of justice<sup>c</sup>. Meanwhile, Gordon made his escape out of prison, and flying into Aberdeenshire, complained loudly of the indignity with which he had been treated; and as all the queen's actions were, at this juncture, imputed to the earl of Mar, this added not a little to the resentment which Huntly had conceived against that nobleman.

At the very time when these passions fermented, with August. the utmost violence, in the minds of the earl of Huntly and his family, the queen happened to set out on a progress into the northern parts of the kingdom. She was attended by the earls of Mar and Morton, Maitland, and other leaders of that party. The presence of the queen, in a country where no name greater than the earl of Huntly's had been heard of, and no power superior to his had been exercised, for many years, was an event of itself abundantly mortifying to that haughty

<sup>c</sup> Keith, 223.

1562. nobleman. But while the queen was entirely under the direction of Mar, all her actions were more apt to be misrepresented, and construed into injuries; and a thousand circumstances could not but occur to awaken Huntly's jealousy, to offend his pride, and to inflame his resentment. Amidst the agitations of so many violent passions, some eruption was unavoidable.

On Mary's arrival in the north, Huntly employed his wife, a woman capable of executing the commission with abundance of dexterity, to sooth the queen, and to intercede for pardon to their son. But the queen peremptorily required that he should again deliver himself into the hands of justice, and rely on her clemency. Gordon was persuaded to do so; and being enjoined by the queen to enter himself prisoner in the castle of Stirling, he promised likewise to obey that command. Lord Erskine, Mar's uncle, was at that time governor of this fort. The queen's severity, and the place in which she appointed Gordon to be confined, were interpreted to be new marks of Mar's rancour, and augmented the hatred of the Gordons against him.

Sept. 1.

Meantime, sir John Gordon set out towards Stirling; but, instead of performing his promise to the queen, made his escape from his guards, and returned to take the command of his followers, who were rising in arms all over the north. These were destined to second and improve the blow, by which his father proposed, secretly and at once, to cut off Mar, Morton, and Maitland, his principal adversaries. The time and place for perpetrating this horrid deed were frequently appointed; but the executing of it was wonderfully prevented, by some of those unforeseen accidents, which so often occur to disconcert the schemes, and to intimidate the hearts of assassins<sup>d</sup>. Huntly's own house, at Strathbogie, was the last and most convenient scene appointed for committing the intended violence. But,

<sup>d</sup> Keith, 230.

on her journey thither, the queen heard of young Gordon's flight and rebellion, and refusing, in the first transports of her indignation, to enter under the father's roof, by that fortunate expression of her resentment saved her ministers from unavoidable destruction\*.

1562.

The ill success of these efforts of private revenge precipitated Huntly into open rebellion. As the queen was entirely under the direction of his rivals, it was impossible to compass their ruin, without violating the allegiance which he owed his sovereign. On her arrival at Inverness, the commanding officer in the castle, by Huntly's orders, shut the gates against her. Mary was obliged to lodge in the town, which was open and defenceless; but this too was quickly surrounded by a multitude of the earl's followers†. The utmost consternation seized the queen, who was attended by a very slender train. She every moment expected the approach of the rebels, and some ships were already ordered into the river to secure her escape. The loyalty of the Munroes, Frazers, Mackintoshes, and some neighbouring clans, who took arms in her defence, saved her from this danger. By their assistance, she even forced the castle to surrender, and inflicted on the governor the punishment which his insolence deserved.

Take arms  
against the  
queen.

This open act of disobedience was the occasion of a measure more galling to Huntly than any the queen had hitherto taken. Lord Erskine having pretended a right to the earldom of Mar, Stewart resigned it in his favour; and, at the same time, Mary conferred upon him the title of earl of Murray, with the estate annexed to that dignity, which had been in the possession of the earl of Huntly since the year 1548‡. From this encroachment upon his domains he concluded that his family was devoted to destruction; and, dreading to be stripped gradually of those possessions which, in reward

\* Knox, 318.

† Crawford. Officers of State, 87, 88.

‡ Crawford. Peer. 359

1662. of their services, the gratitude of the crown had bestowed on himself, or his ancestors, he no longer disguised his intentions, but, in defiance of the queen's proclamation, openly took arms. Instead of yielding those places of strength, which Mary required him to surrender, his followers dispersed or cut in pieces the parties which she despatched to take possession of them<sup>b</sup>; and he himself advancing with a considerable body of men towards Aberdeen, to which place the queen was now returned, filled her small court with consternation. Murray had only a handful of men in whom he could confide<sup>i</sup>. In order to form the appearance of an army, he was obliged to call in the assistance of the neighbouring barons; but, as most of these either favoured Huntly's designs, or stood in awe of his power, from them no cordial or effectual service could be expected.

Oct. 28.

With these troops, however, Murray, who could gain nothing by delay, marched briskly towards the enemy. He found them at Corichie, posted to great advantage; he commanded his northern associates instantly to begin the attack; but, on the first motion of the enemy, they treacherously turned their backs; and Huntly's followers, throwing aside their spears, and breaking their ranks, drew their swords, and rushed forward to the pursuit. It was then that Murray gave proof, both of steady courage and of prudent conduct. He stood immovable on a rising ground, with the small but trusty body of his adherents, who, presenting their spears to the enemy, received them with a determined resolution, which they little expected. The Highland broadsword is not a weapon fit to encounter the Scottish spear. In every civil commotion, the superiority of the latter has been evident, and has always decided the contest. On this occasion the irregular attack of Huntly's troops was easily repulsed by Murray's firm battalion. Before they

He is defeated by the earl of Murray.

<sup>b</sup> Knox, 319.

<sup>i</sup> Keith, 230.

recovered from the confusion occasioned by this unforeseen resistance, Murray's northern troops, who had fled so shamefully in the beginning of the action, willing to regain their credit with the victorious party, fell upon them, and completed the rout. Huntly himself, who was extremely corpulent, was trodden to death in the pursuit. His sons, sir John and Adam, were taken, and Murray returned in triumph to Aberdeen with his prisoners. 1562.

The trial of men taken in actual rebellion against their sovereign was extremely short. Three days after the battle, sir John Gordon was beheaded at Aberdeen. His brother Adam was pardoned on account of his youth. Lord Gordon, who had been privy to his father's designs, was seized in the south, and upon trial found guilty of treason; but, through the queen's clemency, the punishment was remitted. The first parliament proceeded against this great family with the utmost rigour of law, and reduced their power and fortune to the lowest ebb<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> This conspiracy of the earl of Huntly is one of the most intricate and mysterious passages in the Scottish history. As it was a transaction purely domestic, and in which the English were little interested, few original papers concerning it have been found in Cecil's Collection, the great storehouse of evidence and information with regard to the affairs of this period.

Buchanan supposes Mary to have formed a design about this time of destroying Murray, and of employing the power of the earl of Huntly for this purpose. But his account of this whole transaction appears to be so void of truth, and even of probability, as to deserve no serious examination. At that time Mary wanted power, and seems to have had no inclination to commit any act of violence upon her brother.

Two other hypotheses have been advanced, in order to explain this matter; but they appear to be equally removed from truth.

I. It cannot well be conceived, that the queen's journey to the north was a scheme concerted by Murray, in order to ruin the earl of Huntly. 1. Huntly had resided at court almost ever since the queen's return. Keith, 198. Append. 175, etc. This was the proper place in which to have seized him. To attack him in Aberdeenshire, the seat of his power, and in the midst of his vassals, was a project equally absurd and hazardous. 2. The queen was not accompanied with a body of troops capable of attempting any thing against Huntly by violence: her train was not more numerous

1562.

An inter-  
view be-  
tween Eli-  
zabeth and  
Mary pro-  
posed.

As the fall of the earl of Huntly is the most important event of this year, it would have been improper to interrupt the narrative by taking notice of lesser transactions, which may now be related with equal propriety.

In the beginning of summer, Mary, who was desirous of entering into a more-intimate correspondence and familiarity with Elizabeth, employed Maitland to desire a personal interview with her, somewhere in the north of England. As this proposal could not be rejected with decency, the time, the place, and the circumstances of the meeting were instantly agreed upon. But Elizabeth was prudent enough not to admit into her kingdom a rival who outshone herself so far in beauty and gracefulness of person; and who excelled so eminently in all the arts of insinuation and address. Under pre-

than was usual in times of greatest tranquillity. Keith, 230. 3. There remain two original letters with regard to this conspiracy; one from Randolph the English resident, and another from Maitland, both directed to Cecil. They talk of Huntly's measures as notoriously treasonable. Randolph mentions his repeated attempts to assassinate Murray, etc. No hint is given of any previous resolution formed by Mary's ministers to ruin Huntly and his family. Had any such design ever existed, it was Randolph's duty to have discovered it; nor would Maitland have laboured to conceal it from the English secretary. Keith, 229. 232.

II. To suppose that the earl of Huntly had laid any plan for seizing the queen and her ministers, seems to be no less improbable. 1. On the queen's arrival in the north, he laboured, in good earnest, to gain her favour, and to obtain a pardon for his son. Knox, 318. 2. He met the queen, first at Aberdeen, and then at Rothemay, whither he would not have ventured to come, had he harboured any such treasonable resolution. Knox, 318. 3. His conduct was irresolute and wavering, like that of a man disconcerted by an unforeseen danger, not like one executing a concerted plan. 4. The most considerable persons of his clan submitted to the queen, and found surety to obey her commands. Keith, 226. Had the earl been previously determined to rise in arms against the queen, or to seize her ministers, it is probable he would have imparted it to his principal followers, nor would they have deserted him in this manner.

For these reasons I have, on the one hand, vindicated the earl of Murray from any deliberate intention of ruining the family of Gordon; and on the other hand, I have imputed the violent conduct of the earl of Huntly to a sudden start of resentment, without charging him with any premeditated purpose of rebellion.

tence of being confined to London, by the attention which she was obliged to give to the civil wars in France, she put off the interview for that season<sup>1</sup>, and prevented her subjects from seeing the Scottish queen, the charms of whose appearance and behaviour she envied, and had some reason to dread.

During this year, the assembly of the church met twice. In both these meetings were exhibited many complaints of the poverty and dependence of the church; and many murmurs against the negligence or avarice of those who had been appointed to collect and to distribute the small fund appropriated for the maintenance of preachers<sup>m</sup>. A petition, craving redress of their grievances, was presented to the queen; but without any effect. There was no reason to expect that Mary would discover any forwardness to grant the requests of such supplicants. As her ministers, though all most zealous protestants, were themselves growing rich on the inheritance of the church, they were equally regardless of the indigence and demands of their brethren.

Mary had now continued above two years in a state of widowhood. Her gentle administration had secured the hearts of her subjects, who were impatient for her marriage, and wished the crown to descend in the right line from their ancient monarchs. She herself was the most amiable woman of the age; and the fame of her accomplishments, together with the favourable circumstance of her having one kingdom already in her possession, and the prospect of mounting the throne of another, prompted many different princes to solicit an alliance so illustrious. Scotland, by its situation, threw so much weight and power into whatever scale it fell, that all Europe waited with solicitude for Mary's determination; and no event in that age excited stronger political fears and jealousies; none interested more

1562.

June 2.  
Decem. 25.

1563.

Negotia-  
tions with  
regard to  
the queen's  
marriage.<sup>1</sup> Keith, 216.<sup>m</sup> Knox, 311. 323.



1663. deeply the passions of several princes, or gave rise to more contradictory intrigues, than the marriage of the Scottish queen.

She is solicited by different princes.

The princes of the house of Austria remembered what vast projects the French had founded on their former alliance with the queen of Scots; and though the unexpected death, first of Henry and then of Francis, had hindered these from taking effect, yet if Mary should again make choice of a husband, among the French princes, the same designs might be revived and prosecuted with better success.

By the archduke Charles.

In order to prevent this, the emperor entered into a negotiation with the cardinal of Lorraine, who had proposed to marry the Scottish queen to the archduke Charles, Ferdinand's third son. The matter was communicated to Mary; and Melvil, who, at that time, attended the elector palatine, was commanded to inquire into the character and situation of the archduke<sup>a</sup>.

By don Carlos of Spain.

Philip the second, though no less apprehensive of Mary's falling once more into the hands of France, envied his uncle Ferdinand the acquisition of so important a prize; and, as his own insatiable ambition grasped at all the kingdoms of Europe, he employed his ambassador at the French court to solicit the princes of Lorraine in behalf of his son don Carlos, at that time the heir of all the extensive dominions which belonged to the Spanish monarchy<sup>b</sup>.

By the duke of Anjou.

Catherine of Medicis, on the other hand, dreaded the marriage of the Scottish queen with any of the Austrian princes, which would have added so much to the power and pretensions of that ambitious race. Her jealousy of the princes of Lorraine rendered her no less averse from an alliance which, by securing to them the protection of the emperor or king of Spain, would give new boldness to their enterprising spirit, and enable

<sup>a</sup> Melv. 63. 65. Keith, 239. See Append. No. VII.

<sup>b</sup> Casteln. 481. Addit. a Labour. 501. 503.

them to set the power of the crown, which they already rivalled, at open defiance: and, as she was afraid that these splendid proposals of the Austrian family would dazzle the young queen, she instantly despatched Castelnau into Scotland, to offer her in marriage the duke of Anjou, the brother of her former husband, who soon after mounted the throne of France<sup>p</sup>. 1563.

Mary attentively weighed the pretensions of so many rivals. The archduke had little to recommend him but his high birth. The example of Henry the eighth<sup>q</sup> was a warning against contracting a marriage with the brother of her former husband; and she could not bear the thoughts of appearing in France, in a rank inferior to that which she had formerly held in that kingdom. She listened, therefore, with partiality, to the Spanish propositions, and the prospect of such vast power and dominions flattered the ambition of a young and aspiring princess.

Three several circumstances, however, concurred to divert Mary from any thoughts of a foreign alliance.

The first of these was the murder of her uncle, the duke of Guise. The violence and ambition of that nobleman had involved his country in a civil war; which was conducted with furious animosity and various success. At last the duke laid siege to Orleans, the bulwark of the protestant cause; and he had reduced that city to the last extremity, when he was assassinated by the frantic zeal of Poltrot. This blow proved fatal to the queen of Scots. The young duke was a minor; and the cardinal of Lorraine, though subtle and intriguing, wanted that undaunted and enterprising courage, which rendered the ambition of his brother so formidable. Catherine, instead of encouraging the ambition or furthering the pretensions of her daughter-in-law, took pleasure in mortifying the one, and in disappointing the other. In this situation, and without such

<sup>p</sup> Casteln. 461.

1563. a protector, it became necessary for Mary to contract her views, and to proceed with caution; and, whatever prospect of advantage might allure her, she could venture upon no dangerous or doubtful measure.

The views of Elizabeth.

The second circumstance which weighed with Mary, was the opinion of the queen of England. The marriage of the Scottish queen interested Elizabeth more deeply than any other prince; and she observed all her deliberations concerning it with the most anxious attention. She herself seems early to have formed a resolution of living unmarried, and she discovered no small inclination to impose the same law on the queen of Scots. She had already experienced what use might be made of Mary's power and pretensions to invade her dominions, and to disturb her possession of the crown. The death of Francis the second had happily delivered her from this danger, which she determined to guard against for the future with the utmost care. As the restless ambition of the Austrian princes, the avowed and bigoted patrons of the catholic superstition, made her, in a particular manner, dread their neighbourhood, she instructed Randolph to remonstrate, in the strongest terms, against any alliance with them; and to acquaint Mary, that, as she herself would consider such a match to be a breach of the personal friendship in which they were so happily united; so the English nation would regard it as the dissolution of that confederacy which now subsisted between the two kingdoms; that, in order to preserve their own religion and liberties, they would, in all probability, take some step prejudicial to her right of succession, which, as she well knew, they neither wanted power nor pretences to invalidate and set aside. This threatening was accompanied with a promise, but expressed in very ambiguous terms, that if Mary's choice of a husband should prove agreeable to the English nation, Elizabeth would appoint proper persons to examine her title to the succession, and, if well founded, command it to be pub-

licly recognised. She observed, however, a mysterious silence concerning the person on whom she wished the choice of the Scottish queen to fall. The revealing of this secret was reserved for some future negotiation. Meanwhile, she threw out some obscure hints, that a native of Britain, or one not of princely rank, would be her safest and most inoffensive choice<sup>1</sup>. An advice, offered with such an air of superiority and command, mortified, no doubt, the pride of the Scottish queen. But, under her present circumstances, she was obliged to bear this indignity. Destitute of all foreign assistance, and intent upon the English succession, the great object of her wishes and ambition, it became necessary to court a rival, whom, without manifest imprudence, she could not venture to offend.

The inclination of her own subjects was another, and not the least considerable circumstance, which called for Mary's attention at this conjuncture. They had been taught, by the fatal experiment of her former marriage, to dread an union with any great prince, whose power might be employed to oppress their religion and liberties. They trembled at the thoughts of a match with a foreigner; and, if the crown should be strengthened by new dominions or alliances, they foresaw that the royal prerogative would soon be stretched beyond its ancient and legal limits. Their eagerness to prevent this could hardly fail of throwing them once more into the arms of England. Elizabeth would be ready to afford them her aid towards obstructing a measure so disagreeable to herself. It was easy for them to seize the person of the sovereign. By the assistance of the English fleet, they could render it difficult for any foreign prince to land in Scotland. The Roman catholics, now an inconsiderable party in the kingdom, and dispirited by the loss of the earl of Huntly, could give no obstruction to their designs. To what violent extremes

<sup>1</sup> Keith, 242. 245.

1563. the national abhorrence of a foreign yoke might have been carried, is manifest from what she had already seen and experienced.

For these reasons Mary laid aside, at that time, all thoughts of foreign alliance, and seemed willing to sacrifice her own ambition, in order to remove the jealousies of Elizabeth, and to quiet the fears of her own subjects.

A parliament held, May 26.

The parliament met this year, for the first time since the queen's return into Scotland. Mary's administration had hitherto been extremely popular. Her ministers possessed the confidence of the nation; and, by consequence, the proceedings of that assembly were conducted with perfect unanimity. The grant of the earldom of Murray to the prior of St. Andrew's was confirmed: the earl of Huntly, and several of his vassals and dependents, were attainted: the attainder against Kirkaldy of Grange, and some of his accomplices in the murder of cardinal Beatoun, was reversed<sup>†</sup>: the act of oblivion, mentioned in the treaty of Edinburgh, received the royal sanction. But Mary, who had determined never to ratify that treaty, took care that this sanction should not be deemed any acknowledgment of its validity; she granted her consent merely in condescension to the lords in parliament, who, on their knees, besought her to allay the jealousies and apprehensions of her subjects by such a gracious law<sup>‡</sup>.

Nothing determined with regard to religion;

No attempt was made, in this parliament, to procure the queen's assent to the laws establishing the protestant religion. Her ministers, though zealous protestants themselves, were aware that this could not be urged without manifest danger and imprudence. She had consented, through their influence, to tolerate and protect the reformed doctrine. They had even prevailed on her to imprison and prosecute the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and prior of Whithorn, for celebrating mass

<sup>†</sup> Knox, 330.

<sup>‡</sup> Parl. 9. Q. Mary, c. 67. Spotsw. 168.

contrary to her proclamation<sup>†</sup>. Mary, however, was still passionately devoted to the Romish church; and though, from political motives, she had granted a temporary protection of opinions which she disapproved, there were no grounds to hope that she would agree to establish them for perpetuity. The moderation of those who professed it, was the best method for reconciling the queen to the protestant religion. Time might abate her bigotry. Her prejudices might wear off gradually, and at last she might yield to the wishes of her people, what their importunity or their violence could never have extorted. Many laws of importance were to be proposed in parliament; and to defeat all these, by such a fruitless and ill-timed application to the queen, would have been equally injurious to individuals and detrimental to the public.

1563.

The zeal of the protestant clergy was deaf to all these considerations of prudence or policy. Eager and impatient, it brooked no delay: severe and inflexible, it would condescend to no compliances. The leading men of that order insisted, that this opportunity of establishing religion by law was not to be neglected. They pronounced the moderation of the courtiers, apostacy; and their endeavours to gain the queen, they reckoned criminal and servile. Knox solemnly renounced the friendship of the earl of Murray, as a man devoted to Mary, and so blindly zealous for her service, as to become regardless of those objects which he had hitherto esteemed most sacred. This rupture, which is a strong proof of Murray's sincere attachment to the queen at that period, continued above a year and an half<sup>‡</sup>.

The preachers being disappointed by the men in whom they placed the greatest confidence, gave vent to their indignation in their pulpits. These echoed more loudly than ever with declamations against idolatry; with dismal presages concerning the queen's marriage

<sup>†</sup> Keith, 239.

<sup>‡</sup> Knox, 331.

1663. with a foreigner; and with bitter reproaches against those who, from interested motives, had deserted that cause which they once reckoned it their honour to support. The people, inflamed by such vehement declamations, which were dictated by a zeal more sincere than prudent, proceeded to rash and unjustifiable acts of violence. During the queen's absence, on a progress into the west, mass continued to be celebrated in her chapel at Holyrood house. The multitude of those who openly resorted thither, gave great offence to the citizens of Edinburgh, who, being free from the restraint which the royal presence imposed, assembled in a riotous manner, interrupted the service, and filled such as were present with the utmost consternation. Two of the ringleaders in this tumult were seized, and a day appointed for their trial\*.

and occasions a tumult among the people.

August.

Knox tried on that account, but acquitted. October 8.

Dec. 15.

Knox, who deemed the zeal of these persons laudable, and their conduct meritorious, considered them as sufferers in a good cause; and in order to screen them from danger, he issued circular letters, requiring all who professed the true religion, or were concerned for the preservation of it, to assemble at Edinburgh, on the day of trial, that by their presence they might comfort and assist their distressed brethren<sup>y</sup>. One of these letters fell into the queen's hands. To assemble the subjects without the authority of the sovereign, was construed to be treason, and a resolution was taken to prosecute Knox for that crime, before the privy council. Happily for him, his judges were not only zealous protestants, but the very men who, during the late commotions, had openly resisted and set at defiance the queen's authority. It was under precedents drawn from their own conduct that Knox endeavoured to shelter himself. Nor would it have been an easy matter for these counsellors to have found out a distinction, by which they could censure him without condemning

\* Knox, 335.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid. 336.

themselves. After a long hearing, to the astonishment of Lethington and the other courtiers<sup>a</sup>, he was unanimously acquitted. Sinclair, bishop of Ross, and president of the court of session, a zealous papist, heartily concurred with the other counsellors in this decision<sup>a</sup>; a remarkable fact, which shows the unsettled state of government in that age; the low condition to which regal authority was then sunk; and the impunity with which subjects might invade those rights of the crown which are now held sacred. 1563.

The marriage of the Scottish queen continued still to be the object of attention and intrigue. Though Elizabeth, even while she wished to direct Mary, treated her with a disgustful reserve; though she kept her, without necessity, in a state of suspense; and hinted often at the person whom she destined to be her husband, without directly mentioning his name; yet Mary framed all her actions to express such a prudent respect for the English queen, that foreign princes began to imagine she had given herself up implicitly to her direction<sup>b</sup>. The prospect of this union alarmed Catherine of Medicis. Though Catherine had taken pleasure all along in doing ill offices to the queen of Scots; though, soon after the duke of Guise's death, she had put upon her a most mortifying indignity, by stopping the payment of her dowry, by depriving her subject, the duke of Chatelherault, of his pension, and by bestowing the command of the Scottish guards on a Frenchman<sup>c</sup>; she resolved, however, to prevent this dangerous conjunction of the British queens. For this purpose she now employed all her art to appease Mary<sup>d</sup>, to whom she had given so many causes of offence. The arrears of her dowry were instantly paid; more punctual remittances were promised for the future; and

1564.

Negotiations with regard to the queen's marriage.

<sup>a</sup> Calderw. Manuscript Hist. i. 832.

<sup>a</sup> Knox, 343.

<sup>b</sup> Keith, 248.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. 244.

<sup>d</sup> See Append. No. VIII.



1564. offers made, not only to restore but to extend the privileges of the Scottish nation in France. It was easy for Mary to penetrate into the motives of this sudden change; she well knew the character of her mother-in-law, and laid little stress upon professions of friendship, which came from a princess of such a false and unfeeling heart.

March.  
Elizabeth  
recom-  
mends Lei-  
cester to  
her for a  
husband.

The negotiation with England, relative to the marriage, suffered no interruption from this application of the French queen. As Mary, in compliance with the wishes of her subjects, and pressed by the strongest motives of interest, determined speedily to marry, Elizabeth was obliged to break that unaccountable silence which she had hitherto affected. The secret was disclosed, and her favourite lord Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester, was declared to be the happy man whom she had chosen to be the husband of a queen courted by so many princes\*.

Elizabeth's wisdom and penetration were remarkable in the choice of her ministers; in distinguishing her favourites, those great qualities were less conspicuous. She was influenced in two cases so opposite, by merit of very different kinds. Their capacity for business, their knowledge, their prudence, were the talents to which alone she attended in choosing her ministers; whereas beauty and gracefulness of person, polished manners, and courtly address, were the accomplishments on which she bestowed her favour. She acted in the one case with the wisdom of a queen, in the other she discovered the weakness of a woman. To this Leicester owed his grandeur. Though remarkable neither for eminence in virtue, nor superiority of abilities, the queen's partiality distinguished him on every occasion. She raised him to the highest honours, she bestowed on him the most important employments, and manifested

\* Keith, 251.

an affection so disproportionate to his merit, that, in the opinion of that age, it could be accounted for only by the power of planetary influence <sup>f</sup>. 1564.

The high spirit of the Scottish queen could not well bear the first overture of a match with a subject. Her own rank, the splendour of her former marriage, and the solicitations at this time of so many powerful princes, crowded into her thoughts, and made her sensibly feel how humbling and disrespectful Elizabeth's proposal was. She dissembled, however, with the English resident; and, though she declared, in strong terms, what a degradation she would deem this alliance, which brought along with it no advantage that could justify such neglect of her own dignity, she mentioned the earl of Leicester, notwithstanding, in terms full of respect<sup>g</sup>.

Elizabeth, we may presume, did not wish that the proposal should be received in any other manner. After the extraordinary marks she had given of her own attachment to Leicester, and while he was still in the very height of favour, it is not probable she could think seriously of bestowing him upon another. It was not her aim to persuade, but only to amuse Mary<sup>h</sup>. Almost three years were elapsed since her return into Scotland; and, though solicited by her subjects, and courted by the greatest princes in Europe, she had hitherto been prevented from marrying, chiefly by the artifices of Elizabeth. If at this time the English queen could have engaged Mary to listen to her proposal in favour of Leicester, her power over this creature of her own would have enabled her to protract the negotiation at pleasure; and, by keeping her rival unmarried, she would have rendered the prospect of her succession less acceptable to the English.

Leicester's own situation was extremely delicate and embarrassing. To gain possession of the most amiable woman of the age, to carry away this prize from so

<sup>f</sup> Camden, 549.

<sup>g</sup> Keith, 252.

<sup>h</sup> Melv. 104, 106.

1564. many contending princes, to mount the throne of an ancient kingdom, might have flattered the ambition of a subject much more considerable than him. He saw all these advantages, no doubt; and, in secret, they made their full impression on him. But, without offending Elizabeth, he durst not venture on the most distant discovery of his sentiments, or take any step towards facilitating his acquisition of objects so worthy of desire.

On the other hand, Elizabeth's partiality towards him, which she was at no pains to conceal<sup>i</sup>, might inspire him with hopes of attaining the supreme rank in a kingdom more illustrious than Scotland. Elizabeth had often declared that nothing but her resolution to lead a single life, and his being born her own subject, would have hindered her from choosing the earl of Leicester for a husband. Such considerations of prudence are, however, often surmounted by love; and Leicester might flatter himself, that the violence of her affection would, at length, triumph both over the maxims of policy and the scruples of pride. These hopes induced him, now and then, to conclude the proposal of his marriage with the Scottish queen to be a project for his destruction; and he imputed it to the malice of Cecil, who, under the specious pretence of doing him honour, intended to ruin him in the good opinion both of Elizabeth and Mary<sup>k</sup>.

A treaty of marriage, proposed by one queen, who dreaded its success; listened to by another, who was secretly determined against it; and scarcely desired by the man himself, whose interest and reputation it was calculated, in appearance, to promote; could not, under so many unfavourable circumstances, be brought to a fortunate issue. Both Elizabeth and Mary continued, however, to act with equal dissimulation. The former, notwithstanding her fears of losing Leicester, solicited warmly in his behalf. The latter, though she began

<sup>i</sup> Melv. 93, 94.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. 101.

about this time to cast her eyes upon another subject of England, did not at once venture finally to reject Elizabeth's favourite. 1564.

The person towards whom Mary began to turn her thoughts, was Henry Stewart lord Darnly, eldest son of the earl of Lennox. That nobleman, having been driven out of Scotland, under the regency of the duke of Chatelherault, had lived in banishment for twenty years. His wife, lady Margaret Douglas, was Mary's most dangerous rival in her claim upon the English succession. She was the daughter of Margaret, the eldest sister of Henry the eighth, by the earl of Angus, whom that queen married after the death of her husband, James the fourth. In that age, the right and order of succession was not settled with the same accuracy as at present. Time, and the decision of almost every case that can possibly happen, have at last introduced certainty into a matter, which naturally is subject to all the variety arising from the caprice of lawyers, guided by obscure and often imaginary analogies. The countess of Lennox, though born of a second marriage, was one degree nearer the royal blood of England than Mary. She was the daughter, Mary only the granddaughter, of Margaret. This was not the only advantage over Mary which the countess of Lennox enjoyed. She was born in England, and, by a maxim of law in that country, with regard to private inheritances, "whoever is not born in England, or at least of parents who, at the time of his birth, were in the obedience of the king of England, cannot enjoy any inheritance in the kingdom!" This maxim, Hales, an English lawyer, produced in a treatise which he published at this time, and endeavoured to apply it to the right of succession to the crown. In a private cause these pretexts might have given rise to a long and doubtful litigation; where a crown was at stake, such nice disputes and subtilities

<sup>1</sup> Carte, Hist. of Eng. vol. iii. 422.

1564. were to be avoided with the utmost care. If Darnly should happen to contract an alliance with any of the powerful families in England, or should publicly profess the protestant religion, these plausible and popular topics might be so urged, as to prove fatal to the pretensions of a foreigner and of a papist.

Mary was aware of all this; and, in order to prevent any danger from that quarter, had early endeavoured to cultivate a friendly correspondence with the family of Lennox. In the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-two<sup>m</sup>, both the earl and the lady Margaret were taken into custody by Elizabeth's orders, on account of their holding a secret correspondence with the Scottish queen.

Elizabeth  
secretly  
pleased  
with this.

From the time that Mary became sensible of the difficulties which would attend her marrying a foreign prince, she entered into a still closer connexion with the earl of Lennox<sup>n</sup>, and invited him to return into Scotland. This she endeavoured to conceal from Elizabeth; but a transaction of so much importance did not escape the notice of that discerning princess. She observed, but did not interrupt it. Nothing could fall in more perfectly with her views concerning Scottish affairs. She was pleased to see the pride of the Scottish queen stoop at last to the thoughts of taking a subject to her bed. Darnly was in no situation to excite her jealousy or her fears. His father's estate lay in England, and, by means of this pledge, she hoped to keep the negotiation entirely in her own hands, to play the same game of artifice and delay, which she had planned out, if her recommendation of Leicester had been more favourably received.

As, before the union of the two crowns, no subject of one kingdom could pass into the other without the permission of both sovereigns; no sooner did Lennox, under pretence of prosecuting his wife's claim upon the

<sup>m</sup> Camd. 389.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. 396.

earldom of Angus, apply to Elizabeth for her license to go into Scotland, than he obtained it. Together with it, she gave him letters, warmly recommending his person and cause to Mary's friendship and protection<sup>o</sup>. But, at the same time, as it was her manner to involve all her transactions with regard to Scotland in some degree of perplexity and contradiction, she warned Mary, that this indulgence of Lennox might prove fatal to herself, as his return could not fail of reviving the ancient animosity between him and the house of Hamilton.

1564.

This admonition gave umbrage to Mary, and drew from her an angry reply, which occasioned for some time a total interruption of all correspondence between the two queens<sup>p</sup>. Mary was not a little alarmed at this; she both dreaded the effects of Elizabeth's resentment, and felt sensibly the disadvantage of being excluded from a free intercourse with England, where her ambassadors had all along carried on, with some success, secret negotiations, which increased the number of her partisans, and paved her way towards the throne. In order to remove the causes of the present difficulty, Melvil was sent express to the court of England. He found it no difficult matter to bring about a reconciliation; and soon reestablished the appearance, but not the confidence of friendship, which was all that had subsisted for some time between the two queens.

During this negotiation, Elizabeth's professions of love to Mary, and Melvil's replies in the name of his mistress, were made in the language of the warmest and most cordial friendship. But what Melvil truly observes with respect to Elizabeth, may be extended, without injustice, to both queens. "There was neither plaindealing, nor upright meaning, but great dissimulation, envy, and fear<sup>q</sup>."

Lennox  
arrives in  
Scotland.

Lennox, however, in consequence of the license

<sup>o</sup> Keith, 255. 268.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid. 253. Melv. 83.

<sup>q</sup> Melv. 104.

1564. which he had obtained, set out for Scotland, and was received by the queen, not only with the respect due to a nobleman so nearly allied to the royal family, but treated with a distinguished familiarity, which could not fail of inspiring him with more elevated hopes. The rumour of his son's marriage to the queen began to spread over the kingdom; and the eyes of all Scotland were turned upon him, as the father of their future master. The duke of Chatelherault was the first to take the alarm. He considered Lennox as the ancient and hereditary enemy of the house of Hamilton; and, in his grandeur, saw the ruin of himself and his friends. But the queen interposed her authority to prevent any violent rupture, and employed all her influence to bring about an accommodation of the differences<sup>r</sup>.

The powerful family of Douglas no less dreaded Lennox's return, from an apprehension that he would wrest the earldom of Angus out of their hands. But the queen, who well knew how dangerous it would be to irritate Morton, and other great men of that name, prevailed on Lennox to purchase their friendship by allowing his lady's claim upon the earldom of Angus to drop<sup>s</sup>.

December. After these preliminary steps, Mary ventured to call a meeting of parliament. The act of forfeiture passed against Lennox in the year one thousand five hundred and forty-five was repealed, and he was publicly restored to the honours and estate of his ancestors<sup>t</sup>.

June 25.  
Dec. 25.  
The clergy suspicious of the queen's zeal for popery.

The ecclesiastical transactions of this year were not considerable. In the assemblies of the church, the same complaints of the increase of idolatry, the same representations concerning the poverty of the clergy, were renewed. The reply which the queen made to these, and her promises of redress, were more satisfying to the protestants than any they had hitherto obtained<sup>u</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> Keith, 259.

<sup>s</sup> See Append. No. IX.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid. 268. note (b).

<sup>u</sup> Keith, 533. 539.

But, notwithstanding her declarations in their favour, they could not help harbouring many suspicions concerning Mary's designs against their religion. She had never once consented to hear any preacher of the reformed doctrine. She had abated nothing of her bigoted attachment to the Romish faith. The genius of that superstition, averse at all times from toleration, was in that age fierce and unrelenting. Mary had given her friends on the continent repeated assurances of her resolution to reestablish the catholic church<sup>x</sup>. She had industriously avoided every opportunity of ratifying the acts of parliament, one thousand five hundred and sixty, in favour of the reformation. Even the protection which, ever since her return, she had afforded the protestant religion, was merely temporary, and declared, by her own proclamation, to be of force only "till she should take some final order in the matter of religion<sup>y</sup>." The vigilant zeal of the preachers was inattentive to none of these circumstances. The coldness of their principal leaders, who were at this time entirely devoted to the court, added to their jealousies and fears. These they uttered to the people, in language which they deemed suitable to the necessity of the times, and which the queen reckoned disrespectful and insolent. In a meeting of the general assembly, Maitland publicly accused Knox of teaching seditious doctrine, concerning the right of subjects to resist those sovereigns who trespass against the duty which they owe to the people. Knox was not backward to justify what he had taught; and upon this general doctrine of resistance, so just in its own nature, but so delicate in its application to particular cases, there ensued a debate, which admirably displays the talents and character of both the disputants; the acuteness of the former, embellished with learning, but prone to subtilty; the vigorous understanding of the latter, delighting in bold sentiments, and superior to all fear<sup>z</sup>.

1564.

<sup>x</sup> Carte, vol. iii. 415.<sup>y</sup> Keith, 504. 510.<sup>z</sup> Knox, 349.



1565. **Two years had already been consumed in fruitless negotiations concerning the marriage of the Scottish queen. Mary had full leisure and opportunity to discern the fallacy and deceit of all Elizabeth's proceedings with respect to it. But, in order to set the real intentions of the English queen in a clear light, and to bring her to some explicit declaration of her sentiments, Mary at last intimated to Randolph, that, on condition her right of succession to the crown of England were publicly acknowledged, she was ready to yield to the solicitations of his mistress in behalf of Leicester<sup>a</sup>. Nothing could be farther than this from the mind and intention of Elizabeth. The right of succession was a mystery, which, during her whole reign, her jealousy preserved untouched and unexplained. She had promised, however, when she first began to interest herself in the marriage of the Scottish queen, all that was now demanded. How to retreat with decency, how to elude her former offer, was, on that account, not a little perplexing.**

Dissimulation both of Elizabeth and Mary, with regard to her marriage. Feb. 5.

The facility with which lord Darnly obtained permission to visit the court of Scotland, was owing, in all probability, to that embarrassment. From the time of Melvil's embassy, the countess of Lennox had warmly solicited this liberty for her son. Elizabeth was no stranger to the ambitious hopes with which that young nobleman flattered himself. She had received repeated advices from her ministers of the sentiments which Mary began to entertain in his favour<sup>b</sup>. It was entirely in her power to prevent his stirring out of London. In the present conjuncture, however, nothing could be of more advantage to her than Darnly's journey into Scotland. She had already brought one actor upon the stage, who, under her management, had, for a long time, amused the Scottish queen. She hoped, no less absolutely, to direct the motions of Darnly, who was

<sup>a</sup> Keith, 269.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. 259. 261. 266.

likewise her subject; and again to involve Mary in all the tedious intricacies of negotiation. These motives determined Elizabeth and her ministers to yield to the solicitations of the countess of Lennox. 1565.

But this deep-laid scheme was in a moment discontinued. Such unexpected events, as the fancy of poets ascribes to love, are sometimes really produced by that passion. An affair which had been the object of so many political intrigues, and had moved and interested so many princes, was at last decided by the sudden liking of two young persons. Lord Darnly was at this time in the first bloom and vigour of youth. In beauty and gracefulness of person he surpassed all his contemporaries; he excelled eminently in such arts as add ease and elegance to external form, and which enable it not only to dazzle but to please. Mary was of an age, and of a temper, to feel the full power of these accomplishments. The impression which lord Darnly made upon her was visible from the time of their first interview. The whole business of the court was to amuse and entertain this illustrious guest<sup>c</sup>; and in all those scenes of gaiety, Darnly, whose qualifications were altogether superficial and showy, appeared to great advantage. His conquest of the queen's heart became complete; and inclination now prompted her to conclude a marriage, the first thoughts of which had been suggested by considerations merely political. Darnly arrives in Scotland.  
Gains the queen's heart.  
Feb. 13.

Elizabeth contributed, and perhaps not without design, to increase the violence of this passion. Soon after Darnly's arrival in Scotland, she, in return to that message whereby Mary had signified her willingness to accept of Leicester, gave an answer in such terms as plainly unravelled her original intention in that intrigue<sup>d</sup>. She promised, if the Scottish queen's marriage with Leicester should take place, to advance him to great honours; but, with regard to Mary's title

<sup>c</sup> Knox, 369.

<sup>d</sup> Keith, 270. Append. 158.

1565. to the English succession, she would neither suffer any legal inquiry to be made concerning it, nor permit it to be publicly recognised, until she herself should declare her resolution never to marry. Notwithstanding Elizabeth's former promises, Mary had reason to expect every thing contained in this reply; her high spirit, however, could not bear with patience such a cruel discovery of the contempt, the artifice, and mockery, with which, under the veil of friendship, she had been so long abused. She burst into tears of indignation, and expressed, with the utmost bitterness, her sense of that disingenuous craft which had been employed to deceive her<sup>e</sup>.

The natural effect of this indignation was to add to the impetuosity with which she pursued her own scheme. Blinded by resentment, as well as by love, she observed no defects in the man whom she had chosen; and began to take the necessary steps towards accomplishing her design, with all the impatience natural to those passions.

As Darnly was so nearly related to the queen, the canon law made it necessary to obtain the pope's dispensation before the celebration of the marriage. For this purpose she early set on foot a negotiation with the court of Rome<sup>f</sup>.

The French court approve of the match.

She was busy, at the same time, in procuring the consent of the French king and his mother. Having communicated her design, and the motives which determined her choice, to Castelnau, the French ambassador, she employed him, as the most proper person, to bring his court to fall in with her views. Among other arguments to this purpose, Castelnau mentioned Mary's attachment to Darnly, which he represented to be so violent and deep-rooted, that it was no longer in her own power to break off the match<sup>g</sup>. Nor were the French ministers backward in encouraging Mary's pas-

<sup>e</sup> Keith, Append. 159.

<sup>f</sup> Camd. 396.

<sup>g</sup> Casteln. 464.

sion. Her pride would never stoop to an alliance with a subject of France. By this choice they were delivered from the apprehension of a match with any of the Austrian princes, as well as the danger of too close an union with Elizabeth; and as Darnly professed the Roman catholic religion, this suited the bigoted schemes which that court adopted. 1665.

While Mary was endeavouring to reconcile foreign courts to a measure which she had so much at heart, Darnly and his father, by their behaviour, were raising up enemies at home to obstruct it. Lennox had, during the former part of his life, discovered no great compass of abilities or political wisdom; and appears to have been a man of a weak understanding and violent passions. Darnly was not superior to his father in understanding, and all his passions were still more impetuous<sup>b</sup>. To these he added that insolence, which the advantage of external form, when accompanied with no quality more valuable, is apt to inspire. Intoxicated with the queen's favour, he began already to assume the haughtiness of a king, and to put on that imperious air, which majesty itself can scarce render tolerable.

It was by the advice, or at least with the consent, of Murray and his party, that Lennox had been invited into Scotland<sup>1</sup>: and yet, no sooner did he acquire a firm footing in that kingdom, than he began to enter into secret cabals with those noblemen who were known to be avowed enemies to Murray, and, with regard to religion, to be either neutrals, or favourers of popery<sup>k</sup>. Darnly, still more imprudent, allowed some rash expressions concerning those favours which the queen's bounty had conferred upon Murray to escape him<sup>l</sup>.

But, above all these, the familiarity which Darnly cultivated with David Rizio, contributed to increase the suspicion and disgust of the nobles.

<sup>b</sup> Keith, 272, 273.

<sup>k</sup> Keith, 272.

<sup>l</sup> Knox, 367. Keith, 274.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 274.

1565.

The rise of  
Rizio's fa-  
vour.

The low birth and indigent condition of this man placed him in a station in which he ought naturally to have remained unknown to posterity. But what fortune called him to act and to suffer in Scotland, obliges history to descend from its dignity, and to record his adventures. He was the son of a musician in Turin, and, having accompanied the Piedmontese ambassador into Scotland, gained admission into the queen's family by his skill in music. As his dependent condition had taught him suppleness of spirit and insinuating manners, he quickly crept into the queen's favour, and her French secretary happening to return at that time into his own country, was preferred by her to that office. He now began to make a figure in court, and to appear as a man of consequence. The whole train of suitors and expectants, who have an extreme sagacity in discovering the paths which lead most directly to success, applied to him. His recommendations were observed to have great influence over the queen, and he grew to be considered not only as a favourite, but as a minister. Nor was Rizio careful to abate that envy which always attends such an extraordinary and rapid change of fortune. He studied, on the contrary, to display the whole extent of his favour. He affected to talk often and familiarly with the queen in public. He equalled the greatest and most opulent subjects, in richness of dress, and in the number of his attendants. He discovered, in all his behaviour, that assuming insolence, with which unmerited prosperity inspires an ignoble mind. It was with the utmost indignation that the nobles beheld the power, it was with the utmost difficulty that they tolerated the arrogance, of this unworthy minion. Even in the queen's presence they could not forbear treating him with marks of contempt. Nor was it his exorbitant power alone which exasperated the Scots. They considered him, and not without reason, as a dangerous enemy to the protestant religion, and suspected that he held, for

this purpose, a secret correspondence with the court of Rome<sup>m</sup>. 1565.

It was Darnly's misfortune to fall under the management of this man, who, by flattery and assiduity, easily gained on his vanity and inexperience. All Rizio's influence with the queen was employed in his behalf, and contributed, without doubt, towards establishing him more firmly in her affections<sup>n</sup>. But whatever benefit Darnly might reap from his patronage, it did not counterbalance the contempt, and even infamy, to which he was exposed, on account of his familiarity with such an upstart.

Though Darnly daily made progress in the queen's affections, she conducted herself, however, with such prudent reserve, as to impose on Randolph, the English resident, a man otherwise shrewd and penetrating. It appears from his letters at this period, that he entertained not the least suspicion of the intrigue which was carrying on; and gave his court repeated assurances, that the Scottish queen had no design of marrying Darnly<sup>o</sup>. In the midst of this security, Mary despatched Maitland to signify her intention to Elizabeth, and to solicit her consent to the marriage with Darnly. This embassy was the first thing which opened the eyes of Randolph.

Elizabeth affected the greatest surprise at this sudden resolution of the Scottish queen, but without reason. The train was laid by herself, and she had no cause to wonder when it took effect. She expressed at the same time her disapprobation of the match, in the strongest terms; and pretended to foresee many dangers and inconveniencies arising from it, to both kingdoms. But this too was mere affectation. Mary had often and plainly declared her resolution to marry. It was impossible she could make any choice more inoffensive. The danger of introducing a foreign interest

Darnly's connexion with him.

April 18. Elizabeth declares against the queen's marriage with Darnly.

<sup>m</sup> Buchan. 340. Melv. 107.  
<sup>o</sup> Keith, 273, and Append. 159.

<sup>n</sup> Melv. 111.

1565. into Britain, which Elizabeth had so justly dreaded, was entirely avoided. Darnly, though allied to both crowns, and possessed of lands in both kingdoms, could be formidable to neither. It is evident from all these circumstances, that Elizabeth's apprehensions of danger could not possibly be serious; and that in all her violent declarations against Darnly, there was much more of grimace than of reality<sup>†</sup>.

There were not wanting, however, political motives of much weight, to induce that artful princess to put on the appearance of great displeasure. Mary, intimidated by this, might, perhaps, delay her marriage; which Elizabeth desired to obstruct with a weakness that little suited the dignity of her mind and the elevation of her character. Besides, the tranquillity of her own kingdom was the great object of Elizabeth's policy; and, by declaring her dissatisfaction with Mary's conduct, she hoped to alarm that party in Scotland, which was attached to the English interest, and to encourage such of the nobles as secretly disapproved the match, openly to oppose it. The seeds of discord would, by this means, be scattered through that kingdom. Intestine commotions might arise. Amidst these, Mary could form none of those dangerous schemes to which the union of her people might have prompted her. Elizabeth would become the umpire between the Scottish queen and her contending subjects; and England might look on with security, while a storm which she had raised, wasted the only kingdom which could possibly disturb its peace.

May 1. In prosecution of this scheme, she laid before her

<sup>†</sup> Even the historians of that age acknowledge, that the marriage of the Scottish queen with a subject was far from being disagreeable to Elizabeth. Knox, 369. 373. Buchan. 339. Castelnau, who at that time was well acquainted with the intrigues of both the British courts, asserts, upon grounds of great probability, that the match was wholly Elizabeth's own work; Casteln. 462.; and that she rejoiced at the accomplishment of it, appears from the letters of her own ambassadors. Keith, 280. 288.

privy council the message from the Scottish queen, and consulted them with regard to the answer she should return. Their determination, it is easy to conceive, was perfectly conformable to her secret views. They drew up a remonstrance against the intended match, full of the imaginary dangers with which that event threatened the kingdom<sup>9</sup>. Nor did she think it enough to signify her disapprobation of the measure, either by Maitland, Mary's ambassador, or by Randolph, her own resident in Scotland; in order to add more dignity to the farce which she chose to act, she appointed sir Nicholas Throkmorton her ambassador extraordinary. She commanded him to declare, in the strongest terms, her dissatisfaction with the step which Mary proposed to take; and, at the same time, to produce the determination of the privy council as an evidence that the sentiments of the nation were not different from her own. Not long after, she confined the countess of Lennox as a prisoner, first in her own house, and then sent her to the tower<sup>10</sup>.

1565.

Sends  
Throk-  
morton to  
obstruct it.

Intelligence of all this reached Scotland before the arrival of the English ambassador. In the first transports of her indignation, Mary resolved no longer to keep any measures with Elizabeth; and sent orders to Maitland, who accompanied Throkmorton, to return instantly to the English court, and, in her name, to declare to Elizabeth that, after having been amused so long to so little purpose; after having been fooled and imposed on so grossly by her artifices; she was now resolved to gratify her own inclination, and to ask no other consent but that of her own subjects, in the choice of an husband. Maitland, with his usual sagacity, foresaw all the effects of such a rash and angry message, and ventured rather to incur the displeasure of his mistress, by disobeying her commands, than to be made the instrument of tearing asunder so violently

<sup>9</sup> Keith, 274. See Append. No. X.

<sup>10</sup> Keith, Append. 161.



1566. the few remaining ties which still linked together the two queens\*.

Mary herself soon became sensible of her error. She received the English ambassador with respect; justified her own conduct with decency; and, though unalterable in her resolution, she affected a wonderful solicitude to reconcile Elizabeth to the measure; and even pretended, out of complaisance towards her, to put off the consummation of the marriage for some months†. It is probable, however, that the want of the pope's dispensation, and the prospect of gaining the consent of her own subjects, were the real motives of this delay.

Murray's  
aversion to  
Darnly.

This consent Mary laboured with the utmost industry to obtain. The earl of Murray was the person in the kingdom, whose concurrence was of the greatest importance; but she had reason to fear that it would not be procured without extreme difficulty. From the time of Lennox's return into Scotland, Murray perceived that the queen's affections began gradually to be estranged from him. Darnly, Athol, Rizio, all the court favourites, combined against him. His ambitious spirit could not brook this diminution of his power, which his former services had so little merited. He retired into the country, and gave way to rivals with whom he was unable to contend‡. The return of the earl of Bothwell, his avowed enemy, who had been accused of a design upon his life, and who had resided for some time in foreign countries, obliged him to attend to his own safety. No entreaty of the queen could persuade him to a reconcilment with that nobleman. He insisted on having him brought to a public trial, and prevailed, by his importunity, to have a day fixed for it. Bothwell durst not appear in opposition to a man, who came to the place of trial attended by five thousand of his followers on horseback. He was once more constrained

\* Keith, 160.

† Keith, 278.

‡ Ibid. 272. 274. Append. 159.

to leave the kingdom; but, by the queen's command, the sentence of outlawry, which is incurred by non-appearance, was not pronounced against him <sup>1566.</sup>

Mary, sensible, at the same time, of how much im-<sup>May 8.</sup>portance it was to gain a subject so powerful, and so popular as the earl of Murray, invited him back to court, and received him with many demonstrations of respect and confidence. At last she desired him to set an example to her other subjects by subscribing a paper, containing a formal approbation of her marriage with Darnly. Murray had many reasons to hesitate, and even to withhold his assent. Darnly had not only undermined his credit with the queen, but discovered, on every occasion, a rooted aversion to his person. By consenting to his elevation to the throne, he would give him such an accession of dignity and power, as no man willingly bestows on an enemy. The unhappy consequences which might follow upon a breach with England, were likewise of considerable weight with Murray. He had always openly preferred a confederacy with England, before the ancient alliance with France. By his means, chiefly, this change in the system of national politics had been brought about. A league with England had been established; and he could not think of sacrificing, to a rash and youthful passion, an alliance of so much utility to the kingdom; and which he and the other nobles were bound, by every obligation, to maintain<sup>3</sup>. Nor was the interest of religion forgotten on this occasion. Mary, though surrounded by protestant counsellors, had found means to hold a dangerous correspondence with foreign catholics. She had even courted the pope's protection, who had sent her a subsidy of eight thousand crowns<sup>2</sup>. Though Murray had hitherto endeavoured to bridle the zeal of the reformed clergy, and to set the queen's conduct in the most favourable light, yet her obstinate adherence to

<sup>1</sup> Keith, Append. 160.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 169.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 295. Melv. 114.

1566. her own religion could not fail of alarming him; and by her resolution to marry a papist, the hope of reclaiming her, by an union with a protestant, was forever cut off<sup>a</sup>. Each of these considerations had its influence on Murray, and all of them determined him to decline complying, at that time, with the queen's request.

May 14.  
A convention of the nobles approves of the marriage.

The convention of nobles, which was assembled a few days after, discovered a greater disposition to gratify the queen. Many of them, without hesitation, expressed their approbation of the intended match; but as others were startled at the same dangers which had alarmed Murray, or were influenced by his example to refuse their consent, another convention was appointed at Perth, in order to deliberate more fully concerning this matter<sup>b</sup>.

Meanwhile, Mary gave a public evidence of her own inclination, by conferring upon Darnly titles of honour peculiar to the royal family. The opposition she had hitherto met with, and the many contrivances employed to thwart and disappoint her inclination, produced their usual effect on her heart, they confirmed her passion, and increased its violence. The simplicity of that age imputed an affection so excessive to the influence of witchcraft<sup>c</sup>. It was owing, however, to no other charm than the irresistible power of youth and beauty over a young and tender heart. Darnly grew giddy with his prosperity. Flattered by the love of a queen, and the applause of many among her subjects, his natural haughtiness and insolence became insupportable, and he could no longer bear advice, far less contradiction. Lord Ruthven happening to be the first person who informed him that Mary, in order to sooth Elizabeth, had delayed for some time creating him duke of Albany, he, in a phrensy of rage, drew his dagger, and attempted to stab him<sup>d</sup>. It required all Mary's atten-

<sup>a</sup> Keith, Append. 160.

<sup>c</sup> Keith, 283.

<sup>b</sup> Keith, 283. Knox, 373.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. Append. 160.

tion, to prevent his falling under that contempt to which 1563.  
such behaviour deservedly exposed him.

In no scene of her life was ever Mary's own address Mary's address in gaining her subjects. more remarkably displayed. Love sharpened her invention, and made her study every method of gaining her subjects. Many of the nobles she won by her address, and more by her promises. On some she bestowed lands, to others she gave new titles of honour\*. She even condescended to court the protestant clergy; and having invited three of their superintendents to Stirling, she declared, in strong terms, her resolution to protect their religion, expressed her willingness to be present at a conference upon the points in doctrine, which were disputed between the protestants and papists, and went so far as to show some desire to hear such of their preachers as were most remarkable for their moderation†. By these arts the queen gained wonderfully upon the people, who, unless their jealousy be raised by repeated injuries, are always ready to view the actions of their sovereign with an indulgent eye.

On the other hand, Murray and his associates were plainly the dupes of Elizabeth's policy. She talked in so high a strain of her displeasure at the intended match; she treated lady Lennox with so much rigour; she wrote to the Scottish queen in such high terms; she recalled the earl of Lennox and his son in such a peremptory manner, and with such severe denunciations of her vengeance if they should presume to disobey‡; that all these expressions of aversion fully persuaded them of her sincerity. This belief fortified their scruples with respect to the match, and encouraged them to oppose it. They began with forming among themselves bonds of confederacy and mutual defence; they entered into a secret correspondence with the English resident, in order to secure Elizabeth's as-

\* Keith, 283.

† Knox, 373.

‡ Keith, 285, 286.

1666.            assistance, when it should become needful<sup>b</sup>; they endeavoured to fill the nation with such apprehensions of danger, as might counterbalance the influence of those arts which the queen had employed.

Schemes of  
Darnly and  
Murray  
against  
each other.

Besides these intrigues, there were secretly carried on, by both parties, dark designs of a more criminal nature, and more suited to the spirit of the age. Darnly, impatient of that opposition, which he imputed wholly to Murray, and resolving, at any rate, to get rid of such a powerful enemy, formed a plot to assassinate him, during the meeting of the convention at Perth. Murray, on his part, despairing of preventing the marriage by any other means, had, together with the duke of Chatelherault and the earl of Argyll, concerted measures for seizing Darnly, and carrying him a prisoner into England.

If either of these conspiracies had taken effect, this convention might have been attended with consequences extremely tragical; but both were rendered abortive, by the vigilance or good fortune of those against whom they were formed. Murray, being warned of his danger by some retainers to the court, who still favoured his interest, avoided the blow by not going to Perth. Mary, receiving intelligence of Murray's enterprise, retired with the utmost expedition, along with Darnly, to the other side of Forth. Conscious, on both sides, of guilt, and inflamed with resentment, it was impossible they could either forget the violence which themselves had meditated, or forgive the injuries intended against them. From that moment all hope of reconciliation was at an end, and their mutual enmity burst out with every symptom of implacable hatred<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Keith, 289. 292. 298.

<sup>1</sup> The reality of these two opposite conspiracies has given occasion to many disputes and much contradiction. Some deny that any design was formed against the life of Murray; others call in question the truth of the conspiracy against Darnly. There seem, however, to be plausible reasons for believing that there is some foundation for what has been asserted with

On Mary's return to Edinburgh, she summoned her vassals by proclamation, and solicited them by her let- 1566.

regard to both; though the zeal and credulity of party-writers have added to each many exaggerated circumstances. The following arguments render it probable that some violence was intended against Murray:

I. 1. This is positively asserted by Buchanan, 341. 2. The English resident writes to Cecil, that Murray was assuredly informed that a design was formed of murdering him at Perth, and mentions various circumstances concerning the manner in which the crime was to be committed. If the whole had been a fiction of his own, or of Murray, it is impossible that he could have written in this strain to such a discerning minister. Keith, 287. 3. Murray himself constantly and publicly persisted in affirming that such a design was formed against his life. Keith, App. 108. He was required by the queen to transmit in writing an account of the conspiracy, which he pretended had been formed against his life. This he did accordingly; but, "when it was brought to her majesty by her servants sent for that purpose, it appears to her highness and her council, that his purgation in that behalf was not so sufficient as the matter required." Keith, App. 109. He was, therefore, summoned to appear within three days before the queen in Holyrood-house; and, in order to encourage him to do so, a safe-conduct was offered to him. *Ibid.* Though he had once consented to appear, he afterwards declined to do so. But whoever considers Murray's situation, and the character of those who directed Mary's councils at that time, will hardly deem it a decisive proof of his guilt, that he did not choose to risk his person on such security. 4. The furious passions of Darnly, the fierceness of his resentment, which scrupled at no violence, and the manners of the age, render the imputation of such a crime less improbable.

II. That Murray and his associates had resolved to seize Darnly in his return from Perth, appears with still greater certainty; 1. From the express testimony of Melvil, 112; although Buchanan, p. 341, and Knox, p. 377, affect, without reason, to represent this as an idle rumour. 2. The question was put to Randolph, Whether the governor of Berwick would receive Lennox and his son, if they were delivered at that place. His answer was, "that they would not refuse their own, i. e. their own subjects, in whatsoever sort they came unto us, i. e. whether they returned to England voluntarily, as they had been required, or were brought thither by force." This plainly shows, that some such design was in hand, and Randolph did not discourage it by the answer which he gave. Keith, 290. 3. The precipitation with which the queen retired, and the reason she gave for this sudden flight, are mentioned by Randolph. Keith, 291. 4. A great part of the Scottish nobles, and among these the earls of Argyll and Rothes, who were themselves privy to the design, assert the reality of the conspiracy. Good. vol. ii. 358.

All these circumstances render the truth of both conspiracies probable. But we may observe how far this proof, though drawn from public records, falls short, on both sides, of legal and formal evidence. Buchanan and

1566.

Mary summons her vassals to take arms against Murray.

ters to repair thither in arms, for the protection of her person against her foreign and domestic enemies<sup>b</sup>. She was obeyed with all the promptness and alacrity with which subjects run to defend a mild and popular administration. This popularity, however, she owed, in a great measure, to Murray, who had directed her administration with great prudence. But the crime of opposing her marriage obliterated the memory of his former services; and Mary, impatient of contradiction, and apt to consider those who disputed her will, as enemies to her person, determined to let him feel the whole weight of her vengeance. For this purpose she summoned him to appear before her upon a short warning, to answer to such things as should be laid to his charge<sup>c</sup>. At this very time, Murray and the lords who adhered to him, were assembled at Stirling, to deliberate what course they should hold in such a difficult conjuncture. But the current of popular favour ran so

Randolph, in their accounts of the conspiracy against Murray, differ widely in almost every circumstance. The accounts of the attempt upon Darnly are not more consistent. Melvil alleges, that the design of the conspirators was to carry Darnly a prisoner into England; the proposal made to Randolph agrees with this. Randolph says, that they intended to carry the queen to St. Andrew's, and Darnly to Castle Campbell. The lords, in their declaration, affirm the design of the conspirators to have been to murder Darnly and his father, to confine the queen in Lochleven during life, and to usurp the government. To believe implicitly whatever they find in an ancient paper, is a folly to which, in every age, antiquaries are extremely prone. Ancient papers, however, often contain no more than the slanders of a party, and the lie of the day. The declaration of the nobles referred to, is of this kind; it is plainly rancorous, and written in the very heat of faction. Many things asserted in it, are evidently false or exaggerated. Let Murray and his confederates be as ambitious as we can suppose, they must have had some pretences, and plausible ones too, before they could venture to imprison their sovereign for life, and to seize the reins of government; but, at that time, the queen's conduct had afforded no colourable excuse for proceeding to such extremities. It is likewise remarkable, that in all the proclamations against Murray, of which so many are published in Keith, Appendix, 108, etc. neither the violent attempt upon Darnly, nor that which he is alleged to have formed against the queen herself, are ever once mentioned.

<sup>b</sup> Keith, 298.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. Append. 108.

strongly against them, and, notwithstanding some fears and jealousies, there prevailed in the nation such a general disposition to gratify the queen in a matter which so nearly concerned her, that, without coming to any other conclusion than to implore the queen of England's protection, they put an end to their ineffectual consultations, and returned every man to his own house. 1686.

Together with this discovery of the weakness of her enemies, the confluence of her subjects from all corners of the kingdom afforded Mary an agreeable proof of her own strength. While the queen was in this prosperous situation, she determined to bring to a period an affair which had so long engrossed her heart and occupied her attention. On the twenty-ninth of July, she married lord Darnly. The ceremony was performed in the queen's chapel, according to the rites of the Romish church; the pope's bull dispensing with their marriage having been previously obtained<sup>m</sup>. She issued at the same time proclamations, conferring the title of king of Scots upon her husband, and commanding that henceforth all writs at law should run in the joint names of king and queen<sup>n</sup>. Nothing can be a stronger proof of the violence of Mary's love, or the weakness of her councils, than this last step. Whether she had any right to choose a husband without consent of parliament, was, in that age, a matter of some dispute<sup>o</sup>; that she had no right to confer upon him, by her private authority, the title and dignity of king, or by a simple proclamation to raise her husband to be the master of her people, seems to be beyond all doubt. Francis the second, indeed, bore the same title. It was not, however, the gift of the queen, but of the nation; and the consent of parliament was obtained, before he ventured to assume it. Darnly's condition, as a subject, rendered

<sup>m</sup> Keith, 307.

<sup>n</sup> Anderson, i. 33. See Append. No. XI.

<sup>o</sup> Buchan. 341.



1565.

it still more necessary to have the concurrence of the supreme council in his favour. Such a violent and unprecedented stretch of prerogative, as the substituting a proclamation in place of an act of parliament, might have justly alarmed the nation. But at that time the queen possessed so entirely the confidence of her subjects, that, notwithstanding all the clamours of the malecontents, no symptoms of general discontent appeared on that account.

Even amidst that scene of joy which always accompanies successful love, Mary did not suffer the course of her vengeance against the malecontent nobles to be interrupted. Three days after the marriage, Murray was again summoned to court, under the severest penalties, and, upon his non-appearance, the rigour of justice took place, and he was declared an outlaw<sup>p</sup>. At the same time the queen set at liberty lord Gordon, who, ever since his father's insurrection, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-two, had been detained a prisoner; she recalled the earl of Sutherland, who, on account of his concern in that conspiracy, had fled into Flanders; and she permitted Bothwell to return again into Scotland. The first and last of these were among the most powerful subjects in the kingdom, and all of them animated with implacable hatred to Murray, whom they deemed the enemy of their families and the author of their own sufferings. This common hatred became the foundation of the strictest union with the queen, and gained them an ascendant over all her councils. Murray himself considered this confederacy with his avowed enemies, as a more certain indication than any measure she had yet taken, of her inexorable resentment.

Marches  
against

The malecontents had not yet openly taken up arms<sup>q</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> Keith, 309, 310.

<sup>q</sup> After their fruitless consultation in Stirling, the lords retired to their own houses. Keith, 304. Murray was still at St. Andrew's on July 22. Keith, 306. By the places of rendezvous, appointed for the inhabitants of

But the queen having ordered her subjects to march <sup>1565.</sup> against them, they were driven to the last extremity. They found themselves unable to make head against the numerous forces which Mary had assembled; and fled into Argyleshire, in expectation of aid from Elizabeth, to whom they had secretly despatched a messenger, in order to implore her immediate assistance<sup>r</sup>.

Meanwhile, Elizabeth endeavoured to embarrass Mary, by a new declaration of disgust at her conduct. She blamed both her choice of lord Darnly, and the precipitation with which she had concluded the marriage. She required Lennox and Darnly, whom she still called her subjects, to return into England; and, at the same time, she warmly interceded in behalf of Murray, whose behaviour she represented to be not only innocent but laudable. This message, so mortifying to the pride of the queen, and so full of contempt for her husband, was rendered still more insupportable by the petulant and saucy demeanour of Tamworth, the person who delivered it<sup>s</sup>. Mary vindicated her own conduct with warmth, but with great strength of reason; and rejected the intercession in behalf of Murray, not without signs of resentment at Elizabeth's pretending to intermeddle in the internal government of her kingdom<sup>t</sup>.

She did not, on that account, intermit in the least the ardour with which she pursued Murray and his adherents<sup>u</sup>. They now appeared openly in arms; and,

the different counties, August 4, it appears that the queen's intention was to march into Fife, the county in which Murray, Rothes, Kirkaldy, and other chiefs of the malecontents, resided. Keith, 310. Their flight into the west, Keith, 312, prevented this expedition, and the former rendezvous was altered. Keith, 310.

<sup>r</sup> Keith, 312. Knox, 380.

<sup>s</sup> Camd. 398.

<sup>t</sup> Keith, Append. 99.

<sup>u</sup> The most considerable persons who joined Murray were, the duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Argyll, Glencairn, Rothes, lord Boyd and Ochiltree; the lairds of Grange, Cunninghamhead, Balcomie, Carnylie, Lawers, Bar, Dreghorn, Pitarrow, Comptroller, and the tutor of Pitcar. Knox, 382.

1565. having received a small supply in money from Elizabeth<sup>2</sup>, were endeavouring to raise their followers in the western counties. But Mary's vigilance hindered them from assembling in any considerable body. All her military operations at that time were concerted with wisdom, executed with vigour, and attended with success. In order to encourage her troops, she herself marched along with them, rode with loaded pistols<sup>3</sup>, and endured all the fatigues of war with admirable fortitude. Her alacrity inspired her forces with an invincible resolution, which, together with their superiority in number, deterred the malecontents from facing them in the field; but, having artfully passed the queen's army, they marched with great rapidity to Edinburgh, and endeavoured to rouse the inhabitants of that city to arms. The queen did not suffer them to remain long unmolested; and, on her approach, they were forced to abandon that place, and retire in confusion towards the western borders<sup>4</sup>.

August 31.

They are obliged to retire into England.

As it was uncertain, for some time, what route they had taken, Mary employed that interval in providing for the security of the counties in the heart of the kingdom. She seized the places of strength which belonged to the rebels; and obliged the considerable barons in those shires which she most suspected, to join in associations for her defence<sup>5</sup>. Having thus left all the country behind her in tranquillity, she, with an army eighteen thousand strong, marched towards Dumfries, where the rebels then were. During their retreat, they had sent letters to the queen, from almost every place where they halted, full of submission, and containing various overtures towards an accommodation. But Mary, who determined not to let slip such a favourable opportunity of crushing the mutinous spirit of her subjects, rejected them with disdain. As she advanced, the malecontents

<sup>2</sup> Knox, 380.

<sup>3</sup> Keith, 315.

<sup>4</sup> Keith, Append. 164.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 113.

retired; and, having received no effectual aid from Elizabeth<sup>b</sup>, they despaired of any other means of safety, fled into England, and put themselves under the protection of the earl of Bedford, warden of the marches. 1566.  
Oct. 20.

Nothing which Bedford's personal friendship for Murray could supply, was wanting to render their retreat agreeable. But Elizabeth herself treated them with extreme neglect. She had fully gained her end, and, by their means, had excited such discord and jealousies among the Scots, as would, in all probability, long distract and weaken Mary's councils. Her business now was to save appearances, and to justify herself to the ministers of France and Spain, who accused her of fomenting the troubles in Scotland by her intrigues. The expedient she contrived for her vindication strongly displays her own character, and the wretched condition of exiles, who are obliged to depend on a foreign prince. Murray, and Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, being appointed by the other fugitives to wait on Elizabeth, instead of meeting with that welcome reception which was due to men, who, out of confidence in her promises, and in order to forward her designs, had hazarded their lives and fortunes, could not even obtain the favour of an audience, until they had meanly consented to acknowledge, in the presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, that Elizabeth had given them no encouragement to take arms. No sooner did they make this declaration, than she astonished them with this reply: "You have declared the truth; I am far from setting an example of rebellion to my own subjects, by countenancing those who rebel against their lawful prince. The treason of which you have been guilty is detestable; and, as traitors, I banish you from my presence<sup>c</sup>." Notwithstanding this scene of farce and of falsehood, so dishonourable to all the persons who acted a part in it, Elizabeth permitted the malecontents peaceably to

<sup>b</sup> See Appendix, Nos. XII. XIII.

<sup>c</sup> Melv. 112.

1565. reside in her dominions, supplied them secretly with money, and renewed her intercession with the Scottish queen in their favour<sup>d</sup>.

The advantage she had gained over them did not satisfy Mary; she resolved to follow the blow, and to prevent a party, which she dreaded, from ever recovering any footing in the nation. With this view, she called a meeting of parliament; and, in order that a sentence of forfeiture might be legally pronounced against the banished lords, she summoned them, by public proclamation, to appear before it<sup>e</sup>.

Dec. 1. The duke of Chatelherault, on his humble application, obtained a separate pardon; but not without difficulty, as the king violently opposed it. He was obliged, however, to leave the kingdom, and to reside for some time in France<sup>f</sup>.

The numerous forces which Mary brought into the field, the vigour with which she acted, and the length of time she kept them in arms, resemble the efforts of a prince with revenues much more considerable than those which she possessed. But armies were then levied and maintained by princes at small charge. The vassal followed his superior, and the superior attended the monarch, at his own expense. Six hundred horsemen, however, and three companies of foot, besides her guards, received regular pay from the queen. This extraordinary charge, together with the disbursements occasioned by her marriage, exhausted a treasury which was far from being rich. In this exigency, many devices were fallen upon for raising money. Fines were levied on the towns of St. Andrew's, Perth, and Dundee, which were suspected of favouring the malecontents. An unusual tax was imposed on the boroughs throughout the kingdom; and a great sum was demanded of the citizens of Edinburgh, by way of loan. This unprecedented exaction alarmed the citizens.

<sup>d</sup> Knox, 389.

<sup>e</sup> Keith, 320.

<sup>f</sup> Knox, 389.

They had recourse to delays, and started difficulties, in order to evade it. These Mary construed to be acts of avowed disobedience, and instantly committed several of them to prison. But this severity did not subdue the undaunted spirit of liberty which prevailed among the inhabitants. The queen was obliged to mortgage to the city the 'superiority' of the town of Leith, by which she obtained a considerable sum of money<sup>†</sup>. The thirds of ecclesiastical benefices proved another source whence the queen derived some supply. About this time we find the protestant clergy complaining more bitterly than ever of their poverty. The army, it is probable, exhausted a great part of that fund which was appropriated for their maintenance<sup>‡</sup>.

1566.

The assemblies of the church were not unconcerned Church affairs. spectators of the commotions of this turbulent year. In the meeting held the twenty-fourth of June, previous to the queen's marriage, several of the malecontent nobles were present, and seem to have had great influence on its decisions. The high strain in which the assembly addressed the queen, can be imputed only to those fears and jealousies with regard to religion, which they endeavoured to infuse into the nation. The assembly complained, with some bitterness, of the stop which had been put to the progress of the reformation by the queen's arrival in Scotland; they required not only the total suppression of the popish worship throughout the kingdom, but even in the queen's own chapel; and, besides the legal establishment of the protestant religion, they demanded that Mary herself should publicly embrace it. The queen, after some deliberation, replied, that neither her conscience nor her interest would permit her to take such a step. The former would for ever reproach her for a change which proceeded from no inward conviction; the latter would suffer by the offence which her apostacy must

<sup>†</sup> Knox, 383. 386.

<sup>‡</sup> Maitl. Hist. of Edinburgh, 27.

1666. give to the king of France, and her other allies on the continent<sup>1</sup>.

It is remarkable, that the prosperous situation of the queen's affairs during this year, began to work some change in favour of her religion. The earls of Lennox, Athol, and Cassils, openly attended mass; she herself afforded the catholics a more avowed protection than formerly; and, by her permission, some of the ancient monks ventured to preach publicly to the people<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Knox, 374. 376.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 389, 390.