

**Oxford English Classics.**

**DR. ROBERTSON'S WORKS.**

THE  
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

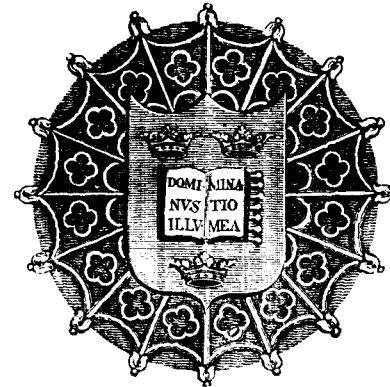
VOLUME II.

THE  
WORKS  
OF  
WM. ROBERTSON, D.D.  
IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

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THE SECOND VOLUME.

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THE  
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

THE SIXTH BOOK.

THE unexpected blow, by which the regent was cut off, struck the king's party with the utmost consternation. Elizabeth bewailed his death as the most fatal disaster which could have befallen her kingdom; and was inconsolable to a degree that little suited her dignity. Mary's adherents exulted, as if now her restoration were not only certain, but near at hand. The infamy of the crime naturally fell on those who expressed such indecent joy at the commission of it; and, 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 regent had fallen a sacrifice to the resentment of the queen's party, rather than to the revenge of a private man. On the day after the murder, Scott of Buccleugh, and Ker of Ferniherst, both zealous abettors of the queen's cause, entered England in an hostile manner, and plundered and burnt the country, the inhabitants of which expected no such outrage. If the regent had been alive, they would scarce have ventured on such an irregular incursion, nor could it well have happened so soon after his death, unless they had been privy to the crime.

This was not the only irregularity to which the anarchy that followed the regent's death gave occasion. During such general confusion, men hoped for universal impunity, and broke out into excesses of

1570.  
Disorders  
occasioned  
by the re-  
gent's  
death.

1570. every kind. As it was impossible to restrain these without a settled form of government, a convention of the nobles was held, in order to deliberate concerning the election 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. Maitland, whom Kirkaldy had set at liberty, and who obtained from the nobles, then assembled, a declaration acquitting him of the crime which had been laid to his charge, endeavoured to bring about a coalition of the two parties, by proposing to admit the queen to the joint administration of government with her son. Elizabeth, adhering to her ancient system with regard to Scottish affairs, laboured, notwithstanding the solicitations of Mary's friends<sup>a</sup>, to multiply, and to perpetuate the factions, which tore in pieces the kingdom. Randolph, whom she despatched into Scotland, on the first news of the regent's death, and who was her usual agent for such services, found all parties so exasperated by mutual injuries, and so full of irreconcilable rancour, that it cost him little trouble to inflame their animosity. 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<sup>b</sup>.

A coalition  
of parties  
attempted  
in vain.

Meantime, Maitland and Kirkaldy, who still continued to acknowledge the king's authority, were at the utmost pains to restore some degree of harmony among their countrymen. They procured, for this purpose, an amicable conference among the leaders of the two factions. But while the one demanded the restoration of the queen, as the only thing which could reestablish the public tranquillity; while the other esteemed the king's authority to be so sacred, that it was, on no account, to be called in question or im-

<sup>a</sup> See Appendix, No. XXXIV.

<sup>b</sup> Crawford. Mem. 131. Calderw. ii. 157.

paired; and neither of them would recede in the least point from their opinions, they separated without any prospect of concord. Both were rendered more averse from reconciliation, by the hope of foreign aid. An envoy arrived from France with promises of powerful succour to the queen's adherents; and, as the civil wars in that kingdom seemed to be on the point of terminating in peace, it was expected that Charles would soon be at liberty to fulfil what he promised. On the other hand, the earl of Sussex was assembling a powerful army on the borders, and its operations could not fail of adding spirit and strength to the king's party<sup>c</sup>.

Though the attempt towards a coalition of the factions proved ineffectual, it contributed somewhat to moderate or suspend their rage; but they soon began to act with their usual violence. Morton, the most vigilant and able leader on the king's side, solicited Elizabeth to interpose, without delay, for the safety of a party so devoted to her interest, and which stood so much in need of her assistance. The chiefs of the queen's faction, assembling at Linlithgow, marched thence to Edinburgh; and Kirkaldy, who was both governor of the castle and provost of the town, prevailed on the citizens, though with some difficulty, to admit them within the gates. Together with Kirkaldy, the earl of Athole, and Maitland, acceded almost openly to their party; and the duke and lord Herries, having recovered liberty by Kirkaldy's favour, resumed the places which they had formerly held in their councils. Encouraged by the acquisition of persons so illustrious by their birth, or so eminent for their abilities, they published a proclamation, declaring their intention to support the queen's authority, and seemed resolved not to leave the city before the meeting of the approaching convention, in which, by their numbers

1570.

Queen's  
party in  
possession  
of Edin-  
burgh.

April 10.

<sup>c</sup> Crawford. Mem. 134.

1570. and influence, they did not doubt of securing a majority of voices on their side<sup>d</sup>.

Endeavour  
to involve  
the nation  
in a war  
with Eng-  
land.

At the same time they had formed a design of kindling war between the two kingdoms. If they could engage them in hostilities, and revive their ancient emulation and antipathy, they hoped, not only to dissolve a confederacy of great advantage to the king's cause, but to reconcile their countrymen to the queen, Elizabeth's natural and most dangerous rival. With this view they had, immediately after the murder of the regent, prompted Scott and Ker to commence hostilities, and had since instigated them to continue and extend their depredations. As Elizabeth foresaw, on the one hand, the dangerous consequences of rendering this a national quarrel; and resolved, on the other, not to suffer such an insult on her government to pass with impunity; she issued a proclamation, declaring that she imputed the outrages which had been committed on the borders not to the Scottish nation, but to a few desperate and ill-designing persons; that with the former she was resolved to maintain an inviolable friendship, whereas the duty which she owed to her own subjects obliged her to chastise the licentiousness of the latter<sup>e</sup>. Sussex and Scrope accordingly entered Scotland, the one on the east, the other on the west borders, and laid waste the adjacent countries with fire and sword<sup>f</sup>. Fame magnified the number and progress of their troops; and Mary's adherents, not thinking themselves safe in Edinburgh, the inhabitants whereof were ill affected to their cause, retired to Linlithgow. There, by a public proclamation, they asserted the queen's authority, and forbade giving obedience to any but the duke, or the earls of Argyll and Huntly, whom she had constituted her lieutenants in the kingdom.

April 28.

<sup>d</sup> Crawf. Mem. 137. Cald. ii. 176.

<sup>f</sup> Cabbala, 174.

<sup>e</sup> Calderw. ii. 181.

The nobles who continued faithful to the king, though considerably weakened by the defection of so many of their friends, assembled at Edinburgh on the day appointed. They issued a counter-proclamation, declaring such as appeared for the queen enemies of their country; and charging them with the murder both of the late king and of the regent. They could not, however, presume so much on their own strength as to venture either to elect a regent, or to take the field against the queen's party; but the assistance which they received from Elizabeth enabled them to do both. By her order sir William Drury marched into Scotland, with a thousand foot and three hundred horse; the king's adherents joined him with a considerable body of troops; and advancing towards Glasgow, where the adverse party had already begun hostilities by attacking the castle, they forced them to retire, plundered the neighbouring country, which belonged to the Hamiltons, and, after seizing some of their castles, and razing others, returned to Edinburgh.

1570.

King's  
party enter  
Edinburgh,  
May 1.

Under Drury's protection, the earl of Lennox returned into Scotland. It was natural to commit the government of the kingdom to him during the minority of his grandson. His illustrious birth, and alliance with the royal family of England, as well as of Scotland, rendered him worthy of that honour. His resentment against Mary being implacable, and his estate lying in England, and his family residing there, Elizabeth considered him as a man, who, both from inclination and from interest, would act in concert with her, and ardently wished that he might succeed Murray in the office of regent. But, on many accounts, she did not think it prudent to discover her own sentiments, or to favour his pretensions too openly. The civil wars in France, which had been excited partly by real and partly by pretended zeal for religion, and carried on with a fierceness that did it real dishonour, appeared now to be on the point of coming to an issue; and,

Motives of  
Elizabeth's  
conduct  
with regard  
to them.

1570. after shedding the best blood, and wasting the richest provinces in the kingdom, both parties desired peace with an ardour that facilitated the negotiations which were carrying on for that purpose. Charles the ninth was known to be a passionate admirer of Mary's beauty. Nor could he, 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. He had hitherto been obliged to satisfy himself with remonstrating, by his ambassadors, against the indignity with which she had been treated. But if he were once at full liberty to pursue his inclinations, Elizabeth would have 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, and not to appear avowedly to countenance the choice of a regent, in contempt of Mary's authority. The jealousy and prejudices of the Scots required no less management. Had she openly supported Lennox's claim; had she recommended him to the convention, as the candidate of whom she approved; this might have roused the independent spirit of the nobles, and by too plain a discovery of her intention she might have defeated its success. For these reasons she hesitated long, and returned ambiguous answers to all the messages which she received from the king's party. A more explicit declaration of her sentiments was at last obtained, and an event of an extraordinary nature seems to have been the occasion of it. Pope Pius the fifth, having issued a bull, whereby he excommunicated Elizabeth, deprived her of her kingdom, and absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance, Felton, an Englishman, had the boldness to affix it on the gates of the bishop of London's palace. In former ages, a pope, moved by his own ambition, or pride, or bigotry, denounced this fatal sentence against the most powerful monarchs; but as the authority of the court of Rome was now less regarded, its proceedings were

more cautious; and it was only when they were roused by some powerful prince, that the thunders of the church were ever heard. Elizabeth, therefore, imputed this step, which the pope had taken, to a combination of the Roman catholic princes against her, and suspected that some plot was formed in favour of the Scottish queen. In that event, she knew that the safety of her own kingdom depended on preserving her influence in Scotland; and in order to strengthen this, she renewed her promises of protecting the king's adherents, encouraged them to proceed to the election of a regent, and even ventured to point out the earl of Lennox, as the person who had the best title. That honour was accordingly conferred upon him, in a convention of the whole party, held on the twelfth of July<sup>g</sup>.

The regent's first care was, to prevent the meeting of the parliament, which the queen's party had summoned to convene at Linlithgow. Having effected that, he marched against the earl of Huntly, Mary's lieutenant in the north, and forced the garrison which he had placed in Brechin to surrender at discretion. Soon after, he made himself master of some other castles. Emboldened by this successful beginning of his administration, as well as by the appearance of a considerable army, with which the earl of Sussex hovered on the borders, he deprived Maitland of his office of secretary, and proclaimed him, the duke, Huntly, and other leaders of the queen's party, traitors and enemies of their country<sup>h</sup>.

In this desperate situation of their affairs, the queen's adherents had recourse to the king of Spain<sup>i</sup>, with whom Mary had held a close correspondence ever since her confinement in England. They prevailed on the duke of Alva to send two of his officers to take a

1570.

Lennox  
elected  
regent.

Mary's ad-  
herents ne-  
gotiate with  
Spain.

<sup>g</sup> Spotsw. 240. Cald. ii. 186. See Appendix, No. XXXV.

<sup>h</sup> Crawf. Mem. 159. Cald. ii. 198.

<sup>i</sup> See Appendix, No. XXXVI.

1570.

Elizabeth  
proposes a  
treaty of  
accommo-  
dation be-  
tween Mary  
and her  
subjects.

view of the country, and to examine its coasts and harbours; and obtained from them a small supply of money and arms, which were sent to the earl of Huntly<sup>k</sup>. But this aid, so disproportionate to their exigencies, would have availed them little. They were indebted for their safety to a treaty, which Elizabeth was carrying on, under colour of restoring the captive queen to her throne. The first steps in this negotiation had been taken in the month of May; but hitherto little progress was made in it. The peace concluded between the Roman catholics and hugonots in France, and her apprehensions that Charles would interpose with vigour in behalf of his sister-in-law, quickened Elizabeth's motions. She affected to treat her prisoner with more indulgence, she listened more graciously to the solicitations of foreign ambassadors in her favour, and seemed fully determined to replace her on the throne of her ancestors. As a proof of her sincerity, she laboured to procure a cessation of arms between the two contending factions in Scotland. Lennox, elated with the good fortune which had hitherto attended his administration, and flattering himself with an easy triumph over enemies whose estates were wasted, and their forces dispirited, refused for some time to come into this measure. It was not safe for him, however, 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<sup>l</sup>.

Soon after, Elizabeth despatched Cecil and sir Walter Mildmay to the queen of Scots. The dignity of these ambassadors, the former her prime minister, the latter chancellor of the exchequer, and one of her ablest counsellors, convinced all parties that the negotiation was serious, and the hour of Mary's liberty was

<sup>k</sup> Anders. iii. 122. Crawf. Mem. 153.

<sup>l</sup> Spotsw. 243.

1570.

now approaching. 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 renouncing any pretensions to the English crown, during Elizabeth's own life, or that of her posterity; the adhering to the alliance between the two kingdoms; the pardoning her subjects who had taken arms against her; and her promising to hold no correspondence, and to countenance no enterprise, that might disturb Elizabeth's government; were among the chief articles. By way of security for the accomplishment of these, they demanded, that some persons of rank should be given as hostages, that the prince, her son, should reside in England, and that a few castles on the border should be put into Elizabeth's hands. To some of these propositions Mary consented; some she endeavoured to mitigate; and others she attempted to evade. In the mean time, she transmitted copies of them to the pope, to the kings of France and Spain, and to the duke of Alva. She insinuated, that without some timely and vigorous interposition in her behalf, she would be obliged to accept of these hard conditions, and to purchase liberty at any price. But the pope was a distant and feeble ally, and by his great efforts at this time against the Turks, his treasury was entirely exhausted. Charles had already begun to meditate that conspiracy against the hugonots, which marks his reign with such infamy; and it required much leisure, and perfect tranquillity, to bring that execrable plan to maturity. Philip was employed in fitting out that fleet which acquired so much renown to the christian arms, by the victory over the infidels at Lepanto; the Moors in Spain threatened an insurrection; and his subjects in the Netherlands, provoked by much oppression and many indignities, were breaking out into open rebellion. All of them, for these different reasons, advised Mary, without depending on their aid,

1570. to conclude the treaty on the best terms she could procure<sup>m</sup>.

Elizabeth's  
artifices in  
the conduct  
of it.

Mary accordingly consented to many of Elizabeth's demands, and discovered a facility of disposition which promised still further concessions. But no concession she could have made would have satisfied Elizabeth, who, in spite of her repeated professions of sincerity to foreign ambassadors, and notwithstanding the solemnity with which she carried on the treaty, had no other object in it than to amuse Mary's allies, and to gain time<sup>n</sup>. After having so long treated a queen, who fled to her for refuge, in so ungenerous a manner, she could not now dismiss her with safety. Under all the disadvantages of a rigorous confinement, Mary had found means to excite commotions in England, which were extremely formidable. What desperate effects of her just resentment might be expected, if she were set at liberty, and recovered her former power? What engagements could bind her not to revenge the wrongs which she had suffered, nor to take advantage of the favourable conjunctures that might present themselves? Was it possible for her to give such security for her behaviour, in times to come, as might remove all suspicions and fears? And was there not good cause to conclude, that no future benefits could ever obliterate the memory of past injuries? It was thus Elizabeth reasoned; though she continued to act as if her views had been entirely different. She appointed seven of her privy counsellors to be commissioners for settling the articles of the treaty; and, as Mary had already named the bishops of Ross and Galloway, and lord Livingston, for her ambassadors, she required the regent to empower proper persons to appear in behalf of the king. The earl of Morton, Pitcairn, abbot of Dunfermling, and sir James Macgill, were the persons chosen by the regent. They prepared for their jour-

1571.

<sup>m</sup> Anders. vol. iii. 119, 120.

<sup>n</sup> Digges, Compl. Amb. 78.

ney as slowly as Elizabeth herself could have wished. 1571.  
At length they arrived at London, and met the com- Feb. 19.  
missioners of the two queens. Mary's ambassadors discovered the strongest inclination to comply with every thing that would remove the obstacles which stood in the way of their mistress's liberty. But when Morton and his associates were called upon to vindicate their conduct, and to explain the sentiments of their party, they began, in justification of their treatment of the queen, to advance such maxims concerning the limited powers of princes, and the natural right of subjects to resist and to control them, as were extremely shocking to Elizabeth, whose notions of regal prerogative, as has been formerly observed, were very exalted. With regard to the authority which the king now possessed, they declared they neither had, nor could possibly receive, instructions to consent to any treaty that tended to subvert, or even to impair it in the least degree<sup>o</sup>. Nothing could be more trifling and ridiculous than such a reply from the commissioners of the king of Scots to the queen of England. His party depended absolutely on her protection; it was by persons devoted to her he had been seated on the throne, and to her power he owed the continuance of his reign. With the utmost ease she could have brought them to hold very different language; and whatever conditions she might have thought fit to subscribe, they would have had no other choice but to submit. This declaration, however, she affected to consider as an insuperable difficulty; and finding that there was no reason to dread any danger from the French king, who had not discovered that eagerness in support of Mary, which was expected; the reply made by Morton furnished her with a pretence for putting a stop to the negotiation, until the regent should send ambassadors with March 24.  
more ample powers. Thus, after being amused for ten

It proves  
fruitless.

<sup>o</sup> Cald. ii. 234. Digges, 51. Haynes, 523, 524.



1571. months with the hopes of liberty, the unhappy queen of Scots remained under stricter custody than ever, and without any prospect of escaping from it; while those subjects who still adhered to her were exposed without ally or protector, to the rage of enemies, whom their success in this negotiation rendered still more insolent<sup>p</sup>.

Dunbarton  
castle sur-  
prised by  
the regent.

On the day after the expiration of the truce, which had been observed with little exactness on either side, captain Crawford of Jordan-hill, a gallant and enterprising officer, performed a service of great importance to the regent, by surprising the castle of Dunbarton. This was the only fortified place in the kingdom, of which the queen had kept possession ever since the commencement of the civil wars. Its situation, on the top of an high and almost inaccessible rock, which rises in the middle of a plain, rendered it extremely strong, and, in the opinion of that age, impregnable: as it commanded the river Clyde, it was of great consequence, and was deemed the most proper place in the kingdom for landing any foreign troops that might come to Mary's aid. The strength of the place rendered lord Fleming, the governor, more secure than he ought to have been, considering its importance. A soldier who had served in the garrison, and had been disgusted by some ill usage, proposed the scheme to the regent, endeavoured to demonstrate that it was practicable, and offered himself to go the foremost man on the enterprise. It was thought prudent to risk any danger for so great a prize. Scaling ladders, and whatever else might be necessary, were prepared with the utmost secrecy and despatch. All the avenues to the castle were seized, that no intelligence of the design might reach the governor. Towards evening Crawford marched from Glasgow with a small but determined band. By midnight they arrived at the bottom of the rock. The moon was set, and the sky, which had

hitherto been extremely clear, was covered with a thick fog. It was where the rock was highest that the assailants made their attempt, because in that place there were few sentinels, and they hoped to find them least alert. The first ladder was scarcely fixed, when the weight and eagerness of those who mounted brought it to the ground. None of the assailants were hurt by the fall, and none of the garrison alarmed at the noise. Their guide and Crawford scrambled up the rock, and fastened the ladder to the roots of a tree which grew in a cleft. This place they all reached with the utmost difficulty, but were still at a great distance from the foot of the wall. Their ladder was made fast a second time; but in the middle of the ascent they met with an unforeseen difficulty. One of their companions was seized with some sudden fit, and clung, seemingly without life, to the ladder. All were at a stand. It was impossible to pass him. To tumble him headlong was cruel; and might occasion a discovery. But Crawford's presence of mind did not forsake him. He ordered the soldier to be bound fast to the ladder, that he might not fall when the fit was over; and turning the other side of the ladder, they mounted with ease over his belly. Day now began to break, and there still remained a high wall to scale; but after surmounting so many great difficulties, this was soon accomplished. A sentry observed the first man who appeared on the parapet, and had just time to give the alarm, before he was knocked on the head. The officers and soldiers of the garrison ran out naked, unarmed, and more solicitous about their own safety, than capable of making resistance. The assailants rushed forwards, with repeated shouts and with the utmost fury; took possession of the magazine; seized the cannon, and turned them against their enemies. Lord Fleming got into a small boat, and fled all alone into Argyllshire. Crawford, in reward of his valour and good conduct, remained master of the castle; and, as he did not lose

1571.

<sup>p</sup> Anders. iii. 91, etc.

1571. a single man in the enterprise, he enjoyed his success with unmixed pleasure. Lady Fleming, Verac, the French envoy, and Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, were the prisoners of greatest distinction<sup>q</sup>.

Archbishop of St. Andrew's put to death by him.

Verac's character protected him from the usage which he merited by his activity in stirring up enemies against the king. The regent treated the lady with great politeness and humanity. But a very different fate awaited the archbishop; he was carried under a strong guard to Stirling; and, as he had formerly been attainted by act of parliament, he was, without any formal trial, condemned to be hanged; and on the fourth day after he was taken, the sentence was executed. An attempt was made to convict him of being accessory to the murder both of the king and regent, but these accusations were supported by no proof. Our historians observe, that he was the first bishop in Scotland who died by the hands of the executioner. The high offices he had enjoyed, both in church and state, ought to have exempted him from a punishment inflicted only on the lowest criminals. But his zeal for the queen, his abilities, and his profession, rendered him odious and formidable to the king's adherents. Lennox hated him, as the person by whose counsels the reputation and power of the house of Hamilton were supported. Party rage and personal enmity dictated that indecent sentence, for which some colour was sought by imputing to him such odious crimes<sup>r</sup>.

Kirkaldy defends the castle of Edinburgh in the queen's name.

The loss of Dunbarton, and the severe treatment of the archbishop, perplexed no less than they enraged the queen's party; and hostilities were renewed with all the fierceness which disappointment and indignation can inspire. Kirkaldy, who, during the truce, had taken care to increase the number of his garrison, and to provide every thing necessary for his defence, issued a proclamation declaring Lennox's authority to be un-

<sup>q</sup> Buchan. 394.

<sup>r</sup> Spotswood, 252.

lawful and usurped; commanded all who favoured his cause to leave the town within six hours; seized the arms belonging to the citizens; planted a battery on the steeple of St. Giles's, repaired the walls, and fortified the gates of the city; and, though the affections of the inhabitants leaned a different way, held out the metropolis against the regent. The duke, Huntly, Home, Herries, and other chiefs of that faction, repaired to Edinburgh with their followers; and, having received a small sum of money and some ammunition from France, formed no contemptible army within the walls. On the other side, Morton seized Leith and fortified it; and the regent joined him with a considerable body of men. While the armies lay so near each other, daily skirmishes happened, and with various success. The queen's party was not strong enough to take the field against the regent, nor was his superiority so great as to undertake the siege of the castle or of the town<sup>s</sup>.

Some time before Edinburgh fell into the hands of his enemies, the regent had summoned a parliament to meet in that place. In order to prevent any objection against the lawfulness of the meeting, the members obeyed the proclamation as exactly as possible, and assembled in a house at the head of the Cannongate, which, though without the walls, lies within the liberties of the city. Kirkaldy exerted himself to the utmost to interrupt their meeting; but they were so strongly guarded, that all efforts were vain. They passed an act attainting Maitland and a few others, and then adjourned to the twenty-eighth of August<sup>t</sup>.

The other party, in order that their proceedings might be countenanced by the same show of legal authority, held a meeting of parliament soon after. There was produced in this assembly a declaration by the queen of the invalidity of that deed whereby she

1571.

<sup>s</sup> Cald. ii. 233, etc.

<sup>t</sup> Crawf. Mem. 177.

1571. had resigned the crown, and consented to the coronation of her son. Conformable to this declaration, an act was passed pronouncing the resignation to have been extorted by fear; to be null in itself, and in all its consequences; and enjoining all good subjects to acknowledge the queen alone to be their lawful sovereign, and to support those who acted in her name. The present establishment of the protestant religion was confirmed by another statute; and, in imitation of the adverse party, a new meeting was appointed on the twenty-sixth of August <sup>u</sup>.

Miserable  
condition of  
the king-  
dom.

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 every county, and almost in every town and village, 'king's men' and 'queen's men' were names of distinction. Political hatred dissolved all natural ties, and extinguished the reciprocal good-will and confidence which hold mankind together in society. Religious zeal mingled itself with these civil distinctions, and contributed not a little to heighten and to inflame them.

State of  
factions.

The factions which divided the kingdom were, in appearance, only two; but in both these there were persons with views and principles so different from each other, that they ought to be distinguished. With some, considerations of religion were predominant, and they either adhered to the queen, because they hoped by her means to reestablish popery, or they defended the king's authority, as the best support of the protestant faith. Among these the opposition was violent and irreconcilable. Others were influenced by political motives only, or allured by views of interest: the regent aimed at uniting these, and did not despair of gaining, by gentle arts, many of Mary's adherents to acknowledge the king's authority. Maitland and Kirk-

<sup>u</sup> Crawf. Mem. 177.

aldy had formed the same design of a coalition, but on such terms that the queen might be restored to some share in the government, and the kingdom shake off its dependence upon England. Morton, the ablest, the most ambitious, and the most powerful man of the king's party, held a particular course; and, moving only as he was prompted by the court of England, thwarted every measure that tended towards a reconciliation of the factions; and as he served Elizabeth with much fidelity, he derived both power and credit from her avowed protection.

The time appointed by both parties for the meeting of their parliaments now approached. Only three peers and two bishops appeared in that which was held in the queen's name at Edinburgh. But, contemptible as their numbers were, they passed an act for attainting upwards of two hundred of the adverse faction. The meeting at Stirling was numerous and splendid. The regent had prevailed on the earls of Argyll, Eglinton, Cassils, and lord Boyd, to acknowledge the king's authority. The three earls were among the most powerful noblemen in the kingdom, and had hitherto been zealous in the queen's cause. Lord Boyd had been one of Mary's commissioners at York and Westminster, and since that time had been admitted into all her most secret councils. But, during that turbulent period, the conduct of individuals, as well as the principles of factions, varied so often, that the sense of honour, a chief preservative of consistence in character, was entirely lost; and, without any regard to decorum, men suddenly abandoned one party, and adopted all the violent passions of the other. The defection, however, of so many persons of distinction not only weakened the queen's party, but added reputation to her adversaries.

After the example of the parliament at Edinburgh, that at Stirling began with framing acts against the opposite faction. But in the midst of all the security,

1571.

The king's  
party sur-  
prised in  
Stirling.

1571. which confidence in their own numbers or distance  
 Sept. 3. from danger could inspire, they were awakened early  
 in the morning of September the third, by the shouts  
 of the enemy in the heart of the town. In a moment  
 the houses of every person of distinction were sur-  
 rounded, and before they knew what to think of so  
 strange an event, the regent, the earls of Argyll, Mor-  
 ton, Glencairn, Cassils, Eglinton, Montrose, Buchan,  
 the lords Sempil, Cathcart, Ogilvie, were all made pri-  
 soners, and mounted behind troopers, who were ready  
 to carry them to Edinburgh. Kirkaldy was the author  
 of this daring enterprise; and if he had not been in-  
 duced, by the ill-timed solicitude of his friends about  
 his safety, not to hazard his own person in conducting  
 it, that day might have terminated the contest between  
 the two factions, and have restored peace to his coun-  
 try. By his direction four hundred men, under the  
 command of Huntly, lord Claud Hamilton, and Scott  
 of Buccleugh, set out from Edinburgh, and, the better  
 to conceal their design, marched towards the south.  
 But they soon wheeled to the right, and, horses hav-  
 ing been provided for the infantry, rode straight to  
 Stirling. By four in the morning they arrived there;  
 not one sentry was posted on the walls, not a single  
 man was awake about the place. They met with no  
 resistance from any person whom they attempted to  
 seize, except Morton. He defending his house with  
 obstinate valour, they were obliged to set it on fire,  
 and he did not surrender till forced out of it by the  
 flames. In performing this, some time was consumed;  
 and the private men, unaccustomed to regular disci-  
 pline, left their colours, and began to rifle the houses  
 and shops of the citizens. The noise and uproar in  
 the town reached the castle. The earl of Mar sallied  
 out with thirty soldiers, fired briskly upon the enemy,  
 of whom almost none but the officers kept together in  
 a body. The townsmen took arms to assist their go-  
 vernor; a sudden panic struck the assailants; some fled,

some surrendered themselves to their own prisoners; 1571.  
 and had not the borderers, who followed Scott, pre-  
 vented a pursuit, by carrying off all the horses within  
 the place, not a man would have escaped. If the re-  
 gent had not unfortunately been killed, the loss on The regent  
 the king's side would have been as inconsiderable as killed.  
 the alarm was great. 'Think on the archbishop of St.  
 Andrew's,' was the word among the queen's soldiers;  
 and Lennox fell a sacrifice to his memory. The officer  
 to whom he surrendered, endeavouring to protect him,  
 lost his own life in his defence. He was slain, accord-  
 ing to the general opinion, by command of lord Claud  
 Hamilton. Kirkaldy had the glory of concerting this  
 plan with great secrecy and prudence; but Morton's  
 fortunate obstinacy, and the want of discipline among  
 his troops, deprived him of success, the only thing  
 wanting to render this equal to the most applauded  
 military enterprises of the kind \*.

As so many of the nobles were assembled, they pro-  
 ceeded without delay to the election of a regent. Ar-  
 gyll, Morton, and Mar, were candidates for the office.  
 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 mode-  
 ration, his humanity, and his disinterestedness. As his  
 power was far inferior to Argyll's, and his abilities not  
 so great as Morton's, he was, for these reasons, less  
 formidable to the other nobles. His merit, too, in  
 having so lately rescued the leaders of the party from  
 imminent destruction, contributed not a little to his  
 preferment.

While these things were carrying on in Scotland, Proceedings  
 the transactions in England were no less interesting to in England  
 Mary, and still more fatal to her cause. The parlia- against  
 ment of that kingdom, which met in April, passed an Mary.  
 act, by which it was declared to be high treason to

\* Melv. 226. Crawf. Mem. 204.

1571. claim any right to the crown during the life of the queen; to affirm that the title of any other person was better than hers, or to maintain that the parliament had not power to settle and to limit the order of succession. This remarkable statute was intended not only for the security of their own sovereign, but to curb the restless and intriguing spirit of the Scottish queen and her adherents<sup>y</sup>.

Marriage negotiated between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou.

At this time a treaty of marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou, the French king's brother, was well advanced. Both courts seemed to desire it with equal ardour, and gave out, with the utmost confidence, that it could not fail of taking place. Neither of them, however, wished it success; and they encouraged it for no other end, but because it served to cover or to promote their particular designs. The whole policy of Catherine of Medicis was bent towards the accomplishment of her detestable project for the destruction of the hugonot chiefs; and by carrying on a negotiation for the marriage of her son with a princess who was justly esteemed the protectress of that party, by yielding some things in point of religion, and by discovering an indifference with regard to others, she hoped to amuse all the protestants in Europe, and to lull asleep the jealousy even of the hugonots themselves. Elizabeth flattered herself with reaping advantages of another kind. During the dependence of the negotiation, the French could not with decency give any open assistance to the Scottish queen; if they conceived any hopes of success in the treaty of marriage, they would of course interest themselves but coldly in her concerns: Mary herself must be dejected at losing an ally, whom she had hitherto reckoned her most powerful protector; and, by interrupting her correspondence with France, one source, at least, of the cabals and intrigues which disturbed the kingdom would be stopped.

<sup>y</sup> Camd. 436.

Both queens succeeded in their schemes. Catherine's artifices imposed upon Elizabeth, and blinded the hugonots. The French discovered the utmost indifference about the interest of the Scottish queen; and Mary, considering that court as already united with her rival, turned for protection with more eagerness than ever towards the king of Spain<sup>z</sup>. Philip, whose dark and thoughtful mind delighted in the mystery of intrigue, had held a secret correspondence with Mary for some time, by means of the bishop of Ross, and had supplied both herself and her adherents in Scotland with small sums of money. Ridolphi, a Florentine gentleman, who resided at London under the character of a banker, and who acted privately as an agent for the pope, was the person whom the bishop intrusted with this negotiation. Mary thought it necessary likewise to communicate the secret to the duke of Norfolk, whom Elizabeth had lately restored to liberty, upon his solemn promise to have no further intercourse with the queen of Scots. This promise, however, he regarded so little, that he continued to keep a constant correspondence with the captive queen; while she laboured to nourish his ambitious hopes, and to strengthen his amorous attachment by letters written in the fondest caressing strain. Some of these he must have received at the very time when he made that solemn promise of holding no further intercourse with her, in consequence of which Elizabeth restored him to liberty. Mary, still considering him as her future husband, took no step in any matter of moment without his advice. She early communicated to him her negotiations with Ridolphi; and in a long letter, which she wrote to him in ciphers<sup>a</sup>, after complaining of the baseness with which the French court had abandoned her interest, she declared her in-

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Norfolk's conspiracy in favour of Mary.

<sup>z</sup> Digges, 144. 148. Camd. 434.

<sup>a</sup> Haynes, 597, 598. Hardw. State Papers, i. 190, etc. Digges's Comp. Ambas. 147.

1571. tention of imploring the assistance of the Spanish monarch, which was now her only resource; and recommended Ridolphi to his confidence, as a person capable both of explaining and advancing the scheme. The duke commanded Hickford, his secretary, to decipher, and then to burn this letter; but, whether he had been already gained by the court, or resolved at that time to betray his master, he disobeyed the latter part of the order, and hid the letter, together with other treasonable papers, under the duke's own bed.

Ridolphi, in a conference with Norfolk, omitted none of those arguments, and spared none of those promises, which are the usual incentives to rebellion. The pope, he told him, had a great sum in readiness to bestow in so good a cause. The duke of Alva had undertaken to land ten thousand men not far from London. The catholics, to a man, would rise in arms. Many of the nobles were ripe for a revolt, and wanted only a leader. Half their nation had turned their eyes towards him, and called on him to revenge the unmerited injuries which he himself had suffered; and to rescue an unfortunate queen, who offered him her hand and her crown, as the reward of his success. Norfolk approved of the design, and, though he refused to give Ridolphi any letter of credit, allowed him to use his name in negotiating with the pope and Alva<sup>b</sup>. The bishop of Ross, who, from the violence of his temper, and impatience to procure relief for his mistress, was apt to run into rash and desperate designs, advised the duke to assemble secretly a few of his followers, and at once to seize Elizabeth's person. But this the duke rejected as a scheme equally wild and hazardous. Meanwhile, the English court had received some imperfect information of the plot, by intercepting one of Ridolphi's agents; and an accident happened, which brought to light all the circumstances of it. The duke had employed

discovered  
by Elizabeth.  
August.

<sup>b</sup> Anders. iii. 161.

Hickford to transmit to lord Herries some money, which was to be distributed among Mary's friends in Scotland. A person not in the secret was intrusted with conveying it to the borders; and he, suspecting it from the weight to be gold, whereas he had been told that it was silver, carried it directly to the privy council. The duke, his domestics, and all who were privy, or could be suspected of being privy to the design, were taken into custody. Never did the accomplices in a conspiracy discover less firmness, or servants betray an indulgent master with greater baseness. Every one <sup>Sept. 7.</sup> confessed the whole of what he knew. Hickford gave directions how to find the papers which he had hidden. The duke himself, relying at first on the fidelity of his associates, and believing all dangerous papers to have been destroyed, confidently asserted his own innocence; but when their depositions and the papers themselves were produced, astonished at their treachery, he acknowledged his guilt, and implored the queen's mercy. His offence was too heinous, and too often repeated, to obtain pardon; and Elizabeth thought it necessary to deter her subjects, by his punishment, from holding correspondence with the queen of Scots or her emissaries. Being tried by his peers, he was found guilty of high treason, and, after several delays, suffered death for the crime<sup>c</sup>.

The discovery of this conspiracy produced many effects extremely detrimental to Mary's interest. The bishop of Ross, who appeared, by the confession of all concerned, to be the prime mover in every cabal against Elizabeth, was taken into custody, his papers searched, himself committed to the Tower, treated with the utmost rigour, threatened with capital punishment, and, after a long confinement, set at liberty, on condition that he should leave the kingdom. Mary was not only deprived of a servant, equally eminent for his zeal and his abili-

<sup>c</sup> Anders. iii. 149. State Trials, 185.

1571. ties, but was denied from that time the privilege of having an ambassador at the English court. The Spanish ambassador, whom the power and dignity of the prince he represented exempted from such insults as Ross had suffered, was commanded to leave England<sup>d</sup>. As there was now the clearest evidence that Mary, from resentment of the wrongs she had suffered, and impatience of the captivity in which she was held, would not scruple to engage in the most hostile and desperate enterprises against the established government and religion, she began to be regarded as a public enemy, and was kept under a stricter guard than formerly; the number of her domestics was abridged, and no person permitted to see her, but in presence of her keepers<sup>e</sup>.

Elizabeth declares openly against the queen's party. Oct. 23.

At the same time, Elizabeth, foreseeing the storm which was gathering on the continent against her kingdom, began to wish that tranquillity were restored in Scotland; and, irritated by Mary's late attempt against her government, she determined to act, without disguise or ambiguity, in favour of the king's party. This resolution she intimated to the leaders of both factions. Mary, she told them, had held such a criminal correspondence with her avowed enemies, and had excited such dangerous conspiracies both against her crown and her life, that she would henceforth consider her as unworthy of protection, and would never consent to restore her to liberty, far less to replace her on her throne. She exhorted them, therefore, to unite in acknowledging the king's authority. She promised to procure, by her mediation, equitable terms for those who had hitherto opposed it. But if they still continued refractory, she threatened to employ her utmost power to compel them to submit<sup>f</sup>. Though this declaration did not produce an immediate effect; though

<sup>d</sup> Digges, 163.

<sup>f</sup> See Appendix, No. XXXVII.

<sup>e</sup> Strype, Ann. ii. 50.

hostilities continued in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh; though Huntly's brother, sir Adam Gordon, by his bravery and good conduct, had routed the king's adherents in the north in many encounters; yet, such an explicit discovery of Elizabeth's sentiments contributed not a little to animate one party, and to depress the spirit and hopes of the other<sup>g</sup>.

As Morton, who commanded the regent's forces, lay at Leith, and Kirkaldy still held out the town and castle of Edinburgh, scarce a day passed without a skirmish; and while both avoided any decisive action, they harassed each other by attacking small parties, beating up quarters, and intercepting convoys. These operations, though little memorable in themselves, kept the passions of both factions in perpetual exercise and agitation, and wrought them up, at last, to a degree of fury, which rendered them regardless not only of the laws of war, but of the principles of humanity. Nor was it in the field alone, and during the heat of combat, that this implacable rage appeared; both parties hanged the prisoners which they took, of whatever rank or quality, without mercy and without trial. Great numbers suffered in this shocking manner; the unhappy victims were led by fifties at a time to execution; and it was not till both sides had smarted severely that they discontinued this barbarous practice, so reproachful to the character of the nation<sup>h</sup>. Meanwhile, those in the town and castle, though they had received a supply of money from the duke of Alva<sup>i</sup>, began to suffer for want of provisions. As Morton had destroyed all the mills in the neighbourhood of the city, and had planted small garrisons in all the houses of strength around it, scarcity daily increased. At last all the miseries of famine were felt, and they must have been soon reduced to such extremities, as would have forced

1571.

1572.  
Hostilities carried on between them.

<sup>g</sup> Cald. ii. 289. 294. Strype, ii. 76.

<sup>h</sup> Crawford. Mem. 218. 220.

<sup>i</sup> Cald. ii. 345.