
THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.

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MARY Queen of SCOTS

W. Archibald

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OF THE
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THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Chapter the First.

ORIGIN of the Scots.—Sketch of the History from the death of Alexander the third to that of James the Fifth.—Invasion of Scotland by Edward the First.—Causes of the power of the nobility.—Reign of David the Second.—Of Robert the Third.—Of James the First.—Of James the Second.—Of James the Third.—Of James the Fourth.—Of James the Fifth.—Aggrandizes the Clergy, and disgusts the nobles.—They refuse to second his designs against England.—Their disaffection.—Disappointment and death of James.—Account of the Scottish parliament.—Composed of barons, ecclesiastics, and representatives of boroughs.—Lords of articles.—The political state of Europe.—Of Italy —Of France.—Of Spain and Germany.—Of England.—Consequence of Scotland to the contending parties.

THE first ages of the Scottish history are hid in the same obscurity which involves the other nations of Europe. Though, relying on the traditions of their bards, the Scots reckon up a long series of kings before the birth of Christ, yet the ear-

liest accounts on which we can depend, are not from their own, but from the Roman authors. The

A. D. 81. Romans, under Agricola, first carried their arms into the northern parts of Britain: they found it possessed by the Caledonians, a fierce and warlike people; and having repulsed, rather than conquered them, they erected a strong wall between the firths of Forth and Clyde, and there they fixed the boundaries of their empire. About the beginning of the fifth century, the inroads of the Goths and other barbarians obliged the Romans to quit their conquests in Britain, and to recall their forces to the defence of the centre of their empire.

Their retreat left North Britain under the dominion of the Scots and Picts; the former, who were probably a colony of the Celtæ, or Gauls, are first mentioned about the end of the fourth century. Their first settlements are said to have been in Ireland, where, after gradually extending themselves, they landed on the coast opposite to that island. Their conflicts with the

A. D. 838. Picts were long, frequent and bloody.

At length Kenneth the Second, the sixty-ninth king of the Scots (according to their own fabulous authors) obtained a complete victory over the Picts, and united under one monarchy, all the country from Newcastle and Carlisle to the Northern Ocean.

From this period, the history of Scotland, would merit some attention, were it accompanied with any

any certainty ; but it still remained overwhelmed with impenetrable darkness. The first æra, which may be considered as descending from the origin of the monarchy to the reign of Kenneth the Second, is the region of fable and conjecture, and ought to be totally neglected ; the second from Kenneth's conquest of the Picts, to the death of Alexander the Third, is enlightened with a ray of truth ; in the third, which extends to the death of James the Fifth, the history of Scotland, chiefly by means of records preserved in England, becomes more authentic ; and the fourth, which comprises the interval from the fall of that monarch, to the accession of James the Sixth to the throne of England, is peculiarly the object of this history.

Yet to introduce the reader properly to this latter part, a slight sketch of the third æra may not be deemed superfluous ; it contains a period of upwards of two centuries and an-half, and opens with the famous controversy concerning the independence of Scotland. The homage which had been paid by the Scottish kings for the possessions which they held in England, was insensibly attempted to be converted by the English monarchs into homage for the kingdom of Scotland. William, surnamed the Lion, being taken prisoner at Alnwick, Henry the Second, then seated on the throne of England, refused to release him, but on the condition of his doing homage for his whole kingdom. Richard the First, a generous prince,

solemnly renounced this claim of homage, and absolved William from the hard conditions which Henry had imposed. But on the death of Alexander the Third, near a century afterwards, Edward the First availed himself of the situation of affairs in Scotland, and revived the claim of sovereignty to which Henry had made pretensions. Margaret, grand-daughter of Alexander, and heir to his crown, did not long survive him. The right of succession belonged to the descendants of David Earl of Huntingdon, third son of David First: among these, Robert Bruce and John Baliol appeared competitors for the crown; Bruce was the son of Isabel, Earl David's second daughter; Baliol the grand-son of Margaret the eldest daughter.

Their rival pretensions to the vacant throne were favourable to the designs of Edward. The competitors were prevailed upon to avert the miseries of civil war, and to submit their hopes to the decision of the king of England. Under pretence of examining the question with the utmost solemnity, Edward summoned the Scottish barons to Norham; and, by gaining some, and intimidating others, prevailed on all that were present to acknowledge Scotland to be a fief of the English crown, and to swear fealty to him as their sovereign or liege lord. As it was in vain to pronounce a sentence which he had not the power to execute, Edward demanded possession of the kingdom, that he might deliver it to him whose right

right should be found preferable. Such was the pusillanimity of the nobles, that Gilbert de Umfravile, earl of Angus, was the only man who refused to surrender the castles in his custody to the enemy of his country, and the king of England conferred the crown on Baliol, whom he judged to be the most obsequious of the rival claimants.

But even the passive spirit of Baliol could not longer patiently brook the haughty language and encroaching temper of Edward; and the English monarch, dissatisfied with the idol that he had raised, hesitated not to thrust him from the throne, and openly attempted to occupy it himself. But at that period arose Sir William Wallace, a hero, to whom the fond admiration of his countrymen has ascribed acts of fabulous prowess, but whose real valour and wisdom revived the drooping spirits of his countrymen, and checked the progress of Edward. At last Robert Bruce, the grandson of him who stood in competition with Baliol, appeared to assert his own rights, and to vindicate the honour of his country. The nobles, enraged at the indignities offered to the nation, crowded to his standard. To crush resistance, the English monarch entered Scotland at the head of a mighty army. Many battles were fought, and the Scots, though often vanquished, were not subdued. The prudent valour of Bruce baffled the repeated efforts of Edward; and though the war continued with little intermission upwards of seventy years, Bruce and his posterity kept possession.

of the throne of Scotland, and reigned with an authority not inferior to that of its former monarchs.

During these successive hostilities, the English considered the Scots as vassals who had presumed to rebel; and the Scots, in their turn, regarded the English as usurpers who aimed at enslaving their country. When Robert ^{A.D. 1306.} Bruce began his reign, the same form of government was established in all the kingdoms of Europe. The feudal system universally prevailed; the kings who had formerly been elective, were indeed become hereditary; but their revenues were narrow, and the armies they lead into the field were composed of their subjects, who held their lands by the simple tenure of arming in defence of the public cause. As they served without pay, their obedience was precarious; and far from being an engine at the king's disposal, they were often no less formidable to him than to his enemies.

In the same proportion that the king sunk in power, the nobles rose towards independence: not satisfied with obtaining an hereditary right to their *fiefs* or *landed possessions*, their ambition introduced entails, which, as far as human ingenuity could devise, rendered their estates unalienable, as they had full power to add to the inheritance transmitted to them by their ancestors, but none to diminish it; marriages, legacies, and other accidents; brought continual accessions of wealth and dignity; a great family, like a river, became considerable

siderable from the length of its course ; and, as it rolled on, new honours and new property successively flowed into it.

Whatever influence is derived from titles of honour, the feudal barons possessed likewise, in an ample manner ; the appellation by which the virtues of the father had been distinguished, descended to the son, however unworthy ; and the presumption of the nobles soon aspired to annex to their posterity the chief offices of the state. In Scotland the important trust of lord justice general, great chamberlain, high steward, high constable, earl marshal, and high admiral, were all hereditary ; and in many counties, the office of sheriff was held in the same manner.

Nobles, whose power was so great, and whose property was so extensive, could not fail of being turbulent and formidable ; nor did they want instruments for executing their boldest designs. That portion of their lands which they parcelled out among their followers, supplied them with a numerous band of faithful and determined vassals, while that which they retained in their own hands, enabled them to live with a princely splendour. The great hall of an ambitious baron was often more crowded than the court of his sovereign ; the strong castles in which they resided, afforded a secure retreat to the discontented and seditious ; and a great part of their revenue was spent upon multitudes of indigent, but bold retainers. Even in times of peace, they were accompanied by a
vast

vast train of armed followers; and the usual retinue of William the sixth earl of Douglas, consisted of two thousand horse.

The nature of the country was one cause of the power and independence of the Scottish nobility: mountains, and fens, and rivers, set bounds to despotic power; and in such places did the barons of Scotland usually fix their residence. The sovereign found it almost impracticable to lead an army through a barren country, to places difficult of access to a single man. The same cause which had checked the progress of the Roman arms, and rendered all the efforts of Edward the First abortive, protected the Scottish nobles from the vengeance of their sovereign, and fortified their personal independence.

The want of great cities in Scotland, contributed not a little to increase the power of the nobility, and to weaken that of the prince. Laws and subordinations take rise in cities; and where there are few cities, there are few or no traces of a well arranged police. The nobles, under a feudal government, seldom appeared at court where they found a superior, or dwelt in cities where they met with equals. The vassals of every baron occupied a distinct portion of the kingdom, and formed a separate and almost independent society. Instead of joining to reduce the seditious chieftain, they were all in arms for his defence; and the prince was obliged to connive at criminals, who, conscious

conscious of their advantages, multiplied their offences in assured impunity.

The division of the country into clans, had no small effect in rendering the nobles considerable. The nations which over-ran Europe were originally divided into many small tribes; and when they came to parcel out the lands that they had conquered, it was natural for every chieftain to bestow a portion, in the first place, upon those of his own tribe or family. These all held their lands of him, were closely united together, and were distinguished by some general appellation: when that became common, the descendants and relations of every chieftain assumed the same name and arms with him; other vassals were proud to imitate their example; and by degrees they were communicated to all those who held of the same superior. Thus clanships were formed; and in a generation or two, that consanguinity which was at first, in a great measure imaginary, was believed to be real. An artificial union was converted into a natural one. Men willingly followed a leader whom they regarded both as the superior of their lands, and the chief of their blood; and served him not only with the fidelity of vassals, but with the affection of friends.

The smallness of their number may be mentioned among the causes of the grandeur of the Scottish nobles. Scotland, a kingdom neither extensive nor rich, could not contain many overgrown proprietors; but the power of an aristocracy
always

always diminished in proportion to the increase of its numbers. When nobles are numerous, their operations nearly resemble those of the people; they are roused only by what they feel, not by what they apprehend; and submit to many arbitrary and oppressive acts before they take arms against their sovereign. A small body, on the contrary, is more sensible and more impatient, quick in discerning, and prompt in repelling danger. Hence proceeded the extreme jealousy of the Scottish nobles, and the fierceness with which they opposed the incroachments of the crown; besides this, the near alliance of the great families by frequent intermarriages, was the natural consequence of their small number; and as consanguinity was, in those ages, a powerful bond of union, all the kindred of noblemen interested themselves in his quarrel, as a common cause; and every contest the king had, though with a single baron, drew upon him the arms of a whole confederacy.

These natural connexions the Scottish nobles strengthened by numerous associations, which, when formed with their equals, were called *leagues* of mutual defence; and when with their inferior, *bonds of manrent*. By the former, the contracting parties bound themselves mutually to assist each other in all causes, and against all persons; by the latter, protection was stipulated on the one hand, and fidelity and personal service promised on the other. By degrees these associations became

so many alliances, offensive and defensive, against the throne ; and as their obligation was held more sacred than any tie whatever, they contributed not a little to the power and independence of the nobility.

That power was also augmented by the frequent wars between England and Scotland. Nature has placed no barrier between the two kingdoms ; a river almost every where fordable, divides them towards the east ; on the west they are separated by an imaginary line. The slender revenues of our kings prevented them from fortifying, or placing garrisons in the towns on the frontiers ; nor would the jealousy of their subjects have permitted such a mode of defence. The barons, whose estates lay on the borders, were generally entrusted with the wardenships of the different marches. This gained them the leading of the warlike counties in the South ; and as their vassals were inured to a state of perpetual hostility, the Scottish monarchs always found it impracticable to subdue the mutinous and ungovernable spirit of the borderers.

The calamities which beset the kings of Scotland, contributed more than any other cause to diminish the royal authority ; never was any race of monarchs so unfortunate as the Scottish. Of six successive princes, from Robert the Third, to James the Sixth, not one died a natural death ; and the minorities, during that time, were longer and more frequent than ever happened in any other king-

dom. From Robert Bruce to James the Sixth we reckon ten princes, and seven of these were called to the throne while they were minors, and almost infants. The most regular governments must feel the bad effects of a minority; but to the imperfect, and ill adjusted system of government in Scotland, those effects were still more fatal. The fierce and mutinous spirit of the nobles, unrestrained by the authority of a king, scorned all subjection to the delegated jurisdiction of a regent, or to the feeble commands of a minor. The aristocrical power, during these periods, rose upon the ruins of the monarchial; and when the king himself came to assume the reins of government, he found his revenues wasted or alienated, the crown lands seized or given away, and the nobles so accustomed to independence, that, after the struggles of a whole reign, he was seldom able to reduce them to the same state in which they had been at the beginning of his minority, or to wrest from them what they had usurped during that time.

A. D. 1329. The minority of David the Second, the son of Robert Bruce, was disturbed by the pretensions of Edward Baliol, who obliged the young king to retire to France, and took possession himself of the throne. A small body of nobles, faithful to their exiled prince, drove Baliol out of Scotland, and, after nine years absence, restored the crown to David. The gratitude of David distributed among such as had ad-

hered to him, the best possessions which fell to the crown by the forfeiture of his enemies. The family of Douglas, which began to rise above the other nobles, in the reign of his father, augmented both its power and property during his minority.

James the First was seized by the English, in violation of a truce, and detained a prisoner near nineteen years. During that period the kingdom was governed, first by his uncle Robert, duke of Albany, and then by Murdo, his son. Both these noblemen aspired to the throne; and their ambition was supposed to have extinguished the life of David, the king's next brother, and to have prolonged the captivity of James. To soothe or bribe the nobles, they slackened the reins of government; they allowed the prerogative to be encroached upon, and reduced the royal authority to a state of imbecility, from which succeeding monarchs laboured in vain to raise it.

A. D. 1405.

During the minority of James the Second, the administration of affairs, as well as the custody of the king's person, was committed to Sir William Crichton, and Sir Alexander Livingston. Encouraged by their mutual jealousy and enmity, the young earl of Douglas erected a sort of independent principality within the kingdom, and forbidding his vassals to acknowledge any authority but his own, assumed every ensign of royalty but the title of king.

A. D. 1437.

Eight persons were chosen to govern the kingdom, during the minority of James the Third. Lord Boyd, however, by seizing the king's person, engrossed the whole authority. To raise his own family to the same grandeur with that of the prime nobility, he relaxed the rigour of government, and the barons once more became accustomed to anarchy and independence. According to the fate of favourites, his fall was sudden and destructive; but upon his ruins the family of Hamilton rose, which soon attained the highest rank in the kingdom.

As the minority of James the Fifth was longer, it was likewise more turbulent than those of the preceding kings. Regular factions of the contending nobles were encouraged by the kings of France and England; and by the influence of the former, the duke of Albany, a native of France, and a grandson of James the Second, was raised to be regent. The first years of his administration was thwarted by Alexander lord Home, and the latter part was embarrassed by the intrigues of the queen dowager, sister to Henry the Eighth. The contempt of the nobles at length induced him to abandon his troublesome station, and to retire to France. On his retreat, Douglas, earl of Angus, became master of the king's person, and governed the kingdom in his name. Many efforts were made to deprive him of his usurped authority; but his vassals adhered to him; the people revered and loved the name of Douglas; and without the title of regent,

gent, he exercised a fuller and more absolute authority than any who had enjoyed that dignity.

Such were the principal causes to which the Scottish nobility owed the exorbitant, and uncommon power which they enjoyed; and many years after the declension of the feudal system in the other kingdoms of Europe, that ancient fabric, remained, in a great measure, firm and untouched in Scotland. The nobles continued still to extend their influence by new acquisitions; and, however solicitous to humble them, the resources of our monarchs were few, and the progress which they made was of course inconsiderable. But as the number of their followers, and the extent of their jurisdictions, were the two chief circumstances which rendered the nobles formidable; in order to counterbalance the one, and restrain the other, all our kings had recourse to nearly the same expedients.

Among nobles of a fierce courage, and of unpolished manners, the causes of discord were many and unavoidable. To forgive an injury was mean; to forbear revenge, infamous and cowardly. Hence quarrels were transmitted from father to son, and, under the name of *deadly feuds*, subsisted for many generations with unmitigated rancour. It was the interest of the crown to foment rather than extinguish these quarrels. Private revenge often contributed to strengthen the feeble laws; and to their domestic enmity our kings were indebted for the success with which they sometimes attacked the

most powerful chieftains. But this expedient, though it seemed to humble individuals, did not weaken the body of the nobility; and those who were the instruments of the prince's vengeance, became in a short time the objects of his fear.

As the administration of justice is one of the most powerful ties between a king and his subjects, all our monarchs were at pains to circumscribe the jurisdiction of the barons, and to extend that of the crown. By the external forms of the feudal system, an appeal lay from the courts of the barons to the king; the nobles, however, easily found means to defeat the effects of these appeals. To strip the nobles of the judicial rights they had usurped, was an object of uniform and anxious attention to all our princes. James the first led the way towards a more regular and perfect police. He made choice, among the estates of parliament, of a certain number of persons, whom he distinguished by the name of *lords of session*, and appointed them to hold courts for determining civil causes, three times in the year, and forty days at a time, in whatever place he pleased to name. James the Fourth, on pretence of remedying the inconveniencies arising from the short terms of the court of session, appointed other judges, called *lords of daily council*. The session was an ambulatory court, and met seldom; the daily council was fixed, and sat constantly at Edinburgh. At last James the Fifth erected a new court, that still subsists, which

which he named the *college of justice* : the judges, or *senatory* of which were called lords of council and session. This court not only exercised the same jurisdiction which formerly belonged to the session and daily council, but new rights were added ; men willingly submitted their property to its determination, and its encroachments on the jurisdiction of the nobles were popular, and, for that reason, successful.

But besides these methods of defending the royal prerogative, and humbling the Aristocracy, which may be considered as common to all our princes, we shall find, on a review of their reigns, that almost every one of our kings, from Robert Bruce to James the Fifth, had formed some particular system for depressing the authority of the nobles. No prince was ever more indebted to his nobles than Robert Bruce. Their valour conquered the kingdom, and placed him on the throne ; his gratitude and generosity bestowed on them the lands of the vanquished. But amidst the rapid changes which property had undergone, many possessed their lands by titles extremely defective. During a short truce with England, Robert formed a scheme for checking the power and wealth of the nobles. He summoned them to appear, and to shew by what right they held their lands. They assembled accordingly ; and the question being put, they started up at once, and drew their swords ; " By these," said they, " we acquired our lands ; with these will we defend them !" and the

king, intimidated by their boldness, prudently dropped the project. But so deeply did they resent this attack upon their order, that, notwithstanding Robert's splendid virtues, it occasioned a dangerous conspiracy against his life.

David, his son, at first an exile in France, afterwards a prisoner in England, and involved in continual wars with Edward the Third, had not leisure to attend to the internal police of his kingdom; and though our historians have minutely described the inroads and skirmishes during the reign of Robert the Second, yet they are altogether silent on the events of those years which are not marked by foreign wars.

Robert the Third, a prince of mean genius, and feeble constitution, was incapable of contending with his martial nobles; but the reign of James the First opens to our view the civil transactions of Scotland; and a complete series of laws supplies the defects of our historians. During the many years he was detained in England, he had an opportunity of observing the feudal system in a more advanced state, and refined from many imperfections. He saw their nobles great, but not independent; a king powerful, though far from absolute; a regular administration, wise laws, and a nation flourishing and happy, because all ranks of men were accustomed to obey them. On his return to his native country, he found the regal authority contemptible, the ancient patrimony and revenues of the crown almost annihilated, and the nobles

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nobles rendered independent by the licence of many years ; in every corner some barbarous chieftain ruled at pleasure, and neither feared the king, nor pitied the people.

To correct these inveterate evils, James, instead of force, employed the gentler and less offensive remedy of laws and statutes. In a parliament held immediately after his return, he gained the confidence of the people by many wise laws, tending to re-establish order, tranquility, and justice. At the same time he obtained an act, by which he was empowered to summon such as had assumed crown lands during the last reigns, to produce the rights by which they held them. In a subsequent parliament, another statute was passed, that declared all leagues and combinations unlawful. Encouraged by these laws, James seized, during the sitting of parliament, his cousin Murdo, duke of Albany, and his sons; the earls of Douglas, Lennox, Angus, March, and above twenty other peers and barons of prime rank. To all of them, however, he was immediately reconciled, except to Albany and his sons, and Lennox. These were tried by their peers, and condemned; and while their execution struck the whole order with terror, their forfeiture added vast possessions to the crown.

Encouraged by the facility with which he had hitherto advanced, the king next ventured upon a measure that irritated the whole body of the nobility. The father of George Dunbar, earl of March,

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March, had taken arms against Robert the Third, the king's father; but that crime had been pardoned, and his lands restored by Robert duke of Albany James, on pretext that the regent had exceeded his power, obtained a sentence, declaring the pardon to be void, and deprived Dunbar of the earldom. Such a decision occasioned a general alarm; and the nobles dreaded lest their titles to their possessions might be subjected to the review of courts of law, whose forms of proceeding, and jurisdiction, in a martial age, were little known and extremely odious. The common danger called on the whole order to unite; and the sentiments of the nobles encouraged a few desperate men to form a conspiracy against the life of the king. The first intelligence was brought him while he lay in his camp before Roxburgh castle. He durst not confide in nobles to whom he had given so many causes of disgust, but instantly dismissed them and their vassals, and retiring to a monastery near Perth, was soon after murdered there in the most cruel manner.

Crichton, who had been the minister of James the First, assumed the direction of affairs during the minority of James the Second, and prompted that monarch to pursue the design of humbling the nobility. William the sixth earl of Douglas, was the first victim of this barbarous policy; he was decoyed by many promises to an interview in the castle of Edinburgh, and was murdered, with his brother. The credulity of William the eighth earl

earl of Douglas, led him into the same snare as had proved fatal to his brother ; after forming a powerful association against the crown, he ventured to meet the king, on the faith of a safe conduct under the great seal, at Stirling castle. James urged him to dissolve the dangerous confederacy he had entered into ; the earl obstinately refused : " If you will not," said the enraged monarch, drawing his dagger, " this shall ;"—and stabbed him to the heart : An action so unworthy of a king, filled the nation with astonishment and horror : The earl's vassals ran to arms with the utmost fury ; a transient accommodation between James and the new earl was soon succeeded by open hostilities ; both armies met near Abercorn ; and a single battle must have decided whether the house of Stuart, or of Douglas, was henceforth to possess the throne of Scotland. But while the troops of the latter impatiently waited the signal to engage, the earl ordered them to retire to the camp. The irresolution of the commander was attended by the desertion of his followers ; and the earl, despised or forsaken by all, was soon driven out of the kingdom, and obliged to depend for his subsistence on the friendship of the king of England. The ruin of this great family secured the king for some time from opposition ; he procured the consent of parliament to several laws more advantageous to the prerogative ; and as he wanted neither courage nor genius, he might probably have subverted the
feudal

feudal system in Scotland, had he not prematurely fallen by the splinter of a cannon, which burst near him at the siege of Roxburgh.

James the Third, though far inferior to his father and grandfather in ability, was no less desirous of humbling the nobility. While he kept them at an unusual distance, he bestowed every mark of confidence and affection upon a few mean persons: shut up in the castle of Stirling, he seldom appeared in public, and amused himself with architecture, music, and other arts, which were then but little esteemed. Alexander, duke of Albany, and John, earl of Mar. his brothers, entered deeply into the cabals of the nobility. But the king, detecting their designs, seized them both: the earl of Mar was murdered, and if we may believe our historians, by the king's command: Albany, apprehensive of the same fate, made his escape out of the kingdom, and fled into France; thence he passed over to England, and concluded a treaty with Edward the Fourth, in which he assumed the name of Alexander, king of Scots. He bound himself so soon as he was put in possession of the kingdom, to swear fealty and do homage to the English monarch, and to surrender some of the most valuable counties in Scotland; and he was conducted, in return for those stipulations, by the Duke of Gloucester, with a powerful army towards Scotland. The danger of foreign invasion obliged James to implore the assistance of those nobles whom he had so long treated with contempt. Though they
seemed

seemed to enter with zeal into the measures of their sovereign, they took the field with a stronger disposition to punish his unworthy favourites, than to annoy the enemy. In the camp near Lauder, the earls of Angus, Huntly, and Lennox, followed by almost all the barons of note in the army, entered the apartment of James, seized all his favourites, except one Ramsay, whom they could not tear from the arms of the king, and immediately executed them.

James had no reason to confide in an army so little under his command, and dismissing it, shut himself up in the castle of Edinburgh. After various intrigues, a reconciliation was effected between him and his brother; but Albany soon after, on pretext that an attempt had been made on his life by poison, fled from court, and retired to his castle of Dunbar. The death of Edward the Fourth prevented him from receiving the aid he expected from England, and crossing over to France, he seems from that time to have taken no part in the affairs of his native country.

Emboldened by his retreat, the king and his ministers multiplied the insults which they had offered to the nobility. A standing guard, a thing unknown under the feudal governments, was raised for the defence of the royal person, and the command of it was given to Ramsay, lately created earl of Bothwell; while James, sunk in indolence or superstition, devolved his whole authority on his favourites. The nobles, provoked by reiterat-
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ed injuries, flew to arms; they persuaded or obliged the duke of Rothefay, the king's eldest son, a youth of fifteen, to set himself at their head; near Bannockburn they defeated the royal army, and James himself was slain in the pursuit.

The indignation which many of the nobles expressed against the conduct of the conspirators, and the sentence of excommunication which the pope pronounced against them, obliged them to use their victory with moderation. They endeavoured to atone for their treatment of the father, by their loyalty to the son; and James the Fourth, who was naturally generous and brave, prone to magnificence, and delighting in war, soon experienced how much a king beloved by his nobles, is able to perform. In the invasion of England, he was followed by as gallant an army as ever any of his ancestors had led upon English ground; and in the unfortunate battle of Flowden, a brave nobility chose rather to die than to desert their sovereign. With the King, there fell twelve earls, thirteen lords, five elder sons of noblemen, and an incredible number of barons.

On the death of his father, James the Fifth was but an infant of a year old; and the office of regent was conferred on his cousin the Duke of Albany, a native of France, and accustomed to a government, where the power of the king was very great. Though he made several bold attempts to extend the royal authority, the nobles asserted their privileges with firmness; and after several unsuccessful

cessful struggles, the Duke of Albany voluntarily retired to France. On his retreat it was determined that the king, then in his thirteenth year, should assume the government, and that eight persons should be appointed to attend him by turns, and assist him in the administration of public affairs. The earl of Angus, one of the number, soon gained the ascendancy over his colleagues, but unable to acquire the affections of the king, the influence was short; and in consequence of an attempt that he made to secure the royal person by force, he, and his adherents were attainted, and he was at length obliged to fly into England for refuge.

James had now, not only the name, but, though extremely young, the full authority of a king; though inferior to no prince of that age in gracefulness of person, or in vigour of mind, his education had been extremely neglected, and he discovered all the features of a great but uncultivated spirit. He felt that the authority of the crown was not sufficient to counterbalance the aristocracy; yet from the fate of former princes, he felt, that without some new accession of strength, he could expect no better success in the struggle than his ancestors. In this extremity he applied to the clergy; and as the Scottish monarchs had the sole right of the nomination to vacant bishoprics and abbeys, he naturally concluded that men who expected preferment from his favour, would be willing to merit it by promoting his designs; the nobility had not yet recovered the blow which

fell on their order at Flowden ; many of the clergy, on the other hand, were distinguished by their great abilities, and no less by their ambition ; secure of their powerful concurrence, James ventured to proceed with greater boldness. He repaired the fortifications of Edinburgh, Stirling, and other castles ; he replenished his magazines with arms and ammunition ; and having taken these precautions, he began to treat the nobility with the utmost coldness and reserve. Those offices which were long considered as appropriated to their order, were now bestowed on ecclesiastics, among whom cardinal Beaton distinguished himself by his superior talents. Every accusation against persons of rank was heard with pleasure, and the patience with which they endured persecution, increased the king's contempt for them ; meanwhile the nobles observed the tendency of his schemes with concern and with resentment, and James and his counsellors, by a false step which they took, presented to them an advantage which they did not fail to improve.

Motives, which are well known, had prompted Henry the Eighth to disclaim the pope's authority, and to seize the revenues of the regular clergy. He was desirous of disappointing the resentment of his enemies, and of securing his kingdom from invasion by a close alliance with his nephew ; and James, who was satisfied that a war with England would reduce him to depend upon his barons, listened at first to Henry's proposal, and consented to

an interview at York. But the clergy dreaded lest James might be persuaded by the arguments of Henry to follow his example, and to seize the revenues of the church; they prevailed upon him to break his agreements with the king of England, who, in expectation of meeting him, had already come to York; and that haughty monarch resented the affront by declaring war against Scotland. His army was soon ready to invade the kingdom; and at the command of their sovereign, the Scottish nobles soon assembled their followers; but they seized the first opportunity to discover to the king their dissatisfaction with his government, and their contempt of authority. Scarcity of provisions, and the rigour of the season, had obliged the English army to retire; and James imagined he could attack them with advantage in their retreat. But the nobles refused to advance a step beyond the limits of their own country; and the king provoked by this insult, disbanded an army which paid so little regard to his orders, and returned abruptly into the heart of the kingdom.

An ambitious and high spirited prince could not brook this mortification; he felt himself engaged in an unnecessary war with England; and beheld how vain and ineffectual were the projects he had formed to humble his nobles. The violence of his passions altered his temper and perhaps impaired his reason. He became pensive, sullen, and retired; and in order to revive the king's spirits, an inroad on the western borders was concerted by

his ministers. But James would not even entrust his nobles with the command of the army that they had assembled; that was reserved for Oliver Sinclair his favourite, who no sooner took possession of the dignity, than rage and indignation occasioned an universal mutiny in the army. Five hundred English who happened to be in sight attacked the Scots in this disorder; hatred to their king, and contempt of their general, overcame the fear of death, and the love of liberty; and ten thousand men fled before a number so far inferior without striking a blow. This event was a new proof to the king of the general disaffection of the nobles, and of his own weakness. All the violent passions, which are the enemies of life, preyed upon his mind, and wasted and consumed a youthful and vigorous constitution. Some authors of that age impute his untimely death to poison; but the known effects of disappointment, anger, and resentment upon a sanguine and impetuous temper, sufficiently account for his unhappy fate.

Among the struggles of our kings to reduce the exorbitant power of the nobles, the influence which the former possessed in their parliaments, remains yet to be explained. In all the feudal kingdom, such as held of the king *in chief* were bound by the condition of their tenure to attend and assist in his courts; this service was also exacted of bishops, abbots, and the greater ecclesiastics; as cities gradually acquired wealth, a considerable share of the public taxes were levied on them; and
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the inhabitants being enfranchised by the sovereign, every borough was permitted to chuse one or two citizens to appear in the name of the corporation; the property of the vassals of the crown had in many instances been parcelled into different hands, and these, who were termed the *lesser barons*, to distinguish them from such as held their original fiefs undivided, were exempted from personal attendance, on condition of their electing in each county, a certain number of representatives to appear in their name; but while the exemption was eagerly laid hold of, the privilege was so little valued, that, except in one or two instances, it lay neglected during one hundred and sixty years.

A Scottish parliament, then, consisted anciently of great barons, of ecclesiastics, and a few representatives of boroughs, who composed one assembly, in which the lord chancellor presided. The great barons were extremely few; even so late as the beginning of the reign of James the sixth, they amounted only to fifty three. The ecclesiastics equalled them in number; and being devoted implicitly to the crown, for reasons which have been explained, rendered all hopes of victory desperate: nor were the nobles anxious to prevent acts of parliament, which, trusting to their own strength, they were conscious they could afterwards either elude, or condemn.

But another circumstance, peculiar to the constitution of the Scottish parliament, will fully serve to explain the influence of our kings in these assemblies.

blies. As far back as our records enable us to trace, we find a committee, distinguished by the name of *lords of articles*. It was their business to prepare, and to digest all matters which were to be laid before the parliament. What they approved, was formed into a bill and presented to parliament; and it seems probable, that what they rejected could not be introduced into the house. This committee was chosen and constituted in such a manner, as put this valuable privilege into the hands of the king; though chosen by parliament, it consisted of an equal number out of each estate, and most commonly of eight temporal and eight spiritual lords, of eight representatives of boroughs, and of the eight great officers of the crown. Of this body the ecclesiastics, and the officers of the crown, were at the devotion of the king; and as he was capable of influencing the election of the lords temporal and burgesses, he commonly found the lords of articles no less obsequious to his will, than his own privy council.

To this account of the internal constitution of Scotland, it will not be improper to add a view of the political state of Europe, at that period where the following history commences. The subversion of the feudal system in France, and its declension in the neighbouring kingdoms, occasioned a remarkable alteration in the political state of Europe. Kings became conscious of their own power and importance; they meditated schemes of conquest, and engaged in wars at a distance; numerous

numerous armies were raised, and great taxes imposed for their subsistence.

It was in Italy that the powerful monarchs of France, Spain, and Germany, first appeared to make a trial of their strength. The Italians, accustomed to mock battles only, were astonished when the French invaded their country, at the sight of real war! Incapable of resisting the torrent, they suffered it to spend its rage; and by balancing the power of one prince against another, supplied by intrigue and policy the want of strength. This system of refined policy was soon extended to the other countries of Europe; confederacies were formed to humble any power that rose above its due proportion; almost every war in Europe became general; and the most inconsiderable states acquired importance, because they could add weight to either scale.

Francis the First, who ascended the throne of France in the year one thousand five hundred and fifteen, and Charles the Fifth, who obtained the imperial crown in the year one thousand five hundred and nineteen, divided between them the strength and affections of all Europe. Their perpetual enmity was founded in nature and policy, and subsisted between their posterity for several ages. Besides his possessions in Germany, Charles was heir to the crown of Spain, and to all the dominions of the house of Burgundy. The discovery of the new world opened a vein of wealth to him, which all the extravagance of ambition could not exhaust;

exhaust ; and he possessed in an eminent degree the characteristic virtues of all the different races of princes to whom he was allied. His abilities were equal to his power, and neither of them would have been inferior to his designs, had not providence, in pity to mankind, to preserve them from universal monarchy, raised up Francis the First, to defend the liberties of Europe. His dominions were more united, though less extensive than the emperor's ; his subjects were numerous and active, warlike and loyal ; and though Francis neglected some advantages which a more phlegmatic or more frugal prince would have improved, a lively and intrepid courage supplied all other defects, and checked or defeated many of the Emperor's designs.

Henry the Eighth of England, who might have held the balance between the contending monarchs, possessed not dexterity equal to so delicate a situation : he was governed by caprice more than principle ; and the passions of the man were an overmatch for the maxims of the king. His reign was a perpetual series of blunders in politics ; and while he esteemed himself the wisest prince in Europe, he was a constant dupe to those who found it necessary, and could submit to flatter him.

In this situation of Europe, the assistance of Scotland was frequently of consequence to the contending parties ; the part assigned to her was to divert Henry from carrying his arms into the continent ; and when Henry routed the French at Gui-
regent,

negate, France attempted to divide his forces, by engaging James the Fourth in that unhappy expedition, which ended with his life. Henry himself began his reign by imitating the examples of his ancestors with regard to Scotland : he held its power in extreme contempt, and irritated the nation by reviving the antiquated pretensions of the crown of England to the sovereignty of Scotland. His own experience gave him an higher idea of its importance ; and he fell at last upon the true secret of policy with respect to that country which his ancestors had too little penetration to discover, or too much pride to employ. It had not yet become honourable for one prince to receive pay from another under the more decent name of a subsidy ; but in all ages the same arguments have been good in courts, and of weight with ministers, factious leaders, and favourites. What were the arguments by which Henry brought over so many to his interest during the minority of James the Fifth, we know by the original warrant still extant for remitting considerable sums into Scotland. His successors adopted the same plan, and improved upon it ; the affairs of the two kingdoms became interwoven, and their interests were often the same. Elizabeth divided her attention almost equally between them, and the authority which she inherited in the one, was not greater than that which she acquired in the other.

Chapter the Second.

BIRTH of Mary Queen of Scots.—Earl of Arran declared regent.—His character.—That of Cardinal Beaton.—Negotiation between the Regent and Henry.—Irresolution of the Regent.—Embraces the Roman Catholic faith.—Henry invades Scotland.—Treaty of peace.—Murder of Cardinal Beaton.—War again between England and Scotland.—Battle of Pinky.—Negociation with France.—Mary is affianced to the Dauphin, and sent to France.—Peace restored.—Progress of the reformed religion.—Character of Knox.—Earl of Arran created Duke of Chatelherault; resigns the regency which is conferred on Mary of Guise.—Marriage of Mary with the Dauphin.—Persecution of the Protestants.—Treaty between the Regent and the former.—Violated by Mary of Guise.—Second Treaty.—Character of the prior of St Andrews.—Confederacy of the Protestant leaders.—They pass an Act depriving the queen dowager of the office of Regent.

MARY, the daughter of James the Fifth, and of Mary of Guise, was A. D. 1542.
 born a few days before the death of her father. The situation in which he left the kingdom alarmed all ranks of men; many persons of the first rank,

rank had fallen into the hands of the English in the unfortunate route near the Firth of Solway, and still remained prisoners at London. Among the rest of the nobles there was little union; and the religious disputes occasioned by the doctrines of the reformed, growing every day more violent, added to the rage of those factions which are natural to a form of government nearly aristocratical.

The government of a queen was unknown in Scotland; and the prospect of a long and feeble minority invited to faction, by the hope of impunity. James had left open the office of regent to every pretender; and cardinal Beaton, who had for many years been considered as prime minister, was the first that claimed that high dignity. Though supported by the queen dowager, he had enjoyed power too long to be a favourite of the nation; and, at the instigation of the nobles, who wished for a reformation in religion, James Hamilton, earl of Arran, roused himself from his inactivity, and was, by the nobles assembled, nominated regent, with the general applause of the people.

No two men differed more widely in disposition and character than the earl of Arran and cardinal Beaton; the former was timid and irresolute, and the perpetual tool of those who found their advantage in practising upon his fears; the latter, with acknowledged abilities and long experience, was immoderately ambitious; and as his own eminence was founded upon the power of the church

church of Rome, he was an avowed enemy to the reformers.

The first negotiation of Arran gave birth to events of the most fatal consequences to himself, and the kingdom. After the death of James, Henry the Eighth conceived hopes of uniting the crowns of Scotland and England, by the marriage of Edward, his only son, with the queen of the Scots. On the promise of supporting his plan in Parliament, he released the prisoners he had taken at Solway, and these were joined by all who feared the cardinal, or who desired a change in religion, and looked towards England for the protection of their persons and principles.

But Henry's rough and impatient temper was incapable of improving this favourable conjuncture; imperious by nature, he demanded that the queen's person should be immediately committed to his custody, and that the government of the kingdom should be put into his hands during her minority. Though the regent secured himself from the opposition of the cardinal, by confining him a prisoner, yet Henry was obliged to give up his own proposals, and consent that the queen should reside in Scotland, and himself remain excluded from any share in the government of the kingdom: on the other hand, the Scots agreed to send the queen to England, as soon as she obtained the full age of ten years, and instantly to deliver six persons of the first rank, to be kept as

hostages by Henry, till the queen's arrival at his court.

The cardinal, who had now recovered his liberty, complained loudly that the regent had betrayed the kingdom. He feretold the extinction of the true Catholic religion under the tyranny of an heretic ; and he lamented the ignominy of an ancient kingdom, descending into the station of a dependent province. His remonstrances were seconded by the imprudence of Henry himself. Several ships, which the Scots had fitted out for France, were, by badness of weather, driven into the ports of England ; and Henry, under pretext that they were carrying provisions to a kingdom with which he was at war, ordered them to be seized and condemned as lawful prizes. The Scots, at this insult, expressed all the resentment natural to a high spirited people. The cardinal, by seizing on the persons of the young queen and her mother, added to his party the splendour of the royal name ; he received a real accession of strength by the arrival of Matthew Stewart, earl of Lennox, whose claims upon the regent extended not only to exclude him from the succession to the crown, but to deprive him of the possession of his personal fortune.

The abbot of Paisley, a natural brother of the regent, a warm partisan of France, and a zealous defender of the established religion, had the address at the same time to play upon the fears of that nobleman ; yet the irresolution of the earl of

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Arran

Arran continued to the last moment. On the 25th of August he ratified the treaty with Henry, and proclaimed the cardinal, who opposed it, an enemy to his country. On the 3d of September he secretly withdrew from Edinburgh, met with the cardinal at Callender, renounced the friendship of England, and declared for the interests of France.

Soon after this sudden revolution in his political principles, the regent changed his sentiments concerning religion. He had formerly been led to express great esteem for the writings of the reformers; and had entertained, in his own family, two of the most noted preachers of the protestant doctrine. But the cardinal represented to him the great imprudence in giving encouragement to opinions so favourable to the pretensions of Lennox; and the timid dispositions of the regent, alarmed at the most distant prospect of danger, publicly abjured the doctrine of the reformers at Stirling, and declared, not only for the political, but the religious opinions of his new confidants.

The regent now consented to every thing that the zeal of the cardinal thought necessary for the preservation of the established religion. The reformers were persecuted with all the cruelty which superstition inspires into a barbarous people; many were condemned to that dreadful death which the church of Rome has appointed for the punishment of its enemies; but they suffered with the patience and fortitude of the primitive martyrs. The cardinal

dinal had now in his possession every thing his ambition could desire; and exercised all the authority of a regent without having the envy of the name: nothing embarrassed him but the pretensions of the earl of Lennox. That nobleman, resenting the duplicity of Beatoun, who had sacrificed his interest to purchase the friendship of the earl of Arran, withdrew from court, and threw himself into the arms of the party at enmity with the cardinal.

Lennox, who was now at the head of the advocates for the English alliance, and a reformation in religion, got the start of the cardinal's wonted activity. He surprised both him and the regent, by a sudden march to Edinburgh, with a numerous army; and might easily have crushed them before they could prepare for their defence; but he was weak enough to listen to terms of accommodation; these were artfully spun out to a considerable length; his army, disgusted at the delay, gradually deserted him; and instead of giving the law, he was obliged to receive it. A second attempt to retrieve his affairs was yet more unfortunate; a body of his troops was cut to pieces, and he must have fled out of the kingdom, if an English army had not brought him a short relief.

Henry was not of a temper to bear tamely the indignity with which he
A.D. 1544.
had been treated by the regent and parliament of Scotland. In the spring, an English army, under the earl of Hertford, was landed without opposition near Leith. That general occupied Edinburgh,

and plundered the adjacent country ; but, on the approach of the Scottish army, he retired towards England : and Henry, by this expedition, still further alienated the affections of the Scots from an union with England.

The earl of Lennox, after a few feeble and unsuccessful attempts to disturb the regent's administration, was obliged to fly for safety to the court of England, where Henry rewarded his services by giving him in marriage his niece, the lady Margaret Douglas. This unhappy exile, however, was destined to beth e father of a race of kings ; he saw his son lord Darnley mount the Scottish throne, to to the perpetual exclusion of that rival who now triumphed in his ruin ; and from that time his posterity have held the sceptre in two kingdoms, by one of which he was cast out as a criminal, and by the other received as a fugitive.

The war was continued with little vigour on either side : the historians of that age relate particularly the circumstances of several skirmishes and inroads, which at this distance of time deserve no remembrance. At last this languid and inactive war was terminated by a peace, in which England, France, and Scotland were comprehended. Henry laboured to exclude the Scots from this treaty ; but although a peace with England was of the utmost consequence to Francis the First, he was too generous to abandon allies who had served him with fidelity ; and by submission, flattery, and address, he prevailed to have the Scots included in the treaty agreed upon.

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The arrogance of cardinal Beatoun, a short time before the peace, had precipitated his fate. His severity to the reformers, and insolence towards the nobles, had worn out the patience of a fierce age. He had treated Norman Lesly, the eldest son of the earl of Rothes, with injustice and contempt. It was not the temper of the man, or the spirit of the times, quietly to digest an affront. The cardinal, at that time, resided at the castle of St. Andrews, which he had fortified at a great expence; his retinue was numerous, the town at his devotion, and the neighbouring country full of his dependants. In this situation sixteen persons undertook to surprize his castle, and to assassinate himself; and their success was equal to the boldness of the attempt. Early in the morning they seized on the gate of the castle, which was set open to the workmen, who were employed in finishing the fortifications; and having placed centinels at the door of the cardinal's apartment, they awakened his numerous domestics, one by one, and turning them out of the castle, they without noise, or tumult, or violence to any other person, delivered their country, though by a most unjustifiable action, from an ambitious man, whose pride was insupportable to the nobles, as his cruelty and cunning were the great checks to the reformation.

A. D. 1546.

His death was fatal to the Catholic religion, and to the French interest in Scotland. Nothing can equal the consternation which this unexpected

event occasioned among his adherents ; and though the regent secretly enjoyed an event which removed out of his way a rival, yet decency and the desire of recovering his eldest son, who, together with the castle, had fallen into the hands of the conspirators, induced him to take arms. Five months were ineffectually consumed before the walls of the castle ; and the tedious siege was concluded by a truce, which would probably have afforded the conspirators the most decisive advantage, had not their hopes from England been blasted by the death of Henry the Eighth.

Francis the First, king of France, did not long survive the English monarch ; but his successor, Henry the Second, was not neglectful of the French interest in Scotland. He sent a considerable body of men under the command of Leon Strozzi, to the assistance of the regent : that general soon compelled the conspirators, on the promise of their lives, to surrender ; they were accordingly transported to France ; the castle itself, in obedience to the canon law, as stained with the blood of a cardinal, was demolished ; and the archbishopric of St Andrews was bestowed by the regent upon his natural brother, John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley.

The conspirators against cardinal Beatoun, found the regent's eldest son in the castle of St Andrews. The presumptive heir to the crown in the hands of the avowed enemies of the kingdom, was a dreadful prospect ; in order to avoid it, the parliament
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fell upon a singular expedient. By an act made on purpose, they excluded the regent's eldest son from all right of succession, public or private, so long as he should be detained a prisoner; and substituted in his place his other brothers, according to their seniority; and, in failure of them, the next heirs of the regent.

The delay of a few weeks would have saved the conspirators. The ministers of England conducted themselves in regard to Scotland by the maxims of their late master. In the beginning of September, the earl of Hertford, now duke of Somerset, and protector of England, entered Scotland at the head of eighteen thousand men, and a fleet of sixty ships appeared on the coast at the same time, to second his forces by land; but the Scots, posted to advantage near the river Eske, were almost double the number of the invaders. The duke of Somerset saw his danger, and would have extricated himself out of it by conditions the most reasonable, but his proposals were rejected with scorn, and the English were only saved by the rashness of their enemies. The Scots descended from their advantageous situation, and hastened with tumultuous valour to encounter at Pinkey, the disciplined courage of the English; the event was such as might have been expected. The rout of the Scottish army after a short contest, became universal; few fell in the encounter, but the pursuit was fierce and bloody, and above ten thousand Scots perished on that disastrous day.

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The protector had it now in his power to become master of the kingdom; but instead of reducing the fortified places accessible by sea, he amused himself with wasting the open country; and the late battle had no other effect than to precipitate the Scots into new engagements with France. The duke of Somerset soon after returned to England to encounter the cabals of his domestic enemies; while a body of troops seized and fortified Haddingtown; a place, which on account of its distance from the sea, and from any English garrison, could not be defended without great expence and danger.

Meanwhile the French gained more by the defeat of their allies, than the English did by their victory. On the death of cardinal Beaton, Mary of Guise, the queen dowager, took a considerable share in the direction of affairs. She was warmly attached by blood and inclination to the French interest; and she seized the favourable moment to represent to the Scots, whose spirits were depressed by the battle of Pinkey, that no assistance could be expected from Henry the Second, without extraordinary concessions in his favour. The prejudices of the nation powerfully seconded her representations; the nobles, in the violence of their resentment, forgot their zeal for the independence of Scotland, which had prompted them to reject the proposals of Henry the Eighth; they voluntarily offered their young queen in marriage to the dauphin, eldest son of Henry the Second; and proposed to send her immediately to France to be educated.

educated at his court. Henry accepted eagerly the offer, and for the defence of his new acquisition, embarked six thousand veteran soldiers under the command of Monsieur Desse; these served two campaigns in Scotland with a spirit equal to their former fame; but the jealousy of the Scots prevented them from effecting any thing of more importance, than compelling the English to evacuate Haddingtown, and several small forts which they possessed in different parts of the kingdom.

The overtures which had been made to the French king, were confirmed in a parliament assembled in a camp before Haddingtown; in vain did a few patriots remonstrate against such extravagant concessions; the regent was gained by the offer of a pension from France, and the title of duke of Chatelherault in that kingdom; and Mary, who was then about six years old, was convoyed to Calais by the fleet that had brought over the forces under Monsieur Desse.

The government of England had in the mean time undergone a great revolution; the duke of Somerset had been compelled to resign the power he had usurped, to the earl of Warwick, who quickly found peace necessary for the establishment of his new authority. To acquire it, he scrupled at nothing which Henry pleased to dictate. England consented to restore to France, Boulogne with its dependencies; and gave up all pretensions to a treaty of marriage with the queen of Scots, or to the conquest of her country; a few small forts, of which

which the English troops had hitherto kept possession, were razed ; and peace between the two kingdoms was established on its ancient foundation.

Immediately after the conclusion of the peace, the French forces left Scotland ; as much to their own satisfaction as that of the nation. The Scots had early found the manners of their allies incompatible with their own ; and naturally irascible and high-spirited, they had borne with impatience those marks of contempt which a polished people could not disguise at their barbarous customs. A private French soldier engaging in an idle quarrel, with a citizen of Edinburgh, both nations took up arms : the provost of Edinburgh, his son, and several citizens of distinction, were killed in the fray ; the French were obliged to avoid the fury of the citizens by retiring out of the city ; and from this time were regarded in Scotland with an aversion, the effects of which were deeply felt, and operated powerfully through the subsequent period.

During the war with England, the clergy had no power to molest the protestants ; and in that interval, the new doctrine advanced by large and rapid steps towards a full establishment. Nothing was wanting to complete the ruin of superstition, but a daring and active leader to direct the attack. Such was the famous John Knox, who, with more extensive views than any of his predecessors in Scotland, possessed a natural intrepidity of mind which set him above fear. Instead of amusing himself with lopping the branches, he struck directly

rectly at the root of popery, with a vehemence peculiar to himself. An adversary so formidable could not escape the rage of the clergy : at first he retired for safety into the castle of St Andrews ; and, while the conspirators kept the possession of it, preached publicly under their protection.

The great revolution in England, which followed upon the death of Henry the Eighth, contributed no less than the zeal of Knox, towards demolishing the popish church in Scotland. The ministers of his son Edward the Sixth, cast off altogether the yoke of popery ; while in Scotland several noblemen of the first distinction openly espoused the principles of the reformers, and the spirit of innovation, peculiar to that period, grew every day bolder, and more universal.

Meanwhile their cause received reinforment from two different quarters, whence they never could have expected it. The ambition of the house of Guise, and the bigotry of Mary of England, hastened the subversion of the papal throne in Scotland ; and by a singular disposition of Providence, the persons who opposed the reformation in every other part of Europe with the fiercest zeal, were made instruments for advancing it in that kingdom.

Mary of Guise possessed the same bold and aspiring spirit which distinguished her family ; but in her it was softened by the female character, and accompanied with great temper and address. She entertained the arduous design of acquiring the high

high dignity of regent ; and the French king willingly concurred in a measure, which he hoped would in future bring Scotland entirely under his management.

But as the warlike disposition of the Scots rendered it imprudent to attempt this enterprize by force ; so also it appeared a chimerical project to persuade a man to abdicate the supreme power ; but the hopes of the queen dowager were inflamed by her knowledge of the regent's inconstancy and irresolution. She fomented the factious disposition of the nobles ; she countenanced the favourers of the reformation ; and she had no sooner formed a strong party of adherents, than the overture was made to the regent, in the name of the French king, enforced by proper threatenings of future vengeance if he opposed, and sweetened by the promise of a considerable pension, with the confirmation of his French title, if he acquiesced.

Had the archbishop of St Andrews been present to fortify the irresolute spirit of the regent, he would in all probability have rejected the proposal with disdain ; but that prelate was lying at the point of death ; and the regent, abandoning himself to his fears, voluntarily consented to surrender the supreme power.

The queen instantly returned to Scotland, in full expectation of taking immediate possession of her new dignity ; but by this time the archbishop

of St Andrews had surmounted that distemper which the ignorance of the Scottish physicians had pronounced mortal; and together with his health, had recovered the entire government of the regent; he quickly persuaded him to recall that dishonourable promise which the artifices of the queen had prevailed on him to grant. A tedious negotiation ensued; but even the firmness of the archbishop could not withstand the universal defection of the nobility, the growing power of the protestants, who all adhered to the queen dowager, the reiterated solicitations of the French king, and above all, the interposition of the young queen, who was now entering the twelfth year of her age, and claimed a right of nominating whom she pleased to be regent.

It was in the parliament, which met on the tenth of April, one thousand five hundred and fifty-four, that the earl of Arran executed this extraordinary resignation; and at the same time Mary of Guise was raised to that dignity which had been so long the object of her wishes. Gratitude induced her to countenance the principles of the reformed; while Mary, who had ascended the throne of England on the death of her brother Edward, and soon after married Philip the Second of Spain, equalled in her persecution of the Protestants, the deeds of those tyrants who have been the greatest reproach to human nature.

The causes which facilitated the introduction of the new doctrines into Scotland, merit a particular

and careful enquiry. The reformation is one of the greatest events in the history of mankind, and in whatever light we view it, is instructive and entertaining. The revival of learning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries roused the world from that lethargy in which it had been sunk for many ages; science and philosophy had laid open to many of the Italians the imposture and absurdity of the established superstition; but it remained for Luther to erect the standard of truth, and uphold it with an unconquerable intrepidity, which merits the admiration and gratitude of all succeeding ages.

The occasion of Luther's being first disgusted with the tenets of the Romish church, and how, from a small rupture, the quarrel widened into an irreparable breach, is generally known. At that time, the power and wealth of the church in Scotland was immense; and the little learning which existed in that country was entirely engrossed by the clergy; but the respect and influence which these advantages must have commanded, were diminished by their licentious lives, and extreme indolence. According to the accounts of the reformers, confirmed by several popish writers, the most scandalous and dissolute manners openly prevailed among them; and instead of being abashed by the public clamour, and reforming their lives, they affected to despise the censures of the people.

At the same time, in the place of mitigating the absurdity of the established doctrines, the fables

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of purgatory, the virtues of pilgrimage, and the merits of the saints, were the topics on which they insisted in their discourses; the duty of preaching was left wholly to monks of the lowest and most illiterate orders; and while the reformers were attended by crowded and admiring audiences, the popish preachers were either universally deserted, or listened to with scorn.

The only device which they employed in order to recover their declining reputation, was equally imprudent and unsuccessful. They endeavoured to call in the authority of false miracles to their aid; but the vigilance of the reformers defeated these impostures, and exposed not only them, but the cause which needed the aid of such artifices, to ridicule.

As the popish ecclesiastics became more and more the objects of hatred and contempt, the discourses of the reformers were listened to as so many calls to liberty; the people hoped to shake off the yoke of ecclesiastical dominion, which they had long felt to be oppressive, and which they now discovered to be unchristian; and the spirit of aversion to the established church, which spread fast through the nation, at last burst forth with irresistible violence.

The queen's elevation to the office of regent, seems at first to have transported her beyond the known prudence and moderation of her character. By conferring upon foreigners several offices of trust and dignity, she

A. D. 1554.

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excited the indignation of the Scots; and an incident which happened at that critical juncture, inflamed their aversion to French councils, to the highest degree. Henry the Second having resolved upon war with Philip the Second, and foreseeing that the queen of England would take part in her husband's quarrel, was extremely solicitous of securing in Scotland the assistance of some troops which would be more at his command than an undisciplined army, led by nobles who were almost independent. Under pretence of relieving the nobles from the expence and danger of defending the borders, the queen regent proposed to impose a small tax on land, for the constant maintenance of a body of regular troops; three hundred of the lesser barons represented in a body their sense of the intended indignity; and the queen prudently abandoned a scheme which she found to be universally odious.

Soon after the French commenced hostilities against Spain, and Philip prevailed on his consort to reinforce his army with a considerable body of English troops; Henry had recourse to the Scots, and attempted to excite them at his juncture to invade England. But the nobles of Scotland listened with coldness to the solicitations of the French monarch, and declined engaging the kingdom in an unnecessary war. What she could not obtain by persuasion, the queen regent brought about by stratagem. She commanded the French soldiers to rebuild a small fort near Berwick, which

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was appointed by the last treaty to be razed ; the garrison of Berwick sallied forth, interrupted the work, and ravaged the adjacent country ; this insult roused the fiery spirit of the Scots. War was determined on ; but before their forces could assemble, their ardour cooled ; and the nobles resolved to stand on the defensive. They marched to the banks of the Tweed ; they prevented the incursions of the enemy ; and having done what they thought sufficient for the safety and honour of their country, the queen could not persuade them, either by her entreaties or her artifices, to advance another step.

The queen having discovered the impotence of her own authority, dismissed the army ; and to counterbalance the influence of the archbishop of St. Andrews, still continued to favour the partizans of the reformation. Kirkaldy of Grange, and other surviving conspirators against cardinal Beatoun, were about this time recalled from their banishment ; and through her connivance the protestant preachers enjoyed an interval of tranquillity which was of great benefit to their cause.

As the queen regent discovered how limited her authority was, she endeavoured to establish it on a more secure foundation, by hastening the conclusion of her daughter's marriage with the dauphin. To complete this, the French king applied to the parliament of Scotland, which appointed eight of its members to represent the whole body of the nation at the marriage of the queen ; the

instructions of the parliament to those commissioners still remain, and do honour to the wisdom and integrity of that assembly; at the same time that they manifest, with respect to the articles of marriage, a laudable concern for the dignity and interest of their sovereign, they employed every precaution, which prudence could dictate, for preserving the liberty and independence of the nation, and for securing the right of succession to the crown, in the house of Hamilton.

The marriage was celebrated with great pomp, and in the treaty the commissioners had agreed that the dauphin should assume the name of king of Scotland: this they considered only as an honorary title; but the French laboured to annex to it some solid privileges and power. They insisted that the crown matrimonial should be conferred on, and all the rights pertaining to the husband of a queen should be vested in the person of the dauphin. By the laws of Scotland, a person who married an heiress, kept possession of her estate during his own life, if he happened to survive her, and the children born in marriage: this was called the *courtesy of Scotland*; and the French aimed at applying this rule, which takes place in private inheritances to the succession of the kingdom. But the answer of the deputies was firm though respectful; and they discovered a fixed resolution of consenting to nothing that tended to introduce any alteration in the order of succession.

A. D. 1558.

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Notwithstanding the cold reception which their proposal concerning the *crown matrimonial* met with from the Scottish deputies, the French ventured to move it in parliament. The partizans of the house of Hamilton, suspicious of their designs upon the succession, opposed it with great zeal. But that party was little able to withstand the influence of France, and the address of the queen regent; that artful princess consented to many new limitations; and the Scots were prevailed on to pass an act which conferred the crown matrimonial on the dauphin, and to trust to the frail security of words and statutes, against the dangerous encroachments of power.

The protestants had concurred with the queen regent in promoting this measure, while the popish clergy, under the influence of the archbishop of St Andrews, violently opposed it. The former were by this time almost equal to the catholics both in power and number; and submitted with impatience to that tyrannical authority with which the ancient laws armed the ecclesiastics against them. There were, however, only two ways of exonerating themselves from the burthen. Either violence must extort the indulgence from the hand of the sovereign; or, by prudent compliances, they might expect it from her favour and gratitude; the latter method was preferred and by their zeal in forwarding the queen's designs, they hoped to merit her protection.

The earl of Argyll, and James Stuart, prior of
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St Andrew's, one the most powerful, and the other the most popular, leader of the protestants, were appointed to carry the crown, and other ensigns of royalty to the dauphin; while in England, Mary finished her short and inglorious reign, and was succeeded by her sister Elizabeth, who once more established, according to law, the protestant religion in that country.

In Scotland, the reformation advanced towards a full establishment; all the low country was deeply tinged with the protestant opinions; and some praise is due to the regular demeanor of so numerous a party, among a people bred to arms, and in an age when religious passions had taken such strong hold of the human mind. From the death of Mr. Patrick Hamilton, the first who suffered in Scotland for the protestant religion, thirty years had elapsed, during which the reformed had patiently submitted to the most cruel excesses of ecclesiastical tyranny. The archbishop of St Andrew's, had indeed, by his temper and prudence, encouraged this pacific disposition; but some time before the meeting of the last parliament he departed from his wonted humanity, and sentenced to the flames an aged priest who had been convicted of embracing the protestant opinions.

Nothing could equal the horror of the protestants at this unexpected and barbarous execution, but the zeal with which they espoused the defence of a cause, that now seemed devoted to destruction. Unsatisfied with the permission of the queen to ex-
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ease their religion with more freedom than before, they resolved to petition parliament for some legal protection against the exorbitant and oppressive jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. But from this intention they were dissuaded by the queen, who assured them in the most solemn manner, of her countenance and support.

Yet it was not long before they began to suspect some change in the re-
A. D. 1559.
gent's disposition towards them. The princes of Lorraine, though strangers at the court of France, had in a short time, by their eminent qualities, placed themselves in a level with the princes of the blood. The church, the army, and the revenue, were under their direction; by the marriage of their neice, the queen of Scots, to the dauphin, they were raised to a near alliance with the throne; and to render that princess more worthy the heir of France, they set on foot her claim to the crown of England, which was founded on pretences not unlaussible.

Henry the Eighth, moved by the caprice of his love or resentment, had beheaded four of the six queens whom he married. In order to gratify him both his daughters had been declared illegitimate by act of parliament; yet in his last will, whereby he called both of them to the throne upon the death of their brother Edward; and at the same time, passing by the posterity of his eldest sister Margaret, queen of Scotland, he appointed the line of
succession

succession to continue in the descendants of his younger sister, the duchess of Suffolk.

On the elevation of Elizabeth, Rome trembled for the catholic faith, and France beheld with concern, a throne to which the queen of Scots could form so many pretensions, occupied by a rival, whose birth, in the opinion of all good catholics, excluded her from any legal right of succession. Instigated by the princes of Lorraine, Henry, soon after the death of Mary, persuaded his daughter in law, and her husband, to assume the title of king and queen of England; it was on the side of Scotland that France determined to attack Elizabeth; and to allure the English catholics to join in the enterprise, previous to the invasion, it was determined by the princes of Lorraine, to break the power of the protestants in Scotland.

This plan was far from meeting the approbation of the regent; she represented to her brothers, that in the hope of exterminating the protestant doctrine, it was probable the established church would be overturned; yet sacrificing her own judgment to their opinions, she became the instrument of exciting civil commotions in Scotland, the fatal termination of which he she foresaw and dreaded.

The popish ecclesiastics readily joined the attempts of the queen, to check the progress of the reformation: and the regent, secure of their assistance, issued a proclamation enjoining all persons to observe the approaching festival of Easter, according to the Romish ritual; when her former
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engagements were urged to her, in the name of the reformed, by the earl of Glencairn and Sir Hugh Campbell, "The promises of princes," said she, "ought not to be too carefully remembered, nor the performance of them exacted, unless it suits their own conveniency."

On the first information that the protestant religion had been introduced into Perth, she issued a mandat summoning all the protestant preachers in the kingdom to a court of Justice, to be held at Stirling. At that time there prevailed in Scotland a custom, that persons accused of any crime were accompanied to the place of trial by a retinue of their friends and adherents; authorised by this ancient usage, the reformed convened in great numbers to attend their pastors to Stirling. The queen dreaded their approach with a train so numerous, and promised that she would put a stop to the intended trial, on condition that the preachers and their retinue advanced no nearer to Stirling; the protestants listened with pleasure to so pacific a proposition; the multitude dispersed; and the preachers, with a few only of the leaders, remained at Perth.

But notwithstanding this solemn promise, the queen on the 10th of May, proceeded to the trial of the persons who had been summoned, and upon their non-appearance, the rigour of justice took place, and they were pronounced outlaws. The protestants, no less shocked at the indecency with which the public faith had been violated, than at the danger

danger which threatened themselves, prepared boldly for defence; their zeal was heightened by the popular and powerful eloquence of Knox, who obliged to retire from the popish rage to Geneva, was returned to his native country only a few days before the trial appointed at Stirling. He hurried instantly to Perth, to share with his brethren the common danger, or to assist them in promoting the common cause. While their minds were in that ferment, occasioned by the queen's perfidy, he mounted the pulpit, and by a vehement harangue against idolatry, inflamed the multitude with the utmost rage. The indiscretion of a priest who was preparing to celebrate mass, precipitated them into immediate action. They fell upon the churches, overturned the altars, and defaced the pictures; but this insurrection, censured by the reformed preachers, and publicly condemned by the persons of the most credit with the party, must be regarded merely as an accidental eruption of popular rage.

Yet the queen dowager, irritated by this contempt of her authority, was determined to inflict the severest vengeance on the whole party; with what forces she could assemble, she marched directly to Perth, in hopes of surprizing the protestant leaders; but these planned their measures with the greatest vigour; their adherents flocked in such numbers to Perth, that they not only secured the town from danger, but in a few days were in a condition to take the field.

Neither party, however, was impatient to engage ; and as both dreaded the event of an action, a treaty was soon concluded, by which it was stipulated that both armies should be disbanded, and the gates of Perth set open to the queen ; that indemnity should be granted to the inhabitants of that city, and to all others concerned in the late insurrection ; that no French garrison should be left in Perth, and no French soldier should approach within three miles of that place ; and that a parliament should immediately be held to compose whatever differences remained.

No sooner were the protestant forces dismissed, than the queen broke every article in the treaty ; she introduced French troops into Perth, fined some of the inhabitants, banished others, removed the magistrates from office, and on retiring to Stirling, she left behind a garrison of six hundred men, with orders to allow the exercise of no other religion than the Roman Catholic.

From some passages in Buchanan, it may be conjectured that the French, and Scots in French pay, who threatened the liberties of the kingdom, might amount to three thousand men, and they were soon after augmented to a much more considerable number ; but the zeal of the protestants got the start once more of the queen's vigilance and activity. Though the leaders set out from St. Andrew's with the slender train of an hundred horse, yet by the ardour of their adherents, before they reached Falkland, a village only ten miles distant,

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they were able to meet the queen with superior forces.

The queen, surpris'd at the approach of so formidable a body, had again recourse to negociation; she found however, that the preservation of the protestant religion, which had at first roused the leaders of the *congregation*, a name by which the reformed about this time were distinguished, to arms, was not the only object they had now in view. They demanded not only the redress of their religious grievances, but required the immediate expulsion of the French troops out of Scotland; it was not in the power of the queen to make this important concession without the concurrence of the French monarch; and as some time was requisite in order to obtain that, she hoped, during this interval, to receive such reinforcements from France, as would insure the accomplishment of that design which she had twice attempted with unequal strength.

Mean while she agreed to a cessation of arms for eight days, and before the expiration of these, engaged to transport the French troops to the south side of the Forth; and to send commissioners to St Andrew's, who should labour to bring all differences to an accommodation. As she hoped by means of the French troops to overawe the protestants in the southern counties, the former article in the treaty was punctually executed; the latter having been inserted merely to amuse the congregation, was no longer remembered.

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By these reiterated instances of perfidy, the queen lost all credit with her adversaries; they resumed their arms with more inflamed resentment and more extensive views. Of the country between the Forth and Tay, the inhabitants of Perth alone remained in the power of the queen; thither the protestants marched, and without listening to the insidious offers of their antagonist, compelled the garrison to submit. By a rapid march, they prevented the designs of the queen on Stirling, and pressing forward towards Edinburgh, compelled her to retire to Dunbar.

The protestant army wherever it came, spread the ardour of reformation; their furious zeal overthrew the monuments of our ancestors' magnificence, the noblest ornaments of the kingdom. Yet the humanity of the leaders of the congregation so far restrained the rage of their followers, so that few of the Roman Catholics were exposed to any personal insult, and not a single man suffered death; with their success their demands were raised; they now openly aspired at establishing the protestant doctrine on the ruins of popery; and their preachers taking possession of the pulpits at Edinburgh, fervently declaimed against the idolatrous errors of their religious rivals.

In the mean time the queen, who had prudently given way to a torrent which she could not resist, observed with pleasure that it now began to subside. The finances of most of the leaders had been exhausted by the length of the campaign; the mul-

titude, concluding the work already done, retired to their habitations ; and a few only of the most zealous and wealthy barons, remained with their preachers at Edinburgh ; when the queen rapidly advancing in the night, appeared before that city with all her forces. The protestants durst not encounter the French troops in the open field ; and the regent would have easily forced her way into the town, if the seasonable conclusion of a truce had not procured her admission without the effusion of blood.

Their dangerous situation easily induced the leaders of the congregation to listen to any overtures of peace ; and as the queen still expected a strong reinforcement from France, she also agreed to it, upon equal conditions. Together with a suspension of hostilities to the tenth of January, it was stipulated in this treaty, that on the one hand the protestants should open the gates of Edinburgh next morning to the queen regent, remain dutiful to her government, abstain from all future violation of religious houses, and give no interruption to the established clergy. On the other hand, the queen consented not to molest the preachers of the protestant religion, to allow the citizens of Edinburgh the exercise of the religious worship most agreeable to each individual, and to permit the public profession of the protestant faith in every part of the kingdom ; yet she insisted on retaining the French troops, and would consent to nothing
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more than that a French garrison should not be introduced into Edinburgh.

The danger of this concession was evident to the Scots; and the duke of Chateherault and the earl of Huntly, two noblemen who had followed the queen during the late commotions, and who were considered as the leaders of the established church, now desired an interview with the chiefs of the congregation; they determined rather to endanger the religion they professed, than the liberties of their country; and they promised to Argyll, Glencairn, and the prior of St Andrews, that if the queen should violate any article of the truce, or refuse to dismiss the French troops, that they would instantly join with their countrymen in compelling her to a measure which the public safety rendered necessary.

About this time died Henry the Second, just when he had adopted a system in regard to Scotland, which would in all probability have restored tranquility to that kingdom. Towards the close of his reign, the constable Montmorency had acquired an ascendancy in the cabinet of that prince, and he imputed the late disturbances in Scotland to the princes of Lorraine, who now visibly declined in favour. But the tragical and untimely death of the French monarch, put an end to all moderate and pacific measures; the duke of Guise, and the cardinal his brother, upon the accession of Francis the Second, assumed the chief direction of French

affairs; allied so nearly to the throne by the marriage of their neice, the young queen of Scots, they wanted but little of regal dignity, and nothing of regal power. They had beheld with the utmost concern the progress of the protestant religion in Scotland; they bent all their strength to check its growth; and they encouraged the queen their sister to expect, in a short time, the arrival of an army so powerful, that the zeal of her adversaries, however desperate, would not venture to oppose.

The lords of the congregation were not ignorant of their counsels, or careless of providing against the danger. The success of their cause depended on their rigour and unanimity; they entered into a stricter bond of confederacy and mutual defence; and by the accession of the duke of Chatelherault, and his eldest son the earl of Arran, gained a considerable increase both of reputation and power. The latter had commanded the Scottish guards in France, and had imbibed the protestant opinions; with the zeal of a proselyte, he had uttered sentiments on points of controversy which did not suit the temper of a bigotted court. The princes of Lorraine had at that time resolved to select for a sacrifice some person, whose fall might convince all ranks of men, that neither splendour of birth, nor eminence in station, could exempt from punishment those who should be guilty of the crime of heresy. The earl of Arran was the person

son destined to be the unhappy victim, but some expressions of the cardinal of Lorrain raised his suspicions, and he escaped the intended blow by a timely flight. Animated with implacable aversion towards France, he returned to Scotland, and communicated those sentiments to his father, the duke of Chatelherault, who now joined the congregation, and was considered for some time as the head of the party.

But with respect to him, this distinction was merely nominal; James Stuart, prior of St Andrews, was the person who moved and actuated the whole body of protestants, among whom he possessed that unbounded confidence, which his great abilities so justly merited. He was the natural son of James the Fifth, by a daughter of lord Erskine, and had received from his father the priory of St Andrews; but disgusted with the indolence and retirement of a monastic life, his enterprising genius called him forth to act a principal part on a more public and conspicuous theatre. To the most unquestionable bravery, he added great skill in the art of war; his sagacity and penetration in civil affairs, was universally acknowledged; while his boldness in defence of the reformation, and the severity of his manners, secured him the reputation of being sincerely attached to religion, without which it was impossible, in that age, to gain an ascendant over mankind.

It was not without reason that the queen dreaded a man so capable of obstructing her designs.

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She endeavoured to lessen his influence, by insinuating that his ambition aspired at nothing less than the crown itself. An accusation so improbable, gained but little credit. To dethrone a queen who was lineal heir to an ancient race of monarchs; who had been guilty of no action by which she could forfeit the esteem and the affections of her subjects; who could employ in defence of her rights, the forces of a kingdom much more powerful than her own; and to substitute in her place, a person whom the illegitimacy of his birth, by the practice of civilized nations, rendered incapable of any inheritance, either public or private, was a project so chimerical, as the most extravagant ambition could hardly entertain, and would never conceive to be practicable.

The arrival of a thousand French soldiers compensated in some degree for the loss that the queen sustained by the defection of the duke of Chatelherault; they were immediately commanded to fortify Leith, in which place, on account of its commodious harbour, and its situation in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, the queen resolved to fix the head-quarters of her foreign forces. In order to bring the town under their command, the French turned out a great part of the ancient inhabitants; and thus rendered an unpopular measure, still more unpopular by the manner of executing it.

It was with deep regret that the lords of the congregation beheld this bold and decisive step taken by the queen regent. They represented in
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the strongest terms, their dissatisfaction at the late measures ; but the queen, conscious of her present advantageous situation, was in no disposition to listen to demands utterly inconsistent with her views, and urged with that bold importunity which is so little acceptable to princes.

As all things tended to a crisis, the princes of Lorrain did not entrust to their ordinary agents, their influence over the mind of their sister, they called in to their aid the ministers of religion ; under pretence of confounding the protestants by the skill of able masters in controversy, they appointed several French divines to reside in Scotland. Though amidst the noise of arms, these doctors had little opportunity to display their address in the use of their theological weapons, yet they gave no small offence to the nation by one of their actions ; they persuaded the queen to seize the church of St Giles, in Edinburgh, which had remained ever since the late truce in the hands of the protestants, and to re-establish there the rights of the Romish church ; this convinced the lords of the congregation that it was in vain to expect any satisfaction from the queen, and that it was absolutely necessary to take arms in their own defence.

It was but a small part of the French auxiliaries that had yet arrived ; the fortifications of Leith, though advancing fast, were still incomplete ; and the confederates, under these circumstances, conceived it possible to surprise the queen's party, and to terminate the war by one blow. With a numerous

merous army they rapidly advanced towards Edinburgh, but the regent had already foreseen the danger, and had retired to Leith to wait the arrival of new reinforcements; while the fortifications of that town, slight as they were, might defy the efforts of an army provided neither with heavy cannon nor with military stores.

The arts of the queen had in some measure damped the zeal, and divided the party of the confederates; when it blazed up with fresh vigour, and rose to a greater height than ever. The lords of the congregation on their arrival at Edinburgh, had represented to the regent the dangers arising from the increase of the French troops, and the fortifying Leith; but the answer of that princess was in terms the most explicit; she pretended that she was not accountable to the confederate lords for any part of her conduct; that she would neither dismiss forces which she found useful, or demolish a fortification which might prove of advantage. And she required them, on pain of treason, to disband the forces which they had assembled.

The confederate nobles were sensible at once of the dignity offered to themselves, and alarmed with this plain declaration of the queen's intentions, there now remained but one step to take; but that they might not seem to depart from the established forms of the constitution, they assembled all the peers, barons, and representatives who
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adhered to their party ; the leaders of the congregation laid before them the declaration which the queen had given in answer to their remonstrance ; they represented the unavoidable ruin which her measures would bring upon the kingdom ; and required the direction of the assembly with regard to the obedience due to an administration so unjust and oppressive.

The assembly proceeded to decide with no less dispatch than unanimity ; as the determination of the point in doubt was conceived to be the office of divines as well as of laymen, the former were called to assist with their opinion. Knox and Wilcox appeared for the whole order, and pronounced that it is lawful for subjects, not only to resist tyrannical princes, but to deprive them of the authority they abused. The decision of persons so highly revered, had great weight with the whole assembly ; and all gave their suffrages, without one dissenting voice, for depriving the queen of the office of regent, which she had exercised so much to the detriment of the kingdom.

The act of deprivation, and a letter from the lords of the congregation to the queen regent, are still extant ; they discover not only that undaunted spirit, natural to men capable of so bold a resolution, but are remarkable for a precision and vigour of expression, which we are surprised to meet with in an age so unpolished ; but the language of business is nearly the same at all times ; and whenever
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men think clearly, and are thoroughly interested, they express themselves with perspicuity and force. 2

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Chapter the Third.

SIEGE of Leith. — Retreat of the Protestants. — They are joined by Maitland. — His character. — Negotiations between the protestants and the queen of England. — Elizabeth sends a fleet to the succour of the former. — Siege of Leith resumed by the English and Scots. — Death of the queen regent. — Peace between the contending powers. — The reformed religion established by parliament. — Death of the king of France. — Mary returns to Scotland. — Jealousies between her and Elizabeth. — Administration of Mary. — Prior of St. Andrew's created earl of Murray. — Revolt of the earl of Huntly. — Battle of Corrichie. — Proposal of marriage to Mary. — She espouses lord Darnly, son to the earl of Lennox. — Murray discontented retires into England. — His reception there. — Vigorous measures of Mary.

THE lords of the congregation soon found that their zeal had engaged them in an undertaking which it was beyond their ability to accomplish; the French garrison, despising their numerous but irregular forces, refused to surrender Leith, or to depart out of the kingdom; the assailants soon became impatient of the severe and constant duty

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which a siege requires. The queen's emissaries, mingling with their countrymen, heightened their disgust, which discovered itself at first in murmurs and complaints, and, on occasion of the want of money for paying the army, broke out into open mutiny. The most eminent leaders were hardly secure from the insolence of the soldiers; discord, consternation, and perplexity, reigned in the camp of the reformers; while the duke, their general, sunk with his usual timidity under the terror of approaching danger.

The congregation, in this situation of their affairs, applied to Elizabeth, who desirous of her extending her influence in Scotland, listened with pleasure to their applications. Sir Ralph Sadler and sir James Crofts, were entrusted with a discretionary power of supplying the Scottish malecontents; from them, Cockburn of Ormiston received four thousand crowns, but little to the advantage of his party. The earl of Bothwell, by the queen's instigation, lay in wait for him on his return, dispersed his followers, wounded him, and carried off the money.

This disappointment proved fatal to the party; in mere despair they attempted to assault Leith, but the French beat them back with disgrace, and pursued them to the gates of Edinburgh. A second skirmish, which happened a few days after, was no less unfortunate; and on these reiterated blows, the hopes and spirits of the congregation sunk altogether. They did not even think them-

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selves secure within the walls of Edinburgh, but determined to retire to some place at a greater distance from the enemy. In vain did the prior of St Andrew's, and some others, oppose this ignominious flight; at midnight they set out from Edinburgh in great confusion, and marched without halting till they arrived at Stirling.

A few days before the retreat of the congregation, the queen suffered an irreparable loss by the defection of her principal secretary William Maitland of Lethington; whose zeal for the reformed religion, exposed him so much to the resentment of her French counsellors, that he, suspecting his life to be in danger, withdrew secretly from Leith, and fled to the lords of the congregation; early accustomed to business, he possessed in an eminent degree that intrepid spirit which delights in pursuing bold designs, and was no less master of that political dexterity which is necessary for carrying them on with success. But these qualities were deeply tinged with the neighbouring vices. His address sometimes degenerated into cunning; his acuteness bordered upon excess; and his enterprising spirit engaged him in projects vast and splendid; but beyond his utmost power to execute.

The army of the congregation, before it reached Stirling, dwindled to an inconsiderable number. The spirit of Knox however still remained undaunted and erect; and he addressed his desponding hearers in a discourse remarkable for the boldness and freedom of reproof assumed by the first

reformers. The hopes of the leaders rested solely on Elizabeth; and Maitland, as the most able negociator of the party, was employed in the embassy to England. There was little need of his address to induce Elizabeth to take his country into her protection; and the motives which determined the queen to espouse the defence of the congregation, are still extant in two papers written by sir William Cecil, and entitled, *a short discussion of the weighty matters of Scotland*.

That minister lays it down as a principle, that every society hath a right to protect itself, not only from present dangers, but from such as may probably ensue; to which he adds, that nature and reason teach every prince to defend himself by the same means that his adversaries employ to distress him. Upon these grounds he establishes the right of England to interfere in the affairs of Scotland, and to prevent the conquest of that kingdom, at which the French openly aimed. The latter he observes, are the ancient enemies of England; and though now drained of men and money, they would quickly again be in a condition for acting. The Princes of Lorrain, who governed France, openly questioned the legitimacy of the queen's birth, and by advancing the title and pretensions of their neice the queen of Scotland, studied to deprive Elizabeth of her crown. They had solicited at Rome, and obtained a bull, declaring Elizabeth's birth to be illegitimate. Scotland is the quarter from whence they can attack England with
most

most advantage; a war on the borders of that country exposes France to no danger, one unsuccessful action there may overturn the government of England. The invading of England will immediately follow the reduction of the Scottish malecontents; by abandoning whom, Elizabeth will open a way for her enemies into the heart of her own kingdom. Nothing therefore remained, but to meet the enemy at a distance, and to crush the designs of the princes of Lorrain while yet in their infancy, before their power had time to take root, and to grow up to any considerable height.*

These arguments produced their full effect upon Elizabeth; one of Maitland's attendants was instantly dispatched into Scotland with the strongest assurances of protection; and the lords of the congregation, were desired to send commissioners into England, to conclude a treaty, and to settle the operations of the campaign with the duke of Norfolk.

A. D. 1560. The queen regent, informed of this negociation, endeavoured to get the start of Elizabeth; a considerable body of French were commanded to march to Stirling; they proceeded along the coast, plundering the lands of those whom they deemed their enemies; and proposed to seize and fortify St Andrew's. But on this occasion the prior of St Andrew's, lord Ruthven, and Kirkaldy of Grange, performed a service the most essential to their party, by continually harassing the French at the head of six hundred

horse which they had assembled. At length their weakness obliged them to retire, and the French moved forward to St Andrew's. They had advanced but a few miles when they descried a powerful fleet steering its course up the frith of Forth; they concluded it was the marquis d'Elbœuf, and their guns were already fired to welcome the arrival of their friends; when a small boat from the opposite coast blasted their premature triumph, by informing them it was the fleet of England, intended for the relief of the congregation, and which was soon to be followed by a formidable land army.

No sooner had Elizabeth determined to afford protection to the lords of the congregation, than they experienced her activity. She instructed a strong squadron to cruize in the frith of Forth; and the French, at the appearance of it, were struck with such terror, that they retreated towards Stirling with the utmost precipitation, and arrived at Leith harrassed and exhausted with fatigue.

The English fleet precluded the garrison of Leith from receiving succours; and soon after its arrival the commissioners of the congregation repaired to Berwick, and concluded with the duke of Norfolk a treaty, the bond of that union with Elizabeth, which was of so great advantage to the cause. The Scots engaged never to suffer any closer union with France, and Elizabeth promised to employ in Scotland a powerful army; no place in Scotland was to remain in the hands of the English;

English; and if any invasion should be made upon England, the Scots were obliged to assist Elizabeth with part of their forces.

The English, consisting of six thousand foot and two thousand horse, were swelled by the forces of the congregation, and advanced to Leith: the French, to embarrass the besiegers, laid waste the adjacent country; but the zeal of the Scots frustrated their intentions; the neighbouring counties supplied every thing necessary, and the English found in their camp all sorts of provisions at a cheaper rate than had for some time been known in that part of the kingdom.

On the approach of the English army, the queen regent retired into the castle of Edinburgh and committed herself to the protection of lord Erskine, a nobleman of unblemished integrity, who still preserved a neutrality, with the esteem of both parties; and who received the queen with honour but took care to admit no such retinue as might endanger his command of the castle.

A few days after they arrived in Scotland, the English invested Leith: the circumstances of this siege, related by cotemporary historians, men without knowledge or experience in the art of war, are often obscure and imperfect; but from their detail it is easy to observe the different characters of the French and English troops; the former, trained to war under the active reigns of Francis the First, and Henry the Second, defended themselves not only with bravery, but with the skill of veterans;

veterans; the latter, though they still preserved the desperate valour peculiar to the nation, discovered few marks of military genius. The length, however of the siege, and the loss of part of their magazines by accidental fire, reduced the French to extreme distress, which the prospect of relief made them bear with admirable fortitude.

Meanwhile the leaders of the congregation were not idle; by new associations and confederacies they laboured more perfectly to unite their party; the earl of Huntly, and several other lords, who still adhered to the popish church, were induced to concur in their measures by their indignation against the French.

The queen regent, rather the instrument, than the cause of involving Scotland in its distress, died during the siege: possessed of much discernment, and no less address; intrepid yet prudent: humane without weakness; religious without bigotry; just without rigour: all these great qualities were poisoned by her attachment to France, and to the Princes of Lorraine, her brothers. To gratify them, she departed from every maxim which her own wisdom or humanity might have approved. A few days before her death she desired an interview with the prior of St. Andrew's, the earl of Argyll, and other leaders of the congregation; to them she lamented the fatal issue of those violent councils which she had been obliged to follow; but she warned them at the same time, amidst their struggles for liberty, not to lose sight of the
loyalty

loyalty which was due to their sovereign : the remainder of her time she employed in religious exercises ; she even invited the attendance of Wilcox, an eminent protestant preacher, listened to his instructions with reverence, and prepared for the approach of death with decent fortitude.

Nothing could now save the French troops in Leith, but a peace, or the arrival of a powerful reinforcement ; but the princes of Lorrain were at this time embarrassed by the protestants in France ; and instead of sending new troops into Scotland, it became necessary, to defend the dignity of the French crown, to withdraw the veteran forces already employed in that kingdom.

The interests of the French and English courts were soon adjusted by Monluc, bishop of Valence, and the sieur Randan, on the side of the former ; and Cecil, and Wotton, dean of Canterbury, on the part of the latter. The French consented to withdraw the forces which had been the occasion of war ; but the grievances of the congregation required longer time. The Scottish nobles could not think themselves secure without fixing some new bartier against the future encroachments of royal power. The French ambassador considered it unworthy of a sovereign to treat with subjects ; yet the impatience of both parties overbore their scruples : the Scots consented to accept the redress of their grievances as a matter of favour ; Francis and Mary agreed to grant what they demanded as acts of royal indulgence ; and the French ambassador

fador allowed these concessions to be inserted in the treaty with Elizabeth, and rendered her thereby the guarantee of their execution.

In the treaty between France and England, the right of Elizabeth to her crown is acknowledged in the strongest manner; and Francis and Mary engaged neither to assume the title, nor to bear the arms of king and queen of England, in any future time to come.

Nor were the conditions of peace less advantageous to the Scots; Monluc and Randan consented that the French forces should be instantly sent back into their own country; that the fortifications of Leith and Dunbar should be rased; that a parliament should be held the first day of August, and should be declared valid, if called by the express commandment of the king and queen; that the king and queen should not declare war or conclude a peace, without the concurrence of that parliament; that during the queen's absence, the administration of government should be vested in a council of 12 persons, to be chosen out of twenty-four persons named by parliament, seven of which council were to be elected by the queen, and five by the parliament; that the king and queen should not advance foreigners to places of trust and dignity, nor confer the offices of treasurer or comptroller of the revenues upon an ecclesiastic; that a general obligation for all offences, committed since the 6th of March 1558, shall be passed in the ensuing parliament, and be ratified by the king and queen; and

that

that the redress due to churchmen for injuries which they had sustained during the late insurrections, should be left entirely to parliament.

To such a memorable period did the lords of the congregation conduct an enterprise, which at first promised a very different issue. A few days after the conclusion of the treaty, both the French and the English armies quitted Scotland; and the eyes of every man in that kingdom was turned towards the approaching parliament.

A meeting summoned at such a critical juncture, and to deliberate upon matters of so much consequence, was attended by an unusual confluence of all orders of men. Besides a full convention of peers, temporal and spiritual, there appeared the representatives of almost all the boroughs, and above an hundred barons, who though of lesser order, were gentlemen of the first rank and fortune in the nation.

Though no commissioner appeared in the name of the king and queen, yet the assembly, by the express words of the treaty of Edinburgh, was declared valid; the boldest leaders of the congregation, whose adherents greatly out-numbered their adversaries, were chosen to be lords of the articles, who formed a committee of ancient use and of great importance in the Scottish parliament; their deliberations were carried on with the most active zeal; the act of oblivion, the nomination of twenty-four persons, and every thing prescribed by the late treaty, were passed without delay.

The article of religion employed longer time,
and

and was attended with greater difficulty. Against the oppressive discipline and corrupt manners of the popish church, the protestants remonstrated with the utmost severity of style; and though several prelates attached to the ancient superstition were present; they deemed it impossible to resist the torrent of religion, and dreaded to imitate their adversaries by delay: and they were willing, perhaps, to sacrifice the doctrine, and even the power of the church, in order to ensure the safety of their own persons, and to preserve the possession of those revenues which were still in their hands.

The parliament did not think it enough to condemn those doctrines mentioned in the petition of the protestants; but they also approved a confession of faith presented to them by the reformed teachers. By another act, the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts was abolished; and by a third statute, the exercise of religious worship, according to the rites of the Romish church, was prohibited.

Thus did the vigorous zeal of the parliament overturn in a few days the ancient system of religion, which had been established so many ages. In reforming the doctrine of the church, the nobles kept pace even with the expectations of Knox himself. But their proceedings were slow and dilatory, when they entered on the consideration of ecclesiastical revenues. Many of the lay members had already enriched themselves with the

spoils of the church, and others waited in expectation of what still remained untouched; the proposal of the reformed ministers, for applying those revenues towards the maintenance of teachers, the education of youth, and the support of the poor, was equally dreaded by the protestant leaders; and we find Knox, whose spirit was superior to the considerations of interest, expressing his indignation at these early symptoms of avarice and selfishness which he beheld among his adherents.

The treaty of Edinburgh allowed the parliament to take into consideration the state of religion, and to signify their sentiments of it to the king and queen; but that assembly, instead of presenting their desires in the form of an address, had converted them into so many acts, which had obtained over the kingdom the weight and authority of laws. To lay their proceedings before the king and queen, Sir James Sandilands of Calder, and lord St John, were appointed to repair to the court of France; but Francis and Mary received the ambassador with coldness; and, after enduring the scorn of the princes of Lorrain, and their partizans, he was dismissed without the ratification of the parliament's proceedings.

Though the ambassadors of the parliament to Elizabeth met with a very different reception, they were not more successful in one part of the negotiation entrusted to their care. They besought that princess to render the friendship between the two nations perpetual, by marrying

the earl of Arran : who, after Mary, was the undoubted heir of the crown ; but Elizabeth, naturally averſe to marriage, declined the propoſal, with many expreſſions of good will towards the ſcottish nation, and of reſpect for Arran himſelf.

Towards the concluſion of this year, diſtinguiſhed by ſo many remarkable events, there happened one of great importance. On the 4th of December died Francis the Second, a prince of feeble conſtitution, and of a mean underſtanding. As he did not leave any iſſue by the queen, no incident could have been more fortunate to thoſe, who, during the late commotions in Scotland, had taken part with the congregation ; Catherine of Medicis, who, during the minority of Charles the Ninth, her ſecond ſon, engroſſed the entire direction of the French councils, was far from having any thoughts of vindicating the ſcottish queen's authority ; and Mary, ſlighted by the queen mother, and forſaken by the tribe of courtiers, who appear only in the ſunſhine of proſperity, retired to Rheims, and there in ſolitude indulged her grief, or hid her indignation.

The death of the French monarch excited among the Scots the ſtrongest emotions of joy, and was conſidered as the only event which could give firmneſs and ſtability to the ſyſtem of religion and government which was now introduced. It was about this time that the proteſtant church in Scotland began to aſſume a regular form. Its principles

ples had obtained the sanction of public authority, and some fixed external policy became necessary for the government and preservation of the infant society; and the motives which induced the reformers to differ from the model so long established, deserve some explanation.

In great part of Germany, in England, and in the northern kingdoms, the operations of the reformation were checked by the power and policy of the princes; and the ancient episcopal jurisdiction, under a few limitations, was still continued in those churches. In Switzerland and the Low Countries, the nature of the government allowing full scope to the genius of the reformation, all pre-eminence of order in the churches was destroyed; the situation of the primitive church suggested the latter system, which has since obtained the name of *presbyterian*: Calvin was the patron and restorer of this scheme of ecclesiastical policy; the church of Geneva, formed under his eye, was esteemed the most perfect model of this government; and Knox, who during his residence in that city, had studied and admired it, warmly recommended it to the imitation of his countrymen.

Among the Scottish nobility some hated the persons, and others coveted the wealth of the dignified clergy; while the people inflamed with the most violent aversion to popery, approved of every scheme that departed from the Romish church, and were delighted with a system so admirably suited to their predominant passion. Yet the num-

bers of the reformed clergy, to whom the care of parochial duty was entrusted were still extremely small; the first general assembly of the church, which was held this year, bears all the marks of an infant and unformed society. The members were few, and of no considerable rank; and conscious of their own weakness, they put an end to their debates without entering upon any decision of much importance.

Knox indeed, with the assistance of his brethren, had composed a book of discipline, which contains the model of intended policy, and might have given strength to the presbyterian plan; but as it insinuated a design to recover the patrimony of the church, it met from the nobles a cold reception, who affected to consider it as visionary, and bestowed upon it the name of a *devout imagination*.

The convention appointed the prior of St Andrews to repair to the queen, A. D. 1561. and to invite her to return into her native country, and assume the reins of government. The zeal of the Roman Catholics got however, the start of the prior, and Lesly afterwards bishop of Ross, arrived before him at the place of her residence. Lesly endeavoured to persuade the queen to throw herself into the the arms of those who adhered to her religion; he gave her assurance of being joined in a few days by 20,000 men; and flattered her, that with such an army, she might overturn

overturn the reformed church before it was firmly settled.

But the princes of Lorrain, intent on defending themselves against Catharine of Medicis, had no leisure to attend to the affairs of Scotland, and wished their niece to take possession of the kingdom with as little disturbance as possible. The French officers too, who had served in Scotland, dissuaded Mary from all violent measures; who received the prior of St Andrews with confidence and affection, and gave credit to his representation of the state of the kingdom.

In a second convention that was held in May, an ambassador from France solicited the Scots to renew their ancient alliance with the French, and to restore the popish ecclesiastics to the possession of their revenues and the exercise of their religion. These propositions were rejected with scorn, but the protestant clergy found themselves also equally distant from obtaining the patrimony of the church: yet in another point, the zeal of the nobles was conspicuously displayed. The book of discipline required that the monuments of popery throughout the kingdom should be demolished; the convention considering every religious fabric as a relic of idolatry, passed sentence on them in form: and a deliberate and universal rapine completed the devastation of every thing venerable and magnificent, which had escaped the violence of popular insurrection.

Though Mary was in no haste to return to Scotland, yet the mortifying neglect with which she was treated by the queen mother, forced her to think of beginning her voyage. But while she was preparing for it, there were sown between her and Elizabeth, the seeds of that personal jealousy and discord, which embittered the life, and shortened the days of the Scottish queen.

By the treaty of Edinburgh, the French ambassadors had not only acknowledged that the crowns of England and Ireland belonged to Elizabeth, but had promised that Mary, in all times to come, should abstain from using the titles or bearing the arms of those kingdoms. By ratifying this article, Mary would have lost that rank which she had hitherto held among neighbouring princes; the zeal of her adherents must have gradually cooled; and she might have renounced from that moment all hopes of ever wearing the English crown.

Yet there remained a method which might have brought the present question to an amicable issue. The indefinite and ambiguous expression which Cecil had inserted into the treaty, might have been changed into one more precise: and Mary might have engaged not to assume the title of queen of England during the life of Elizabeth, or of her lawful posterity.

Such an amendment however did not suit the views of either queen. Though Mary had suspended the prosecution of her title to the English crown, she had not relinquished it; and was unwilling

willing to bind herself by a positive engagement not to take advantage of any fortunate occurrence. Nor was Elizabeth more inclined to recognize the right of her rival to ascend the throne after her decease; yet neither durst avow their secret sentiments; and one solicited, and the other refused, to ratify the treaty in its original form, without either having recourse to the natural explication of it.

Though the consideration of interest first occasioned the rupture between the British queens, rivalship of another kind contributed to widen the breach; notwithstanding that Elizabeth was as much inferior to Mary in beauty and gracefulness of person, as she excelled her in political abilities and in the arts of government, yet she was weak enough to compare herself with the Scottish queen; and amidst professions of regard, she envied and hated her as a rival by whom she was eclipsed.

It was not long before Mary was convinced of the enmity of the English princess. In sailing from France to Scotland, the course lies along the coast of England. In order to be safe from the insults of the English fleet, Mary demanded from Elizabeth a safe conduct during her voyage. This was rejected; and though the refusal filled Mary with indignation, it did not retard her departure from France.

Catharine of Medicis, who was impatient for her absence, yet graced the last farewell of her daughter-in-law with every circumstance of magnificence.

nificence. With a sad heart Mary took leave of that kindom, the short, but only scene of her life in which fortune had smiled upon her. As long as her eye could distinguish the coast, she continued to feed her melancholy with the prospect, and to utter "farewel France; farewel beloved country, which I shall never behold more!" at last a brisk gale arose, by the favour of which, and under the covert of a thick fog, she escaped the English fleet which lay in wait to intercept her; and on the 19th of August, after an absence of near thirteen years, landed safely at Leith in her native kingdom.

Mary was received by her subjects with acclamations of joy; but they could not with all their efforts hide from her the poverty of the country, and were obliged to conduct her with little pomp to Holyrood-house. The queen, accustomed to magnificence from her youth, could not help observing the change in her situation, and seemed to be deeply affected with it.

Never did any prince ascend the throne at a juncture which called for more wisdom in council, or more courage and steadiness in action. The rage of religious controversy was still unabated; the absence of their sovereign had accustomed the nobles to independence; the kingdom had long been governed by regents, whose delegated authority inspired little reverence; and during the two last years, a state of pure anarchy had prevailed. The influence of France, the ancient ally of the
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the kingdom, was withdrawn or despised; and the English had gained an ascendancy in all the councils of the nation.

In this posture were the affairs of Scotland, when the administration fell into the hands of young queen, not nineteen years of age, unacquainted with the manners and laws of her country, a stranger to her subjects, without experience, without allies, and almost without a friend.

On the other hand, the subjects of Mary, long unaccustomed to the residence of their prince, were dazzled by the splendour of royal presence. The nobles crowded to testify their duty and their affection to their sovereign. The amusements and gaiety of her court, which was filled with the most accomplished of the French nobility, began to polish the rude manners of the nation. The beauty and gracefulness of her person drew universal admiration; the elegance and politeness of her manners commanded general respect; and the progress she had made in the arts and sciences, was far beyond what is commonly attained by princes.

While all parties were contending who should discover the most dutiful attachment to the queen, the zealous spirit of the age broke out in a remarkable instance. On the Sunday after her arrival, the queen commanded mass to be celebrated in the chapel of her palace. The first rumour of this, occasioned a secret murmuring among the protestants who attended the court; complaints,

plaints and threatnings soon followed; the servants belonging to the chapel were insulted and abused; and if the prior of St. Andrew's had not seasonably interposed, the rioters might have proceeded to the utmost excesses.

The prior of St. Andrew's and other leaders of the party, in spite of the exclamations of the preachers, obtained for the queen and her domestics the undisturbed exercise of the Catholic religion; and the protestants for this compliance were gratified by a proclamation highly favourable to their religion; at the same time the prior of St. Andrew's, and Maitland of Lethington, both of the reformed, seemed to hold the first place in the queen's affection, and to possess the reputation of favourite ministers.

Elizabeth, who had attempted so openly to obstruct the queen's voyage into Scotland, did not fail a few days after her arrival to command Randolph to congratulate her safe return; and Mary also dispatched Maitland to the English court with many ceremonious expressions of regard. Both the ambassadors were entrusted however with something more than mere ceremony. Randolph urged Mary with fresh importunity to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh; and Maitland signified the willingness of his mistress to disclaim any right to the crown of England during the life of Elizabeth, and the lives of her posterity, if in failure of these she were declared next heir by act of parliament.

Reasonable

Reasonable as this proposal might appear to Mary, it was inconsistent with the predominant passion of Elizabeth; who, like her grandfather Henry the Seventh, observed every pretender to the succession with that aversion which suspicion inspires; and she rejected the demand with many expressions of a resolution never to permit a point of so much delicacy to be touched.

About this time the queen made her public entry into Edinburgh; and though nothing was neglected which could express the duty of the citizens towards their sovereign, yet the sentiments of the nation discovered themselves amidst these demonstrations of regard. Most of the pageants exhibited the representations of the vengeance which the Almighty had inflicted upon idolaters; and even while they studied to amuse and flatter the queen, her subjects could not refrain from testifying their abhorrence of that religion which she professed.

To restore the regular administration of justice, was the next object of the queen's care. In the counties which bordered on England, the impotence of regal authority, the violence of faction, and the fierce manners of the people, had rendered the execution of the laws feeble, irregular, and partial. The prior of St Andrew's was the person chosen to repress the clans who subsisted entirely by pillage; the freeholders of eleven several counties were summoned to assist him in the discharge

charge of his office ; he executed his commission with vigour and prudence ; numbers of the banditti suffered the punishment due to their crimes ; and order and tranquillity were restored to that part of the kingdom.

During his absence, the popish faction had taken some steps towards insinuating themselves into the queen's favour ; but the archbishop of St Andrew's, the most considerable of that party, was coldly received at court, and Mary discovered no inclination to take the administration of affairs out of the hands to which she had already committed it.

The cold reception of the archbishop of St Andrew's was owing to his connexion with the house of Hamilton, from which the queen was much alienated. The duke of Chatelherault, and his son the earl of Arran, had espoused with zeal the cause of the congregation ; the former continued to live at a distance from the court ; and though the latter openly aspired to marry the queen, he publicly protested against Mary enjoying the exercise of her religion ; while the sordid parsimony of his father obliged him to appear in a manner unbecoming his dignity as first prince of the blood. His love inflamed by disappointments, and his impatience exasperated by neglect, preyed gradually on his reason, and after many extravagancies broke out at last in ungovernable frenzy.

Towards the end of the year a convention of estates was held, chiefly on account of ecclesiastical
affairs.

affairs. The assembly of the church presented a petition for the maintenance of the protestant clergy. Though these were considerably increased in number, no legal provision had been made for them; to remedy this evil, an exact account was taken of ecclesiastical benefices throughout the kingdom; the present incumbents, of whatever persuasion, 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 this the queen undertook to assign a sufficient maintenance for the protestant clergy.

The latter were by no means considerable gainers by this new regulation; they found it to be a more easy matter to kindle zeal than to extinguish avarice. The men whom formerly they had swayed with absolute authority, were now deaf to all their remonstrances; the prior of St Andrews, the earl of Argyll, the earl of Morton, and Maitland, all the most zealous leaders of the congregation, were appointed to assign their stipends; an hundred marks Scottish, was the general allowance; to a few three hundred marks were granted; even these were paid with little exactness; and the ministers were kept in the same poverty and dependence as formerly.

The elegance of Mary's court had in some degree mitigated the ferocity of the nobles; but this year became remarkable for intestine discord, and animosity. An hereditary

A. D. 1562.

ditary dissension had subsisted between the houses of Hamilton and Bothwell; and the earls of Arran and Bothwell happening to be in waiting at the same time; their followers quarrelled 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 of these noblemen.

A few days after Arran confessed to Knox, 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; though this conspiracy might only exist in the distempered fancy of Arran, and though the persons accused denied their guilt with the utmost confidence, yet the known characters of the men justified the conduct of the queen's ministers, who confined Bothwell and Arran, and obliged the duke of Chatelherault to surrender the strong castle of Dumbarton.

The designs of George Gordon earl of Huntly against the prior of St. Andrew's were more deeply laid. The power and possessions of that nobleman were immense; and his conduct, during the late commotions, had been perfectly suitable to the character of the family in that age, dubious, variable, and crafty. He had observed the growing authority of the prior of St. Andrew's with jealousy; personal injuries soon increased the misunderstanding

derstandings occasioned by rivalry in power. The queen had resolved to reward the prior, by creating him earl of Mar, and bestowed on him the lands of that name. These, though part of the royal demesnes, had been possessed for years by the earls of Huntly; and the present earl beheld with terror an active rival introduced into the heart of his territories.

His third son Sir John Gordon, had in a quarrel wounded lord Ogilvie; the queen commanded both offenders to be seized; but Gordon escaping out of prison, fled into Aberdeenshire, and 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.

About this time the queen, attended by the earls of Mar, and Morton, set out on a progress into the northern parts of the kingdom; on her arrival in the north, the wife of Huntly solicited the pardon of her son; but Mary peremptorily refused, unless he would again deliver himself into the hands of justice: this Gordon was persuaded to do; but he soon after escaped from his guards, and returned to the command of his followers, who were rising in arms all over the north. The queen on the first intelligence of Gordon's flight, refused to enter the house of the father; and by this act of resentment saved her ministers from destruc-

tion; since Huntly had determined the assassination of Mar, Morton, and Maitland.

The ill success of private revenge precipitated Huntly into open rebellion; by his orders the gates of the castle of Inverness were shut against the queen; but the Monroes, Frazers, and Mackintoshes flocked to the support of their sovereign; by their assistance Mary compelled the castle to surrender, and inflicted on the governor the punishment which his insolence deserved.

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 Huntly since the year 1548.

From this he concluded his family was devoted to destruction, and assembling a considerable body of men, he advanced rapidly to Aberdeen, to which place the queen had retired. Murray, who could gain nothing by delay, marched forward to meet him with what troops he could hastily collect; the superior conduct of the latter decided the fate of the day. At Corrichie the followers of Huntly were attacked and broken; the earl himself was trodden to death in the pursuit; his sons Sir John and Adam were taken; and Murray
returned

returned in triumph to Aberdeen with his prisoners.

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; through the queen's clemency, the punishment was remitted; but the power and fortune of the family was reduced to the lowest ebb.

Mary had now continued above two years in a state of widowhood; and her alliance had been sought by the most illustrious princes. The emperor solicited her hand for the archduke Charles, his third son; Philip of Spain for his eldest son don Carlos, the heir of all the extensive dominions which belonged to the Spanish monarch; and the court of France interested itself in favour of the duke of Anjou, the brother of Mary's former husband.

The Spanish propositions, and the prospect of such vast dominions, flattered the ambition of a young princess; but besides the death of her uncle, the duke of Guise, who fell by the hands of an assassin, as he was prosecuting the war against the protestants, and whose fall diminished the interest of the Scottish queen in France, two other circumstances concurred to divert Mary from any thoughts of a foreign alliance.

Elizabeth dreaded the restless ambition of the Austrian princes, the avowed and bigotted patrons of the catholic superstition. She instructed Randolph to remonstrate against any alliance with them; and to acquaint Mary, that the English nation would regard such a match as the dissolution of that confederacy which now subsisted between the two kingdoms; at the same time, though she preserved a mysterious silence concerning the person to whom she wished the choice of the Scottish queen to fall, yet she threw out some hints, that a native of Britain, or one not of princely rank, would be in prudence preferred.

The protestant subjects of Mary dreaded also her union with any great prince, whose power might be employed to oppress their religion and liberties; and the queen, to remove the jealousies of Elizabeth, and to quiet the apprehensions of her people, laid aside at that time all thoughts of foreign alliance.

A. D. 1563. Though the parliament met this year, no attempt was made to procure the queen's assent to the laws establishing the protestant religion. The clergy of that persuasion bore the temporizing conduct of their leaders with impatience; and Knox solemnly renounced the friendship of the earl of Murray, as a man devoted to Mary. This rupture, which continued above a year and an half, is a strong proof of Murray's ready attachment to the queen.

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The preachers disappointed by men in whom they placed the greatest confidence, gave vent to their indignation in their pulpits, and loudly declaimed against idolatry. The people, inflamed by their discourses, in the absence of the queen, broke into her chapel at Holyrood-house, where mass continued to be celebrated, interrupted the service, and filled such as were present with consternation. Two of the ringleaders in this tumult were seized, and a day appointed for their trial.

Knox, who esteemed the zeal of these persons laudable, issued circular letters requiring all who professed the true religion to assemble at Edinburgh on the day of trial. One of these letters fell into the hands of the queen; and a resolution was taken to prosecute Knox; happily for him his judges were not only zealous protestants, but those who in the late commotions had resisted the queen's authority; and after a long hearing, he was unanimously acquitted.

The marriage of the Scottish queen continued still to be the object of attention; as Mary, in compliance to her subjects, and pressed by the strongest motives of interest, determined speedily to marry, Elizabeth was obliged to break the silence she had hitherto affected; the secret was disclosed, and her favourite, lord Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester, was declared to be the person she had chosen.

Elizabeth

Elizabeth preferred her ministers for their capacity in business, her favourites for their beauty and gracefulness of person ; and to the latter qualities Leicester solely owed his grandeur. The Scottish queen, solicited by so many powerful princes, felt sensibly the humiliation of Elizabeth's proposal ; she dissembled, however, with the English resident ; and though she declared in strong terms what a degradation she should deem this alliance, she mentioned the earl of Leicester in language full of respect.

It is probable the attachment of Elizabeth to Leicester prevented her from seriously intending to bestow him upon another ; and that her only design was to amuse Mary : it is certain, that Leicester himself entered but coldly into the proposal ; he flattered himself, that the affection of Elizabeth might triumph over her prudence and pride ; that he might at last obtain her hand ; and this hope induced him to impute the proposal of the marriage with the Scottish queen, as a project for his destruction, and as the snare of the minister Cecil.

While these negotiations were intentionally spun out by each party, Mary began to turn her thoughts on Henry Stewart, lord Darnley, eldest son of the earl of Lennox. The wife of that nobleman was lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of Margaret, the eldest sister of Henry the Eighth, by the earl of Angus. Lady Lennox, though born of a second marriage, was one degree nearer
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the royal blood of England; she was the daughter, Mary only the grand-daughter of Margaret; she was born in England, and by a maxim of law in that country, with regard to private inheritance, "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 about this time, and endeavoured to apply it to the right of succession to the crown.

Mary was aware of all this; and from the time that she became sensible of the difficulties which would attend her marrying a foreign prince, she entered into a close connexion with the earl of Lennox, and invited him to return to Scotland, whence he had been driven out, and had lived in banishment near twenty years. The designs of Mary did not escape the discernment of Elizabeth; she was pleased to see the pride of the Scottish queen stoop at last to the thoughts of taking a subject to her bed. Carnly was in no situation to excite her fears; his father's estate lay in England; and no sooner did Lennox, under pretence of prosecuting his wife's claim upon the earldom of Angus, apply to Elizabeth for her licence to go to Scotland, than he obtained it; with letters, recommending him to the protection of Mary.

Yet the English queen warned Mary, at the same

same time that any indulgence to Lennox might prove fatal to herself, by reviving the ancient animosity between him and the House of Hamilton. This admonition drew from Mary an angry reply; the correspondence between the two queens was for some time interrupted: at length, by the address of Melvil, the ambassador of Scotland, the appearance of harmony was restored.

The queen employed her influence to reconcile the Hamiltons to Lennox; and she persuaded the latter to soothe the House of Douglas, by dropping his claim to the title of Angus. After these preliminary steps she called a parliament, in which Lennox was publicly restored to the honours and estates of his ancestors.

A. D. 1565. In order to bring the real intentions of Elizabeth to light, Mary intimated to Randolph, that on condition that her right of succession to the crown of England was acknowledged, she was ready to yield to the solicitations of his mistress in behalf of Leicester: but though the English queen promised, if the marriage with Leicester should take place, to advance him to high dignities, she should not suffer any enquiry to be made respecting the succession, till she herself should declare her resolution never to marry.

Previous to this answer, though no stranger to the sentiments that Mary began to entertain for him, she had given permission to Darnly to visit the court of Scotland. She hoped to direct the motions

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motions of Darnly, and again to involve Mary in the intricacies of negociation ; but this deep laid scheme was in a moment disconcerted. Lord Darnly was at this time in the first bloom and vigour of youth, and he eminently excelled in such arts as add ease and elegance to external form : his conquest over 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.

As Darnly was so nearely related to the queen, it was necessary to obtain the pope's dispensation ; and while Mary set on foot a negociation with the court of Rome, she was busy at the same time in procuring the consent of the French king, and his mother ; these, as they had no hopes that Mary would stoop to a French subject, encouraged her present passion.

But while Mary was endeavouring to reconcile foreign courts to a measure which she had so much at heart, Darnly, by his behaviour, was raising up enemies at home. With a weak understanding, his passions were impetuous ; and intoxicated with the queen's favour, he began already to assume the imperious air and haughtiness of a king.

It was by the advice of Murray and his party, that Lennox had been invited into Scotland ; yet the latter now began to enter into secret cabals against that nobleman ; while Darnly, still more imprudent, allowed some rash expressions to escape

cape him concerning those favours which the queen had conferred upon Murray.

But the familiarity which Darnly had cultivated with David Rizzio, was the chief source of disgust to the nobility. This Italian, the son of a musician in Turin, had accompanied the Piedmontese ambassador into Scotland; and had gained admission into the queen's family by his skill in music. His servile spirit had taught him suppleness of temper, and insinuating manners. He was soon preferred to the place of secretary to the queen; was admitted to her confidence; and grew not only to be considered as a favourite, but as a minister. He discovered in all his behaviour that assuming insolence with which unmerited prosperity inspires an ignoble mind; and the nobles who had beheld with indignation the power, more loudly exclaimed against the arrogance of the unworthy minion.

Mary had affected hitherto to conceal her preference for Darnly; she now determined to act more open; and dispatched Maitland to signify her intention to Elizabeth, and to solicit her consent to the marriage. That princess affected the greatest surprize at the sudden resolution; and though the train had been laid by herself, she pretended to foresee many dangers and inconveniences. She consulted even her privy council, with regard to the answer she should return; and they in conformity with her views, drew up a remonstrance against the proposed match; to enforce

this she appointed Throgmorton as ambassador to Scotland; and not long after, she confined lady Lennox as a prisoner, first in her own house, and then sent her to the Tower.

Mary, after giving vent to the first transports of indignation, received the English ambassador with respect, and justified her own conduct with decency. Out of complaisance to Elizabeth, she pretended to put off the consummation of the marriage for some months: but this interval was assiduously employed in procuring the pope's dispensation, and in gaining the consent of her subjects.

Of these the earl of Murray was the most powerful; and that nobleman already perceived that Darnly had estranged from him the queen's confidence; his ambitious spirit could not brook the diminution of his power; he retired into the country, and gave way to a rival with whom he was unable to contend. Mary at this period invited him back to the court with many expressions of esteem; but she in vain endeavouring to prevail on him to subscribe a paper containing a formal approbation of her marriage with Darnly, he continued at that time to decline the request of the queen; and in a convention of the nobles, which was assembled soon after, many of that order, influenced by the example of Murray refused their consent.

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 already met with, produced its usual effect on her heart; it confirmed her passion, and increased its violence. Love sharpened her invention, and made her study every method of gaining her subjects. On some she bestowed lands, to others she gave new titles of honour; she even condescended to court the protestant clergy; she invited three of them to Sterling; and expressed her willingness to be present at a conference upon points in doctrine, which were disputed between the protestants and papists.

On the other hand, Murray and his associates were dupes of Elizabeth's policy; and conceiving that princess sincere in her opposition to the marriage, they entered into measures for seizing Darnly, and carrying him a prisoner to England.

Mary, receiving intelligence of Murray's enterprise, retired with Darnly, from a second convention which had been summoned at Perth, and repaired to Edinburgh: she there summoned her vassals by proclamation, and solicited them by letters to protect her person against her foreign and domestic enemies. She was obeyed with promptness and alacrity; and confident in the support of her people, she directed Murray to appear before her, and to answer to such things as should be laid to his charge.

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

difficult conjuncture. But the current of popular favour ran so strong 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.

Mary, thus assured of the weakness of her enemies, determined to bring to a conclusion an affair which had so long engrossed her heart, and engaged her attention. On the 29th of July she married lord Darnly; she issued at the same time proclamations, conferring the title of king of Scots upon her husband; though certainly she had no right to raise him, without the consent of parliament, to that dignity, yet Mary possessed so entirely the confidence of her subjects, that scarce any symptoms of discontent appeared.

Three days after the marriage, Murray was again summoned to appear at court, and on his disobedience, he was declared an outlaw. Neither he nor his confederates had yet openly taken arms; but the queen having ordered her subjects to march out against them, they fled into Argyleshire, and implored the assistance of Elizabeth.

That princess affected to blame the precipitate marriage of Mary, and to vindicate the conduct of Murray. She furnished Murray and his adherents with a small sum of money, who now endeavoured

to raise their followers in the western counties; but Mary's vigilance hindered them from assembling in any considerable body. She marched at the head of her forces, and by her alacrity, inspired them with invincible resolution. As she advanced, the malecontents retired, and despairing of effective resistance, fled at length into England.

The conduct of Elizabeth on this occasion displays the wretched condition of exiles, who are obliged to depend on a foreign prince. Murray and Hamilton could not even obtain from her 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 up arms. No sooner did they make this declaration, than she astonished them with the following 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." Notwithstanding this scene of farce and falsehood, so dishonourable to all the persons who acted a part in it, Elizabeth permitted the malecontents peaceably to reside in her dominions, and renewed her intercession with the Scottish queen in their favour.

Mary, to improve her advantage, had called a meeting of parliament in order that a sentence of forfeiture

forfeiture might be pronounced against the banished lords. The duke of Chatelherault, on his humble application, obtained indeed a separate pardon; but he was obliged, however, to leave the kingdom, and to reside for some time in France.

The numerous forces which Mary had brought into the field, and the length of time that she had kept them in arms, exhausted a treasury which was far from being rich; to supply the royal exigency, fines were levied on the towns of St Andrews, Perth, and Dundee. A considerable loan was demanded from the city of Edinburgh: but the inhabitants firmly resisted this unprecedented exaction; and the queen, to obtain the money, was obliged to mortgage to the city the superiority of the town of Leith.

Chapter the Fourth.

MARY's hostile intentions against the reformed—Imprudence of Darnly—Murder of Rizzio—Murray recalled—Morton and other conspirators fly to England—Mary disgusted with Darnly—Her partiality to Bothwell—Birth of James the Sixth--Murder of Darnly--Accusation of Bothwell--His trial—He carries off Mary--Is created-duke of Orkney--His marriage with the queen—General indignation of Europe—Confederacy of the Scottish nobles--Proceedings of the queen and Bothwell—They retire to Dunbar—Assemble an army, and advance towards the confederates—Irresolution of Bothwell's followers—He takes leave of Mary, and quits the field—The queen surrenders to Kirkaldy of the Grange—Is treated with indignity by the soldiers—Is conducted amidst the insults of the people to Edinburgh.

As the day appointed for the meeting of parliament approached, Mary and her ministers were employed in deliberating concerning the course which it was most proper to hold with regard to the exiled nobles ; many powerful

A. D. 1544

powerful reasons inclined the queen to sacrifice her resentments, and to treat them with clemency ; but in the moment that she considered the manner in which she should extend her grace to them, the arrival of two ambassadors from France fatally disappointed the effects of this amicable disposition.

The object of the first envoy was merely to congratulate the queen on her marriage, and to invest the king with the ensigns of the order of St Michael. The instructions of the latter related to matters of more importance, and produced greater effects.

In an interview between Charles the Ninth, and his sister the queen of Spain, measures were concerted for suppressing the reformation throughout Europe ; and the second French envoy conjured Mary, in the name of the king of France, and the cardinal of Lorrain, not to restore the leaders of the protestants in her kingdom to power and favour, at the very time when the catholic princes were combined to destroy that sect in the countries of Europe.

Mary herself was deeply tinged with all the prejudices of popery ; she was devoted too, with the utmost submission to the princes of Lorrain, her uncles ; and had been accustomed, from her infancy, to listen to all their advices with a filial respect. The prospect of restoring the public exercise of her religion, the pleasure of complying
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with her uncles, and the hopes of gratifying the French monarch, counterbalanced all the prudent considerations which had formerly weighed with her ; she instantly joined the confederacy, and altered the whole plan of her conduct with regard to Murray and his adherents.

By a new proclamation, the 12th of March was fixed for the meeting of parliament ; Mary resolved to proceed to the attainder of the rebel lords. The ruin of Murray and his party seemed now inevitable, and the danger of the reformed church imminent, when an event unexpectedly happened which saved both.

Darnly's external accomplishments had excited that sudden and violent passion, which raised him to the throne ; but the qualities of his mind corresponded ill with the beauty of his person. Of a weak understanding, and without experience, he was at the same time conceited of his own abilities ; fond of all amusements, and even prone to the vices of youth, he became by degrees careless of Mary's person, and a stranger to her company. In proportion to the queen's first affection, was the violence with which her disappointed passions now operated ; their domestic quarrels were fomented by the extravagance of Darnly's ambition, who now demanded the crown matrimonial with the most insolent importunity ; nor was to be satisfied with the defence of Mary, that the gift was beyond her power, and that the authority of parliament must be interposed to bestow it.

Rizzio,

Rizzio, whom the king had at first taken into confidence, did not humour him in these follies ; by this he incurred Henry's displeasure, whose haughty spirit could not bear the intrusion of such an upstart ; and unrestrained by any scruple he instantly resolved to get rid of him by violence.

The same design was harboured at the same time by Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and Maitland, who had warmly promoted the queen's marriage, and expected the chief management of affairs would have been committed to them. Disappointed in their expectations, they conceived the return of Murray and his followers as the only event which could restore them to their former ascendancy over the queen's councils ; and as they imputed the rigour of the queen towards that nobleman, to the suggestions of Rizzio, the disgust which they conceived against him inspired them with thoughts of vengeance in no wise suitable to justice, to humanity, or to their own dignity.

While they were ruminating upon their scheme, the king communicated to them his resolution to be avenged of Rizzio, and implored their assistance in the execution of the design ; they saw at once the advantage they should reap from the concurrence of such an associate ; they inflamed Henry's resentment by insinuation of a criminal familiarity between the queen and her favourite ; and they wrought upon his ambition by a promise to procure the crown matrimonial. The king on the other hand engaged to obtain the pardon of the
banished

banished lords, to protect those embarked in the enterprize against Rizzio, and to support to the utmost of his power the religion now established in the kingdom.

Nothing remained but to concert the plan of operation; the place chosen was the queen's bed-chamber; and, on the ninth of March, Morton entered the court of the palace with one hundred and sixty men, and seized the gates without resistance. The queen was at supper with the countess of Argyll, Rizzio, and a few domestics, when the king suddenly entered her apartments by a private passage. Behind him was Ruthven clad in complete armour, with three or four of his most trusty accomplices. Such an unusual appearance alarmed those who were present; and Rizzio, apprehending that he was the victim aimed at, instantly retired behind the queen. Numbers of armed men now rushed into the chamber. Mary in vain employed tears, threats, and entreaties, to save her favourite; he was torn from her by violence; and before he could be dragged through the next apartment, the rage of his enemies put an end to his life, piercing his body with fifty-six wounds.

The conspirators in the mean time kept possession of the palace, and guarded the queen with the utmost care. A proclamation was published by the king, prohibiting the parliament to meet on the day appointed; and Murray, Rothes, and their followers, informed of every step against Rizzio, arrived.

arrived at Edinburgh next evening. Murray was graciously received by the king and queen; and the latter hoped by gentle treatment to prevail on him not to take part with the murderers of Rizzio; the obligations which Murray lay under to these men, compelled him to labour for their safety; and the queen was persuaded to grant them a promise of pardon, in whatever terms they should deem necessary for their security.

The king, conscious of the insult he had offered to so illustrious a benefactress, laboured now to regain her affections: Mary, availing herself of his irresolution, prevailed on him to dismiss the guards which had been placed on her person, and to escape with her to Dunbar. There they were quickly joined by Bothwell, Huntly, and several nobles: and the number of her followers enabled the queen to set the power of the conspirators at defiance.

This sudden flight filled them with consternation; it now appeared, the promise of pardon was only meant to amuse them; the queen, at the head of eight hundred men, advanced towards Edinburgh, and talked in the highest strain of resentment and revenge. She had the address at the same time to separate Murray from the conspirators against Rizzio; that nobleman was no less willing to accept a pardon, than his sovereign to grant it. While the conspirators, deprived of every resource, fled precipitately to Newcastle, having thus changed situations with
Murray

Murray and his party, who left that place a few days before.

No man so remarkable for cunning as the earl of Morton, ever engaged in a more unfortunate enterprize. Deserted basely by the king who now denied his knowledge of the conspiracy, and abandoned by Murray and his party, he was obliged to fly from his native country, to resign the high office of lord chancellor of Scotland, and to part with one of the most opulent fortunes in that kingdom.

Mary, on her return to Edinburgh, began to proceed against those concerned in the murder of Rizzio; but in praise of her clemency it must be observed, that only two persons, and those of no considerable rank, suffered for this crime.

Though Henry had published a proclamation, disclaiming any knowledge of the conspiracy against Rizzio, the queen was fully convinced that he was the contriver of that crime; this outrage, joined to his dissolute conduct, had changed the coldness of Mary, to an aversion which she could no longer conceal. Among the nobles, some dreaded his furious temper; others complained of his perfidiousness: and all despised the weakness of his understanding; when at court he appeared with little splendour; and avoided by every party, he was left almost alone in a neglected and unpitied solitude,

About this time James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, grew into great credit with the queen; by

his extensive possessions and numerous vassals, he was one of the most powerful nobleman in the kingdom. Even in that turbulent age, when so many vast projects were laid open to an aspiring mind, no man's ambition was more daring than Bothwell's, or had recourse to bolder or more singular expedients for obtaining power. When the conspirators against Rizzio had seized the person of Mary, he became the chief instrument of recovering her liberty; her gratitude loaded him with marks of her bounty; and by complaisance and assiduity, he confirmed these dispositions in his favour, and paved his way to that height which he perhaps already aspired to, and which in spite of many difficulties, and at the expence of many crimes, he at length attained to.

On the 19th of June Mary was delivered of her only son, James; and Melvil was instantly dispatched with an account of the event to Elizabeth, who affected to receive the news with satisfaction, and accepted Mary's offer to stand godmother to her son; familiar invitations were also dispatched the French king, and the duke of Savoy.

The breach between the king and queen became in the mean while more apparent, and the ascendancy of Bothwell over the latter more public; the haughty spirit of Darnly, accustomed to command, could ill brook the contempt under which he had fallen. He conceived the wild resolution of embarking on board a ship, and of flying into foreign parts. He communicated the

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design to his father the earl of Lennox, and to the French ambassador ; both endeavoured to dissuade him from it, but without success. Lennox communicated the matter to the queen by letter ; who endeavoured to draw from Henry the source of of this project, and to divert him from it ; he assigned two reasons for his disgust ; that Mary no longer admitted him into any confidence ; and that the nobles, after her example, treated him with open neglect.

To screen her reputation from the censure which the flight of the king might cast upon it, and to prepossess the minds of her allies, the queen ordered her privy council to transmit a narrative of this transaction, both to the king and to the queen mother of France.

About this time the licence of the borderers called for redress, and Bothwell, who was lieutenant of all the marches, attempted to seize a gang of banditti who lurked among the marshes of Lidderdale. While he was laying hold of one of these desperadoes, he was wounded by him in several places, so that his followers were obliged to carry him to Hermitage castle. Mary instantly flew thither with the anxiety of a lover ; finding Bothwell was threatened with no dangerous symptom, she returned that same day to Jedburgh ; but the fatigue of her journey, and the agitation of her mind, threw her into a fever, which she only surmounted by her youth and the goodness of constitution.

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On her recovery, the attention of Mary was directed towards England; her pretensions to the succession of that kingdom were favoured by the English parliament; a motion was made in both houses for addressing the queen either to marry, or to consent to an act establishing the order of succession to the crown. Elizabeth bent all her policy to elude or defeat this motion; she called into her presence a certain number of each house; she soothed and caressed them; she remitted subsidies which were due, and refused those which were offered; and in the end prevailed to have this formidable motion put off for that session. Happily for her, the conduct of the Scottish queen, and the misfortunes which befel her, prevented the revival of it in any future parliament.

As neither the French nor Piedmontese ambassadors were yet arrived, the baptism of the prince was deferred from time to time. Mean while Mary fixed her residence at Craigmiller; a deep melancholy succeeded to that gaiety which was natural to her; the rashness and levity of her own choice, and the king's ingratitude and obstinacy, filled her with shame and despair. Murray and Maitland observed all these workings of passion, and conceived hopes of turning them to the advantage of their ancient associates, Morton and the other conspirators against Rizzo. They proposed to obtain a sentence of divorce from Darnly, if the queen would stipulate in return the pardon of Morton and his followers; but Mary, however

desirous of being delivered from Darnly's caprices, rejected the proposal; the birth of her son had strengthened her claim upon the English succession; and she could scarce hope to be divorced from her husband, without throwing some imputation upon her son.

The earl of Bedford, and the count de Brienne, the English and the French ambassadors, being arrived, Mary set out for Stirling to celebrate the baptism of her son. The magnificence displayed, exceeded whatever had been known in Scotland; but neither Bedford nor any of the Scottish nobles who professed the protestant religion, would witness a ceremony which was performed according to the rights of the Romish church.

A few days after the baptism of the prince, Morton, and all the other conspirators against Rizzio, obtained their pardon; this favour was granted to the solicitations of Bothwell, who daily rose in power; while the king, long sunk in solitude and contempt, quitted about this time Sterling, and retired abruptly to Glasgow.

A D. 1567. He had scarce reached that city before he was seized with a dangerous distemper; the symptoms which attended it were violent and unusual, and it was in that age imputed to poison; the vigour of his constitution surmounted the malignity of the disease. During his illness Mary displayed the greatest indifference, and suffered near a month to elapse before she visited him at Glasgow; by that time, the king, though

though weak and languishing, was out of danger.

Though the resentment of Mary against the king seems not to have abated from the time of his leaving Stirling, yet she now not only visited Henry, but by her words and actions endeavoured to express an uncommon affection for him. The source of this dissimulation is laid open by two of her letters written during her stay at Glasgow, to Bothwell†. That nobleman had now gained an absolute ascendancy over the queen; and she confessed to him, that her reconciliation with Henry was merely an artifice. She still dreaded the king might leave Scotland, and retire into a foreign country; a circumstance which must have been highly dishonourable to the queen, and would have entirely disconcerted Bothwell's measures. While Henry resided at Glasgow, he might with more facility accomplish his designs; she therefore employed all her art to remove him to some place more immediately under her eye; and at last persuaded the credulous king to fix his residence in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.

The place prepared for his reception was a house belonging to the provost of a collegiate church called Kirk of Field. On a rising ground and in an open field, it had all the advantages of healthful air; but on the other hand, the solitude of the place rendered it extremely proper for the commission of that crime, with a view to which it seems manifestly chosen.

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Mary

† Mary's alleged letters to Bothwell are now proved to be infamous forgeries.

Mary continued to attend the king with the most assiduous care ; she heaped on him so many marks of confidence, as in a great measure quieted those suspicious which had so long disturbed him. But while he was fondly indulging in dreams of the return of his former happiness, he stood on the brink of destruction. On sunday the ninth of February, about eleven at night, the queen left the Kirk of Field in order to be present at a masque in the palace. At two next morning the house in which the king lay, was blown up with gunpowder. The noise and shock alarmed the whole city ; the inhabitants ran to the place whence it came ; the dead body of the king, and that of a servant who slept in the same room, were found lying in an adjacent garden, without the city wall, untouched by fire, and with no bruise or mark of violence.

Every one's imagination was at work to guess who had contrived and executed this execrable deed ; the suspicion fell, with almost a general consent, on Bothwell ; and some reflections were thrown out as if Mary herself was no stranger to the crime ; a proclamation which she issued, with a considerable reward to any person who should discover those who had been guilty of the murder, by no means changed the public opinion ; which was confirmed to her disadvantage by the high favour in which Bothwell stood.

In the mean time Lennox incited Mary to vengeance with incessant importunity ; he declared his suspicion of Bothwell, and urged her to bring him

him to a speedy trial ; decency would not allow the queen to elude this demand ; but instead of confining his person, she admitted him into all her councils ; though the offices which he had already possessed, gave him the command of all the south of Scotland, the castle of Edinburgh was a place of too much consequence not to wish it in his own power. The queen, in order to prevail on the earl of Mar to surrender it, consented to put the young prince into his hands, and immediately bestowed the government of that important fortress on Bothwell.

The day of trial for that nobleman, was by the privy council fixed, on the twenty eighth of March, or the twelfth of April following. This short space was the only interval allowed to Lennox to accuse a person so far superior to himself in power and favour. He in vain complained of the injury done him by hurrying on the trial with such precipitation ; he in vain required Mary, as she regarded her own honour, to confine the person who was suspected as the author of the murder ; neither his entreaties or the interference of Elizabeth, who seconded his solicitations, were attended with the smallest effect.

On the day appointed Bothwell appeared, but with such a formidable retinue, that it would have been dangerous to condemn, and impossible to punish him. Lennox was called upon to make good his accusation ; in his name appeared one of his dependants, who excused his master's absence on
account

account of the shortness of the time, which prevented his assembling his friends and vassals, without whose assistance he could not set himself in opposition to such a powerful antagonist. For this reason he desired the court to stop proceeding; while on the other hand, Bothwell insisted that they should proceed to trial. Lennox's objections were over-ruled; and the jury, consisting of peers and barons of the first rank, found Bothwell not guilty of the crime.

That nobleman however did not rely on the judgment which he had obtained, as a full vindication of his innocence. Immediately after his acquittal, he in compliance with a custom, which was not then obsolete, published a writing, in which he offered to fight in single combat, any gentleman of good fame, who should presume to accuse him of being accessory to the murder of the king.

Every step taken by Bothwell had hitherto been attended with all the success which his most sanguine wishes could expect. He had entirely gained the queen's heart; the murder of the king had excited no public commotion; he had been acquitted by his peers of any share in the crime; and their decision had been in some sort ratified in parliament. To secure the approbation of the nobles to the completion of his projects, he invited a great number to an entertainment at his own house. He demanded their consent to his marriage with the queen; and by threats and persuasions, prevailed.

prevailed on all who were present to sign a paper, in which, after an acknowledgment of his good services to the kingdom, they recommended him to Mary as the most proper person she could chuse for a husband.

Three days after the rising of parliament, Mary went from Edinburgh to Stirling, in order to visit the prince her son. Under the pretence of an expedition against the freebooters of the borders, Bothwell assembled his followers, and with a thousand horse marched towards Linlithgow, met the queen, dispersed her slender train without resistance, and conducted her, with a few of her courtiers, to his castle of Dunbar.

Mary on this occasion expressed neither surprise, nor terror, nor indignation, but seemed to yield without struggle or regret. The appearance of violence afforded her a decent excuse for her conduct; and she hoped that her reputation, among foreigners at least, would escape without censure, or be exposed to less reproach. Bothwell, who still distrusted his late acquittal, was desirous of a pardon under the great seal. By the laws of Scotland, the most heinous crime must be mentioned in a pardon, and then all lesser offences are deemed to be included under the general clause, *and all other crimes whatsoever*. To seize the person of the prince is high treason; and Bothwell hoped that a pardon obtained for this, would extend to every thing of which he had been accused.

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To consummate his schemes, that nobleman instantly commenced a suit, in order to obtain a sentence of divorce from his wife, Lady Jane Gordon, the earl of Huntly's sister. The prettexts which he pleaded were trivial or scandalous. But his authority had greater weight than the justice of his cause; and in both courts, sentence of divorce was pronounced with the same indecent and suspicious precipitancy.

Soon after Bothwell conducted the queen from Dunbar to Edinburgh, and lodged her in the castle, of which he was governor. Though the discontent of the nation rendered this precaution necessary, still one difficulty remained to be surmounted; as the queen was kept in a sort of captivity by Bothwell, her marriage might be imputed to force. In order to obviate this, Mary appeared in the court of session, and declared, that though Bothwell's violence in seizing her, had, at first, excited her indignation, yet his respectful behaviour since, had not only appeased her resentment, but determined her to raise him to higher honours.

What these were, soon became public. The title of duke of Orkney was conferred upon Bothwell; and on the fifteenth of May, his marriage with the queen was solemnized. The small number of the nobles who appeared at the marriage, and the sullen silence of the people when the queen appeared in public, were symptoms of the general dissatisfaction of her own subjects. The

refusal

refusal of du Croc, the French ambassador, to be present at the nuptial ceremony, discovers the sentiments of her allies.

The eyes of the neighbouring nations were fixed at that time upon the great events which had happened in Scotland during three months. A king murdered in his capital; the person suspected of that crime acquitted by a sentence which served only to confirm the suspicions of his guilt; and permitted without opposition to marry a queen, the wife of the prince whom he had assassinated. Such a succession of detestable incidents, left a mark of infamy on the character of the nation; and the Scots were held in abhorrence all over Europe.

These reproaches roused the nobles, who had hitherto been amused by Bothwell's artifices, or intimidated by his power. A considerable body of them entered into an association; and Argyll Athol, Mar, Morton, Kirkaldy of Grange, and Maitland the Secretary, were the heads of this confederacy.

The account of this league filled the queen and Bothwell with terror; and in order to prepare for the storm, Mary issued a proclamation, requiring her subjects to take arms, and to attend her husband by the day appointed. But the confederate lords carried on their preparations with more success; and were ready to march before the queen and Bothwell were in a condition to resist them. The two latter fled precipitately towards
Dunbar,

Dunbar, while the confederates advanced towards Edinburgh, entered the town without resistance, and were instantly joined by a number of the citizens.

At Dunbar, Bothwell assembled his forces; and he soon gathered such strength, that with the queen he pressed forward to engage the confederates; these, on the first intelligence of his approach, advanced to meet him. The numbers on both sides were nearly equal: but the queen's army consisted chiefly of a multitude, hastily assembled, without courage, or experience in war. The troops of the confederates were composed of gentlemen of rank and reputation, followed by their most trusty dependants.

Du Croc, the French ambassador, who was in the field, laboured in vain by negotiation to prevent the effusion of blood. The passions of the nobles were too high to admit of any pacific propositions. They advanced resolutely but slowly against the queen's army that was posted on a rising ground. Her troops were alarmed by their approach, and discovered no inclination to fight. A few of Bothwell's immediate attendants were eager for the encounter; the rest stood wavering and irresolute, and some began to steal out of the field. Bothwell endeavoured to inspire them, by offering to decide the quarrel in single combat with any of his adversaries. Kirkaldy of Grange, Murray of Tullibardin, and Lord Lindsay, contended for the honour of entering the list, against

him. But either the consciousness of guilt deprived Bothwell of his wonted courage, or the queen, by her authority, forbade the combat.

After the symptoms of fear discovered by her followers, Mary would have been inexcusable had she hazarded a battle. To have retreated was impracticable, since part of the enemy surrounded the hill on which she stood. In this situation she demanded an interview with Kirkaldy, a brave and generous man, who commanded an advanced body of the enemy. He, with the consent, and in the name of his party, promised, that on condition she would dismiss Bothwell, and govern the kingdom by the advice of her nobles, they would honour and obey her as their sovereign.

During this parley, Bothwell took his last farewell of the queen, and rode off the field with a few followers. This dismal reverse happened exactly one month after that marriage which had cost him so many crimes to accomplish, and which leaves so foul a stain on Mary's memory.

As soon as Bothwell retired, Mary surrendered to Kirkaldy, who conducted her towards the confederate army. Morton, in the name of the leaders, made ample professions of future loyalty and obedience; but by the soldiers she was treated with the utmost indignity. Wherever she turned her eyes, they held before her a standard, on which was painted the dead body of the late king, and the young prince kneeling before it and utter-

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ing these words, " Judge and revenge my cause,
" O Lord !"

Amidst these insults, the confederates carried her to Edinburgh. The streets were covered with multitudes, whom zeal or curiosity had drawn together to behold such an unusual scene ; and the queen, worn out with fatigue, covered with dust and bedewed with tears, was exposed as a spectacle to her own subjects, and led to the provost's house.

Chapter

Chapter the Fifth.

MARY is carried prisoner to Lochleven.—The earl of Murray solicited to accept the regency.—His interview with Mary.—Accepts the office of regent.—Fate of Bothwell.—Mary resigns the crown to her son.—The parliament confirm Murray as regent.—Mary escapes from prison.—Is defeated at Langside.—Escapes to England.—Conduct of Elizabeth.—Mary consents to submit her conduct to the decision of the queen of England.—Commissioners appointed by Elizabeth, Mary, and Murray.—Intrigues of the duke of Norfolk.—The conference removed to Westminster.—Arts of Elizabeth.—Commutations in Scotland.—Project of a marriage between the duke of Norfolk and the queen of Scots.—It is discovered by Elizabeth.—Kirkaldy quits the party of the regent, and seizes the castle of Edinburgh.—Revolt of the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland.—Assassination of the regent.—His character.

THE confederate lords had proceeded to such extremities against their sovereign, that it now became impossible for them either to stop short, or to pursue a course less violent. Mary's affection for Bothwell still continued as violent as ever: she obstinately refused to harken to any proposal

for dissolving their marriage; and they reckoning themselves thus absolved from any engagements, when she yielded herself a prisoner, carried her under a strong guard to the castle of Lochleven; and signed a warrant to William Douglas, the owner of it, to detain her as a prisoner.

Immediately after the queen's imprisonment, the confederates were at the utmost pains to strengthen their party; they entered into new bonds of association; they assumed the title or *lords of the secret council*; and without any other right, arrogated to themselves the whole regal power. One of their first acts was to search the city of Edinburgh for those who were concerned in the murder of the king; and an unexpected accident put into their hands what they deemed the fullest evidence of Mary's guilt.

Bothwell having left in the castle of Edinburgh a casket containing several sonnets and letters, † written with the queen's own hand, he now sent one of his confidants to bring him this precious deposit; but as the messenger returned, he was intercepted, and the casket seized by Morton. The contents of it were always produced by the party as the most ample justification of their own conduct, and the most unanswerable proof of their not having loaded their sovereign with the imputation of imaginary crimes.

The confederates, though secure from the attempts of their own countrymen, who, without leaders of vigour and reputation, could only give a loose

† Infamous forgeries. See *Whitaker*.

loose to murmurs and complaints, were yet alarmed at the prospect of danger from another quarter. This great revolution in Scotland had been carried on without any aid from Elizabeth, and even without her knowledge. Her notions of royal prerogative were very exalted. The conduct of the confederates was a dangerous example to other subjects; and Mary's cause became the common cause of princes. Elizabeth therefore instantly dispatched Throgmorton into Scotland, with power to negotiate both with the queen, and with the confederates. But the latter peremptorily denied that ambassador access to their royal prisoner; and what propositions he made to them in her behalf, they either refused or eluded.

Meanwhile they deliberated with the utmost anxiety concerning the settlement of the nation, and the future disposal of the queen's person. Many consultations were held, and various opinions arose with regard to each of these. At length all parties united in one scheme; by which Mary was to be persuaded or forced to resign the crown: the young prince was to be proclaimed king; and the earl of Murray was to be appointed to govern the kingdom, during his minority, with the name and authority of regent. With regard to the queen's person, nothing was determined; though it seems to have been the intention of the confederates to keep her in perpetual imprisonment.

It was obvious to see difficulties in the execution of this plan. Mary was young, ambitious, and accustomed to command: to induce her to acknowledge her own incapacity for governing, and to invest with her authority those whom she considered as the authors of her calamities, were points hard to be gained. But she had already endured, for several weeks, all the hardships and terrors of a prison; no person, in whom she could confide, was admitted to her presence; certain death was presented to her eyes if she refused to comply with the confederates: she was informed by Sir Robert Melvil, in the name of Athol, Maitland, and Kirkaldy, persons the most attentive to her interest, that a resignation, extorted by fear, was not binding; the same intelligence was conveyed in a note to her by Throgmorton. Deference to their opinion, and concern for her own safety, prevailed; and she subscribed the papers, by which she resigned the crown to her son, and appointed the earl of Murray regent.

The confederates endeavoured to give this resignation all the weight and validity in their power, by proceeding without delay to crown the young prince. The ceremony was performed at Stirling, in the presence of all the nobles of the party, a considerable number of lesser barons, and a great assembly of the people.

No revolution, so great was ever effected with more ease, or by means so unequal to the end. In a warlike age, and in less time than two months,

a part of the nobles, who neither possessed the chief power, nor the greatest wealth in the nation, and who never brought three thousand men into the field, seized, imprisoned, and, dethroned their queen, and without shedding a single drop of blood, set her son, an infant of a year old, on the throne.

The return of the earl of Murray, about this time, gave a regular form to the party. Soon after the murder of the king, this nobleman had retired to France; and now returned at the desire of the chiefs of the confederacy. He seemed at first unwilling to accept the office of regent, and affected to continue some days in suspense, to balance the strength and resources of the contending factions. Before he declared his final resolution, he waited on Mary at Lochleven. Naturally rough and uncourtly in his manners, he expostulated so warmly with the queen on her faults, that Mary melted into tears, and abandoned herself to despair: while Murray, soon after his return from Lochleven, accepted the office of regent, and began to act in that character without opposition.

Amidst so many great and unexpected events the fate of Bothwell, the chief cause of them all, hath been almost forgotten. Hunted from place to place, deserted by his friends, and accompanied by a few retainers as desperate as himself, he suffered at once the miseries of want and infamy. His indigence forced him on a course of life
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which increased the latter. He armed a few ships which had accompanied him from Dunbar, and attacking every vessel which fell in his way, endeavoured to procure subsistence for himself and his followers by piracy. Kirkaldy and Murray of Tullibardine were sent out against him by the confederates; and scattering his small fleet, obliged him to fly with a single ship towards Norway. On that coast he fell in with a vessel richly laden, and immediately attacked it. The Norwegians sailed with armed boats to its assistance; and after a desperate fight, Bothwell and all his crew were taken prisoners. His name and quality were both unknown; and he was treated at first with all the indignity and rigour which the crime of piracy merited. His real character was soon discovered, and though it saved him from an infamous death, it could neither procure him liberty, nor mitigate the hardships of his imprisonment. He languished ten years in this unhappy condition; melancholy and despair deprived him of reason, and at last he ended his days, unpitied by his countrymen, and unassisted by strangers.

The good effects of Murray's accession to the regency were quickly felt: the party forming for the queen was weak, irresolute, and disunited; and the members of it soon began to treat separately with the regent. So many of them were brought to acknowledge the king's authority, that scarce any appearance of opposition to the established

established government was left in the kingdom.

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

This face of tranquility in the nation encouraged the regent to call a meeting of parliament, to confirm the king's authority, and the proceedings of the confederates. The numbers that resorted to an assembly which was called to deliberate on matters of so much importance, were great. The meeting was opened with the utmost solemnity; and all its acts passed with much unanimity. Mary's resignation of the crown was accepted, and declared to be valid. The king's authority, and Murray's election, were recognized and confirmed. The imprisoning the queen, and all the other proceedings of the confederates, were pronounced lawful; and the letters which Mary had written to Bothwell were produced, and she was declared to be accessory to the murder of the king.

A few days after the dissolution of parliament, four of Bothwell's dependants were convicted of being guilty of the king's murder,

A. D. 1568.

murder, and suffered death as traitors. Their confessions brought to light many circumstances relative to the manner of committing that crime; but they were persons of low rank, and seemed not to have been admitted into the secrets of the conspiracy.

Amidst the external appearance of submission to the regent, secret murmurs and cabals prevailed. The partizans of the house of Hamilton reckoned Murray's promotion an injury to the duke of Chatelherault, who was first prince of the blood; the length and rigour of Mary's sufferings began to interest many; and the severe virtues of Murray, and his haughty and distant deportment, offended some of the nobles, and alarmed others. The queen's faction began again to unite; and were secretly favoured by several who had hitherto zealously concurred with the confederates.

Such was the disposition of the nation, when the queen unexpectedly recovered her liberty. Mary had employed all her art to gain George Douglas, her keeper's brother, a youth of eighteen. She even allowed him to entertain hopes that she would choose him for a husband. At his age such a temptation was not easily to be resisted. He yielded, and drew others into the plot. On Sunday the second of May, while his brother sat at supper, and the rest of the family were retired to their devotions, one of his accomplices found means to steal the keys out of his brother's chamber, and opening the gates to the queen and
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one of her maids, locked them behind her, and then threw the keys into the lake.

Mary ran with precipitation to the boat which was prepared for her; and on reaching the shore, was received with the utmost joy by Douglas, lord Seaton, and Sir James Hamilton; who with a few attendants, waited for her. She mounted instantly on horseback; and after resting a few hours at lord Seaton's, she pursued her route, and arrived next morning at Hamilton,

On the first intelligence of Mary's escape, her friends ran to arms; in a few days her court was filled with a great and splendid train of nobles, accompanied by such numbers of followers, as formed an army of above six thousand strong. In their presence she declared that the resignation of the crown, and other deeds that she had signed, during her imprisonment, were extorted from her; and the chief men of her party pronounced them therefore illegal. At the same time an association was formed for the defence of her person and authority, and subscribed by nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, and many gentlemen of distinction.

At the time when the queen made her escape, the regent was at Glasgow, holding a court of justice. An event so contrary to their expectations, impressed with terror his adherents; and their councils were divided and fluctuating. Some advised him to retire to Stirling, as Glasgow was an unfortified town, his own train but slender, and the

the country was full of the friends and dependants of the house of Hamilton.

On the other hand, the citizens of Glasgow were well affected to the cause; the vassals of Glencairn, Lennox, and Semple, were at hand, and were both numerous and full of zeal; and in war, success depends upon reputation as much as upon numbers. The resolutions of Murray were prompted by wisdom, and executed with vigour. He declared against retreating, and fixed his headquarters at Glasgow. While he amused the queen with pretending to hearken to overtures, he drew together his adherents, with the greatest industry; and though far inferior in number to the enemy, such was his confidence in the valour of his troops, and the experience of his officers, that he broke of all negotiation, and determined to hazard a battle.

At the same time the queen's generals had commanded her army to move; their design was to conduct her to Dumbarton castle, a place of great strength, which the regent had not been able to wrest out of the hands of lord Fleming, the governor. But if the enemy should interrupt their march, they resolved not to decline an engagement. In Mary's situation, no resolution could be more imprudent. A part only of her forces was assembled; she might assuredly depend on the friendship and countenance of France; she had reason to expect protection from England; and

she had much to hope from pursuing slow and cautious measures ; and her enemies had every thing to fear.

But her hopes were naturally sanguine, and her passions impetuous ; and elevated by her sudden transition from the depth of distress, to such an unusual appearance of prosperity, she never doubted of success. Her imprudence in resolving to fight, was not greater than the ill conduct of her generals in the battle. They attacked the regent on broken ground, where the superiority of their cavalry could be of no benefit. The Hamiltons, who composed the van-guard, rushed eagerly forward, and left the main body behind. The encounter was fierce ; but as the Hamiltons were not supported by the rest of the queen's army, they were soon obliged to give ground, and the rout immediately became universal.

During the engagement, Mary stood on a hill, and when she saw the army, which was her last hope, thrown into irretrievable confusion, her spirit, which all her past misfortunes had not been able to subdue, sunk altogether. In the utmost consternation she began her flight ; and so lively were her impressions of fear, that she never closed her eyes till she reached the abbey of Dundrenan, in Galloway, full sixty Scottish miles from the place of battle.

The queen was now obliged to lurk, with a few attendants, in a corner of her kingdom, and

not thinking herself safe, even in that retreat, her fears impelled her to retire to England; an action the most unadvised, as well as the most unfortunate, in her whole life.

Mary could not be insensible to the mutual distrust and jealousies that had prevailed between her and Elizabeth. She had endeavoured by secret negotiations and intrigues, to advance her own pretensions to the English crown; and Elizabeth had openly supported Mary's rebellious subjects, and fomented all the dissensions in which her reign had been involved. The regent, after his victory, had marched to Edinburgh, and not knowing what course the queen had taken, it was several days before he thought of pursuing her. She might have remained concealed among subjects devoted to her interest, till her party, which was dispersed, rather than broken, should gather such strength that she could again appear at their head.

But the horrors of a prison were still fresh in Mary's memory; and if she should fall a second time into the hands of her subjects, there was no injury to which the presumption of success might not embolden them to proceed. To escape into France, was almost impossible; nor could she bear the thoughts of appearing an exile in that kingdom where she had once enjoyed all the splendour of a queen. Elizabeth had declaimed warmly against the proceedings of her subjects, had solicited for
her

her freedom with the appearance of sincerity, had invited her to take shelter in England, and promised to give her such a reception as was due to a queen and an ally. Though her attendants on their knees conjured her not to confide in Elizabeth's promises or generosity, her infatuation was invincible. Herries, by her command, wrote to Lowther, the deputy governor of Carlisle, to know what reception he would give her; and before his answer could return, her fear and her impatience were so great, that she got into a fisher-boat, and with about twenty attendants, landed at Wirbington in Cumberland; and thence she was conducted with many marks of respect to Carlisle.

As soon as Mary arrived in England, she wrote a long letter to the queen, respecting the injuries she had received, and imploring pity and assistance. An event so extraordinary employed the thoughts of Elizabeth and her council. Three different resolutions presented themselves with regard to the queen of the Scots; to re-instate her on her throne, was one; to allow her to retire into France, was another; to detain her in England, was a third.

The first would expose the nobles, who were most firmly attached to the English interest, to Mary's resentment; and as the gratitude of princes is seldom long or lasting, regard to her advantage might soon efface the memory of her obligations to Elizabeth, and prompt her to renew

the alliance of the Scottish nation with France, and revive her own pretensions to the English crown.

To dismiss her to France, was not less dangerous; the French king could not refuse his assistance towards restoring his sister and ally to her throne; and Elizabeth would once more see a foreign army in the island, overawing the Scots, and ready to invade her kingdom where it was weakest and most defenceless.

Nothing therefore remained but to detain her in England; and to permit her either to live at liberty there, or to confine her in a prison. In the former case, her court would become a place of resort to all the Roman Catholics, to the dissaffected, and to the lovers of innovation; and her beauty, her address, her sufferings, by the admiration and pity which they would excite, could not fail of making many converts to her party.

To treat Mary as a prisoner, might indeed excite universal indignation; but Henry the Fourth had seized the heir of the crown of Scotland, who was forced by the violence of a storm to take refuge in one of the ports of his kingdom, and detained him a prisoner for many years; this action, though detested by posterity, Elizabeth resolved to imitate; but to screen herself from the censure her conduct merited, and to make the treatment of the Scottish queen look like the effect of necessity rather than of choice, she determined to put on the appearance

pearance of concern for her interest, and of deep sympathy with her sufferings.

With this view she dispatched lord Scroope and Sir Francis Knollys to the queen of Scots, with letters full of expressions of condolence and kindness; but they were privately instructed to prevent her escape into her own kingdom; and when Mary demanded a personal interview with the queen, they answered that it was with reluctance this honour was at present denied her; that while she lay under the imputation of a crime so horrid as the murder of her husband, their mistress, to whom she was so nearly allied, could not, without bringing a stain upon her own reputation, admit her into her presence; but as soon as she had cleared herself from that aspersions, they promised her a reception suitable to her dignity, and aid proportioned to her distresses.

This pretence led the queen of the Scots into the snare in which Elizabeth and her ministers wished to entangle her. Mary, who could not believe so many professions void of sincerity, frankly offered to submit her cause to the cognizance of Elizabeth. This was the very point to which the English queen laboured to bring her. By this appeal, she became the umpire between Mary and her subjects; it was in her own power to protract the inquiry to any length; and in the meantime, she was furnished with a plausible pretence for keeping her at a distance from court, and for

refusing to contribute towards replacing her on the throne.

Even had Mary discovered the secret intentions of Elizabeth, and by receding from the offer which she had made, had endeavoured to disappoint them, that princess was determined not to drop the inquiry, and had thought of several different expedients for carrying it on. The coun-
tess of Lennox, convinced that Mary was accessary to the murder of her son, had demanded with tears the trial of the Scottish queen. The confederates had openly accused Mary of the same crime; and it would be no difficult matter to prevail on them to petition the queen of England to take cognizance of their proceedings against their sovereign; at the same time the obsolete claim of the superiority of England over Scotland began to be talked of, and on that account it was pretended that the decision between Mary and her subjects belonged of right to Elizabeth. But that princess still wished that the enquiry into Mary's conduct should appear to be undertaken purely in compliance with her own demand, and in order to vindicate her innocence; and so long as that appearance could be preserved, none of the other expedients were to be employed.

Mary, in submitting her cause to Elizabeth, meant to consider her as an equal, for whose satisfaction she was willing to explain any part of her conduct that was liable to censure; and not to acknowledge her as a superior, before whom she

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was bound to plead. But Elizabeth represented herself as chosen to be judge in the controversy between the Scottish queen and her subjects, and began to act in that capacity. She proposed to appoint commissioners to hear the pleadings of both parties; and wrote to the regent of Scotland to impower proper persons to appear before them, in his name, and to produce what he could alledge in vindication of his proceedings against his sovereign.

Mary, by this proposal, plainly perceived the artifice of Elizabeth's conduct, and saw what a diminution it would be to her honour, to appear on a level with her rebellious subjects, and to stand together with them at the bar of a superior, and a judge. She retracted the offer that she had made; and in the language of grief and indignation, she demanded either to be permitted to implore the aid of other princes, or to be furnished with that assistance which would ever bind her to the queen of England in the ties of indissoluble gratitude.

Notwithstanding the remonstrances of Mary, the council of Elizabeth agreed that the latter princess could not consistently with her own honour, or the safety of her government, either give the Scottish queen the assistance which she demanded, or permit her to retire out of the kingdom; and lest she should have an opportunity of escaping, it was thought adviseable to remove her to some place at a greater distance from the borders.

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While the English court was occupied in these deliberations, the regent did not neglect to improve the victory at Langside; he seemed at first resolved to proceed with rigour against the queen's adherents. Six persons of distinction were tried, condemned, and led to execution; but at the powerful intercession of Knox, they obtained a pardon; Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh was one of the number, who lived to give both the regent and Knox reason to repent of this act of lenity.

With a considerable army the regent marched towards the west borders; and as the nobles of the queen's faction in that part were not capable of resisting him, they must either have submitted, or beheld their estates wasted with fire and sword. But it was the interest of Elizabeth to preserve the balance of the two parties; and in compliance with the English ambassador, the regent, after keeping the field about two months, dismissed his forces.

The queen of Scots had been conducted from Carlisle to Bolton, a castle of lord Scroop's on the borders of Yorkshire. Her correspondence with Scotland became hereafter more difficult, and her escape impracticable. She now felt herself to be entirely in Elizabeth's power; and though treated as yet with the respect due to a queen, her real condition was that of a prisoner. Elizabeth again proposed to her to suffer the regent and his adherents to be called into England, and to consent to their being heard in their defence; on her

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part she promised, whatever should be the issue of this inquiry, to employ all her power and influence towards replacing Mary on her throne, under a few limitations, which were far from being unreasonable. Fear, impatience, despair, as well as this soothing promise, with which the proposition was accompanied, induced Mary to comply. Even to render Elizabeth more favourable to her hopes, she affected to listen to the doctrines of protestantism, and heard a clergyman of that persuasion preach against the errors of popery, with seeming attention and satisfaction.

The regent, to enforce submission to the king's authority, had about this time called a parliament; and to obstruct this meeting, Argyle and Huntly, whom Mary had appointed her lieutenants in the south and north, began to assemble forces. Their influence would have embarrassed the regent had not Mary, at the desire of Elizabeth, commanded her friends to lay down their arms, and to wait patiently till matters were brought to a decision in England.

The regent did not however, submit without hesitation to the demand of Elizabeth, that he should send deputies to York to vindicate his conduct in presence of her commissioners. His authority was already established in Scotland, and confirmed by parliament; and to suffer its validity now to be called in question, was extremely mortifying. To accuse his sovereign before strangers, the ancient enemies of the Scottish name, was an odious talk;

to fail in this accusation was dangerous ; to succeed in it was disgraceful ; but the power of Elizabeth was so great, that her commands were neither to be disputed nor obeyed.

The ignominy of the step was increased by being obliged to repair to York in person. His associates had declined the office, unless he consented to share the danger and odium with them. The earl of Morton, Bothwell bishop of Orkney, Pitcairn commendator of Dunfermling, and lord Lindsay, were joined with him in commission. Macgill of Bankeilor, and Balnaves of Hallhill, two eminent civilians, George Buchanan, Maitland, and several others, were appointed to attend them as assistants.

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

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

The views with which the several parties consented to this conference, and the issue to which they expected to bring it, were extremely different. Mary's chief object was to recover her former authority, which she expected from Elizabeth's promises. The regent aimed only at securing the queen of England's protection ; but Elizabeth her-

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self was resolved, if the charge against Mary should appear well founded, to pronounce her unworthy of wearing the crown; and if the proofs of her accusers only extended to mal-administration, to set on foot a treaty for restoring her; but on such conditions, as would render her for ever dependant on England, and the slave of her own subjects.

On the fourth of October the conference was opened with much solemnity. The intention of Elizabeth was to inflame both parties; and Mary's commissioners were permitted to prefer a complaint against the regent and his friends, enumerating their treasonable actions, and requiring such redress as the injuries of one queen demanded from the justice of another.

It was expected the regent would, in return, have disclosed the whole circumstances of the crime with which the queen was charged; but instead of accusing Mary, he did not even defend himself. He continued to start doubts and scruples; his reserve and hesitation surprised his associates as well as the greater part of the English commissioners; and was founded in an intrigue, which since his arrival at York, had been secretly carried on.

The duke of Norfolk was at that time the most powerful and most popular man in England. His wife was lately dead; and he began already to form a project which he afterwards avowed more openly, of mounting the throne of Scotland by a marriage with the queen of Scots. He saw the infamy which would be the consequence of a public

lic accusation against Mary, and to save her this cruel mortification, he expressed to Maitland his astonishment that the Scots should submit the transactions of their nation to the tribunal of foreigners, and publicly expose the faults of their sovereign.

Maitland's sentiments were the same with the duke's ; and he offered all his credit to dissuade his countrymen from his odious measure. This encouraged Norfolk to communicate the matter to the regent. He repeated the same arguments that he had used with Maitland ; and added, that Elizabeth was resolved to give no definitive sentence ; let Murray only demand that the matter should be brought to decision immediately after hearing the proof, and he would be fully convinced how insidious the queen of England's intentions were.

These representations made a deep impression on the regent, and concurred in determining him to make trial of the expedient which the duke had suggested ; he demanded therefore, before he proceeded farther, whether the English commissioners were empowered to declare the queen guilty by a judicial act ; whether they would promise to pass sentence without delay ; whether the queen should be kept in restraint to prevent her from disturbing the government now established in Scotland ; and whether Elizabeth, if she approved of the proceedings of the king's party, would engage to protect it for the future. The paper containing these demands was signed by himself alone, without

communicating it to any of his attendants except Maitland and Melvil.

As the commissioners were not empowered to give him that satisfaction which he demanded, it became necessary to transmit the articles to the queen; and while fuller instructions were waited for, the regent gave in an answer to the complaint which had been offered in the name of the Scottish queen. It contained no insinuation of the queen's being accessory to the murder of her husband; and only urged the infamy of the marriage with Bothwell, which made it necessary to take arms in order to dissolve it.

The conference had hitherto been conducted in a manner which disappointed Elizabeth's views; the distance between York and London, and the necessity of consulting her upon every difficulty that occurred, consumed much time; Norfolk's negociation with the regent, had probably not escaped the vigilance of his sovereign; and instead of returning any answer to the regent's demands, she resolved to remove the conference to Westminster, and to appoint new commissioners, in whom she could more absolutely confide. Both the Scottish queen and the regent were brought without any difficulty to approve of this resolution.

The participation of the guilt of the king's murder was the only circumstance which could justify the violent proceedings of Mary's subjects; but this her accusers had industriously avoided to
O mention;

mention; Elizabeth however was resolved that Mary should not enjoy the same advantage in the conference to be held at Westminster as at York. She deliberated how she might overcome the regent's scruples; and as she foresaw that the promises which she should be obliged to allure him with, would naturally exasperate Mary, she determined to guard her more narrowly than ever, and removed her from Bolton to Tutbury in Staffordshire, and committed her to the keeping of the earl of Shrewsbury, to whom that castle belonged.

Mary soon began to suspect the design of this second conference; and her suspicions were confirmed by a circumstance extremely mortifying. The regent having arrived at London, was received by Elizabeth with respect and affection. This Mary justly considered as an open declaration of that queen's partiality towards her enemies; she wrote to her commissioners, and commanded them to complain of the usage that she had met with, and the additional injuries which she had reason to apprehend. Her rebellious subjects were allowed access to the queen, and she was excluded her presence; they enjoyed full liberty, while she languished in confinement; she renewed her demand to be admitted to Elizabeth; and if that were denied, she recalled the consent she had given to the conference at Westminster, and protested that whatever was done there, should be held to be null and void.

But

But either Mary's letters reached her commissioners too late, or they suffered themselves to be deceived by Elizabeth's professions of regard for their mistress, and consented to the opening of the conference.

To the commissioners who had appeared in her name at York, Elizabeth now added Sir Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great seal, the earls of Arundel and Leicester, lord Clinton, and Sir William Cecil. A satisfactory answer was given to the regent's demands; his negotiation with Norfolk had been discovered to Morton by some of Mary's attendants, and communicated to Cecil. His personal safety, as well as the continuance of his power, depended on Elizabeth, and at length determined him to produce his accusation against the queen.

To lessen the infamy, he protested that it was with the utmost reluctance that he undertook this disagreeable task; but the insolence and importunity of the adverse faction compelled him to publish what he had hitherto, though with detriment to himself, endeavoured to conceal. He then proceeded to charge Mary, not only with having consented to the murder, but with being accessory to the contrivance and execution of it. Bothwell, it was asserted, had been screened from the pursuits of justice by her favour; and that she had formed designs no less dangerous to the life of the young prince, than subversive

of the liberties and constitution of the kingdom. If any of these crimes should be denied, an offer was made to produce the most ample and undoubted evidence in confirmation of the charge.

At the next meeting of the commissioners, the earl of Lennox implored Elizabeth's justice against the queen of Scots, whom he accused upon oath of the unnatural murder of his son : While Mary's commissioners, instead of attempting to vindicate her honour, had recourse to the article in their instructions which they had formerly neglected. They demanded an audience of Elizabeth ; and having renewed their mistress's request of a personal interview, they protested, if that were denied her, against all the future proceedings of the commissioners. A protestation offered, when such a bold accusation was preferred against Mary, gave reason to suspect that she dreaded the event of the examination : This suspicion was confirmed by Rofs and Herries privately acquainting Cecil, that their mistress, notwithstanding the regent's audacious accusation, would still be glad to terminate the differences between herself and her subjects by an amicable accomodation.

Elizabeth in answer, told Mary's commissioners, that in the present juncture nothing could be so dishonourable to their mistress as an accomodation ; that the matter would seem huddeld up in this manner, merely to hide her shame ; nor was it possible that she could be admitted with any decency into
her

her presence while she lay under the infamy of such a public accusation.

Mary's commissioners, on this repulse, withdrew; and as they declined answering, the regent seemed to have no further necessity of producing proofs. But Elizabeth was not content till these were in her hands; she intimated to the regent her indignation at his accusing his sovereign of such atrocious crimes. He, in order to regain the good opinion of such a powerful protectress, offered to shew that his accusations were not malicious nor ill-grounded; he produced and delivered to the English commissioners the confessions of the persons executed for the king's murder, and the fatal casket which contained the letters, sonnets, and contracts, that have been already mentioned.

Elizabeth, from the moment that she got these into her possession, laid aside all expressions of friendship and respect towards Mary, and wrote to her as if the presumptions of her guilt amounted to certainty. She hoped thus to intimidate her, to confirm the resignation of the crown; to ratify Murray's authority as regent; and to consent that both herself and her son should reside in England under her protection. But Mary rejected this scheme without hesitation; "Death, said she, is less dreadful than such an ignominious step. " Rather than give away with my own hands the " crown which descended to me from my ances-

"tors, I will part with life; but the last words I
"utter shall be those of a queen of Scotland."

At the same time that Mary denied the allegations of her enemies, she recriminated by her commissioners upon the regent and his party, and accused them with having devised and executed the murder of the King. These asserted their innocence with great warmth; while Elizabeth, who had now in her hands the papers that she had so long wished for, though she affected still to urge the queen of Scots to vindicate her honour, did not desire to make any further progress in the inquiry.

A. D. 1569. The regent was now impatient to return to Scotland; and before he set out, he was called into the privy council, to receive a final declaration of Elizabeth's sentiments. Cecil acquainted him, in her name, that on one hand nothing had been objected to his conduct, that she could reckon detrimental to his honour, or inconsistent with his duty; nor had he, on the other hand, produced any thing against his sovereign, on which he could found an unfavourable opinion of her actions; and for this reason, she resolved to leave all the affairs of Scotland precisely in the same situation in which she had found them at the beginning of the conference: The queen's commissioners were dismissed much in the same manner.

Nothing could at first sight appear more trifling and ridiculous than such a conclusion of a conference,

ence, which had lasted upwards of four months, and had fixed so earnestly the attention of both nations : Yet, at the same time, nothing could be more conformable to the future schemes of Elizabeth. She had no thoughts of continuing neuter, notwithstanding her professions of impartiality ; nor was she in doubt to what party to give her protection. She supplied the regent, before he quitted London, with a large sum of money, and promised to support, to the utmost of her power, the king's authority.

This resolution was fortified by the conduct of Mary : The repeated instances of Elizabeth's art and duplicity had awakened the queen of Scots from those fond dreams of assistance into which she had been lulled ; and despairing of obtaining any succour from the English queen, she endeavoured to rally her own adherents to Scotland, and to excite them to arms, by painting the interested and unworthy designs of Elizabeth and Murray in such colours as could not fail of inspiring every Scotsman with indignation.

Mary asserted, that the regent had agreed to convey the prince her son into England ; to yield to the queen of England the strongest places in Scotland ; and to acknowledge the dependence of the Scottish upon the English nation. As a compensation for this, he was to be declared the lawful heir of the crown of Scotland ; and at the same time, the question, with regard to the English succession, was to be decided in favour of the earl

earl of Hartford, who had promised to marry one of Cecil's daughters. An account of these wild and chimerical projects was spread industriously among the Scots. The queen of England, who perceived the intention of it was to destroy its effects by a counter-proclamation, and became more disgusted than ever with Mary.

Scotland, during the absence of the regent, had remained in tranquillity; but the queen's adherents, who had flattered themselves that the conference in England would ruminate to her advantage, and had therefore restrained their impatient discontents, were now ready to erect the standard of civil war. They were encouraged too by the appearance of a leader, whose high quality and pretensions entitled him to great authority in the nation; This was the duke of Chatelherault, who had resided for some years in France, and whom that court had now sent over with a supply of money, in hopes of animating the courage of the queen's faction by the presence and influence of the first nobleman of the kingdom.

The duke of Chatelherault has been detained by the artifices of Elizabeth for several months; but when these pretences were exhausted, the queen could not openly refuse her permission to continue his journey; and before his departure, Mary invested him with the high dignity of her lieutenant-general in Scotland, together with the fantastic title of her adopted father.

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The designs of the duke of Chatelherault had not escaped the penetration of the regent, who prepared to prevent or encounter them with his usual activity. He marched to Glasgow at the head of an army which he had expeditiously levied. The followers of Argyll and Huntly, who composed the chief parts of the queen's faction, lying in very distant corners of the kingdom, and many of the duke's dependants having fallen or been taken prisoners in the battle of Langside, he beheld his estate and vassals exposed to destruction. To avert this, he proposed an accommodation, which was effectual on very moderate terms.

The duke consented to acknowledge the authority both of the king and the regent; and to claim no jurisdiction in consequence of the commission which he had received from the queen. The regent bound himself to repeal the act which had passed for attainting several of the queen's adherents; to restore all who would submit to the king's government to the possession of their estates and honours; and to hold a convention, wherein all the differences between the two parties should be settled by mutual consent. For the faithful execution of the treaty, the duke gave hostages; and as a mark of his sincerity, he and lord Herries, accompanied by the regent, visited the young king at Stirling; while the regent, on his side, restored to freedom the prisoners who had been taken at Langside.

These

These measures did not however entirely secure the tranquillity of Scotland. Argyle and Huntly had rejected the late treaty : In England, intrigues were daily carried on in favour of Mary ; her affairs wore a more favourable appearance ; and the probability of her speedy return into her own kingdom was hourly augmented : In France, the Hugonots had been repeatedly broken by their adversaries, and their entire destruction was expected ; while the French king, having established once more peace throughout his dominions, would be at leisure to direct his attention to the affairs of Britain. Argyle and Huntly were strongly influenced by these circumstances ; and their representations produced such an effect on the duke that he appeared wavering and irresolute, and plainly discovered that he wished to evade the accomplishment of the treaty.

The vigour of the regent dissipated the storm that menaced him ; he saw the danger of allowing the duke to disengage himself from the conditions that he had acceded to ; and he instantly formed a resolution equally bold and politic. He commanded his guards to seize Chatelherault in his own house at Edinburgh, whither he had come in order to attend the conversation agreed upon ; and regardless either of his dignity, as the first nobleman in the kingdom and next heir to the crown, or of the promises of personal safety on which he had relied, committed him and lord Herries prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh.

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The hopes of the party were blasted by an event so fatal and unexpected; Argyle, intimidated at this example of severity, submitted to the king's government, and made his peace with the regent on very easy terms; while Huntly, incapable alone of supporting the party of Mary, was at last obliged to lay down his arms.

The importunity of Fenelon, the French ambassador, had extorted some overtures from Elizabeth, which wore the appearance of being favourable to the queen of Scots. These were delivered by lord Boyd to the regent, in a letter from the queen of England. A convention was held at Perth to consider of the proposals: The first demanded, that Mary should be restored to the full possession of her former authority; the second, that she should be admitted to reign jointly with the king her son; and the third, that she should be allowed to reside in Scotland, in some decent retirement, without any share in the administration of government. Among propositions so unequal and disproportioned, Elizabeth plainly saw where the choice would fall; the two former were rejected; and long delays must necessarily have intervened, and many difficulties have arisen, before every circumstance relative to the last could be finally adjusted.

Elizabeth's letter was accompanied by one from Mary, in which she demanded that her marriage with Bothwell should be reviewed by proper judges, and, if found invalid, should be dissolved by a legal

legal sentence of divorce. For two years she had now endured a series of calamities, and all originating in that fatal marriage; a divorce was the only thing that could repair the injuries her reputation had suffered; yet she had long preserved a silence on that subject; and her particular motive for soliciting it now, was so well-known by the convention of estates that the demand was rejected.

Whatever desire Mary might have to be separated from Bothwell, her present conduct was founded in an impatience to be married to the duke of Norfolk, rather than in any abhorrence to the unhappy man whose crimes had been productive of so much misery to her. This marriage was the secret of those intrigues in England which we had already mentioned. The fertile and projecting genius of Maitland first conceived this scheme; during the conference at York, he communicated it to the duke himself, and to the bishop of Ross; the former readily closed with a project so flattering to his ambition; and the latter considered it as a probable device for restoring his mistress to liberty, and replacing her on the throne. A correspondence was carried on between Mary and the duke, by means of Lady Scroop, the sister of the latter; this intrigue was still continued after the removal of the conference to Westminster; and by the means of Ross and Maitland, many letters and love-tokens passed between Norfolk and the queen of Scots.

The duke, conscious that the project could not entirely escape the suspicious vigilance of Elizabeth, attempted on this occasion to deceive her by the appearance of candour and ingeniousness. He informed her of the rumour himself; and at the same time that he disclaimed all intentions of the kind, he spoke of Mary and her dominions in such terms of contempt, as seem to have entirely satisfied his royal mistress; But instead of desisting from the enterprize, he pursued it with increase of vigour, and even extended his negotiations to the regent himself. Murray was sensible that he had given offence to Norfolk, by his public accusation of Mary in breach of the concert into which had entered at York; he was then ready to return into Scotland; the influence of the duke in the North of England was great; the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, the most powerful noblemen in that part of the kingdom, threatened to revenge upon the regent the injuries that he had done his sovereign. In order to secure his retreat, he addressed himself to Norfolk, and insinuated that he would concur in promoting the duke's marriage with the queen, his sister; Norfolk credulously listened to his professions, and wrote to the two earls not to interrupt the passage of Murray.

From his connection with the regent, Norfolk extended his negotiations among the English nobility. The marriage of the Scottish queen to an Englishman, and a zealous protestant, the most
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powerful

powerful and most universally beloved of the nobles, seemed an effectual remedy against the calamities of civil war, with which the kingdom might be afflicted if Mary's succession to the throne was disputed, or the danger which might arise to religion and liberty, should she espouse a foreign or popish prince.

From these considerations the greater part of the peers, either directly or tacitly, approved the union of Mary with the duke of Norfolk, as a salutary project. The earls of Arundel, Pembroke, Leicester, and lord Lumley, subscribed a letter to the Scottish queen, in which they warmly recommended the match, but insisted on Mary's promise that she would attempt nothing prejudicial to Elizabeth and her posterity; that she should consent to a league offensive and defensive between the two kingdoms; that she should confirm the present establishment of religion in Scotland, and receive into favour such of her subjects as had appeared in arms against her. On these conditions they engaged to restore her to her own throne, and to secure her that of England in reversion; and Mary readily consented to all except the second article, on which she demanded time to consult her ally the king of France.

The whole of this negotiation was industriously concealed from Elizabeth: It was well-known that she would not willingly consent to a measure which would increase the reputation of her rival: To take a few steps without her knowledge in a
matter

matter of so much consequence, could scarce be considered as criminal; and even Mary and Norfolk had declared, that without her approbation nothing should be concluded. The greater part of the nobles regarded their duty and allegiance fully preserved; but those who conducted the intrigue had more secret and dangerous designs; the promises which Mary had made, they thought might be easily evaded, while the advantages to her were instant and important. The concurrence of the kings of France and Spain had been early solicited and obtained; but a treaty in which they consulted foreign princes could scarce be deemed innocent. It was however expected, that the union of so many nobles would extort the compliance of Elizabeth; and such was their confidence in their success, that Norfolk exerted his influence to prevent an attempt which had been projected in the north, to rescue Mary out of the hands of her keepers, lest, when at liberty, she might recede from those declarations which she had made in his favour.

Lord Boyd at this critical juncture delivered letters in cyphers from the duke of Norfolk and Throgmorton to the regent and Maitland. In these, the two former expressed their most sanguine hopes of success; and represented the whole nobility of England as unanimous in support of the project. The influence and numbers of those who had concurred in the scheme seemed to preclude every danger from opposition; and the

ceremony of the marriage was only wanting. It remained with the regent to open a road to that transaction by hastening the divorce between Bothwell and Mary; this was expected from him in consequence of his promise to Norfolk; a promise which it was imagined he would punctually perform.

But the circumstances of the regent were widely different at present to those in which he had given his apparent approbation to the designs of Norfolk; he could not but be sensible that the consequence of the duke's success would be fatal to his own power; nor could he expect any favour or even hope for impunity from the queen, should she recover the regal authority, since she considered him as the author of all her calamities. It is not surprising therefore that he should refuse to venture on a step which was to found the grandeur of another on the ruins of his own. A delay was occasioned by this denial; but as every other preliminary was adjusted, the bishop of Ross, in the name of his mistress, and the duke of Norfolk in person, declared, in the presence of the French Ambassador, their mutual consent to the marriage; and a contract to this purpose was signed and intrusted to the care of the ambassador.

The number of confidants on whom Mary and Norfolk had relied, became now too great to hope that the intrigue could be concealed. Whispers were circulated already at court; and Elizabeth
calling

calling Norfolk into her presence, expressed the utmost indignation at his conduct, and charged him to abandon all thoughts of so dangerous a project. It is probable that Leicester had only entered into the scheme with the view of revealing it: He now communicated it with all its circumstances to the queen. Pembroke, Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton, were confined and examined; Mary was watched more narrowly than ever; and Hastings, earl of Huntingdon, who pretended to dispute with the Scottish queen her right of succession, being joined in commission with Shrewsbury, rendered her imprisonment more intolerable by the excess of his rigour.

We have already observed, that the regent from the first could scarce have been sincere in the project; and the moment that he was threatened with the displeasure of Elizabeth, he hastened to make his own peace at the expence of his accomplices. He delivered to the queen of England all the letters of Norfolk, and furnished her with the most ample intelligence. The duke, instead of obeying the summons to appear before the privy council, fled to his seat in Norfolk; but received with indifference by his friends in that country, unprepared for resistance against his sovereign, and intimidated by the confinement of his associates, he obeyed a second summons, and repaired to Windsor. For some days he was kept a prisoner in a private house, and afterwards committed to

the tower, where he suffered an imprisonment of nine months; and was not released but by his humble submission to Elizabeth, and his promise to hold no farther correspondence with the queen of Scots.

The queen's partizans in Scotland had not been inactive during the negociation in England; and Maitland, whose fertile genius was never without resources, had allured from the side of the regent, Lord Home, Kirkaldy, and several of his former associates. He continued still to foment the spirit of disaffection in Scotland; and Murray could not regard his own power secure, while Maitland enjoyed his liberty. For this reason he employed captain Crawford, one of his creatures, to accuse him of being accessory to the murder of the king; and under that pretence carried him a prisoner to Edinburgh. He was saved however from destruction by the friendship of Kirkaldy, who got him from the hands of the person to whose care he was committed, by a pretended warrant from the regent, and conducted him to the castle, which from that time remained under Maitland's command; while the regent, instead of the destruction of his most formidable enemy, endured no small mortification in the loss of a place of so much importance, and the open defection of a man so eminent for military skill as Kirkaldy.

The imprisonment of the duke of Norfolk did not extinguish in England the hopes of Mary's adherents

herents, or restrain entirely the enemies of Elizabeth's government. The earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, whose influence in the northern counties was such as might be expected from their extensive property, and from the popular and martial families of Percy and Nevil, were strongly attached to the popish religion, and discontented with a court where new men and a new system prevailed. They had warmly espoused the interest of Mary, and the caution of Norfolk ill suited their ardour and impetuosity; they aspired not only at delivering the queen of Scots, but at changing the established religion and government; and they solicited the aid of the king of Spain, the zealous patron of popery in that age. Philip was delighted with the prospect of involving England in the confusion of a civil war; and promised the earls, that if either they possessed themselves of any strong place, or delivered the queen of Scots, that he would supply them with money and a considerable body of troops.

Though Elizabeth suspected not the real design of the conspirators, yet as she considered the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland as privy to Norfolk's plot, she summoned them to court. Conscious of their guilt, they refused to comply; and as no time remained for deliberation, they instantly erected the standard of opposition against their sovereign. The re-establishment of the catholic religion, and the settlement of the succession of the
crown,

crown, were the motives they assigned for their enterprize. Their names allured to their party many of the lower people, but their abilities were far from equal to the project they had engaged in. The removal of Mary to Coventry disappointed their principal object; the approach of regular troops compelled them to retire; their numbers dwindled in their retreat; and after lurking for some time amidst the mountains of Northumberland, they sought refuge among the Scottish borderers. Northumberland was made prisoner by the regent; and Westmorland was concealed by Scot of Buccleugh, and Ker of Fernihurst, and afterwards conveyed to the Netherlands.

This revolt, however, deeply impressed Elizabeth with the danger of keeping such a prisoner as the Scottish Queen: The conspiracy of Norfolk, and the rebellion of the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, were both directed to the relief of Mary: Many of her own subjects pitied the captive queen; and the Roman Catholic princes on the continent were warmly interested in her cause. By detaining her, she beheld herself exposed to the cabals and insurrections of the former, and she might draw down upon herself the hostile arms of the latter. She now resolved to deliver Mary into the hands of the regent, who was equally concerned with herself in preventing her from re-ascending the throne.

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A. D. 1570. The remonstrances of the French and Spanish ambassadors, who represented the infamy of the transaction, deferred in some measure this negotiation; and it was finally broken by the murder of the regent himself.

We have already noticed, that Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who had been condemned for appearing in arms at the battle of Langside, had received his life from the regent's clemency: But part of his estate had been bestowed upon a favourite of Murray, who had seized his house, and turned out his wife naked in a cold night into the open fields, where, before next morning, she became furiously mad.

The injury made a deeper impression on Hamilton than the mercy he had experienced: He vowed revenge; and was fortified in his resolution by the applause of his kinsmen of the house of Hamilton. The maxims of the age combined with party rancour to keep him steady to his purpose; and he followed Murray for some time with deliberate vengeance, in hopes of striking the blow.

The regent was to pass, in his way from Stirling to Edinburgh, through Linlithgow; and Hamilton embraced that opportunity of satiating his revenge. He took his stand in a wooden gallery, which had a window towards the street; spread a feather bed on the floor to hinder the noise of his feet being heard; hung up a black cloth behind him, that his shadow might not be

be observed from without; and calmly expected the regent's approach, who had lodged during the night in a house not far distant.

With whatever care he had concealed his enterprise, the secret began already to be whispered; and some indistinct rumours had even reached the ears of Murray himself. He paid so much attention to them, that he resolved to return by the same gate through which he had entered, and to fetch a compass round the town; but as the throng was great, and he himself a stranger to fear, he unfortunately abandoned this intention, and proceeded directly along the street where his enemy lay in wait for him. The crowd which surrounded him compelled him to move slowly, and allowed the assassin to take distinct aim. His skill was but too fatal; a single bullet entered the lower part of Murray's belly, and even killed the horse of a gentleman who rode on the other side of him. His followers immediately endeavoured to force the door of the house, but found it strongly barricaded: it gave way at length to their efforts; but Hamilton had availed himself of the delay: and mounting a fleet horse which stood prepared for him at the back passage, soon gained a distance which precluded pursuit.

The wound which the regent received was mortal, and he expired the same night. His character has been drawn by the different parties of the age in such opposite colours, as must naturally

turally be expected from gratitude and resentment. Even his enemies allow him to have possessed, in the highest degree, personal intrepidity, military skill, sagacity and vigour in the administration of civil affairs. His moral virtues are more doubtful; and ought neither to be praised or censured without great reserve and many distinctions. His victories were distinguished by a humanity rarely to be found in the barbarous age he lived in; and he was remarkable for his patronage of learning, when it was considered with contempt by an haughty and martial nobility. His zeal for religion surpassed even that of his contemporaries; and his confidence in his friends could only be exceeded by his liberality towards them. In his opposition to the pernicious system which the princes of Lorraine had obliged the queen mother to pursue, we discern a disinterested passion for the liberty of his country; and he sacrificed the friendship of those who were most attached to his person to the zeal and affection with which he served Mary, on her first return to Scotland.

But at the same time it must not be concealed that his ambition was immoderate; and the flattering prospect which afterwards opened to his enterprising genius tempted him to swerve from the paths of allegiance to his sovereign. His treatment of that sovereign, who was at once his sister and his queen, was unnatural and undutiful. The dependence on England to which he reduced
Scotland,

Scotland, was disgraceful to his country; and his treachery towards Norfolk, and the baseness with which he betrayed him, have fixed an indelible stain on his honour.

From the moment that he attained to power and dignity, his disposition changed with his situation: He disgusted the nobles by his haughtiness and reserve; and the affected arts of dissimulation and refinement took place of those blunt and ingenuous manners which were natural to him. Towards the latter end of his life he grew impatient of advice; and soothed by the voice of adulation, the flatterers that crowded round him estranged him from the faithful counsels of his ancient friends; who beheld the alteration with regret, and predicted his fall. Yet amidst the turbulence and confusion of that factious period, he dispensed justice with so much impartiality, he repressed the licentious borderers with so much courage, and established such uncommon order and tranquillity in the country, that his administration was extremely popular, and he was long and affectionately remembered among the commons by the title of the *Good Regent*.

Chapter the Sixth.

INTRIGUES in Scotland. — Interference of Elizabeth. — Earl of Lennox chosen regent. — Negotiations with Mary. — Execution of the Archbishop of St. Andrews. — The regent is killed at Stirling. — Is succeeded by the earl of Mar. — Conspiracy and execution of the duke of Norfolk. — Death of Mar. — The earl of Morton obtains the regency. — Reduces the castle of Edinburgh, and puts to death Kirkaldy. — James assumes the reins of government. — Morton makes himself master of the king's person: — Is divested of authority and accused of the murder of lord Darnly. — His execution. — The Raid of Ruthven. — James recovers his liberty. — His conduct towards the conspirators — Execution of the earl of Gowrie. — The conspirators escape into England. — James diminishes the power of the church.

WHILST Elizabeth bewailed the death of the regent, the adherents of Mary openly exulted in his fate. As the assassin made his escape on a horse which belonged to lord Claud Hamilton, and fled directly to Hamilton, where he was received in triumph, it was concluded that the

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blow

blow was rather suggested by a party, than the revenge of a private man. The day after the murder, Scot of Buccleugh, and Ker of Fernherst, entered England in an hostile manner; an outrage they would scarce have ventured on had Murray been alive; nor could it well have happened so soon after his death, had they not been privy to the crime.

To restrain these excesses, a settled form of government was necessary; and a convention of nobles was held, to deliberate concerning the choice of a regent. The queen's adherents refused to be present at the meeting, and protested against its proceedings: The king's own party was irresolute, and divided in opinion; while Elizabeth, according to her ancient system, continued to multiply the factions which tore the kingdom in pieces. The convention broke up without coming to any agreement, and a new meeting, to which the nobles of all parties were invited, was appointed on the first of May.

Maitland and Kirkaldy had laboured to restore some degree of harmony among their countrymen; but while the one faction demanded the restoration of the queen, the other insisted that the king's authority should on no account be impaired. Both were rendered averse to reconciliation by the hope of foreign aid. It was expected that the civil wars in France would be so soon terminated, and that Charles the Ninth would be at liberty to support Mary; on the
other

other hand, the earl of Suffex was assembling a powerful army on the borders, and its operations could not fail of adding strength and spirit to the party of the king.

Merton, the most able leader on the king's side, warmly solicited the assistance of Elizabeth; while the chiefs of the queen's faction assembling at Linlithgow, marched from thence to Edinburgh; and were, by the persuasions of Kirkaldy, who was both governor of the castle and provost of the town, admitted within the gates. The earl of Athole and Maitland almost openly acceded to the same party; and the duke of Chatelherault and lord Herries having, by the means of Kirkaldy, recovered their liberty, resumed the places which they had formerly held in their councils.

It was the project of these to engage England and Scotland in open hostilities; not only to dissolve a confederacy of great advantage to the king's cause, but to reconcile their countrymen to the queen. With this view, they had encouraged the depredations of Ker and Scott; but Elizabeth foresaw the consequences of rendering this a national quarrel: By a proclamation, she declared that she imputed the outrages on the borders, not to the Scottish nation, but to a few designing persons; and that she was determined to maintain the friendship of the former, while she chastised the licentiousness of the latter. Suffex and Scroop accordingly entered the

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borders,

borders, and laid waste the adjacent countries with fire and sword; while the adherents of Mary retired from Edinburgh, the inhabitants whereof were ill affected to their cause, and from Linlithgow issued a proclamation forbidding their countrymen to respect any other authority than that of the duke, and Argyll and Huntly, whom the queen had constituted her lieutenants in the kingdom.

The nobles who adhered to the king, assembled at Edinburgh; and declared by a counter-proclamation, such as appeared for the queen, enemies of their country. They were effectually supported by Elizabeth, who detached Sir William Drury into Scotland with a thousand foot and three hundred horse. The king's partizans joined him with a considerable body of troops, and their united forces plundered and laid waste the country in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, which belonged to Hamilton.

The earl of Lennox, under Drury's protection, returned into Scotland. It was natural to commit to him the government of the kingdom during the minority of his grandson. Yet though Elizabeth ardently wished that he might succeed Murray as regent, she did not think it prudent to favour his pretensions too openly. The civil wars in France appeared now to be on the point of coming to an issue, and both parties seemed to desire peace with equal ardour. Charles the Ninth could

not

not in honour suffer a queen of France and the most ancient ally of his crown, to languish in her present cruel situation, without attempting to procure her relief; and Elizabeth had every thing to dread from the impetuosity of his temper, and the power of his arms; it therefore became necessary for her to act with some reserve.

But an event of an extraordinary nature roused her from this indecisive conduct. Pope Pius had issued a bull, by which he excommunicated Elizabeth, and deprived her of her kingdom; and the queen of England imputed this step to a combination of the catholic princes against her, and suspected that some plot was formed in favour of Mary. In that event she was sensible that the safety of her own kingdom depended on preserving her influence over Scotland: She now encouraged the king's adherents to elect a regent; and on her recommendation, the convention conferred that honour on the earl of Lennox.

The regent's first care was to prevent the meeting of the parliament, which the queen's party had summoned at Linlithgow. Successful in this, and encouraged by a formidable English army, which, under the earl of Suffex, hovered on the borders, he deprived Maitland of the office of secretary; and proclaimed him, the duke, Huntly, and other leaders of the queen's party, traitors and enemies of their country.

In this desperate situation, they were indebted for their safety to a treaty which Elizabeth was

carrying on, under colour of restoring the captive queen to her throne. As a proof of her sincerity on this occasion, she laboured to procure a cessation of arms between the two contending factions in Scotland. And though Lennox was highly elated with the good fortune which had hitherto attended his administration, it was not safe for him to dispute the will of his protectress. A cessation of hostilities during two months, to commence on the third of September was agreed upon; and being renewed from time to time, it continued till the first of April next year.

Elizabeth had dispatched Cecil and Sir William Mildmay to the queen of Scots; and the propositions which they made to her, were advantageous to Elizabeth, but such as a prince in Mary's situation had reason to expect: The ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; the renunciation of any pretensions to the English crown, during Elizabeth's own life, or that of her posterity; the adherence to the alliance between the two kingdoms; the pardoning of her subjects who had taken arms against her; and her promising to hold no correspondence that might disturb Elizabeth's government were among the chief articles. To secure the accomplishment of these, some persons of rank were demanded as hostages; the prince was to reside in England; and a few castles on the borders were to be put into Elizabeth's hands.

Mary

A. D. 1571.

Mary immediately consented to many of Elizabeth's demands, and discovered a facility of disposition which promised further concessions; but the English queen had only carried on a treaty to amuse the allies of her rival, though she continued to act as if her views had been entirely different. Commissioners were appointed on every side; but Elizabeth had, in the interval, discovered that there was no reason to dread any danger from the French King, who had not shewn that ardour in support of Mary as was expected: she therefore seized the opportunity offered by the commissioners of the regent; who declared that they neither had, nor could receive, any instructions to consent to any treaty that tended to lessen the king's authority; and after having amused for ten months the unhappy queen of Scots with the hopes of liberty, she now broke off the negociation.

On the day after the expiration of the truce, captain Crawford, an enterprising officer, surprised the castle of Dunbarton, the only fortified place in the kingdom that Mary had kept possession of ever since the commencement of the civil wars. Lord Fleming, the governor, escaped with difficulty; but Lady Fleeming, Verac the French envoy, and Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, were made prisoners.

The Lady and Verac were treated with politeness and humanity, but a very different fate awaited the archbishop; he was carried under a strong

strong guard to Stirling; and as he had been formerly attainted by act of parliament, he was, without any trial, condemned to be hanged; and on the fourth day after he was taken, the sentence was executed. Lennox hated him as the person who supported the power and reputation of the house of Hamilton; and his zeal for the queen had rendered him odious to the king's adherents, Personal enmity and party rage dictated the indecent sentence, for which some colour was sought in a vain attempt to convict him of being accessory to the murder of the king and regent.

The loss of Dumbarton, and the severe treatment that the archbishop had met with, enraged the queen's party, and hostilities were renewed with all the fierceness that indignation could inspire. Kirkaldy, during the truce, had increased the numbers of his garrison; he seized the arms belonging to the citizens, fortified the gates of the city; and though the affections of the inhabitants leaned a different way, held out the capital against the regent. The duke, Huntly, and other chiefs, repaired thither with their followers, and formed no contemptible army within the walls. On the other hand, Morton seized Leith, and continual skirmishes took place between the hostile places.

Meanwhile all the miseries of civil war desolated the kingdom: Fellow-citizens, friends, brothers, took different sides, and ranged themselves under the standards of the contending factions.

In

In every county, and almost in every town and village, *King's-men* and *Queen's-men* were names of distinction; and religious zeal contributed not a little to heighten political animosities.

Both parties had summoned parliaments to grace their cause with the sanction of that name, and the time that each had appointed approached. Only three peers and two bishops appeared in that which was held for the queen at Edinburgh; yet they attainted two hundred of their adversaries. The meeting at Stirling, which acknowledged the king's authority, was splendid and numerous; but while, after the example of the parliament of Edinburgh, they were framing acts against the opposite faction, they were awakened from their security early one morning by the shouts of the enemy in the heart of the town. In a moment the regent, the earls of Argyle, Morton, Glencairn, Cassils, Eglinton, Montrose, Buchan, the lords Sempil, Cathcart, Ogilvie, were all made prisoners, and mounted behind troopers, who were ready to carry them to Edinburgh.

Kirkaldy was the author of this daring enterprise; and had he not been induced, by the ill-timed sollicitude of his friends, not to hazard his own person in conducting it, that day might have terminated the contest between the two factions. By his direction, four hundred men, under the command of Huntly, lord Claud Hamilton, and Scot of Buccleugh, set out from Edinburgh, and deceiving their enemies by marching towards the
south

south, suddenly wheeled to the right, and pressed forward to Stirling.

By four in the morning they arrived there, and met with no resistance from any person except Morton: He defended his house with obstinate valour, nor yielded till compelled by fire. But this occasioned some delay; the private men unaccustomed to discipline, left their colours to pillage; the noise and uproar of the town reached the castle; the earl of Mar sallied out on the assailants; the conquerors were seized with a sudden panic; and if the regent had not been killed, the loss on the king's side would have been as inconsiderable as the alarm was great. *Think on the archbishop of St. Andrews*, was the word among the queen's soldiers, and Lennox fell a sacrifice to his memory: The officer to whom he surrendered, endeavouring to defend him, lost also his own life.

The nobles at Stirling, relieved from this instant danger, proceeded immediately to the choice of a new regent. Mar was chosen by a majority of voices: Amidst all the fierce dissensions which had prevailed so long in Scotland, he had distinguished himself by his moderation, his humanity, and his disinterestedness; his merit too, in having so lately rescued the leaders of the party from imminent destruction, contributed not a little to his preferment.

About this time a treaty of marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou, the French king's

king's brother, was negociated; though neither court wished its conclusion, and only carried it on to cover their particular designs, yet they seemed to enter into it with such ardour as could not fail of success. Mary considering herself abandoned by France, turned for protection with more eagerness to the king of Spain. Ridolphi, a Florentine gentleman, who resided at London under the character of a banker, was employed as the agent of Philip and the Pope; and the queen of Scots considered herself bound to communicate the secret to the duke of Norfolk, who, notwithstanding his promise to Elizabeth, had kept up a continual correspondence with the captive princess. She recommended Ridolphi as a person worthy of the duke's confidence, and at the same time informed him of her hopes from the Spanish monarch; who undertook that the duke of Alva should land ten thousand men not far from London.

The English court had received some intelligence of this correspondence. The duke, his domestics, and all who could be suspected of being privy to the design, were taken into custody. Every one confessed the whole of what he knew; and the duke himself at length acknowledged his guilt, and implored the queen's mercy. His offence was too heinous, and too often repeated to obtain pardon: Being tried by his peers, he was found guilty of high treason, and after several delays, suffered death.

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The discovery of this conspiracy was extremely detrimental to Mary's interest. As there was now the clearest evidence that she had engaged in the most hostile and desperate enterprizes against the established government and religion, she began to be regarded as a public enemy: Her confinement was rendered more strict; the number of her domestics was abridged; and no person permitted to see her but in presence of her keepers.

In the north of Scotland, Sir Adam Gordon, Huntly's brother, had routed the king's adherents in many encounters; but the conduct of Elizabeth, who exhorted all parties to unite in acknowledging the king's authority, contributed not a little to depress the spirits of Gordon's followers.

As Morton commanded the regent's forces at Leith, and Kirkal-

A. D. 1572.

dy still held out the town and castle of Edinburgh, scarce a day passed without a skirmish, and both parties for some time hung up the prisoners that they took without mercy. At length the miseries of famine began to be felt by the besieged, and probably would have forced them to have capitulated, if the English and French ambassadors had not procured a suspension of hostilities for two months.

This truce afforded a seasonable interval of tranquillity to the queen's adherents in the south, but proved fatal to her interest in the north. Sir Adam Gordon had still maintained his reputation

and superiority there; and had he not been obliged by the truce to suspend his operations, he would in all probability have brought that part of the kingdom to submit entirely to the queen's authority.

But in England, the nation, jealous of Mary's negociations with the duke of Alva, regarded her with abhorrence, the parliament proceeded against her as the most dangerous enemy of the kingdom; in a conference between the lords and commons, both houses agreed in bringing in a bill to declare her guilty of high treason, and to deprive her of all right of succession to the crown. But though Elizabeth applauded their zeal, she did not think it time to venture on the last extremity against Mary, and therefore prorogued the parliament.

While Elizabeth laboured to bring the Scots to a general pacification, she was astonished by an event which filled a great part of Europe with horror. This was the massacre of Paris, which doomed to destruction the protestants who had been drawn to court by the most solemn promises of safety and favour. In the midst of their security the fatal warrant was issued by their sovereign; and ten thousand protestants, without distinction of age, or sex, or condition, were murdered in Paris alone. The same barbarous orders were sent to other parts of the kingdom, and a like carnage ensued.

This deed inspired at once the protestants with horror, and filled them with fear. It was believed

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that all the popish princes had conspired the destruction of their sect; and this opinion was of no small disservice to Mary's affairs in Scotland. Many of her adherents were protestants, and although they wished her restoration, they were not willing to sacrifice the faith which they professed. They considered the present establishment of religion could only be maintained against the league formed to overturn it, by a strict union with Elizabeth, and by the concurrence of both nations espousing it as a common cause.

This disposition encouraged Elizabeth to resume the scheme of sending Mary as a prisoner into Scotland; she required that immediately on her arrival she should be brought to public trial; and that whatever sentence should be passed on her should be inflicted without delay. But the earl of Mar, happily for the honour of his country, had more virtue than to listen to this ignominious proposal.

That nobleman had been long occupied in negotiating a general peace among his countrymen; and as the adverse faction placed entire confidence in his integrity, his endeavours could hardly have failed of being successful. Kirkaldy and Maitland came so near an agreement with him, that scarce any thing remained except the formality of signing the treaty. But this design was disappointed by Morton, whose sway with the party was greater than that of the regent himself; and the inward
grief

grief of Mar, who loved his country, and wished for peace with ardour, brought on a distemper of which he died the twenty-ninth of October. He was perhaps the only person in the kingdom who could have enjoyed the office of regent without loss of reputation; and whose honourable views, and uncorrupted integrity, were acknowledged by contending factions.

The influence of Elizabeth supported Morton's pretensions, and he was accordingly elected regent. His elevation was soon after succeeded by the death of Knox, who had been so instrumental in establishing the reformed religion in Scotland. Zeal, intrepidity, and disinterestedness, were virtues universally allowed him; but his maxims were often too severe, and his impetuosity excessive; and rigid and uncomplying himself, he shewed no indulgence to the infirmities of others.

The new regent, desirous of establishing his authority, renewed the negotiations for peace. Mary's party was now divided into two factions. At the head of the one were Chatelherault and Huntly; Maitland and Kirkaldy were the leaders of the other. Morton's first offer was to Kirkaldy and his associates; but as these knew the present regent's system to be different from that of his predecessor, and as they were encouraged by a promise of effectual succour from France, if the castle could hold some time longer, they refused all terms, unless the whole of the queen's party was included, and

A. D. 1573

Kirkaldy was permitted to retain the command of the castle in six months after the treaty was signed.

The regent, on Kirkaldy's refusal, turned to Chatelherault, and Huntly, who were less scrupulous, and listened eagerly to his overtures. The chief articles were, that all the parties comprehended should declare their approbation of the reformed religion; that they should submit to the king's government, and own Morton's authority as regent; that on both sides the prisoners should be set at liberty, and the lands restored to their proper owners; and that the act of attainder passed against the queen's adherents should be repealed.

Kirkaldy, though thus abandoned by his allies, did not lose courage, and still resolved to defend the castle in the queen's name. But Elizabeth, who determined at any rate to put an end to the dissensions in Scotland, ordered sir William Drury to join the regent with fifteen hundred foot, and a considerable train of artillery. The united forces opened the trenches, and carried on their approaches regularly against the castle; yet Kirkaldy continued to resist all the efforts of the English and Scots, during thirty-three days; and determined rather to fall gloriously than to yield to his inveterate enemies: But his garrison was not animated with the same heroic resolution; and rising in a mutiny, compelled him to capitulate. He surrendered himself to Drury, who promised, in
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the name of his mistress, that he should be favourably treated; together with him, James Kirkaldy his brother, lord Home, Maitland, and sir Robert Melvil, were made prisoners.

Kirkaldy and his associates remained in Drury's custody, and were treated by him with great humanity, until the queen of England, whose prisoners they were, should determine their fate. Elizabeth, without regarding Drury's honour, or his promises in her name, gave them up to the regent's disposal, who condemned Kirkaldy and his brother to be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh; while Maitland prevented the ignominy of a public execution by a voluntary death.

Mary, incapable of affording her party any relief, bewailed their misfortunes in prison. Her health began to be impaired by confinement; and at the intreaty of the French Ambassador, Shrewsbury, her keeper, was permitted to carry her to Buxton Wells, not far from Tuthbury, the place of her imprisonment.

A. D. 1574-5 In the mean time, the regent set himself to redress the disorders which civil war had extended through Scotland; but he lost the reputation which he might have acquired by the establishment of order and security by his avaricious exactions. Spies and informers were every where employed; the remembrance of old offences was revived; petty trespasses were aggravated; and delinquents were forced to compound for their lives by exorbitant fines. The current

coin was also debased, and even the scanty subsistence of the clergy was intercepted by his avidity.

The weight of the regent's oppressive administration had hitherto fallen chiefly on the lower and middle ranks; but he began now to take such steps as convinced the nobles their dignity would not long exempt them from feeling the effects of his power. The earls of Argyle and Athol had assumed arms to decide a private quarrel; the regent, by interposing his authority, obliged them to disband their forces; both of them had been guilty of irregularities, which though common, were contrary to the letter of the law. Of these, the regent took advantage, and resolved to found a charge of high treason. The two earls forgot their old quarrels in their common danger; their confederacy enabled them to despise the summons of Morton; but though he was obliged to desist from further prosecution, the injury he intended made a deep impression on their minds.

A. D. 1576.

James was now in the twelfth year of his age; and all began to turn their eyes on the young king, from whom they expected a more gentle administration. But as he was still distant from the period at which the law permitted him to assume the reins of government, the regent did not sufficiently reflect how far the wishes of the people might anticipate that moment: He not only neglected to

secure

A. D. 1577.

secure the friendship of those who were about the king's person, but had even exasperated some of them by personal injuries. These represented to the prince, the exorbitant authority and dangerous ambition of Morton, and contrasted it with his own limited situation. Their suggestions were productive of the desired effect; and James consented to call a council of the nobles for the redress of the grievances of the nation.

A. D. 1578. Letters for this purpose were issued in the royal name; but were sent only to such as were known to bear no good will to Morton. The number of these was, however, so considerable, that on the day appointed for the greater part of the nobles assembled at Stirling. They advised the king to deprive the regent of his office, and to take the administration of affairs into his own hands. This was signified to Morton at Dalkeith, his usual place of residence; and nothing could equal the joy with which this resolution filled the nation, but the surprise at the seeming alacrity with which the regent descended from so high a station.

Yet Morton wanted neither sagacity to foresee the danger of resigning, nor inclination to keep possession of that authority; but the sources whence he had derived it were no more. The commons and clergy were totally alienated from him; and Elizabeth, occupied in the affairs of the Netherlands,

Netherlands, had not leisure to attend to Scotland.

He therefore attended the Chancellor and Herries to Edinburgh; was present when the king's acceptance of the government was proclaimed; and, before the people, surrendered all the authority to which he had any claim in virtue of his office. He obtained however from James, an act containing the approbation of every thing done by him in the exercise of the regency, and pardon in the most ample form, that his fear or caution could devise, of all past offences, crimes, and treasons. The nobles who adhered to the king, bound themselves, under a great penalty, to procure the ratification of this act in the first parliament.

A council of twelve peers was appointed to assist the king in the administration of affairs; and Morton retired to one of his seats, and seemed to be occupied in the amusements of a country life. Even in this retreat, which the people called the *Lion's Den*, his wealth and abilities rendered him formidable; and the new counsellors were so imprudent as to rouse him by their persecution. Not content with stripping him of the castle of Edinburgh, they called a parliament, and multiplied their demands upon him, in such a manner as convinced him that his utter ruin was intended.

But their power and popularity began already to decline. The favourites at Court were either

avowed

avowed papists, or suspected of learning to the opinions of that sect: The return of popery gave universal alarm; and as Morton had always treated the papists with rigour, this unseasonable favour to persons of that religion, made all zealous protestants remember that circumstance in his administration with great praise.

Morton, to whom all these particulars were known, thought this the proper juncture for setting his instruments to work. Having gained the confidence of the earl of Mar, and of the countess his mother, he insinuated to them that Alexander Erskine had formed a plot to deprive his nephew of the government of Stirling Castle. This was readily believed; and the earl repairing suddenly to Stirling, and being admitted as usual, seized the gates early in the morning, and turned out his uncle, who dreaded no danger from his hands. The soldiers of the garrison submitted to him as their governor; and with little danger, and no effusion of blood, he became master of the king's person, and of the fortrefs.

Though Morton's hand did not appear in the execution, he was universally believed the author of the attempt. The new counsellors saw that it was necessary to enter into terms of accommodation with an adversary still so capable of creating them trouble. Morton himself set out for Stirling, and by the means of Murray of Tullibardin was admitted into the castle; and soon had more entirely the command of the fort than the earl himself:

himself: He was likewise admitted to a seat in the privy council, and acquired the same ascendant in it.

The time now approached for meeting the parliament at Edinburgh; and Morton, afraid of conducting the young king to a city whose inhabitants were so much at the devotion of the adverse faction, issued a proclamation, changing the place to Stirling; though the parliament met, and confirmed the king's acceptance of the government, and ratified the act granted to Morton for his security; yet Argyll, Athol, and their followers, soon after took arms, under the specious pretext of rescuing the king from captivity, and the kingdom from oppression. James secretly encouraged their enterprise, though he was obliged publicly to disavow them. Both sides were ready for action; when an accomodation was effected by the mediation of Bowes, whom Elizabeth had sent into Scotland. Argyll and Athol were admitted into the king's presence; some of their party were added to the privy council; and a convention of nobles was called, in order to bring all remaining differences to an amicable issue.

A. D. 1579. The reconciliation of the nobles was followed by a tragical event. Morton had invited the leaders of the opposite party to a great entertainment. Athol, the chancellor, was soon after taken ill, and died within a few days. The symptoms and violence of the disease gave rise to suspicion of poison; and as the advantages

advantages of his death accrued to Morton, the people also imputed to him the crime.

By conferring the office of chancellor on Argyll, Morton reconciled that nobleman to his administration; and he now beheld only the house of Hamilton that was capable of obstructing his designs. The earl of Arran, the eldest brother, still remained bereft of reason; lord John, the second brother, was in possession of the family estate; lord Claud was commendator of Paisley. Morton dreaded their influence, and availed himself of the king's jealousy to his apparent successor. The pardon, stipulated in the treaty of Perth, did not extend to such as were accessory to the murder of the regents Murray and Lennox.

Lord John and his brother were suspected of being the authors of both these crimes, and had been included in a general act of attainder on that account: This attainder was now thought sufficient to subject them to all the penalties which they would have incurred by being formally convicted. A considerable body of troops was detached to Hamilton; the two brothers made their escape; but their lands were confiscated; and the earl of Arran, though incapable from his situation of committing any crime, was involved in the common ruin of his family.

Morton had crushed his enemies, and was again in possession of the sole direction of affairs; but the king was now of an age, when the character and dispositions of the mind begin to unfold themselves: He early discovered that excessive attachment

tachment to favourites which accompanied him through his whole life; the most considerable of them was Esme Stewart, a native of France, and son of a second brother of the earl of Lennox. He was distinguished in France by the title of lord d'Aubigné, and arrived in Scotland to demand the estate and title of Lennox, to which he pretended a legal right. James's favour flowed towards him with its usual rapidity and profusion. Within a few days after Stewart's appearance at court he was created lord Aberbrothock, soon after earl, and then duke of Lennox, governor of Dumbarton castle, captain of the guard, first lord of the bed-chamber, and lord high chamberlain.

At the same time captain James Stewart, the second son of lord Ochiltree, without that envy which is usual among candidates for favour, grew into confidence: Yet, notwithstanding this union, Lennox and Stewart were persons of very opposite characters. The former was naturally gentle, humane, and candid; But unacquainted with the state of the country, and utterly disqualified for acting as minister. The latter was remarkable for all the vices which render a man formidable to his country, and a pernicious counsellor to his prince; nor did he possess any one virtue to counterbalance these vices, unless dexterity in conducting his own designs, and an enterprising courage superior to the sense of danger, may pass by that name.

Both the favourites concurred in employing their whole address to undermine Morton's credit; who, no longer capable of confining James within the walls of Stirling, brought him to Edinburgh to meet the parliament; he was received with the loudest acclamations by the citizens, and lodged in Holy-rood-house, to which all his subjects had access.

Morton, to retard Lennox's pre-
ferment, had insinuated that he was

A. D. 1580.

a formidable enemy to the reformed religion; this accusation was greatly obviated by Lennox renouncing the errors of popery; he in his turn represented Morton as entertaining a design to seize the king's person, and to carry him to England. This rumour afforded a pretence for reviving the office of lord Chamberlain, which was immediately conferred on Lennox; Alexander Erskine, Morton's capital enemy, was his deputy; they had under them a band of gentlemen who were appointed constantly to attend the king, and to guard his person.

The act of indemnity which Morton had obtained when he resigned the regency, was worded with such scrupulous exactness, as almost screened him from any legal prosecution. The murder of the late king was the only crime which could not with decency be inserted in a pardon granted by his son. Here Morton lay open; and captain Stewart entered the council chamber, while the king and nobles were assembled, and falling on his
knees

knees, accused Morton of being accessary in the conspiracy against the life of his majesty's father, and offered, under the usual penalties, to verify this charge by legal evidence.

Morton heard the accusation with firmness, and replied, that he would cheerfully submit himself to a trial either in that place, or any other court; he was confined first to his own house, and afterwards carried to Dunbarton castle, of which Lennox had command.

A. D. 1581. Elizabeth did not fail to interpose with warmth in behalf of a man, who had contributed so much to preserve her influence over Scotland. The power which Lennox had acquired, independent of her, was dangerous; she ordered a considerable body of troops to assemble on the borders; and she dispatched Randolph as ambassador to James.

But James's counsellors were too intent on the destruction of their enemy to listen to any remonstrances; a general and evasive answer was returned to the application of Randolph. All those who were suspected of being attached to Morton, were stripped of their places; and the greater solicitude Elizabeth discovered for that nobleman's safety, the more eagerly did his enemies drive on their schemes for his destruction. Captain Stewart, his accuser, was first appointed *tutor* to the earl of Arran, and soon after both the title and estate of his unhappy ward were conferred on him. The new made peer was commanded to conduct Mor-

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ton from Dunbarton to Edinburgh; and the earl had the cruel mortification of seeing his deadly enemy already loaded with honours, in reward of the malice with which he had contributed to his ruin.

The account which our historians give of Morton's trial, is inaccurate and unsatisfactory. The jury was composed of his known enemies, and after a short consultation they found him guilty; the doom which the law decrees against a traitor was pronounced; the king, however, remitted the cruel part of the sentence, and appointed that he should suffer death next day by being beheaded.

During that awful interval, Morton possessed the utmost composure of mind. The clergyman who attended him pressed freely upon him the necessity of confessing his crimes; he acknowledged in regard to that for which he suffered, that Bothwell had informed him of the conspiracy against the king, which the queen, as he told him, knew of and approved. "But, (continued he) "as I "neither consented to this treasonable act, nor "assisted in committing it, so it was impossible "for me to reveal or prevent it. To whom could "I make the discovery? The queen was the author of the enterprise; Darnley was such a changling, that no secret could be safely communicated to him; Huntly and Bothwell, who bore the chief sway in the kingdom, were themselves the perpetrators of the crime." These circumstances, it must be confessed, serve to ex-

tenuate Morton's guilt; and he himself seems not to have been disquieted by uneasy reflections. When his keepers told him that the gaurds were attending, and all things in readiness; "I praise my God," said he, I am ready likewise." On the scaffold his behaviour was calm; his countenance and voice unaltered; and he suffered death with the intrepidity which became the name of Douglas.

A parliament was held this year, at the opening of which some disputes arose between Arran and the duke of Lennox. Though the former, to preserve his interest at court, from which he was banished, made the most humble submissions to the favourite; yet, during the continuance of the rupture, each endeavoured to conciliate the good will of the clergy; and we must ascribe to their rivalry, several acts uncommonly favourable to the church.

A. D. 1582.

The two favourites by their ascendant over the king, possessed uncontrolled power, and exercised it with the utmost wantonness. Exalted notions of prerogative were instilled into the young monarch, and unfortunately, made a deep impression on his mind: Courts of justice were held in almost every county; the proprietors of lands were called before them, and upon the slightest neglect of forms were fined with intolerable rigour. The bold discourses of the clergy were regarded as seditious, and Dury one of the most popular ministers, was compelled by the
king's

king's order to leave Edinburgh: While the services of those who had placed the crown on James's head, were but little remembred; and many who opposed him with the greatest violence, enjoyed the rewards and honours to which the others were entitled.

The impatient spirit of the Scottish nobles could no longer endure the insolence of two upstart minions. Their discontent was fanned by the promises of Elizabeth, who, since Morton's death, felt herself deprived of all the influence in Scotland. The earls of Mar and Glencairn, lord Ruthven, lately created earl of Gowrie, lord Lindsay, lord Boyd, the tutor of Glamis, the eldest son of lord Oliphant, with several barons and gentlemen of distinction, entered into a combination to rescue the king out of the hands of the favourites.

James had resided for some time in Athol, where he enjoyed his favourite amusement of hunting; and in his return to Edinburgh, was invited to Ruthven Castle, which lay in his way. The multitude of strangers whom he found there gave him some uneasiness; but he concealed his fears, and prepared next morning to take the field, expecting to find there some opportunity of making his escape. But just as he was ready to depart, the nobles entered his bed-chamber in a body, and presented a memorial against the illegal and oppressive conduct of his favourites.

James, though he received this remonstrance

with complaisance, was extremely impatient to be gone ; but as he approached the door of his apartment, the tutor of Glamis rudely stopped him. The king complained, expostulated, threatened, and finding all these without effect, burst into tears. " No matter," said Glamis, fiercely ; " better " children weep than bearded men." These words made a deep impression on the king's mind, and were never forgotten. The conspirators, without regarding his tears or indignation, dismissed such of his followers as they suspected ; allowed none but persons of their own party to have access to him ; and though they treated him with the greatest respect, guarded his person with the utmost care : This enterprise is usually called by the historians, *the Raid of Ruthven*.

Lennox, astonished at this event, had in vain endeavoured to excite the citizens of Edinburgh to arms ; while Arran, with his usual impetuosity, mounted on horseback, and arrived at the gate of Ruthven Castle. At the sight of a man so odious to his country, the indignation of the conspirators rose ; and instant death must have been the punishment of his rashness, had he not been saved by the friendship of Gowrie. He was confined, however, to the castle of Stirling, without being admitted into the king's presence.

The king, though really the prisoner of his own subjects, was obliged to publish a proclamation signifying his approbation of their enterprise, and forbidding any attempt against those concerned in
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the *Raid of Ruthven*, under pretence of rescuing him out of their hands; at the same time, he commanded Lennox to leave Scotland before the twentieth of September.

Lennox, who had received private assurances that the king's favour towards him was in no ways abated, seemed resolved at first to pay no regard to a command extorted by violence: But the power of his enemies, who were secretly supported by Elizabeth, and openly by the clergy, deterred him from any enterprise; the success of which was dubious, and the danger certain, both to himself and his sovereign.

The conspirators were extremely solicitous to obtain some legal sanction of their conduct: They obliged the king to grant them a remission in the most ample form. From the church they procured an act also, declaring, "That they had done good and acceptable service to God, to their sovereign, and to their native country." A convention of estates assembled a few days after, passed an act to the same effect, and granted full indemnity to the conspirators for every thing they had done.

James, though conducted to the palace of Holyrood-house, was kept under a restraint no less strict than at the first moment when seized by the conspirators. Lennox, after eluding many commands, set out at length for France; soon after his arrival in that kingdom, the fatigue of the journey, or the anguish of his mind, threw him into a fever. In his last moments, he discovered
such

such a firm adherence to the protestant faith, as fully vindicates his memory from the imputation of popery, with which he had been uncharitably loaded in Scotland. As he was the earliest and best beloved; he was, perhaps, the most deserving, though not the most able of James's favourites: And the warmth and tenderness of his master's affection were displayed by many acts of kindness and generosity towards his posterity.

The success of the conspiracy which deprived James of liberty, at last reached the ears of Mary; and in the anguish of her heart, she wrote to Elizabeth, beseeching her not to abandon her son to the mercy of his rebellious subjects; nor permit him to be involved in the same misfortunes, under which she had so long groaned. But the remonstrances of a captive queen were of little effect; nor was the interposition of Henry the Third, of France, more successful: The French court had long lost its ancient influence over the affairs of Scotland; and the clergy were alarmed at the danger to which religion would be exposed, if the princes of Guise should recover any ascendant over the public councils.

Meanwhile James, though he disssembled with great art, was continually attentive to find out a proper opportunity for making his escape. As the conspirators had forced Lennox out of the kingdom, and kept Arran at a distance from court, they grew secure.

A. D. 1583

Colonel

Colonel Stewart, the commander of the band of gentlemen who guarded the king's person, had the principal merit in the scheme for restoring his master to liberty.

Under pretence of paying a visit to the earl of March, his uncle, James was permitted to go from Falkland to St. Andrew's. He at first lodged in an open defenceless house in the town; but expressing a curiosity to see the castle, no sooner was he entered with some of his attendants whom he could trust, than colonel Stewart commanded the gates to be shut, and excluded all the rest of his train.

Next morning the earls of Argyle, Huntly, Crawford, Montrose, Rothes, with others to whom the secret had been communicated, entered the town with their followers; and though Mar, with several of the leaders of the faction, appeared in arms, they found themselves so far outnumbered, that it was in vain to think of recovering possession of the king's person, which had been in their power above ten months.

The joy of James at his escape, was youthful and excessive; he resolved, however, by the advice of Sir James Melvil and his wisest counsellors, to act with the utmost moderation. He declared, that though he had been held under restraint for some time by violence, he would not impute that as a crime to any man; but without remembering the irregularities which had been so frequent during his minority, would pass a general act of oblivion,

vion, and govern all his subjects with undistinguishing and equal affection.

The king did not long adhere to this prudent plan. A visit to the earl of Arran re-kindled his fondness for that favourite; who having once more acquired the ascendancy over James, resumed the exercise of power with all the arrogance and rashness peculiar to himself.

The first effect of his influence was a proclamation with regard to those concerned in the *Raid of Ruthven*. They were required to acknowledge their crime; and the king promised to grant them a full pardon, provided their future conduct obliged him not to remember past miscarriages. This proclamation was very different from the act of oblivion which the conspirators had been encouraged to expect. None of them reckoned it safe to rely on a promise clogged with such an equivocal condition: Many of the leaders, who had at first appeared openly at court, retired to their own houses; and foreseeing the dangerous storm that was gathering, began to look out for a retreat in foreign countries.

To protect the conspirators, Elizabeth appointed Walsingham, her secretary, ambassador of James; but that minister was unable to prevail on the Scottish king to change his resolutions. On his return to England he, however, made so advantageous a representation of James's abilities, as determined Elizabeth to treat him henceforward with greater decency and respect.

As

OF SCOTLAND.

As the conspirators had refused to accept of pardon on the terms which the king had offered them, they were required by a new proclamation to surrender themselves prisoners. The earl of Angus alone complied; the rest either fled into England, or obtained the king's licence to retire into foreign parts; and a convention of estates declared those concerned in the Raid of Ruthven to have been guilty of high treason.

The clergy could not conceal their apprehensions at the prosecution of those nobles who had been esteemed the most zealous defenders of the protestant cause. Mr Andrew Melvil was summoned before the privy council, to answer for the doctrine which he had uttered in a sermon at St. Andrews. He declined the jurisdiction of a civil court in a cause which he maintained to be purely ecclesiastical. The king, jealous to excess of his prerogative, was alarmed at this daring encroachment on it; and as Melvil, by his learning and zeal, had acquired the reputation of head of the party, he resolved to punish him with severity; and by distinguishing him as an example, discourage the revival of such a dangerous claim. Melvil however avoided his rage by flying into England; and the pulpits resounded with complaints that the king had extinguished the light of learning in the kingdom, and deprived the church of the ablest and most faithful guardian of its liberties and discipline.

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The conspirators though driven out of the kingdom still possessed great influence there, and never ceased soliciting their adherents to take arms in their defence. Gowrie, the only person among them who had submitted to the king, and accepted of a pardon, soon repented of a step which lost him the esteem of one party, without acquiring him the confidence of the other. After suffering many mortifications from the king's neglect, and the haughtiness of Arran, he was at last commanded to leave Scotland, and to reside in France. While he waited at Dundee for an opportunity to embark, he was informed that the earls of Angus, Mar, and the tutor of Glamis had concerted a scheme for surprizing the castle of Stirling: In his situation little persuasion was necessary to draw him to engage in it.

Under various pretexts he put off his voyage, and lay ready to take arms on the day fixed. His lingering so long at Dundee, without any apparent reason, awakened the suspicion of the court, proved fatal to himself, and disappointed the success of the conspiracy. Colonel William Stewart surrounded the house where he lodged with a body of soldiers, and in spite of his resistance took him prisoner.

Two days after, Angus, Mar, and Glamis seized the castle of Stirling, and erecting their standard there, published a manifesto, declaring that they took arms for no other reason, but to

remove

remove from the king's presence a minion, who had acquired power by the most unworthy actions, and who exercised it with the most intolerable insolence. The account of Gowrie's imprisonment struck a damp upon their spirits; they imputed it to treachery on his part, and suspected that he had betrayed them: Their friends and vassals came in slowly, and their hopes gradually gave way to despair.

Mean while the king advanced against them at the head of twenty thousand men; and incapable of resistance, they with difficulty made their escape into England. This rash and feeble attempt produced such effects as usually follow disappointed conspiracies: It not only hurt the cause for which it was undertaken, but added strength and reputation to the king; confirmed Arran's power; and enabled them to pursue their measures with more boldness and greater success. Gowrie was the first victim of their resentment; after a very informal trial, a jury of peers found him guilty of treason, and his head was struck off at Stirling.

To humble the church was the king's next step; and such laws were passed as totally overturned its constitution and discipline. The refusing to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the privy council; the pretending an exemption from the civil courts; the attempting to diminish the rights and privileges of any of the three estates in parliament, were declared to be high treason. The holding assemblies, whether civil or ecclesiastical, without

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the king's permission or appointment; the uttering, either privately or publicly, in sermons, or in declamations, any false or scandalous reports against the king, his ancestors or ministers, were pronounced capital crimes.

These new statutes were calculated to render churchmen as inconsiderable as they were indigent; no wonder therefore the alarm was universal. All the ministers of Edinburgh forsook their charge, and fled to England; the most eminent clergymen throughout the kingdom imitated their example; and desolation and astonishment appeared in every part of the Scottish church.

Chapter

Chapter the Seventh.

CONSPIRACY of Throckmorton against Elizabeth.—Second conspiracy by Parry.—Act of the English parliament.—Negociations of James with Elizabeth.—Intrigues in Scotland.—Babington's conspiracy against Elizabeth.—Mary is accused as accessary.—A court instituted to try her.—Sentence of that court.—Intercession of James.—Perfidy of his ambassador.—Artful conduct of Elizabeth.—Behaviour, death, and character of Mary.—James's indignation.—He is appeased by the protestations of Elizabeth.—Spanish Armada.—Intrigues of the king of Spain in Scotland.—The conspirators pardoned by James.—Negociations of marriage with Denmark.—James suddenly embarks for Copenhagen.—Solemnizes his marriage with the second daughter of the king of Denmark.

WHILE Scotland was torn by intestine factions, Elizabeth was alarmed with the rumour of a project in agitation for setting Mary at liberty. Francis Throckmorton, a

Cheshire gentleman, was suspected of being deeply concerned in the design, and was taken into custody. Among his papers were found several remarks on the principal harbours in the kingdom. The rack forced from him the secret; and he acknowledged that he had held a secret correspondence with the queen of the Scots; and that he had concerted with the duke of Guise and the Spanish monarch, the invasion of England.

Though Throckmorton retracted this confession at the place of execution, yet it strongly impressed the mind of Elizabeth; and that she might be in no danger of being attacked within the island of Britain, she determined to use her utmost efforts, in order to recover that influence over the Scottish councils, which she had for some time entirely lost. By gaining the earl of Arran, she might secure the direction of the king his master; for this purpose she sent Davison, one of her principal secretaries, into Scotland; and a minister so venal as Arran, who was hated by his own countrymen, accepted Elizabeth's offers without hesitation, and deemed the acquisition of her protection to be the most solid foundation of his own greatness.

The banished lords and their adherents soon felt the effects of Arran's friendship with England. As Elizabeth's protection had hitherto restrained the ministers of James, no sooner was the dread of that removed, than they ventured to call a parliament,

liament, in which Angus, Mar, Glamis, and a great number of their followers, were attainted. Their estates devolved to the crown, and James dealt out the greater part of these to Arran and his associates.

Mean while Elizabeth was carrying on one of those fruitless negociations with the queen of Scots, which it had become almost matter of form to renew every year. The treaty now on foot was not, perhaps, more sincere than many which preceded it ; the reasons, however, which rendered it ineffectual were far from being frivolous.

As Crichton, a Jesuit, was sailing from Flanders towards Scotland : the ship in which he was a passenger, happened to be chased by pirates, who in that age often infested the narrow seas. Crichton, in great confusion, tore in pieces some papers in his custody, and threw them away : But by a very extraordinary accident, the wind blew them back into the ship, and they were carried by some of the passengers to Wade, the clerk of the privy council. He joined them together, and found them to contain the account of a plot, said to have been formed by the king of Spain and the duke of Guise for invading England.

The consternation of the people at this intelligence became general and excessive ; they considered Mary as the source of all the dangers with

which they had been threatened for some years ; and to convince her adherents of their attachment to their own sovereign, an association was framed, the subscribers of which bound themselves by the most solemn oaths, “ to defend the queen against
 “ all her enemies, foreign and domestic ; and if
 “ violence should be offered to her life, in order
 “ to favour the title of any pretender to the
 “ crown, they not only engaged never to allow
 “ or acknowledge the person or persons, by whom,
 “ or for whom, such a detestable act should be
 “ committed ; but vowed in the presence of the e-
 “ ternal God to prosecute such a person or persons
 “ to the death, and to pursue them with their ut-
 “ most vengeance, to their utter overthrow and
 “ extirpation.”

Mary considered this combination as the immediate fore-runner of her destruction. She sent Naué, her secretary, to court, with offers of more entire resignation to the will of Elizabeth ; but that princess, instead of hearkening to her overtures, took her out of the hands of Shrewsbury, and appointed Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury, her keepers, men of inferior rank, whose severe vigilance was perhaps their chief recommendation to that employment.

James had appointed the master of Gray his ambassador to the court of England, and intrusted him with the conduct of a negociation, to deprive the banished lords of Elizabeth's protection. For this honour, he was indebted to the jealousy of Ar-
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ran, who observing the progress that he made in the royal favour, hoped to efface the impression by absence. Elizabeth endeavoured, by caresses and by presents, to secure Gray to her interest; and succeeded so well that he not only undertook to retain the king under the influence of England, but acted as a spy upon the Scottish queen.

A. D. 1585. Arran had now possessed for some time, all the power, the riches, and the honours that his immoderate ambition could desire, or the fondness of his prince could heap upon him. The office of Lord Chancellor was conferred upon him, and the public beheld with astonishment, a soldier of fortune, ignorant of law, intrusted with the supreme disposal of the property of his fellow subjects. His venality as a judge was scandalous, and exceeded only by that of his wife; his rapaciousness as a minister was insatiable; his spies and informers filled the whole country; all familiar society was at an end; and even the common intercourses of humanity were interrupted, no man knowing in whom to confide, or where to utter his complaints.

This year Elizabeth again was alarmed by a new conspiracy. Parry, a doctor of laws, and a member of the house of commons, had lately been reconciled to the church of Rome; and had offered to demonstrate the sincerity of his conversion by killing Elizabeth; but though he often got access to the queen, fear, or some remaining sense of duty, restrained him from perpetrating the
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the crime, His intention was at last discovered by Nevil, the only person to whom he had communicated it; and he himself having voluntarily confessed his guilt, suffered the punishment which it deserved.

These repeated conspiracies against their sovereign, awakened the indignation of the English parliament, and produced a very extraordinary statute, which, in the end, proved fatal to the queen of Scots. By this, it was enacted, “ That
 “ if any rebellion should be excited in the king-
 “ dom, or any thing attempted to the hurt of
 “ her majesty’s person, *by or for* any person pre-
 “ tending a title to the crown, the queen shall
 “ empower twenty-four persons, by a commission
 “ under the great seal, to examine into, and pass
 “ sentence upon such offences; and after judg-
 “ ment given, a proclamation shall be issued, de-
 “ claring the persons whom they find guilty ex-
 “ cluded from any right to the crown; and her
 “ majesty’s subjects may lawfully pursue every one
 “ of them to the death, with all their aiders and
 “ abettors; and if any design against the life of
 “ the queen take effect, the persons *by or for*
 “ whom such a detestable act is executed, and
 “ *their issues*, being in anywise assenting or privy
 “ to the same, shall be disabled for ever from pre-
 “ tending to the crown, and be pursued to death
 “ in like manner.” This act was plainly levelled
 at the queen of Scots; and Mary was thereby
 not only rendered accountable for her own actions,
 but

but for those of others ; in consequence of which she might forfeit her right of succession, and even her life itself.

Mary justly considered this act as a warning to prepare for the worst extremities. Even the short period of her days was rendered uncomfortable by every hardship and indignity. Almost all her servants were dismissed ; she was confined to two ruinous chambers scarcely habitable ; the castle in which she resided was converted into a common prison ; and it was only by repeated importunities that Castlenau, the French ambassador, prevailed at length to have her removed to Tuthbury.

A severe and undutiful letter, which James was prevailed on by Gray, on his return to Scotland, to write to his mother, made a deeper impression on her than the insults of her enemies, or the neglect of her friends. In the bitterness of anguish she could not help warmly expostulating ; but James, whose affection to his mother had never been ardent, seems to have been indifferent to her reproaches, and did not now take any pains to regain her favour.

Her rival Elizabeth was not however without anxiety. In France, the *holy league* had been formed to preclude the king of Navarre, a protestant, from mounting that throne to which he was next heir. At the head of this league was the duke of Guise ; and Philip of Spain was closely confederated with that daring nobleman. To oppose

pose their force, Elizabeth endeavoured to form a general confederacy of the protestant princes; she determined also to proceed with the utmost rigour against Mary, whose rights afforded her enemies a specious pretence for invading her dominions; while she laboured to extend and perpetuate her influence over the councils of Scotland.

To James she proposed a strict alliance between the two kingdoms, in defence of the reformed religion. This was readily acceded to; but the chief object of Wotton, her ambassador, was to ruin Arran, who, grown odious to the nation, could now be of little service to Elizabeth.

Wotton's plan was facilitated by an event neither uncommon nor considerable. Sir John Forster, and Ker of Fernihurst, the English and Scottish wardens, having met, according to the custom of the borders, a fray arose; and lord Ruffel, the earl of Bedford's eldest son, happened to be killed. This scuffle was accidental; yet Elizabeth chose to consider it as a design formed by Ker, at the instigation of Arran, to involve the two kingdoms in war. To sooth her, James was obliged to confine Arran in St. Andrew's; while Wotton and his associates, during his absence from court, carried on their intrigues without interruption.

By their advice the banished nobles returned in a body to the borders of Scotland. Arran, who had again recovered favour, insisted on putting the kingdom in a posture of defence; but Gray, Bellenden, and Maitland, secretly thwarted all his measures.

measures. Wotton's audacity proceeded so far as even to contrive a plot to seize the king, and to carry him into England; but the design was happily discovered; and in order to avoid the punishment his treachery merited, he departed without taking leave.

Meanwhile the banished lords entered the kingdom, and advanced towards Stirling at the head of ten thousand men. The king, though he had assembled an army superior in number, could not venture to meet them in the field with troops whose loyalty was doubtful. The town was surprised; and the castle, in which there were not provisions for twenty-four hours, was invested. James was immediately obliged to hearken to terms of accommodation. The demands of the confederates were far from extravagant: A pardon was granted in the most ample form, for the offences they had committed; the principal forts in the kingdom were, by way of security, put into their hands; Crawford, Montrose, and Colonel Stewart were removed from the king's presence; and a parliament was called, in order to establish the tranquillity of the nation.

In that parliament the ancient honours and estates of the confederate nobles were restored; and Arran, deprived of all his dignities, stripped of his borrowed spoils, and proclaimed an enemy to his country, sunk back into obscurity, and must henceforth be mentioned by his primitive title of captain James Stewart.

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The league which had been proposed last year between England and Scotland was now formally executed. The chief articles in it were, that both parties should bind themselves to defend the evangelic religion; and that each should mutually support the other against any invader. Elizabeth also assured the king, that no step should be taken which might derogate in any degree from his pretensions to the English crown,

A. D. 1586.

Soon after, the inconsiderate affection of the English catholics towards Mary, and their implacable resentment against Elizabeth, gave rise to a conspiracy which proved fatal to one queen, and left an indelible stain on the reputation of the other.

Doctor Gifford, Gilbert Gifford, and Hodson, priests educated at Rheims, had adopted a notion, that the bull of Pius the Fifth, was dictated immediately by the Holy Ghost. This opinion they instilled into Savage, a Spanish officer, noted for his furious zeal and daring courage. Animated by the hopes of martyrdom, Savage bound himself by a solemn vow to kill Elizabeth. Ballard, a priest of that seminary, had at the same time come over to Paris, and solicited Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, to procure an invasion of England. Paget and the English exiles demonstrated the fruitlessness of such an attempt, unless Elizabeth was first cut off, or the invaders secur-

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ed of a powerful concurrence on their landing. If it could be hoped that either of these events would happen, effectual aid was promised ; and in the mean time Ballard was sent back to renew his intrigues.

He communicated his design to Anthony Babington, a young gentleman in Derbyshire, of a large fortune and many amiable qualities, who had been recommended by the archbishop of Glasgow to the queen of Scots. He concurred with Paget in considering the death of Elizabeth as a necessary preliminary to any invasion ; and Ballard imparted to him Savage's vow, who was now in London waiting to strike the blow. In this enterprize Babington proposed to join five resolute gentlemen, and offered to find persons willing and qualified to undertake the office. He accordingly opened the matter to Edward Windfor, Thomas Salisbury, Charles Tilney, Chidioc Tichbourne, Robert Gage, John Travers, Robert Barnwell, John Charnock, Henry Dun, John Jones, and Robert Polly ; all of them, except Polly, whose forward zeal introduced him into their society, gentlemen of good families, and united together in the bonds of private friendship. Many consultations were held, and at length a regular plan of operations settled.

While the conspirators believed that their machinations were carried on with the most profound secrecy, every step they took was fully known to

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Walsingham

Walsingham. Polly was one of his spies; and had entered into the conspiracy with no other design than to betray his associates; Gilbert Gifford too had been gained by the same minister, and gave him sure intelligence of all their projects.

At length Ballard, the prime mover in the conspiracy, was arrested; and his associates were soon after, except Windfor, seized in different places of the kingdom, and committed to the Tower. They immediately confessed all they knew; the indignation of the people hastened their trial; and all of them suffered the death of traitors.

Elizabeth and her ministers chose not to consider this conspiracy as inspired by the frantic zeal of a few rash young men: They wished to persuade the nation, that Babington and his associates were instruments employed by the queen of Scots. They produced letters which they ascribed to her, in support of this charge; these, they gave out, had come into their hands by the following mysterious method: Gifford had been trusted with letters from some of the exiles to Mary; to make trial of his fidelity they were only blank papers made up in that form: These being safely delivered by him, he was afterwards employed without any scruple. Walsingham had found means to gain this man; and he, by the permission of the minister, and by the connivance of Paulet, bribed a tradesman in the neighbourhood of Chartley, whither Mary had been conveyed, who deposited the letters in a hole in the wall of the castle: thence they

they were taken by the queen, and her answers returned in the same manner. All these were opened by Walsingham, and re-sealed, were transmitted to the persons to whom they were directed.

It was given out that in these letters Mary approved of the assassination; that she recommended the earl of Arundel, his brothers, and the young earl of Northumberland, as proper persons to conduct their enterprise; and besought them to concert with care the means of her own escape.

All these circumstances were opened at the trial of the conspirators, and were believed without hesitation or enquiry. It now evidently appears, said the English, that the safety of one queen is incompatible with that of the other. Why then, added they, should the tranquillity of England be sacrificed for the sake of a stranger? Why is a life so dear to the nation exposed to the repeated assaults of an exasperated rival?

To Elizabeth and her ministers no sentiments could be more agreeable. The former feared and hated the unhappy Mary; and Burleigh and Walsingham had acted with so little reserve in opposition to the queen of Scots, that they had reason to dread the most violent effects of her resentment, if ever she should mount the throne of England; they therefore urged their mistress to proceed to those extremities which she had so long meditated.

The conspiracy had hitherto been kept secret from Mary, and she was surpris'd with the account just as she had got on horseback to ride out along with her keepers. She was struck with astonishment, and would have returned to her apartments, but was not permitted. In her absence her papers were seized; her two secretaries were carried prisoners to London; and she herself was conveyed to Fotheringay, a strong castle in Northamptonshire.

Elizabeth and her counsellors were for some time divided respecting the fate of Mary; at length a public and legal trial was determined on as the most unexceptionable plan. The proceedings against her were founded on the act of the last parliament, and by applying it in this manner, the intention of those who had framed that severe statute became more apparent.

By a commission under the great seal, forty persons, the most illustrious in the kingdom, by their birth or offices, with five of the judges, were named to hear and decide this great cause. Many difficulties were started by the lawyers about the name and title by which Mary should be arraigned: They at length agreed that she should be styl'd: "Mary, daughter and heir of James the Fifth, late king of Scots, commonly called queen of Scots, and dowager of France."

On the eleventh of October the commissioners arrived at Fotheringay, and delivered a letter from their sovereign to Mary; in which, after the bitterest

terest reproaches, she was required, as she had lived so long under the protection of the laws of England, to submit now to the trial which they had ordained to be taken of her crimes.

Mary, though surprized at this message, was not unmindful of her dignity : She protested in the most solemn manner that she was innocent of the crime laid to her charge ; “ but if I must be tried,” said she, “ princes alone can be my peers ; the queen of England’s subjects, however noble their birth may be, are of a rank inferior to mine. Ever since my arrival in this kingdom I have been confined as a prisoner : Its laws never offered me any protection ; let them not now be perverted, in order to take away my life.”

For two days, Mary maintained her resolution, and resisted the intreaties and menaces of the commissioners. She yielded at length to the artifice of Hatton, who insinuated that she injured her own reputation by avoiding a trial ; and that nothing could be more acceptable to their mistresses, than to be convinced by undoubted evidence, that she had been unjustly loaded with aspersions.

At her appearance before the judges, she took care to protest, that, in condescending to give an answer to the accusations which should be brought against her, she neither acknowledged the jurisdiction of the court, nor admitted of the validity

justice of those acts by which they pretended to try her. This was followed by a counter protestation of the chancellor, who endeavoured to vindicate the authority of the court.

Copies of Mary's letters to Mendoza and Babington were then produced; and the confessions of the conspirators, with the declarations of Nau and Curle, her secretaries, were read; and the whole heightened by the colourings of legal eloquence.

Mary listened, without emotion, to the harangues of the lawyers; but at the mention of the earl of Arandel's name, who was then confined in the Tower, she broke out into this tender and generous exclamation: "Alas! how much has the noble House of Howard suffered for my sake."

When the queen's counsel had finished, Mary with great magnimity of mind began her defence. She absolutely denied any correspondence with Babington or Ballard. Copies only of her pretended letters were produced, though nothing less than her hand writing ought to convict her of so odious a crime. No proof was brought that the letters had ever been delivered into her hands, or that any answer was returned by her direction; the confessions of wretches condemned for such an execrable design might be procured by the hopes of pardon; and the declarations of her secretaries might be extorted by fear of punishment. She acknowledged that she had often made efforts
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for the recovery of her liberty; but that she abhorred the detestable crime of assassination; and if ever she had given consent by words or even by thoughts, to any attempt against the life of the queen of England, far from declining the judgment of man, she would not even pray for the mercy of God.

Two different days did Mary appear before the judges, and in every part of her behaviour maintained the magnanimity of a queen, tempered with the gentleness and modesty of a woman.

The commissioners, by Elizabeth's express command, adjourned, without pronouncing any sentence, to the Star-Chamber in Westminster; and there unanimously declared Mary "to be accessory to Babington's conspiracy, and to have imagined diverse matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of Elizabeth, contrary to the express words of the statute, made for the security of the queen's life."

The irregularities in this trial were great and flagrant. If the testimony of Babington and his associates was so explicit, why did not Elizabeth spare them for a few weeks, and confront them with Mary? And why were not Nau and Curle, her secretaries, produced in person at Fotheringay?

A few days after the sentence was pronounced against Mary, the parliament ratified the proceedings of the commissioners by whom she had been

been tried ; and presented an address to the queen, beseeching her, as she regarded her own safety, and the preservation of the protestant religion, to inflict without delay, on a rival no less irreclaimable than dangerous, the punishment which she had merited by so many crimes.

All the princes of Europe observed the proceedings against Mary with astonishment and horror. They pleaded from justice, from generosity and humanity ; they intermingled threats with reproaches ; but Elizabeth continued deaf and inexorable ; nor did she even pay any greater regard to the solicitations of the Scottish king.

James could not at first believe that Elizabeth would venture on an action which tended to degrade the regal dignity, of which she was remarkably jealous ; but convinced at length that she was in earnest, he wrote to her with his own hand, complaining in the bitterest terms of her conduct ; not without threats that his honour would oblige him to renounce her friendship, and to act as became a son, to revenge his mother's wrongs. At the same time he assembled the nobles, who promised to stand by him in so good a cause. He appointed ambassadors to France, Spain, and Denmark, in order to implore the aid of these courts ; and took other steps towards executing his threats with vigour.

Elizabeth, though enraged by his letter, was embarrassed by his preparations ; she therefore promised to listen to any overture from the king ;
and

and to suspend the execution of the sentence until the arrival of new ambassadors from Scotland.

In the mean while she commanded the sentence against Mary to be published; asserting, that it was extorted from her by the intreaty of both houses of parliament: She also informed her royal captive, that though she had not hitherto yielded to the solicitations of the people, yet she advised her to prepare for an event which might become necessary for securing the protestant religion.

Mary received the intelligence with becoming fortitude: "I am proud," said she, "to think that my life is deemed of importance to the catholic religion; and as a martyr for it, I am now willing to die." She rejected a protestant bishop that was offered to attend her; and without any clergyman to direct her devotions, she prepared for ~~that death~~, which she now believed was at no great distance.

James, without losing a moment, A. D. 1587.
sent new ambassadors to London:

These were the master of Gray, and Sir Robert Melvil. The last executed his commission with fidelity and zeal, and loudly urged the indignation of Scotland: But the first deceived his master, and betrayed the queen whom he was employed to save; he encouraged Elizabeth to execute the sentence against her rival, and undertook to
prevent

prevent any violent effects from James's repentment.

While the determination of Elizabeth was awaited, England was agitated by rumours artfully invented and industriously propagated. One day it was said, that the Spanish fleet was arrived at Milford Haven; on another, that the duke of Guise was landed in Suffex; and a conspiracy, it was whispered, was on foot for seizing the queen, and burning the city.

It was amidst the panic and indignation occasioned by these reports, that Elizabeth thought that she might venture on the blow she had so long meditated. She commanded Davison, one of the secretaries of state, to bring to her the fatal warrant; and her behaviour on that occasion plainly shewed that it is not to humanity that we must ascribe her forbearance hitherto. At the very moment she was signing the writ which gave up a woman, a queen, and her own nearest relation, into the hands of the executioner, she was capable of jesting. "Go," says she to Davison, "and tell " Walsingham what I have now done, though I " am afraid he will die for grief when he hears " it." Her chief anxiety was how to secure the advantages which would arise from Mary's death, without appearing to have given her consent to a deed so odious. She often hinted to Paulet and Drury, as well as to some other courtiers, that now was the time to discover the sincerity of their concern for her safety, and that she expected their

zeal

zeal would extricate her out of her present perplexity. But they were wise enough to seem not to understand her meaning. Even after the warrant was signed, she commanded a letter to be written to Paulet, in less ambiguous terms, complaining of his remissness in sparing so long the life of her capital enemy, and begging him to remember at last what was incumbent on him as an affectionate subject, as well as what he was bound to do by the oath of association, and to deliver his sovereign from continual fear and danger, by shortening the days of his prisoner. Paulet, though rigorous and harsh, and often brutal in the discharge of what he thought his duty, as Mary's keeper, was nevertheless a man of honour and integrity. He rejected the proposal with disdain; and lamenting that he should ever have been deemed capable of acting the part of an assassin, he declared that the queen might dispose of his life at her pleasure, but that he would never stain his own honour, nor leave an everlasting mark of infamy on his posterity, by lending his hand to perpetrate so foul a crime. On the receipt of this answer, Elizabeth became extremely peevish; and calling him a *dainty* and *precise fellow*, who would promise much, but perform nothing, she proposed to employ one Wingfield, who had both courage and inclination to strike the blow. But Davison remonstrating against this, as a deed dishonourable in itself, and of dangerous example, she again declared her intention that the sentence pronounced by the commissioners should be

be executed according to law ; and as she had already signed the warrant, she begged that no farther application might be made to her on that head. By this the privy counsellors thought themselves sufficiently authorised to proceed ; and prompted, as they pretended, by zeal for the queen's safety, or instigated, as is more probable, by the apprehension of the danger to which they would themselves be exposed, if the life of the queen of Scots were spared, they assembled in the council chamber ; and by a letter under all their hands, empowered the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, together with the high sheriff of the county, to see the sentence put in execution.

On Tuesday the seventh of February, the two earls arrived at Fotheringay, and demanded access to the queen ; read in her presence the warrant for execution, and required her to prepare to die next morning. Mary heard them to the end without emotion, and crossing herself in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, " That soul," said she, " is not worthy
" the joys of Heaven, which repines because the
" body must endure the stroke of the executioner ;
" and though I did not expect that the queen of
" England would set the first example of violat-
" ing the sacred person of a sovereign prince, I
" willingly submit to that which Providence has
" decreed to be my lot." And laying her hand on a Bible, which happened to be near her, she solemnly protested that she was innocent of that
conspiracy

conspiracy which Babington had carried on against Elizabeth's life. She then mentioned the requests contained in her letter to Elizabeth, but obtained no satisfactory answer. She entreated with particular earnestness, that now in her last moments her almoner might be suffered to attend her, and that she might enjoy the consolation of those pious institutions prescribed by her religion. Even this favour, which is usually granted to the vilest criminal, was absolutely denied.

Her attendants, during this conversation, were bathed in tears, and though overawed by the presence of the two earls, with difficulty suppressed their anguish; but no sooner did Kent and Shrewsbury withdraw, than they ran to their mistress, and burst out into the most passionate expressions of tenderness and sorrow. Mary, however, not only retained perfect composure of mind herself, but endeavoured to moderate their excessive grief; and falling on her knees, with all her domestics round her, she thanked Heaven that her sufferings were now so near an end, and prayed that she might be enabled to endure what still remained with decency and with fortitude. The greater part of the evening she employed in settling her worldly affairs. She wrote her testament with her own hand. Her money, her jewels, and her clothes, she distributed among her servants, according to their rank or merit. She wrote a short letter to the king of France, and another to the duke of Guise, full of tender but magnanimous sentiments, and recommended

mended her soul to their prayers, and her afflicted servants to their protection. At supper she eat temperately, as usual, and conversed not only with ease but with cheerfulness; she drank to every one of her servants' and asked their forgiveness, if ever she had failed in any part of her duty towards them. At her wonted time she went to bed, and slept calmly a few hours. Early in the morning she retired into her closet, and employed a considerable time in devotion. At eight o'clock the high sheriff and his officers entered her chamber, and found her still kneeling at the altar. She immediately started up, and with a majestic mien, and a countenance undismayed and even cheerful, advanced towards the place of execution; with calm but undaunted fortitude, she laid her neck on the block; and while one executioner held her hands, the other at the second stroke, cut off her head, which falling out of its attire, discovered her hair already grown quite grey with cares and sorrows. The executioner held it up still streaming with blood, and the dean crying out, "So perish all queen Elizabeth's enemies," the earl of Kent alone answered Amen. The rest of the spectators continued silent, and drowned in tears; being incapable at that moment, of any other sentiments but those of pity or admiration.

Such was the tragical death of Mary, queen of Scots, after a life of forty four years and two months, almost nineteen years of which she passed in captivity. The political parties which were
formed

formed in the kingdom, during her reign, have subsisted, under various denominations, ever since that time. The rancour with which they were at first animated hath descended to succeeding ages, and their prejudices, as well as their rage, have been perpetuated, and even augmented. Among historians, who were under the dominion of all these passions, and who have either ascribed to her every virtuous and amiable quality, or have imputed to her all the vices, of which the human heart is susceptible, we search in vain for Mary's real character. She neither merited the exaggerated praises of the one, nor the undistinguishing censure of the other.

To all the charms of beauty, and the utmost elegance of external form, she added those accomplishments which render their impression irresistible. Polite, affable, insinuating, sprightly, and capable of speaking and of writing with equal ease and dignity. Sudden, however, and violent in all her attachments; because her heart was warm and unsuspicious. Impatient of contradiction; because she had been accustomed from her infancy to be treated as a queen. No stranger, on some occasions, to dissimulation; which, in that perfidious court where she received her education, was reckoned among the necessary arts of government. Not insensible of flattery, or unconscious of that pleasure, with which almost every woman beholds the influence of her own beauty. Formed with the qualities which we love, not with the

talents which we admire; she was an agreeable woman, rather than an illustrious queen. The vivacity of her spirit not sufficiently tempered with sound judgment, and the warmth of her heart, which was not, at all times, under the restraint of discretion, betrayed her both into errors, and into crimes. To say that she was always unfortunate, will not account for that long and almost uninterrupted succession of calamities which befel her; we must likewise add, that she was often imprudent. Her passion for Darnly was rash, youthful, and excessive; and though the sudden transition to the opposite extreme was the natural effect of her ill-requited love, and of his ingratitude, insolence, and brutality; yet neither these, nor Bothwell's artful address, and important services, can justify her attachments to that nobleman. Even the manners of the age, licentious as they were, are no apology for this unhappy passion; nor can they induce us to look on that tragical and infamous scene which followed upon it with less abhorrence. Humanity will draw a veil over this part of her character which it cannot approve, and may, perhaps, prompt some to impute some of her actions to her situation, more than to her dispositions; and to lament the unhappiness of the former, rather than accuse the perverseness of the latter. Mary's sufferings exceed, both in degree and in duration, those tragical distresses which fancy has feigned to excite sorry and commiseration; and
while

while we survey them, we are apt altogether to forget her frailties; we think of her faults with less indignation, and approve of our tears as if they were shed for a person who had attained much nearer to pure virtue.

With regard to the queen's person, a circumstance not to be omitted in writing the history of a female reign, all contemporary authors agree in ascribing to Mary the utmost beauty of countenance, and elegance of shape, of which the human form is capable. Her hair was black, though, according to the fashion of that age, she frequently wore borrowed locks, and of different colours. Her eyes were a dark grey; her complexion was exquisitely fine; and her hands and arms remarkably delicate, both as to shape and colour. Her stature was of a height that rose to the majestic. She danced, she walked, and rode with equal grace. Her taste for music was just, and she both sung and played upon the lute with uncommon skill. Towards the end of her life, long confinement; and the coldness of the houses in which she had been imprisoned, brought on a rheumatism, which often deprived her of the use of her limbs. No man, says Brantome, ever beheld her person without admiration and love, or will read her history without sorrow.

None of her women were suffered to come near her dead body, which was carried into a room adjoining to the place of execution, where it lay, for some days, covered with a coarse cloth torn

from a billiard table. The block, the scaffold, the aprons of the executioners, and every thing stained with her blood, were reduced to ashes. Not long after, Elizabeth appointed her body to be buried in the cathedral of Peterborough with royal magnificence. But this vulgar artifice was employed in vain; the pageantry of a pompous funeral did not efface the memory of those injuries which laid Mary in her grave. James, soon after his accession to the English throne, ordered her body to be removed to Westminster-abbey, and to be deposited among the monarchs of England.

Elizabeth affected to receive the accounts of Mary's death with the most violent emotions of surprise and of concern. Sighs, tears, lamentations and mourning, were all employed to display the reality and greatness of her sorrow. Evident marks of dissimulation and artifice may be traced through every period of Elizabeth's proceedings against the life of the Scottish Queen. The commission for bringing Mary to a trial had been extorted by the entreaties of her privy council; the publication of the sentence by those of the parliament; nor did she sign the warrant for execution without apparent reluctance. She now undertook to make the world believe, that Mary had been put to death without her knowledge, and without her will.

It was the duty of Davison, as secretary of state, to lay before her the warrant for execution in order

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to be signed; and by her command he carried it to the great seal. She pretended however, that she had charged him not to communicate what she had done to any person; nor to suffer the warrant to go out of his hands without her express permission. That, in contempt of this order, he had not revealed the matter; but he had assembled her privy council, by whom, without her consent and knowledge, the warrant was issued.

Though Davison denied these charges, which in themselves were sufficiently improbable, yet he was brought to a solemn trial in the star-chamber, condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned during the queen's pleasure. A victim to the reputation of Elizabeth, he languished several years in confinement, and never recovered any degree of favour or of power.

This transaction, however, furnished Elizabeth with an apology to the King of Scots. The account of his mother's death had filled that prince with grief, and his subjects with indignation. In order to soothe both, Elizabeth dispatched Robert Cary, with a letter expressing her affliction at what had happened so contrary to her intention. James, as well as his nobles, at first breathed nothing but revenge: But when he considered the superior force of England, and that by engaging in a fruitless war he might deprive himself of a noble inheritance, he was induced to stifle his resentment; to appear satisfied with the punishment inflicted.

inflicted on Davison; and to preserve all the semblances of friendship with the English court.

Mary's death, however, proved fatal to the master of Gray; the treacherous part that he had acted during the late embassy was no secret, and filled James, who at length came to the knowledge of it, with astonishment. He was accused before a convention of the nobles; and unable to palliate his guilt, was condemned to perpetual banishment.

Europe beheld the present year distinguished by events the most interesting. In France, the duke of Guise drove Henry the Third out of Paris, forced him to conclude a peace which left him only the shadow of royalty, and soon after fell a victim to the resentment of his sovereign.

A. D. 1588.

In Spain, Philip the Second had employed three successive years in hostile preparations. A fleet, the greatest that ever appeared on the ocean, was ready to sail from Lisbon, and a numerous land army was assembled to embark on board of it. From many circumstances, England was supposed to be the object of its destination. Elizabeth had supported the revolted provinces in the Low Countries; her fleets had insulted the coasts of Spain, intercepted the galleons from the West Indies, and threatened the colonies there. Roused by these injuries, Philip aspired to the conquest of England, to which his descent from the house of Lancaster, and the donation of Pope Sixtus the Fifth

Fifth, gave him, in his own opinion, a double title.

Elizabeth saw the danger approach, and prepared to encounter it: Her chief care was to secure the friendship of James. Philip had excited that monarch to revenge his mother's wrongs; and with a share of his conquests, had offered him his daughter Isabella in marriage. But James understood his own interest in the present juncture, and pursued it with much steadiness. He rejected an alliance with Spain as dangerous; he refused to admit into his presence an ambassador from the Pope; and without listening to the suggestions of revenge, determined to act in concert with Elizabeth against the common enemy of the protestant faith.

The success of Philip's enterprise was not adequate to the hopes his preparations had inspired. Continual disasters pursued the Spanish fleet, from the moment it entered the English channel. Successive storms and battles conspired with the ill-conduct of the leaders, to blast their expectations. The Armado, on which had been arrogantly bestowed the name of Invincible, was driven out of the English seas; their shattered ships were forced to steer their course towards Spain, round Scotland and Ireland: Many of them suffered shipwreck on those dangerous and unknown coasts. Though James kept his subjects under arms, to prevent the Spaniards landing in an hostile manner, yet he received with great humanity seven hundred

hundered who were forced on shore by a tempest ; and after supplying them with necessaries, permitted them to return into their own country.

On the retreat of the Spaniards, Elizabeth sent an ambassador to congratulate James, and to compliment him on the firmness and generosity which he had discovered during a conjuncture so dangerous.

Philip, convinced of his own rashness in attempting the conquest of A. D. 1589. England by a naval armament, now meditated the invasion of it through Scotland. Zeal for popery, and the artful insinuations of his emissaries, induced several Scottish noblemen to favour a measure which tended so manifestly to the destruction of their country. Huntly continued warmly attached to the Romish church ; Crawford and Errol were animated with the zeal of converts : To these, Francis Stewart earl of Bothwell, grandson of James the Fifth, though a protestant, joined himself, prompted merely by caprice and the restlessness of his nature.

The letters of the conspirators were intercepted in England, and Elizabeth sent them immediately to the king, reproaching him with his former lenity towards the popish party. - But James, though firmly attached to the protestant religion, yet wished not to irritate the Roman catholics, who were at that time powerful and active in England, and far from inconsiderable in his own kingdom. He endeavoured to reconcile them to his government.

ment and succession by gentle treatment ; and a short imprisonment was the only punishment that he inflicted on Huntly and his associates.

He had soon reason to repent of this clemency. The first use the conspirators made of their liberty was to assemble their followers, and to erect the standard of rebellion. The king in person advanced against them with such forces as he could readily levy ; and as they could not rely on the fidelity of their troops, they threw themselves on their sovereign's mercy. Huntly, Errol, Crawford, and Bothwell, were all brought to a public trial, and repeated acts of treason were proved against them. But James did not permit any sentence to be pronounced ; and took occasion, amidst the public festivity and rejoicing at the approach of his marriage, and to set them again at liberty.

As James was the only descendant of the ancient monarchs of Scotland, his marriage was an event which the nation desired with ardour. He himself was no less impatient to accomplish it ; and had made overtures for that purpose, to the eldest daughter of Frederick the Second, king of Denmark. Elizabeth, jealous of every thing that would render the accession of the house of Stewart acceptable, endeavoured to perplex James, in the same manner she had done Mary, and employed as many artifices to defeat or to retard his marriage. His ministers, gained by bribes and promises, seconded her intention ; and though several
different

different ambassadors were sent from Scotland to Denmark, they produced powers so limited, or insisted on conditions so extravagant, that Frederick could not believe the king to be in earnest; and suspecting that there was some design to deceive or amuse him, gave his daughter in marriage to the duke of Brunswick. Not discouraged by this disappointment, which he imputed entirely to the conduct of his own ministers, James made addresses to the princess Anne, Frederick's second daughter. Though Elizabeth endeavoured to divert him from this, by recommending Catherine, the king of Navarre's sister, as a more advantageous match; though she prevailed on the privy council of Scotland to declare against the alliance with Denmark, he persisted in his choice; and despairing of overcoming the obstinacy of his own ministers in any other manner, he secretly encouraged the citizens of Edinburgh to take arms. They threatened to tear in pieces the Chancellor, whom they accused as the person whose artifices had hitherto disappointed the wishes of the king, and the expectations of his people. In consequence of this, the earl Marischal was sent into Denmark at the head of a splendid embassy. He received ample powers and instructions, drawn with the king's own hand. The marriage articles were quickly agreed upon, and the young queen set sail towards Scotland. James made great preparations for her reception, and waited her landing with all the impatience of a lover; when the

unwelcome account arrived, that a violent tempest had arisen which drove back her fleet to Norway, in a condition so shattered, that there was little hope of its putting again to sea before the spring. This unexpected disappointment he felt with the utmost sensibility. He instantly fitted out some ships, and without communicating his intention to any of his council, sailed in person, attended by the Chancellor, several noblemen, and a train of three hundred persons, in quest of his bride. He arrived safely in a small harbour near Upslo, where the queen then resided. There the marriage was solemnized; and as it would have been rash to trust those boisterous seas in the winter season, James accepted the invitation of the court of Denmark, and repairing to Copenhagen, passed several months there, amidst continual feasting and amusements, in which both the queen and himself had great delight.

No event in the king's life appears to be a wider deviation from his general character, than this sudden folly. His son Charles I. was capable of that excessive admiration of the other sex, which arises from great sensibility of heart, heightened by elegance of taste; and the romantic air of his journey to Spain suited such a disposition. But James was not susceptible of any refined gallantry, and always expressed that contempt for the female character, which pedantry is apt to inspire. He was, however, anxious to secure the political advantages, which he expected from marriage;

and though his absence extended longer than he had proposed, the nobles, the clergy, and the people, during that interval, vied with one another in loyalty and obedience.

Chapter

Chapter the Eight.

RETURN of James to Scotland.—Enterprize of the earl of Bothwell.—Conspiracy of the Popish nobles.—They are pardoned by Elizabeth.—Successive intrigues of Bothwell.—Battle of Glenlivet.—Vigorous conduct of James.—Insurrection of Edinburgh.—Conspiracy by the earl of Gowrie.—That nobleman and his brother are killed.—Proceedings against their memories.—Characters of the earl of Essex and of Cecil.—Discontents of the former.—His attempt to surprise Elizabeth.—His execution.—Regret of the queen.—Her indisposition.—Discovery of the Countess of Nottingham.—Death of Elizabeth.—Accession of James to the throne of England.

A. D. 1509. **O**N the first of May, the king and queen arrived at Leith, and were received by their subjects with every possible expression of joy. But the clemency of the king towards offenders, had multiplied crimes of all kind, and brought his government under contempt.

Bothwell had been accused of consulting some pretenders to magic respecting the king's death,

and on their evidence was committed to prison. His haughty spirit could ill brook this indignity; he made his escape from his keepers, assembled his followers, and favoured by some of the king's attendants, penetrated, under cover of the night, into the court of the palace. The alarm, however, was taken; the citizens of Edinburgh run to arms, and he with difficulty saved himself by a precipitate flight.

A. D. 1592.

He retired towards the north; and the king unadvisedly having given a commission to the earl of Huntly to pursue him, he, under colour of that commission, burnt to the ground the house of the earl of Murray, and slew Murray himself. The death of this promising young nobleman, excited an insurrection in Edinburgh; and the king thought it prudent to withdraw from his capital, and to fix for some time his residence at Glasgow: There Huntly surrendered himself to justice; and the king not only protected him from punishment, but exempted him from the formality of a public trial.

An act of parliament had been passed, attainting Bothwell, and all his adherents: But that daring nobleman soon after made a new attempt to seize the king at Falkland; and as he was favoured by the enemies of chancellor Maitland, James owed his safety only to the vigilance of Sir Robert Melvil, and the irresolution of Bothwell's associates.

A. D. 1593.

This danger was scarcely over, when the nation was alarmed by a new

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new conspiracy. A correspondence between the king of Spain, and the earls of Angus, Huntly, and Errol, had been carried on by George Kerr, the brother of lord Newbattle. Ker was seized, and confessed their views were to re-establish the Catholic religion. The indignation of all ranks of people compelled James to declare, that no consideration should induce him to pardon the conspirators; and marching at the head of an army into the north, he obliged the earls to retire into the mountains: The refusal of Elizabeth to furnish him with a sum of money, afforded him a pretence to desist from the pursuit; and though the importunities of his own subjects obliged him to call a parliament to attain the conspirators, yet the escape of Ker out of prison; an escape which the king himself was suspected of having contrived, prevented any legal evidence of their guilt from being produced.

The abilities of chancellor Maitland, had secured him the favour of the king, and the enmity of his courtiers. These sacrificed their master to their jealousy; and having combined with Bothwell, they brought him back secretly to Scotland; and seizing the gates of the palace, introduced him into the royal apartments, with a numerous train of armed followers. James was obliged to submit to the demands of his rebellious subjects, and to dismiss the chancellor from his councils and presence; while Bothwell, on his part, consented

to remove from court, which he had previously filled with a number of his associates.

But it was now no easy matter to keep the king under restraint. He had been permitted to call a convention of the nobles at Stirling, and to repair thither in person. All Bothwell's enemies obeyed the summons; they pronounced the late insult offered to the king, high treason; and Bothwell, rejecting the proffer of a pardon, fled to the borders.

The king's ardour against Bothwell, compared with his slow proceedings against the popish lords, occasioned a general disgust among his protestant subjects; and an event happened soon after which increased their murmurs. As James was marching on an expedition against the borders, the three popish earls coming suddenly into his presence, offered to submit themselves to a legal trial. The convention of estates, named the Chancellor Maitland, and a few other members, for judges; these ordained that the three earls should be exempted from all further prosecution, on condition that they publicly renounced the errors of popery, or removed out of the kingdom.

A. D. 1594. By this lenity towards the conspirators, James incurred much reproach, and gained no advantage. The earls, buoyed up with the hopes of foreign aid, refused to accept the conditions; a convention of estates pronounced them to have forfeited the benefit of the articles

articles offered ; and the king required them to surrender themselves to justice.

Meanwhile Elizabeth, desirous of embarrassing James, excited Bothwell again to arms : That turbulent nobleman appeared suddenly within a mile of Edinburgh, at the head of four hundred horse. Though he had some success in putting to flight Lord Home, who had rashly charged him with an inferior number of cavalry ; yet he was compelled to retire before the king in person. He was soon after abandoned by his followers, who, discouraged by so many successive disappointments, could never afterwards be brought into the field.

The popish lords had been supplied with money from Spain, and had been joined by Bothwell ; and James, provoked by their obstinacy, exerted himself with unusual vigour. He called a parliament, which declared them guilty of high treason, and their estates and honours forfeited. To execute this sentence, he delegated his authority to the earl of Argyll and lord Forbes, the leaders of two clans, at enmity with the conspirators. Argyll took the field at the head of seven thousand men ; Huntly and Errol met him at Glenlivet, with an army far inferior in number, but composed chiefly of gentlemen of the low countries, mounted on horseback, and possessed of a train of field pieces. The discharge of cannon, and the impression of cavalry, disconcerted the Highlanders, who were soon put to flight ; and Argyll was carried by his friends out of the field, weeping with indignation,
and

and calling upon them to stand, and to vindicate the honour of their name.

A. D. 1595. On the first intelligence of this defeat, James, with a small body of troops, marched towards the north; and Huntly and Errol, who had lost several of their followers at Glenlivet, were obliged to retire to the mountains. Reduced at last to extreme distress by the rigour of the season, and the desertion of their vassals, they obtained the king's permission to go beyond seas; and gave security that they should neither return without his licence, nor engage in any new intrigues against the protestant religion, or the peace of the kingdom.

Bothwell, whose name has been so often mentioned as the disturber of the king's tranquillity, and of the peace of the kingdom, was now in a wretched condition: Abandoned by the queen of England, on account of his confederacy with the popish lords; excommunicated by the church for the same reason, and deserted in his distress by his own followers, he was obliged to fly for safety to France, and thence to Spain and Italy; where, after renouncing the protestant faith, he led many years an obscure and indigent life, remarkable only for a low and infamous debauchery.

The clergy still continued to harangue loudly against the lenity of James, who suffered the popish lords to receive their revenues, and even privately to return to Scotland. **Mr Black, minister of St Andrew's,** distinguished

A. D. 1556.

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distinguished himself on this occasion by his superior boldness : The king commanded him to be summoned before the privy council, to answer for his seditious expressions ; he pretended that he was subject to the church alone ; and was supported in this extravagant claim by the rest of the clergy. James, irritated by resistance, sentenced Black to retire beyond the seas ; and required all the ministers in the kingdom to subscribe a bond, obliging themselves to submit to the jurisdiction of the civil courts.

This decisive measure excited the most fatal consequences : These must be partly imputed to the artifices of some courtiers, who expected to reap advantages from the calamities of their country. On one hand, they informed the king, that the citizens of Edinburgh were under arms every night ; on the other hand, they wrote to the ministers, advising them to look to their safety, as Huntly had been secretly admitted to an interview with the king ; They doubted no more of the truth of this intelligence, than the king had done of that which he received, and fell as blindly into the snare. The letter came to their hands just as one of their number was going to mount the pulpit. They resolved that he should acquaint the people of their danger ; and he painted it with all the strong colours which men naturally employ in describing any dreadful and instant calamity. When the sermon was over, he desired the nobles and gentlemen to assemble in the *Little Church.*

Church. The whole multitude, terrified at what they had heard, crowded thither ; they promised and vowed to stand by the clergy ; they drew up a petition to the king, craving the redress of those grievances, of which the church complained, and beseeching him to deliver them from all future apprehensions of danger, by removing such of his counsel as were known to be enemies of the protestant religion. Two peers, two gentlemen, two burgessees, and two ministers, were appointed to present it. The king happened to be in the great hall of the Tolbooth, where the court of session was sitting. The manner in which the petition was delivered, as well as its contents, offended him. He gave an haughty reply ; the petitioners insisted with warmth ; and a promiscuous multitude pressing into the room, James retired abruptly into another apartment, and commanded the gates to be shut behind him. The deputies returned to the multitude, who were still assembled, and to whom a minister had been reading, in their absence, the story of Haman. When they reported that the king had refused to listen to their petitions, the church was filled in a moment with noise, threatenings, execrations, and all the outrage and confusion of a popular tumult. Some called for their arms, some to bring out the wicked Haman ; others cried, the sword of the Lord and of Gideon ; and, rushing out with the most furious

rious impetuosity, furrounded the Tolbooth, threatening the king himself, and demanding some of his counsellors, whom they named, that they might tear them in pieces. The magistrates of the city, partly by authority, partly by force, endeavoured to quell the tumult; the king attempted to soothe the malcontents, by promising to receive their petitions, when presented in a regular manner; the ministers, sensible of their own rashness in kindling such a flame, seconded both; and the rage of the populace subsiding as suddenly as it had risen, they all dispersed, and the king returned to the palace; happy in having escaped from an insurrection, which, through the instantaneous and unconcerted effect of popular fury, had exposed his life to imminent danger, and was considered by him as an unpardonable affront to his authority.

The leaders of the malcontents immediately prepared their petition, which demanded the punishment of the popish lords, and the removal of the suspected counsellors. Fearful, however, of renewing the king's rage, they deferred presenting it that night; and before morning, James, with all his attendants, withdrew to Linlithgow; and ordered, at the same time, the session, and other courts of justice, to leave the capital; while the most culpable of the ministers fled from his indignation to England.

The

A. D. 1597.

This unsuccessful insurrection, instead of overturning, established the king's authority. A convention of estates pronounced the insurgents guilty of high treason, and commanded every minister to subscribe a declaration of his submission to the king's jurisdiction, in all matters, civil and criminal; and ordered the magistrates either to inflict condign punishment on the authors of the late tumult, or that the city itself should be subject to the severest penalties.

Armed with these decrees, James resolved to crush his rebellious subjects. The city was declared to have forfeited its privileges, and to be liable to all the penalties of treason; nor even could the mediation of Elizabeth prevail on him entirely to pardon its guilt. The citizens were at last indeed absolved from the penalties of law; but they were neither allowed to elect their own magistrates, nor their own ministers: Many new burdens were imposed on them; and a great sum of money was exacted by way of peace offering.

The popish lords had been allowed to make a recantation of their errors, were absolved from the sentence of excommunication, and received into the bosom of the church; and towards the close of the year a parliament was held, in order to restore Huntly and his associates to their estates and honours, by repealing the act of forfeiture passed against them.

As the prospect of succeeding to the crown of England drew nearer, A. D. 1578-9. James exerted his most strenuous efforts to render it certain. He sent ambassadors extraordinary to the different princes of Germany, to whom he was allied by marriage: He directed Edward Bruce, abbot of Kinross, whom he had appointed to the English court, to solicit Elizabeth to recognize his title by some public deed. But age had strengthened all the passions which had hitherto induced Elizabeth to keep this great question obscure and undecided; and a general and evasive answer was all that James could obtain.

The queen of England's sentiments were indeed far from favourable to James; his excessive indulgence towards the popish lords, and the facility with which he pardoned their repeated treasons, were considered by her as so many indications of a mind alienated from the protestant religion; and however that prince might justify his conduct towards his rebellious subjects, it is certain that about this time he was at the utmost pains to gain the friendship of the Roman Catholic princes. Lord Home was secretly dispatched to the pope; and the sentiments of the Roman pontiff were so favourable to the hopes of James, that he thought himself bound, some years afterwards, to acknowledge the obligation in a public manner.

In England, Sir John Lindsay had made a great progress in gaining the Roman Catholics to ac-
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knowledge James's title ; and Elizabeth, who was not entirely ignorant of these intrigues, and whose natural jealousy was increased by age, continued to observe the conduct of the king with unceasing solicitude.

A. D. 1600. The kingdom for some months, had enjoyed unusual tranquillity ; when, in the midst of security, the king's life was exposed by a conspiracy as extraordinary as unexpected : The authors of it were, John Ruthven, earl of Gowrie, and his brother Alexander, the sons of the earl who was beheaded in eighty four. The natural endowments of these young men had been improved by education, and their countrymen had already conceived the most sanguine hopes of their early virtues.

The king had been hunting at Falkland, where Mr Alexander Ruthven informed him, that the evening before, he had surpris'd a man of a suspicious aspect, near his brother's house at Perth, with a quantity of foreign gold ; and that he had immediately seized both him and his treasure. James first propos'd to empower the magistrates of Perth, to enquire into the story ; but this was violently oppos'd by Ruthven, who urg'd the king to ride into Perth, and examine the matter himself. In the mean time the chase began, and James could not help meditating on the strangeness of the tale, and on Ruthven's importunity. At last he call'd him, and promis'd when the sport was over, to set out for Perth. The chase, however, continued

continued long ; and Ruthven, who all the while kept close by the king, was still urging him to make haste. At the death of the buck, he would not allow James to stay till a fresh horse was brought him ; and observing the duke of Lennox and the earl of Mar preparing to accompany the king, he intreated him to countermand them. This James refused ; and though Ruthven's impatience and anxiety, as well as the apparent perturbation in his whole behaviour, raised some suspicions in his mind, yet his own curiosity, and the solicitations of the latter, prevailed on him to set out for Perth. When within a mile of the town, Ruthven rode forward to inform his brother of the king's arrival, though he had already dispatched two messengers for that purpose. At a little distance from the town, the earl attended by several of the citizens, met the king, who had only twenty persons in his train. No preparations were made for the king's entertainment ; the earl appeared pensive and embarrassed, and was at no pains to atone, by his courtesy or hospitality, for the bad fare with which he treated his guests. When the king's repast was over, his attendants were led to dine in another room, and he being left almost alone, Ruthven whispered him, that now was the time to go to the chamber where the unknown person was kept. James commanded him to bring Sir Thomas Erskine along with them ; but, instead of that, Ruthven ordered him not to follow : And conducting the king up a stair-case, and then

through several apartments, the doors of which he locked behind him; led him at last into a small study, in which there stood a man clad in armour with a sword and dagger by his side. The king, who expected to have found one disarmed and bound, started at the sight, and inquired if this was the person; but Ruthven snatching the dagger from the girdle of the man in armour, and holding it to the king's breast, "Remember, said he, how unjustly my father suffered by your commands; you are now my prisoner; submit to my disposal without resistance, or outcry; or this dagger shall instantly avenge his blood." James expostulated with Ruthven, intreated, and flattered him. The man whom he found in the study, stood all the while, trembling, and dismayed, without courage either to aid the king, or to second his aggressor. Ruthven protested, that if the king raised no outcry, his life should be safe; and moved by some unknown reason, retired in order to call his brother, leaving to the man in armour the care of the king, whom he bound by oath not to make any noise during his absence.

While the king was in this dangerous situation, his attendants growing impatient to know whither he had retired, one of Gowrie's people entered the room hastily, and told them that the king had just rode away towards Falkland. All of them rushed out into the street; and the earl, in the utmost hurry, called for their horses. But by this time his brother had returned to the king, and swearing that

that now there was no remedy, he must die, offered to bind his hands. Unarmed as James was, he scorned to submit to that indignity; and closing with the assassin, a fierce struggle ensued. The man in armour stood, as formerly, amazed and motionless; and the king dragging Ruthven towards a window, which during his absence he had persuaded the person with whom he had been left, to open, cried with a wild and affrighted voice, "Treason! Treason! Help! I am murdered!" His attendants heard, and knew the voice; and saw, at the window a hand which grasped the king's neck with violence. They flew with precipitation to his assistance. Lennox and Mar, with the greater number, ran up the principal stair-case, where they found all the doors shut, which they battered with the utmost fury, endeavouring to burst them open. But Sir John Ramsey, entering by a back-stair, which led to the apartment where the king was, found the door open; and rushing upon Ruthven, who was still struggling with the king, struck him twice with his dagger, and thrust him towards the stair-case, where Sir Thomas Erskine, and Sir Hugh Herries met, and killed him; he crying with his last breath, "Alas! I am not to blame for this action." During this scuffle, the man who had been concealed in the study, escaped unobserved: Together with Ramsey, Erskine, and Herries one Wilson, a footman, entered the room where the king was, and before they had time to shut the door, Gowrie rushed in with a drawn sword in

each hand, followed by seven of his attendants well armed, and with a loud voice threatened them all with instant death. They immediately thrust the king into the little study, and shutting the door upon him, encountered the earl. Notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, Sir John Ramsay pierced Gowrie through the heart, and he fell dead without uttering a word; his followers having received several wounds, immediately fled. Three of the king's defenders were likewise hurt in the conflict. A dreadful noise continued still at the opposite door, where many persons laboured in vain to force a passage; and the king being assured that they were Lennox, Mar, and his other friends, it was opened on the inside. They ran to the king, whom they unexpectedly found safe, with transports of congratulation; and he falling on his knees, with all his attendants around him, offered solemn thanks to God for such a wonderful deliverance. The danger, however, was not yet over: The inhabitants of the town, whose provost Gowrie was, and by whom he was extremely beloved, hearing the fate of the two brothers, ran to their arms, and surrounded the house, threatening revenge, with many insolent and opprobrious speeches against the king. James endeavoured to pacify the enraged multitude, by speaking to them from the window; he admitted their magistrates into the house; related to them all the circumstances of the fact; and, their fury subsiding by degrees, they dispersed. On search-

ing the earl's pockets for papers that might discover his designs and accomplices, nothing was found but a small parchment bag, full of magical characters and words of enchantment; and if we may believe the account of the conspiracy published by the king, "while these were about him, the wound of which he died, bled not; but as soon as they were taken away, the blood gushed out in great abundance."

The motives which induced the two brothers to attempt an action so detestable, and the end they had in view, are altogether unknown: From the words of Ruthven to the king, the desire of avenging his father's death might be supposed. But James was at that time too young to become the object of resentment; and had even endeavoured to repair the wrongs the father had suffered by benefits to his children.

On the other hand, it is impossible to believe that the king had formed any design against the life of the two brothers. They had not incurred his indignation by any crime; nor was he of so rash a spirit, as to have attempted to murder them in their own house, where they were surrounded with many domestics, and he only with a slender and unarmed train. Whether the intention of murder is imputed to Gowrie, or to the king, insuperable difficulties arise; and perhaps the source of the conspiracy may be found in a more remote and less criminal cause.

Elizabeth

Elizabeth had ever endeavoured to keep the king of Scots in dependance, and to stir up some faction of the nobles to oppose his authority. The earl of Gowrie was one of the most powerful of the Scottish barons, and descended from ancestors warmly attached to the English interest. At Paris, he had contracted an intimate friendship with Elizabeth's ambassador; and as he passed through England, the queen received him with distinguished marks of respect and favour: at the moment of his enterprize, an English ship was seen hovering in the mouth of the Frith of Forth; the earl's two younger brothers fled into England after the ill success of the conspiracy, and were protected by Elizabeth. All these circumstances occasioned a suspicion that the plan of the conspiracy was formed in concert with the queen of England.

In the mean time the proceedings of parliament were diligently directed against the name and memory of Gowrie. The dead bodies of the two brothers were produced; an indictment for high treason was preferred against them; numerous witnesses were adduced; and an unanimous sentence decreed their estates and honours forfeited. The punishment due to traitors was inflicted on their dead bodies; and the parliament, to express its abhorrence of their crimes, enacted that the surname of Ruthven should be abolished; the fifth of August was also appointed to be observed annually, as a day of thanksgiving for the king's miraculous

miraculous escape; yet all these marks of solemnity by no means established the credibility of the narrative, which was still received, especially by the ministers of the church, with jealous distrust.

A. D. 1601.

The enterprize of Gowrie, though productive of a great and instantaneous alarm, was, however, attended by no essential consequences: If excited by Elizabeth, she had not long to triumph in her address, before she herself was alarmed by a conspiracy that broke out in England against her; which, though the first danger was immediately dispelled, produced tragical effects, that rendered the close of that queen's reign dark and unhappy. As James was deeply interested in that event, it merits our particular notice.

The court of England was at this time divided between two powerful factions, which contended for the supreme direction of affairs. The leader of the one was Robert D'Evereux, earl of Essex; Sir Robert Cecil, the son of lord treasurer Burleigh, was at the head of the other. The former was the most accomplished and the most popular of all the English nobles; brave, generous, affable; though impetuous, yet willing to listen to the counsels of those whom he loved; an avowed, but not an implacable enemy; a friend no less constant than warm; incapable of disguising his own sentiments, or of misrepresenting those of others; better fitted for a camp than for a court; and

and of a genius that qualified him for the first place in the administration, with a spirit which scorned the second as below his merit. He was soon distinguished by the queen, who with a profusion uncommon to her, conferred on him, even in his earliest youth, the highest honours. Nor did this diminish the esteem and affection of his countrymen; but, by a rare felicity, he was at once the favourite of his sovereign, and the darling of the people. Cecil, on the other hand, educated in a court, and trained under a father deeply skilled in all its arts, was crafty, insinuating, industrious; and though possessed of talents which fitted him for the highest offices, he did not rely upon his merit alone for attaining them, but availed himself of every advantage, which his own address, or the mistakes of others, afforded him. Two such men were formed to be rivals and enemies. Essex despised the arts of Cecil as low and base. To Cecil, the earl's magnanimity appeared to be presumption and folly. All the military men, except Raleigh, favoured Essex. Most of the courtiers adhered to Cecil, whose manners more nearly resembled their own.

As Elizabeth advanced in years, the struggle between these factions became more violent. Essex, in order to strengthen himself, had early courted the friendship of the king of Scots, for whose right of succession he was a zealous advocate, and held a close correspondence both with him and with his principal ministers. Cecil, devoted

voted to the queen alone, rose daily to new honours by the assiduity of his services, and the patience with which he expected the reward of them; while the earl's high spirit and impetuosity sometimes exposed him to checks from a mistress, who, though partial in her affection toward him, could not easily bear contradiction, and who conferred favours often unwillingly, and always slowly. His own solicitations, however, seconded maliciously by his enemies, who wished to remove him at a distance from court, advanced him to the command of the army employed in Ireland against Tyrone, and to the office of lord lieutenant of that kingdom, with a commission almost unlimited. His success in that expedition did not equal either his own promises, or the expectations of Elizabeth. The queen, peevish from her disappointment, and exasperated against Essex by the artifices of his enemies, wrote him a harsh letter, full of accusations and reproaches. These his impatient spirit could not bear, and in the first transports of his resentment, he proposed to carry over a part of his army into England, and, by driving his enemies from the queen's presence, to reinstate himself in favour and in power. But upon more mature thoughts he abandoned this rash design, and setting sail with a few officers devoted to his person, landed in England, and posted directly to court. Elizabeth received him without any symptom either of affection or of displeasure. By proper compliances and acknowledgments, he might

might have regained his former ascendant over the queen. But he thought himself too deeply injured to submit to these. Elizabeth on the other hand determined to subdue his haughty temper; and though her severity drew from him the most humble letters, she confined him to the lord keeper's house, and appointed commissioners to try him, both for his conduct during his government of Ireland, and for leaving that kingdom without her permission. By their sentence, he was suspended from all his offices, except that of master of the horse, and continued a prisoner during the queen's pleasure. Satisfied with having mortified his pride thus far, Elizabeth did not suffer the sentence to be recorded, and soon after allowed him to retire to his own house. During these transactions, which occupied several months, Essex fluctuated between the allegiance he owed to his sovereign, and the desire of revenge; and sometimes leaned to the one, and sometimes to the other. In one of the intervals when the latter prevailed, he sent a messenger into Scotland, to encourage the king to assert his own right to the succession by force of arms, and to promise that, besides the assistance of the earl and all his friends in England, lord Mountjoy, now lord lieutenant of Ireland, would join him with five thousand men from that kingdom. But James did not chuse to hazard the losing a kingdom, of which he was just about to obtain possession, by a premature attempt to seize it. Mountjoy, too, declined the enterprise

prise, and Essex adopted more dutiful schemes; all thoughts of ambition appearing to be totally effaced out of his mind.

This moderation, which was merely the effect of disgust and disappointment, was not of long continuance; and the queen, having not only refused to renew a lucrative grant which she had formerly bestowed, but even to admit him into her presence, that new injury drove a temper, naturally impatient, and now much fretted, to absolute despair. His friends, instead of soothing his rage, or restraining his impetuosity, added to both by their imprudent and interested zeal. After many anxious consultations, he determined to attempt to redress his wrongs by violence. To excite James to join him, he represented to him that the faction which now predominated in the English court, had resolved to support the pretensions of the infanta of Spain, and advised him to insist on the immediate declaration of his right of succession. James declined a proposal which he knew would have been extremely disagreeable to the queen; and Essex, though disappointed of his assistance, and impatient for revenge, attempted with a few hundred followers to expel the faction of Cecil, and to seize the queen. Deserted in this rash enterprise by his attendants, he returned to his own house, and surrendered himself to his enemies.

The queen could not without a painful struggle resign into the hands of the executioner a man

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who

who had once so entirely possessed her iavour ; and it is probable, had any faithful friend enterceded with Elizabeth, his life might have been saved ; but the unfortunate Essex had at this time no such advocate ; and the queen, who imagined that he scorned to sue for pardon, reluctantly suffered the sentence to be carried into execution.

James had dispatched ambassadors to England, to solicit the pardon of Essex ; but before their arrival the blow was struck ; and finding themselves too late, they concealed that part of their instructions, and employed themselves in extending their intrigues with the English nobles. Cecil himself thought it no longer prudent to stand at a distance from a prince who might so soon be his master ; and James having gained the man whose influence he had hitherto chiefly dreaded, waited in perfect security till the event should happen, which would open his way to the throne of England.

That event was now rapidly approaching ; Elizabeth began to feel her vigour decrease, and to be sensible of the infirmities of old age. Her distemper seemed to proceed from a settled melancholy ; she delighted in solitude ; she sat constantly in the dark, and was often drowned in tears.

No sooner was her indisposition known, than all parties redoubled their assiduities to the king of the Scots ; even her most ancient servants, wearied with the length of her reign, and fond of novelty,

were

A. D. 1602.
1603.

were eager to pay their homage to, and to occupy the favour of her successor.

In the mean time the queen's disease daily increased, and her melancholy appeared to be settled and incurable. Some imputed a disorder so different from the natural cheerfulness of her temper to having pardoned, contrary to her inclination, the earl of Tyrone, whose rebellion had for many years disturbed her government. Others ascribed it to the ingratitude of her courtiers, who beheld her declining with indifference, and turned their expectations toward the king of the Scots. But the general opinion conceived it to arise from the loss of the earl of Essex. She retained an extraordinary regard for the memory of that nobleman; and though she often complained of his obstinacy, seldom mentioned his name without tears.

This opinion was confirmed by an accident which soon after happened, and which revived the tenderness and augmented the sorrows of Elizabeth. The countess of Nottingham desired on her death-bed to see the queen; she informed her that while Essex lay under sentence of death, he was desirous of imploring pardon, by returning a ring which, during his favour, Elizabeth had given him, with a promise, if in any future distress he should send it back, it should entitle him to protection. That this ring was delivered into her hands; but that her husband, one of Essex's greatest ene-

mies, had forbidden her either to carry it to the queen, or to return it to the earl.

The queen heard her with the greatest emotion, exclaiming, "God may forgive you, but I never can." From that moment her spirits sunk entirely; she would scarce taste food; she refused all medicines prescribed by her physicians; and without going to bed sat pensive on cushions during ten days and nights. The only thing to which she attended were acts of devotion, in which she joined, with great appearance of fervour. Wasted, at length, by anguish of mind, and continued abstinence, she expired without a struggle on Thursday, the twenty-fourth day of March, in the seventieth year of her age, and in the forty-fifth of her reign.

Though Elizabeth had never suffered the succession of the crown to be determined in parliament, nor declared her own sentiments respecting it, yet she had formed no design of excluding the Scottish king. A short time before her death, she broke the silence which she had so long preserved, and told Cecil and the lord admiral, "That her throne was the throne of kings; that she would have no mean person to ascend it, and that her cousin the king of Scots should be her successor."

As soon as the queen breathed her last, the lords of the privy council proclaimed James, king of England; and Sir Charles Percy, brother of the earl of Northumberland, and Thomas Somerset,

merfet, the earl of Worcester's fon, were difpatched to Scotland, with a letter to the king, figned by all the peers and privy counfellors then in London; informing him of the queen's death, of his fucceffion to the throne, of their care to recognize his title, and of the univerfal applaufe with which the public proclamation of it had been attended. They made the utmoft hafte to deliver this welcome meffage; but were prevented by the zeal of Sir Robert Carey, lord Hunfdon's youngeft fon, who fetting out a few hours after Elizabeth's death, arrived at Edinburgh on Saturday night, juft as the king had gone to bed. He was immediately admitted into the royal apartment; and kneeling by the king's bed, acquainted him with the death of Elizabeth, faluted him king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland; and as a token of the truth of the intelligence which he brought, prefented him a ring, which his fiftler lady Scroop had taken from the queen's finger after her death.

James heard him with a decent compofure. But as Carey was only a private meffenger, the information which he brought was not made public, and the king kept his apartment till the arrival of Percy and Somerfet. Then his titles were folemnly proclaimed; and his own fubjects expreffed no lefs joy than the Englifh, at this increafe of his dignity. As his prefence was abfolutely neceffary in England, where the people were extremely impatient to fee their new fovereign,

reign, he prepared to set out for that kingdom without delay. He appointed his queen to follow him within a few weeks: He committed the government of Scotland to his privy council: He intrusted the care of his children to different noblemen. On the Sunday before his departure he repaired to the church of St. Giles, and after hearing a sermon, in which the preacher displayed the greatness of the divine goodness in raising him to the throne of such a powerful kingdom without opposition or bloodshed, and exhorted him to express his gratitude, by promoting, to the utmost, the happiness and prosperity of his subjects; the king rose up, and addressing himself to the people, made many professions of unalterable affection towards them; promised frequently to visit Scotland; assured them that his Scottish subjects, notwithstanding his absence, should feel that he was their native prince, no less than when he resided among them: and might still trust that his ears should be always open to their petitions, which he would answer with the alacrity and love of a parent. His words were often interrupted by the tears of the whole audience; who, though they exulted at the king's prosperity, were melted into sorrow by these tender declarations.

On the fifth of April he began his journey, with a splendid, but not a numerous train; and next day he entered Berwick. Wherever he came, immense multitudes were assembled to welcome,

come him ; and the principal persons in the different counties through which he passed, displayed all their wealth and magnificence in entertainments prepared for him at their houses. Elizabeth had reigned so long in England, that most of her subjects remembered no other manners but hers : and captivated with that flowing affability for which she was remarkable, were far from being pleased with James, who, though easy among a few, could not bear the fatigue of rendering himself agreeable to a mixed multitude ; and who, instead of the frugality with which his predecessor conferred titles of honour, bestowed them with an undistinguishing profusion, which prevented them from being considered as marks of distinction, or rewards of merit.

Yet these observations never occurred to the giddy populace ; amidst whose acclamations James entered London the seventh of May, took peaceable possession of the throne of England, and united two kingdoms, divided from the earliest accounts of time, but destined by their situation to form one great monarchy. By this junction of its whole native force, Great Britain hath risen to an eminence and authority in Europe, which England or Scotland could never have attained.

FINIS.

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