

124.G.31 R Y
QUEEN OF SCOTS

268
VINDICATED.

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AND

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

214
VOL. I.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR J. MURRAY, N° 32, FLEET-STREET;
AND W. CREECH, EDINBURGH.

1788.

College of Fort William



P R E F A C E.

TH E eight letters, twelve sonnets, and two marriage-contracts, which either in their subscriptions, in their composition, or in both, have been attributed to the pen of the unfortunate Mary, and on which principally is founded all the slander that has been raised against her, have been as singular in their fortune as they are in their nature. Suspected for forgeries by numbers, at the time of their original appearance; and condemned equally by numbers, for certain forgeries; they gained by degrees upon the good opinion of the public, till they nearly came at last into the full possession of it. In this kind of pre-eminence they continued to our own days. They carried a commanding boldness in their air and manner. And nothing imposes more readily upon the easy faith of the world, than the bold testimony of a confident witness.

The most important of these papers, the letters, had however been very strongly encountered at first by a *Defence of Mary's Honour*, which was published by her worthy adherent, Lesley, bishop of Ross, and which was at once lively, convincing, and pointed. But this was instantly suppressed by the violence of Queen Elizabeth. No vindication of Mary was suffered to appear. Many were published on the continent; yet none of them durst venture upon English ground. And at the same time the *Detection of Mary's Doings* by Buchanan, that daring effort of fabricated calumny, in which the principal of the two contracts, all the sonnets, and all the letters were originally published, received every recommendation that could be lent it by authority. It was presented in form to Elizabeth herself. It was circulated with industry by her ministers. In that period of our government, such artifices of tyranny would carry a peculiar efficacy with them. They could not fail of success. The reputation of Mary was assaulted on every side, in vigorous and artful appeals to the public. She was debarred from all counter appeals in her own defence. From the malicious partiality

of mankind to slander, the energy of a vindication is no ways equal to the force of an accusation. What then must be the force of the one, when the other is not permitted to accompany it; when this is suppressed, and that is supported, by all the exertions of authority in the government, and by all the habits of obedience in the people? The consequence was very natural. The sonnets, contracts, and letters were received as authentic testimonies of Mary's guilt. The opinion of the public became fixed upon the point. And a slander, that has once got possession of the general faith, is the most difficult of all prejudices to be removed.

But in 1754 a wonderful revolution began to take place in the history of these established evidences. Mr. Goodall, keeper of the Advocate's library at Edinburgh, stepped forward, with a courage that seemed to border upon rashness, in order to prove them mere forgeries, and to disabuse the deceived public. He was a man very conversant with records. He was, therefore, in the habit of referring assertions to authorities. He was also actuated perhaps by a spirit of party, as a party had been then formed in the nation

concerning the point. Something more vigorous than the abstracted love of truth, is generally requisite to every arduous undertaking. But, whatever were his motives, his enterprize was honourable, and his execution powerful. He entered into an examination of the papers with considerable spirit. He went through it with considerable address. He even proved the letters to be forgeries in so clear a manner, that one is astonished it had^d never been done before. *This* shews, indeed, the little attention which had been paid to the subject, in care to substantiate, or in zeal to destroy, the fundamental credit of the whole. And *that* forms one of those grand discoveries, which must necessarily be very rare in the history of any nation, and therefore reflect a peculiar honour upon the individual who makes them.

Yet such was the factious credulity then prevailing generally in the island, that this work, one of the most original and convincing which ever were published, made its way very slowly among us. Even some of our first-rate writers presumed to set themselves against it. Dr. Robertson, a disciple of the old school of slander, wrote a formal dissertation

sertation in opposition to it. Even Mr. Hume, who in *history* had learned to think more liberally than the Doctor, in some incidental notes to his History of England still professed, and defended, his adherence to the ancient error. And the nation stood suspended between the authority of great names, and the prejudices of "the million," upon one side; and a new name, new arguments, and demonstration, on the other. Then Mr. Tytler arose. He generally took the same ground which Mr. Goodall had taken before him. He generally made use of his weapons. He brightened up some. He strengthened others. With both and with his own, he drove the enemy out of the field. Dr. Robertson quitted it directly. Mr. Hume rallied, after a long interval of eleven or twelve years. He rallied with a seeming ferocity of spirit, and with a real imbecillity of exertion. He, who never replied to an adversary before, now replied to Mr. Tytler in a note to a new edition of his history. He laid himself out there, in reproaches against Mr. Tytler, and in vindications of himself. But he touched upon the cause of Mary, in a single point only. And

his efforts of proving in all were slight in their aim, and feeble in their operation. Mr. Tytler, however, very properly advanced upon him again, in a postscript to a new edition of his own work. And Mr. Hume retired finally with Dr. Robertson. Mr. Tytler deservedly gained great honour by the contest. His work is candid, argumentative, acute, and ingenious. Only his success seems to have injured his master's reputation. The glory was in no small measure Mr. Goodall's own. Yet such is the capriciousness of fame conferred by men, that the laurels are still shading the brow of Mr. Tytler, while the original proprietor is almost forgotten. It is a justice due to the memories of illustrious masters, not to let their names be lost in the succeeding splendour of their scholars, when a large share of that splendour is derived from the masters themselves.

In this state of the controversy, the nation continued for many years. The new truths were gradually gaining ground. None opposed them. Numbers embraced them. And at last, in the natural progress of conviction, Dr. Stuart appeared about four years ago, with

with a regular history of Mary's reign, modelled upon the authority of records, and therefore vindicating the character of the Queen. He even challenged Dr. Robertson, as the preceding historian of her reign, to leave the retreat which he had kept so long, to come forward from his covert at last, and either justify or retract his slanders against her. This was fair, bold, and manly. It was in the true spirit of historical gallantry, advancing to the rescue of an oppressed Queen. But the Doctor was too prudent to accept the challenge. He had gained his first honours in historical composition, from that very history. These indeed had withered on his head. But he might lose them entirely, in attempting to freshen them. The nation was no longer in that high state of faction, in which it stood when he published first. And to retract what he had said, could not be expected from that measure of generosity, which ordinarily falls to the share of man.

It was the perusal of Dr. Stuart's spirited and judicious History in the second edition of it, that put me upon examining the evidences on which the whole is founded. I had formerly read the controversy, just as thou-

sands must necessarily have read it, with a transient attention to the cited records, and with a full conviction on the side of Mary. But I now resolved to go deeper. The result was, that I quickly saw some particulars concerning the letters, sonnets, and contracts, as I thought, which had not yet been opened with sufficient clearness, which had not yet been pressed with sufficient vigour, or had been totally overlooked hitherto. These would serve, I saw, to vindicate more fully the character of a Queen, to whom the nation owes so much in reparation, for two centuries of unremitted obloquy. And these have been so successively continued from point to point since, that they have at last, I find, embraced the whole history and evidence of the writings within their ample circle.

Yet in justice to my own candour I ought to acknowledge, that, in doing this, I have found myself compelled at times to avoid the ground, which the preceding champions for Mary have generally occupied. From a prudential regard for myself, I have been careful not to take any that was untenable. From a more dignified respect for facts, I have

have been upon my guard against that generosity of compassion for a highly injured woman, which is so apt to steal over the spirits, and to impose upon the judgment, of an honest man. And, while I profess myself a warm friend to Mary, I wish to be considered as a much warmer one to the truth of history in writing, and to the exercise of integrity in life.

XL.G.26

M A R Y

QUEEN OF SCOTS

V I N D I C A T E D.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1.

FROM that wonderful event in the human history, which reason could never discover, and revelation was forced to disclose ; but which now appears so obvious to the former, that she wonders at her own want of assistance from the latter ; a sharp edge of ill-will has been set upon the mind of man. This shews itself strongly in those minute differences and petty dissensions, which are perpetually teasing the bosom of domestic happiness. But it shews itself more apparently to the general eye, in those noisier quarrels, that are continually assailing the interest of kingdoms without, are destroying the peace of them within, and filling the page of history with revolutions.

Such

Such an evil tendency as this in the human heart was sure to display itself very openly in that grand revolution of our own island, which, with a just triumph of spirit, we call THE REFORMATION. It would naturally have come forward in a merely civil dissension, in a struggle for power, in a contest for liberty, or in a dispute about modes of government; in any of those oppositions of sentiment and collisions of action, which have so frequently agitated our country. But it was sure to come forward with a larger portion of vehemence, in such a contention as that. There religion united with polity, and the highest interests of Heaven combined with the dearest concerns of earth, to call out all the passions of the soul, to lend a double force to the good in them, and to give a double vigour to the bad. And, in such a situation, this infused *virus* of the heart would work, and ferment, and discharge itself, with a very extraordinary violence.

It did so, even in *our own* kingdom. But it was still more violent in SCOTLAND. From the graver cast of character perhaps, which seems to have always prevailed among the Scotch; from the greater turbulence of their Nobles certainly; from the lower state of civility among them; and, above all, from the accidental opposition of the crown to the prevailing spirit of the people; it fermented into such disorders, and it discharged itself in such enormities, as the unthinking and the unprincipled are always ready to place to the discredit of religion itself. But religion was
only

only a partial cause. Liberty was an equal one. And those strong seeds of malignity, which now seem to be naturalized to the human soil, were a much more powerful one than either.

The old turbulence of the Scottish Barons, which had previously evaporated in open wars with England, in private hostilities upon the borders, in rebellions against the crown, or in family-feuds amongst themselves, now assumed another form, and now moved in another direction. It appeared all at once in the cause of religion. It was still the same in its predominating spirit, and in its general operations. But it now brandished the sword of Protestantism. And animated as it felt itself by a new principle of power, deriving (as it were) a flame of activity from the very fires of Heaven; it naturally exerted itself with a peculiar energy of violence.

In this state of the Scottish nation, but just as it was beginning to breathe after a hard and desperate struggle, and when it was now hoping to settle gradually into the calm of an effected reformation; their QUEEN appeared among them. The billows were still heaving from the storm. The clouds were still hanging black in the sky. And her appearance excited a fresh tempest in both, that exceeded the former in its violence, overset the constitution for a time, and wrecked the happiness of the Queen for ever.

§ II.

WITH such a sea of commotions, MARY may seem at first view to have been little qualified to contend, either from nature or from education. Young, beautiful, and accomplished, she had already sat upon the throne of France. She there became the center to a large circle. She appeared in it with a propriety that was acknowledged, and with a gracefulness that was applauded, by all. She was the peculiar ornament of one of the politest courts in Europe. But her soul was superior, even to such a state of admiration as this. This had charms to gratify the generality of female minds, to the utmost extent of their wishes. Mary's ambition was of a more exalted kind. She wished to appear as a woman of intellect, and to be considered as a woman of taste. The strength of her talents fitted her well for the one: the high polish which had been given them, calculated her eminently for the other. She therefore shone equally in the drawing-room and in the closet; in the necessary formalities of state, and in the mental intercourses of life. And super-added to all these qualities, she had what is scarcely ever united with them, a native firmness of resolution.

Her youth, her beauty, and her gracefulness, her literature, and her royalty, indeed, may seem to have raised her to an eminence of esteem and applause

applause in France, at which she was not properly scanned; and from which some powers of mind were attributed to her, perhaps, that she never possessed. Nothing so much imposes upon the spirits of the feeling and the refined, as youth, beauty, and gracefulness, united with literary improvements, in a lady. And when these all appear in conjunction upon a throne, they are rated highly beyond their worth, and the world is filled with hyperbolical admirations of them. Yet, with every allowance for the pleasing prejudices of the few in favour of such accomplishments, and with every deduction for the useful partialities of the many to the side of royalty, she was certainly one of the first women of her age. The very courtiers of Elizabeth, in their very addresses to their mistress, at a time too when Mary was just escaped from an imprisonment for months, under the tyranny of her own rebels; and when she had actually suffered the horrible indignity of a RAPE, from a confederacy among them*; even then acknowledged her to have an equal vivacity of mind and body; yet to have that sound and sober wisdom, which is of so much greater consequence in life, and qualified her to be peculiarly a woman

* Let not the reader suspect, that this asserted fact, because it is not dwelt upon with sufficient distinctness by history, has only grown out of the double meaning of the word *ravishing*, which in England means only a rape, but in Scotland is generally employed to signify the seizure of the Queen by the ravisher. The fact is too certain, and I shall insist particularly upon it hereafter.

of business; to possess also a large share of courage; to be actuated by a frank, a pleasant, and a generous spirit; and to be furnished with a free and eloquent address. "We found hyr in "hyr answers," they say, "to have AN ELO-
 "QUENT TONGUE, and a DISCREET HEAD; and
 "it seemeth by hyr doyngs, that she hath
 "STOWTE COURAGE, and LIBERALLE HART,
 "adjoined thereunto." They also in the same moments expressed their apprehension for the consequences, because a number of gentry from all the adjoining counties of England had heard "hyr dayly defences and excuses of her inno-
 "cency, with her great accusations of her
 "enemies, VERY ELOQUENTLY told by her;" and because "a body of hyr AGYLYTIE and
 "SPYRYTE might escaped soone," out of the windows of her English prison.* Accordingly we find Elizabeth's own council at the time to have "feared, lest she, who was, as it were,
 "the very PITH and MARROW of SWEET ELO-
 "QUENCE, might draw many daily to her part."† One of the courtiers likewise adds in another letter thus, concerning the vigorous part of her character. "This lady and princess is a NOT-

* Goodall ii. 71 and 72.

† Camden's Annals 110, translation, edit. 4th 1688. I cite and shall cite the translation of this very valuable work, as I shall also do by Buchanan's Detection, in compliment to the more unlearned reader. But I shall compare the translation with the original every time. And if there is any real variation, I shall take care to note it. In the original, edit. 1st. 1615, the main words are, "Quod quasi Suadae medulla," p. 137.

“ABLE woman,” he says, “she seemeth to regard
 “no ceremonious honor, beside the acknowledg-
 “ing of hir estate royal she sheweth a disposi-
 “tion to SPEYK MOCHE, to be BOLD, to be
 “PLEASANT, and to be VERY FAMILIAR; she
 “sheweth a great desyre to be avenged of hir
 “enemies; she sheweth a readines to EXPONE
 “HIRSELF TO ALL PERRYLLS in hope of vic-
 “tory; she desyreth moche to hear of hardyness
 “and valiancy, commending by name all approv-
 “ed hardy men of hir country, *althogbe they be*
 “*hir enemies*; and she concealeth no cowardness,
 “*evin in hir frends.*”^{*} And her very rebels them-
 selves, in their highest paroxysms of rage and
 calumny against her, when they had usurped
 all her power, and while they were actually
 keeping her person in confinement, could not
 but confess, in the same paper by which they
 resolve to charge her with *adultery* and with
murder, “thay MONY GUDE AND EXCELLENT
 “GIFTS and VIRTUES—quharewith God some-
 “times indowit her.”[†] Such a confession, from
 such men, and in such circumstances, is a
 stronger panegyric in her favour, than all which
 all her admirers in France could speak concern-
 ing her. Yet she appeared much greater still
 from her misfortunes afterward. These called
 out the native vigour of her mind, and the na-
 tive dignity of her spirit, in a very extraordi-
 nary manner. She rose eminently superior to

* Anderson, iv. part i. 71.

† Goodall, ii. 63.

them all. She was a heroine in prison. And, even when she bowed her head under the axe of Elizabeth, she appeared with all the look and lustre of majesty ; while her tyrannical cousin was trembling on her throne of blood.

From that scene of admiration in France, however, she was soon called away by the death of her husband, to her native kingdom in the north. She was now to pass from a situation of elegance and of splendour, to the very reign of incivility and turbulence. There most of her accomplishments would be lost. Elegance of taste was little known, among the Scotch of that period. The graces of literature were little cultivated. Barbarism seems scarcely to have smoothed the natural ruggedness of its brow, among the generality of them. Religion was certainly dictating to all, a petulant rudeness of speech and conduct. And both were pressing hard upon the heels of royalty. She was unhappily, too, of a different opinion from the great body of her subjects, upon that one topic of religion, which now actuated almost every heart, and directed almost every tongue, among them. This was a point, on which honour could never bend, and by which, of all the possible motives in the world, the human mind is most stiffly strung in opposition. Yet Mary had either moderation enough in her spirit, or discretion enough in her understanding, not to attempt any innovation on the prevailing faith of protestantism. She allowed her subjects the full and free exercise of their new religion. She only

only challenged the same indulgence for her own. Even this could scarcely be permitted to her, from the fears or from the scruples of the reformers. They had been long in the habit of encountering the monster of popery. They had, therefore, worked themselves up into a high abhorrence of its nature, and into a lively dread of its power. Their passions were violently inflamed by that. Their imaginations were perpetually haunted by this. And they could not let themselves down to the sober level of reason.*

By this means, the sovereign of a kingdom could hardly be allowed the indulgence, which she allowed to the lowest peasant under her government. She could not use it with the same exemption from disturbances, that he did. She was affronted in her religion. She was insulted in her worship. Those *happy priests*, who (according to a French observation of more sarcasm than propriety) *trample upon the ashes of the Catoes and the Æmilii at Rome*, † under another form, and with an opposite religion, were almost ready to trample upon their Romanized Queen in Scotland. The

* Lethington himself, one of her greatest rebels afterward, writes of her to Cecil himself in November 1562, as “a princess *so gentle and benign*, and whose behaviour hath been *always such towards all her subjects*, and *every one* in particular, *wonder it is*, that *any* could be found so *ungacious as once to think evil against her*” (Keith 232.)

† Les prêtres fortunés foulent d’un pied tranquille
Les tombeaux des Catons et la cendre d’Emile.

authority of the crown seemed too weak to support itself, even against such adversaries. The national rage of reformation had armed them with a power, of which we can have little conception in more settled times. The zeal of religion, which burned in their own bosoms, gave them a boldness, against which the polished civilities of life formed an ineffectual barrier. And the natural immodesty of power, when it has been newly acquired, and especially when it has been just lodged among the lower orders of life, lent them such an addition of effrontery, that the venerable form of majesty itself seemed to shrink up into insignificance before it.*

124 G 31 v 2
Yet this boldness and this effrontery might easily have been repressed. A spirited exertion of authority would soon have done it. Such adversaries are scarcely ever formidable, except when kings make them so by their fears. The crown had vigour enough in itself, crippled as it had been by the late struggles, to have checked this intemperate effusion of zeal, to have kept it from overflowing into these impertinencies of sedition, and to have confined it within its proper channel. The ministers, who stepped so promptly forward to remonstrate with their Queen on her religion, to violate duty, and to

* Yet Lethington, in the letter of November 1562, assures us, that "her behaviour" had been "such towards these that be of the [reformed] religion within her own realm, yea and the religion itself," that it was then "a great deal more increased since she came home, than it was before." (Keith 234.)

outrage decency, in their addresses to her; if they had found themselves treated with a little of that rigour which they had provoked, would have sunk away in terror to their respective parishes, have been content to speak disloyalty from their pulpits, and have even sunk the rude clamours of sedition there, into the softer and more suitable tones of devotion.

A firm hand of discipline must speedily have effected this, if these champions of religion had stood only upon their own ground, and had been fighting only with their own forces. But the Scottish clergy were, what almost all clergy in such circumstances will be, only tools and implements in the hands of others. Too rough to be insincere, too honest to be suspicious, too untutored in the world to know it, and too warm about heaven to be wise concerning earth; they were sure to be used by the factious for the prosecution of factious purposes, to become instrumental to mischief which they never designed, and to find themselves at last the unwitting authors of evil, which their worthy hearts abhorred.

§ III.

ONE great infelicity of Mary's life was this, that she had a BROTHER. He was indeed a bastard. He was, therefore, precluded from all possibility of mounting the throne. But he was precluded only by laws. These alone created the impossibility. And laws might be reversed by power. He appears to have been a

man of strong and vigorous parts. They were of that kind, however, which are most common in the world, and which shew themselves more in the weakness of others, than in their own strength. His vigour was art, not intellect. His parts were a sagacity of genius, which pointed out all the artifice of insidiousness to him; a dexterity of mind, which enabled him to use that artifice with great success; and a versatility of spirit, which qualified him for disguising both to the eyes of the world. With only the title to distinction, which his bastard alliance to the crown lent him; with only the slender possessions of a bastard, to communicate power; with only the slight connections of a bastard, to furnish influence; he raised himself superior to his sovereign, and he seated himself on her throne. He had the address, likewise, to make the most cunning and the most ambitious of his cotemporaries, to be subservient to *his* cunning, and ministerial to *his* ambition; to commit the enormities themselves, which were necessary to *his* purposes; and even to dip their hands in murder, that *he* might enjoy the sovereignty. But he displayed an address still greater than this. Though he had not one principle of religion within him; though he had not even one grain of honour in his soul; and though he was guilty of those *more monstrous* crimes, against which God has *peculiarly* denounced damnation; yet he was denominated A GOOD MAN by the Reformers at the time, and he has been considered as an HONEST MAN by numbers to our own days.

He

He felt the solicitations of ambition stirring within him so early and so strongly, that before he was SEVENTEEN he entered into a correspondence with the court of England, and engaged in a traitorous conspiracy with it against his country, his sovereign, and his family.* Such a *youth* was sure to be a *man* uncommonly busy and factious. He was then a mere ecclesiastic, however, with the title of the Prior of St. Andrew's. The laws of the church, bending too readily before the pressure of the state, admitted such young ecclesiastics then, and still admit them in all the regions of popery. He was settled in the church by his royal father, to keep him out of all secular employments, and to prevent all disturbances from his ambition and birth. He afterwards obtained another priory, that of Pittevenne, in his own country; and a third, that of Mascon, in France. He had a dispensation from the Pope for his bastardy, which unqualified him, as it now unqualifies, for possessing any of the endowments of the church. He had also a bull from the Pope, for holding his French priory together with his Scotch preferments. And he took the usual oath of obedience to the Pope.†

But the peaceful duties of a divine could never have satisfied the keen and restless temper of his spirits. Whatever the sagacity of James

* Goodall, i. 152.

† Goodall, i. 152—Lefley's Negotiations in Anderson, iii: 30, and Keith, 75. 146. and 455.

the Fifth foresaw, and whatever his prudence endeavoured to avert, by shrouding him in a cassock, and fixing him in a stall; all was realized. The turbulent activity of his son's soul broke through every restraint. The churchman became secularized. The prior was transformed into an earl. And the bastard proved eventually the curse of his father's family. His genius called him out to those scenes, principally, where he might have a play for his activity in *cunning*, and might give a scope to his turbulence in *intrigue*. He took his station on the forbidden ground near the throne. His talents for business recommended him to the service of it; and his ambition kept a steady eye upon it. The distracted state of the nation was congenial to a spirit like his. He loved the mazes of political life. He loved to thicken the shades, and to entangle the walks, more and more. He loved to stand himself upon an eminence in the centre of his own labyrinths, to view all about him embarrassed by the difficulties which he himself had made, and to enjoy the distress which he himself was occasioning at the moment. He loved still more, and with a more sanguinary cunning, to raise a tempest around him, to direct it at the heads of those who stood in the way of his aspiring thoughts, and to sit all the while seemingly unconcerned in the work. And when the Reformation broke out in all its wildness and strength, he closed in with it; he put on the sanctified air of a Reformer, he wrapped himself up in the long cloke of puritanism, he attached
all

all the popular leaders among the clergy to him, and he prepared to make them his useful steps to the throne.

§ IV.

BUT even all this united could not have been effectual to the ruin of Mary. She met with the additional misfortune, of having a *cousin* and a *female* upon a neighbouring throne. England was then governed by ELIZABETH. Her character was very different from Mary's. In all the stronger and deeper lineaments of the mind, it was much superior. But it was much inferior also, in all the amiable, the elegant, and the dignified graces of the heart and understanding. With a turn of religion, which gave her a predilection for protestantism, she could have induced herself, I fear, either to continue the idolatrous devotions of popery, to adopt the manly service of the church of England, or to take up the wild worship of the puritans, just as the scale of her interest had strongly inclined. The voice of her subjects was for the second. She, therefore, became a mother to religion and the church. Yet her regard for either was not sufficient to keep her from acts of oppression to the one, and from deeds of outrage to the other. She was busy through her whole reign, in robbing the church of its possessions, by every petty trick of sacrilegious imposition which she could play upon it, and by every bolder exertion of sacrilegious authority which she could make against it. Her private life, too, was stained with gross licentiousness.

ness. The MAIDEN QUEEN had many gallants. And her politics were one vast system of chicane and wrong, to all the nations about her.

She was particularly fond of embarrassing them with dissensions among themselves, that she might be secure from their attempts upon her. This low and ungenerous kind of management, indeed, shelters itself with the many, who have virtue enough to startle at an open knavery, under the dignified appellation of necessity. But let us not injure our hearts, by imposing upon our understandings. Dishonesty is never necessary. God never did, God never will, create a necessity for knavery. Man alone does this, and then has the impudence to charge his own forgery upon God. But Elizabeth and her ministers, I doubt not, whatever they might pretend to the virtuous body of the nation, triumphed in the happy inventiveness of their souls for mischief, exulted over their long and laboured trains of misery, and considered themselves as the wise and intelligent spirits of the creation, who sat in their orbs, presided over their elements, and regulated the movements of all with their fingers. They knew not, that they were thus making themselves the very DÆMONS OF VENGEANCE to all within the sphere of their activity. They reflected not, that history would in time break through the clouds, in which they had wrapped themselves up for their mischievous purposes, and expose them in their fiend-like operations to the gaze of men. And while the subjects of Elizabeth were applauding the stratagems of policy,

licy, which she was practising upon the states around them ; and were enjoying their success, in the tranquillity of their own country, and in the distractions of others ; they were little aware, that the hour was soon to come, when by the just retributions of an indignant Providence, those states should play back upon us the stratagems which had been practised upon them, should foment disturbances among us by the same arts of unhallowed wisdom, should triumph over us with an equal success from them, and should help to work us up into all the frenzy of fanatics, and into all the insanity of regicides. May the strong and awful retaliation be a lesson of national wisdom for ages.

Elizabeth, however, had some special grounds of animosity against Mary. The latter had a title, such as it was, to the throne of the former. This was naturally preferred by the prejudices of the papist, to the right of Elizabeth herself. Mary had even assumed the arms and appellation of Queen of England, when she was queen of France. And though she had forborne to take them ever since she became her own mistress ; Elizabeth had none of that generosity about her, which could forgive. She had been alarmed. She was still alarmed. The papists continued the claim, though Mary had resigned it. She might one day see a formidable competitor for the crown in her, supported by all the popish faction in the island, and seconded by all the popish powers on the continent. Elizabeth's life was a life of mischief

mischief and of misery ; of mischief to others, in the plots which she was always forming against them ; and of misery to herself, in the fears and apprehensions which she was always entertaining of them. She was continually forging schemes of malignity against them, from some visionary fears of her own concerning them. She then changed her visionary into real fears, from the jealousies which she conceived of their retaliating upon her. And she was finally obliged to fabricate new schemes of mischief against them, in order to prevent or to counteract the designs, which she was sure they *would* form against her, because she was sensible they had every *right* to form them. Thus does Providence punish the insidious with airy suspicions at first, torment them with well-grounded jealousies afterwards, and curse them at last with the success of their own machinations.

But this was not all. In the eyes of both papists and protestants, Mary had a right of eventual succession to the crown. If Elizabeth should die without legitimate issue, by all the principles of the constitution Mary was to fill her place. The expectation of this made Mary to resign the other. And, by the hope of this, Elizabeth might have managed her completely. But that Queen had a weakness, often incident to strong passions and little religion. She viewed her successor as such, with an eye of malignity. She could not bear to see another ready, even after her death, to step into the vacant throne. She, therefore, kept the succession undetermined

determined to the last. She thus endangered all the happiness of her kingdom, merely for the gratification of her humour. She suffered the law of Henry her father, which in a *gust* of ill-will, and in a *freak* of tyranny, had broke through the natural course of descent, and cut off the race of Scotland from the succession, still to remain unrepealed against them; though she had once had the same sort of law, and from the same kind of principle, made against herself. She was the *genuine* daughter of Henry! She carried the impression of his mind strongly stamped upon hers. She particularly did so on this occasion. She had *her* gusts of ill-will. She had *her* freaks of tyranny. She equally sacrificed the grand lines of the constitution to them. She even proceeded farther in both, than ever Henry did. She had it once enacted indirectly, but plainly, by a law, that the crown should be worn after her death by her NATURAL ISSUE; a designation of her offspring, that in its *ordinary* import comprehends equally the spurious and the illegitimate, and in its *legal* acceptation peculiarly means the spurious. She even prohibited any of her subjects, by the terror of severe penalties in the law, from intimating in any manner or form, who was the next heir to the crown after her death, except it was her NATURAL ISSUE.* She even

* Statutes at large, 13^o. c. 1. f. 2, and Camden Transf. 167, and Orig. 205. This was in 1571. But at the treaty, which was held in 1570 between Mary and Elizabeth, it was specified

even died at last, though she had no issue at all, without settling who was to succeed her; leaving the constitutional heirs of the throne under the ban of a prohibitory law, suffering no others to be appointed, and resigning up the nation to all the horrors of a civil war. These, indeed, the good sense of the nation happily prevented. With one concurrent voice they broke through the prohibitory law. They did what Elizabeth should have done. They called the constitutional heirs to the throne. But Elizabeth must have meant the reverse of all this. She meant to leave "her good people" that worst of all political calamities to a nation, an unsettled succession; she must have foreseen all the rising evils of it, yet she still left it. She left it as a *legacy of mischief* after her death. Though counselled by her par-

specified by the latter, that the former should succeed to the throne, "in case of Elizabeth's demise without ANY issue." Mary altered the limitation thus, "without LAWFUL issue." And Elizabeth would agree only to have it altered thus, "without issue BY A LAWFUL HUSBAND." (Guthry's Scotch Hist. vii. 299, and 368.) This remarkable fact, which was prior to the law, shews us, in union with it, the firmness of audacity with which Elizabeth pursued her purposes upon the succession. She tried at first to make way for ANY issue. She then adhered resolutely to any *by a lawful husband*, because she could cure the bastardy by a marriage. And she at last spoke out with more than her original explicitness, spoke out even to her parliament, and had her *natural* issue by name rendered capable of succeeding her. Indeed, the existence of such a law as this upon our statute book, is a full proof of the effrontery of Elizabeth in vice, and of the obsequiousness of the nation in meanness; and the law itself stands as a strong note of infamy upon both, at present.

liaments, and entreated by her people, she still persisted in her obstinacy of not ascertaining the succession. She even did worse. She prepared the way for additional pretenders to the crown, from any real or asserted bastards of her own. She thus did all she could do in her life to make England,

— A stage

To feed contention in a lingering act.

And it is therefore the less to be wondered at, that she persecuted a woman, who was her cousin by blood and her heir by right, *because* she was her cousin and her heir.

But there was still another motive, and of as hostile a nature as any before, and perhaps more powerful than any, in the conduct of Elizabeth to Mary. The former could not be content with the great superiority which she had over the latter, in a hardy vigour of understanding, in a deep knowledge of the world, and in the mysterious refinements of policy, in the strength of her nation, and in the splendour of her government. She must arrogate a superiority too, in the very orb in which Mary shone so transcendently. She must triumph over her in beauty, in dancing, and in dress; in those very accomplishments, which give the sex such an influence upon us, but in which we never think of rivalling them. Elizabeth was a *man* in most other respects. She should have been peculiarly one in this. But the womanly part of her predominated here over the manly. And she, who could *box* her *generals* upon occasion, could not bear to be surpassed in accomplishments purely feminine, by the most hand-

handsome, the most graceful, and the most improved princess of her age.*

All united to make Elizabeth an enemy to Mary. As a queen, and as a woman; as actuated by political jealousies, as stimulated by personal humours; and as impelled by female vanities; she became at first a pretended friend to betray her, and she appeared at last an open enemy to destroy her. She lavished all her arts of deception upon her. She then found herself so entangled in the strings of her own nets, that she could not either retreat or advance: and she thought herself obliged in the end, for the sake of her own security, to terminate in desperation, what she had commenced in jealousy.—She arraigned a Queen of Scotland before a tribunal of English nobles; she thus set an example, infamous in itself, pernicious to society, and peculiarly pernicious and infamous to her own country, of having a sovereign condemned to the block by subjects: she urged her meaner dependents upon ASSASSINATING Mary, that she might not behead her, but she found even *their* consciences revolting at the villainous intima-

* See that very curious passage in Melvill's Memoirs, which is so pregnant with intelligence concerning this under part of Elizabeth's character, p. 49—51. See also 69—70. And in p. 49, we have another touch, of a still more retired part of her character, which has been equally unnoticed. "The queen, my mistress," says Melvill, "had instructed me to leave matters of gravity sometimes, and cast in merry purposes, lest otherwise I should be wearied; she being well informed of that queen's natural temper."

tion. She then signed the bloody warrant with her own hand. She could be wantonly jocular at doing it. She could pretend to recall it, when it had been sent away. She could pretend to lay the guilt of it upon her secretary's head. She could yet deny to Mary for ever, what was never denied to the meanest criminal before, the favour of having a clergyman of her own communion to attend her. She could point her persecution against the *soul*, as well as the body, of Mary. And at length she stained her conscience with one of the foulest murders, that the annals of earth can produce; then felt herself almost petrified with horror, at the related execution of what she had commanded; felt herself peculiarly haunted, at the close of life, with the frightful image of the deed which she had committed; and killed herself at last with a fullen bravery of melancholy, the most extraordinary that is to be met with in history.* Hear this, all ye who are tempted by the sollicitations of artifice, to leave the line of rectitude, and to violate the laws of conscience. Ye will be dreadfully breaking in upon your bosom-peace by the deed. One enormity is sure to lead you to another. Ye will feel yourselves, at the end of all, surrounded with your own stratagems, encircled with your own snares, and bound fast in the very center of your own designs. And ye will then, like the wretched Elizabeth, fancy yourselves compelled to cut your way through them, with

* Camden Transf. 279 and 368. Orig. 336 and 439.

crimes, with horror, and with damnation attending upon you.†

§ v.

ON these flagitious principles, and with this horrible issue to them, Elizabeth engaged in intrigues against Mary. She banded with her ambitious brother. She banded with her seditious clergy. She furnished them with assistance secretly. She lent them her countenance openly. And, from both, they at length drove their sovereign out of the country. She took refuge in Elizabeth's dominions. She thus gave her one of the finest opportunities, that time had ever presented to an heroical mind, of acting with a dignified spirit of honour at the last. Mary was surely reduced below her *envy* at present. She had been ravished by one of her brutal barons. She had been exposed, as a captive, to all the scorn of her rabble. She had been locked up in a dungeon within a lake. She had been there committed to the care of that very whore, who was the mother of her bastard brother; who

† The very extraordinary melancholy of Elizabeth has been attributed, by what I may surely call the injudiciousness of history, to her pardon of Tyrone, to her putting Essex to death, or to the observed indifference of her people concerning her declining health. But these are reasons apparently of too frivolous a nature, for the production of such a wonderful effect. And I have, therefore, referred it to the only incident of her reign, which can be considered as any way adequate to it; and which indeed seems naturally to prepare the reflecting mind, for such a dreadful counterpart at last.

insulted

insulted over her with the natural insolence of a whore's meanness, in asserting the legitimacy of her own bastard, and in maintaining the illegitimacy of Mary;* and who even carried the natural vulgarity of a whore's impudence so far, as to strip her of all her royal ornaments, and to dress her up like a mere child of fortune, in a "course broune cassoke."† She had even been accused of ADULTERY to her late husband. She had even been charged with the MURDER of him. And she had been thus charged and accused, not in the private discourses, or the private publications, of the rebels; but in full form, in open parliament, and in the hearing of all the world. In such a situation, all the little jealousies of the rival will surely melt away in the compassions of the woman. Nor can she any longer be *afraid* of Mary. The dreaded competitor for the crown of England, has now lost her own; and now lies (as it were) at her feet, soliciting her kindness, and imploring her assistance. Every generous sentiment that ever harboured in the mind of Elizabeth, will now be called into life again. Every tender sensibility that ever was felt at the heart of Elizabeth, will now be roused into activity again. Both will unite their powers. And Elizabeth will eagerly catch at the happy opportunity for glory, will seal it down to her honour in all the future

* Camden's Transf. 94. Orig. 117, Crawford 49 and Jebb, i. 404 and 465.

† Lesley's Defence of Q. Mary's Honour, 36. Anderson, i.

ages of our annals; and will descend to posterity with these illustrious titles, the Friend of Order, the Assertor of Justice, and the Vindicator of an Injured Queen.

But Elizabeth had no sensibilities of tenderness, and no sentiments of generosity. She looked not forward to the awful verdict of history. She had no dread, even for the infinitely more awful doom of GOD. Regardless of her own invitation, regardless of her own promises, regardless of every sanction human and divine; she flew upon the unhappy Queen, seized her as a prey, and imprisoned her as a felon. I blush as an Englishman to think, that it was an English Queen who could do this; that it was one of the most enlightened princes, which ever sat upon the throne of England; and that it was one, whose name I was taught to list in my infancy, as the honour of her sex, and the glory of our isle.*

Yet she did even *more* than this. She obliged the unwilling rebels to come forward with their asserted evidences against her. She forced them upon pretending to substantiate their accusation of adultery, and to authenticate their charge of murder. And, at last, she entered* into a DIABOLICAL COMPACT with them, to receive their spurious evidences as genuine; to receive

* How different the conduct of Mary would have been, if she had stood in the situation of Elizabeth, and Elizabeth in hers; we may be morally certain from a slight stroke in one of Mary's letters to Elizabeth. "*In that you trust me,*" she says on July 5, 1568, "*I will not (to die for it) deceive you.*" Robertson, ii. 453.

them in such a manner, as should preclude all possibility of detecting their spuriousness; and to vouch them for genuine by her own authority: so to blast the character of Mary with all the world, for the gratification of her own paltry revenge; and then to keep her in prison for life, or to deliver her up to her rebels, for the support of their scandalous usurpation.

Nor let it be suspected, that I exaggerate in saying this. The records of it all are still in being. They are indelible monuments of the infamy of Elizabeth, and of the innocence of Mary. And I shall lay them at full length before my readers*.

* See particularly Goodall, i. 403—404. But the circumstance of Elizabeth's invitation and promise is laid open in its full force, by two papers presented by Mary's commissioners to *Elizabeth herself*. These are therefore the best vouchers: yet they have never been cited to appear. On the 16th of December, 1568, one of those commissioners addressed Elizabeth thus. "Mary," he says, came into England "upon divers and sundrie faithful promises past befor betwixt zour [your] Hienes and hir, and confirmit be writingis and taikinis laitlie sent betwix zour Majestie and hir; and last of all, as zour Majestie has knowin, be Beton." (Goodall ii. 265) And the same commissioner, the very next day, (see *errata* prefixed to *ibid.* v. i. and *introd.* p. 7) addressed Elizabeth again, with reminding her of the "sundrie promises of friendship, amitie, and mutual assistance, affirmit be tokenis and writingis; and last of all, be resaving the ring again fra Beton, immediately efter hir delivering furth of Lochlevin [her prison], quhilks zour Majestie had geven and interchangit as a pledge of amitie and promise of help to uthers [each other] mutuallie, quhensoever occasionn shold require." (*Ibid.* ii. 384.)

CHAPTER II.

§ I.

MARY was one of those characters, which we meet with very seldom in the world; and which, whenever they appear, are applauded for their generosity by a few, and condemned for their simplicity by the many. They have an easy affiance of soul, which loves to repose confidence, even when confidence is weakness. They thus go on, still confiding, and still confounded; unable to check the current of affiance that runs strong in their bosoms, and suffering themselves to be driven before it in their actions. And all the first half of their lives forms one continued tissue of confidences improperly placed, and of perfidies natural to be expected. Such a person was Mary! She once had her bastard brother and his adherents under her feet; but too easily forgave them. She once had all her other rebels under the harrows of the law; but too readily released them. The former rose in rebellion, and were defeated. The latter murdered her foreign secretary in her presence, and even imprisoned her own person in her palace; and yet were overpowered by the management of the Queen, and the fidelity of her peers. And she not only allowed them

them to return home from their banishment; but restored them to their estates, restored them to their honours, and even restored them to their posts about her court. She thus enabled them to repeat their rebellions, with equal power and with improved experience. In so doing, she was certainly guilty of great folly. Yet she did even more than this. She afterwards took the *verbal assurances* of the very same men in rebellion; who, to be rebels at first, must have previously broken through the strongest assurances that man can give, even their very oaths; and who, to be rebels again, must have violated every additional obligation of gratitude and honour. But she took their words, notwithstanding. She relied upon them so implicitly, as to put her person into their hands. Then they behaved, just as such ungrateful, dishonourable, and perjured wretches were sure to behave. They thrust her into a prison. They forced her to resign her crown. They nominally placed her son on the throne; and they really fixed themselves upon it. By her affability, her dignity, and her prudence, she won upon the hearts of those about her. By their aid she escaped out of prison. She escaped too at a critical period, when the villains that detained her in prison, were meditating their grand stroke of murder against her.*

* Anderson, iv. part. 1, 31, "Lors qu'ils pansoyent me fayre mourir." Mary's own letter a few days afterward to Elizabeth.

Yet she was still the same in this point. Her late experience, very severe as it was, had not cured this original milkiness of her mind. She was still credulous in the honesty of mankind, and still confident of the sincerity of others. She raised an army in an instant. She was defeated, however. And she again repeated the nearly fatal stroke of confidence before. She flew from the perfidies of her rebels: she threw herself upon the perfidies of Elizabeth. She found Elizabeth even more perfidious than they. And from *this* exertion of abused confidence, she could never recover herself afterwards. Nor let her be too freely censured for all. In the present constitution of things, where the original dignity of man is in a perpetual conflict with the introduced spirit of meanness, that affection of the heart, which does it most credit, in reality, becomes its greatest reproach in the eyes of the many. A generous confidence in the virtue of others, is the mark of a soul, conscious of the energy of virtue in itself, buoyed up by its own vigour within, and not yet drawn down by the attraction of earth below. Mary's was of this kind. Time, if time had been allowed her, would have forced her to learn the necessary wisdom of the world. The great multitude of mankind learn it, without the aid of time. They look into their own hearts, and read it there. They have no stubbornness of virtue to subdue; they have no forwardness of honour to restrain. Mary had. She was cast in a much superior mould. And she died
at

at last a martyr, to the sincerity of virtue in herself, and to a reliance upon it in others.

She took refuge in England on the 16th of May, 1568, being little more than TWENTY-FIVE years old. On the 22d of June following, the bastard brother, now Earl of Murray and regent of Scotland, addressed himself to Elizabeth's agent at Edinburgh in these terms: "Be-
 " cause we persave the trial," he said, "*qubilk*
 " *the Quenis Majestie*" of England "*is myndit to*
 " *have taken*, is to be usit with grit ceremonye
 " and solemniteis, we wald be maist laith [most
 " loth] to enter in accusatioun of the Quene,
 " moder of the king our soverane, and syne
 " [afterwards] to enter into qualification with
 " hir; for all men may judge how dangerous
 " and prejudicial that suld be. Alwaysis, in cais
 " the Quenis Majestie WILL HAVE the ACCUSA-
 " TION DIRECTLIE TO PROCEID, it were maist ref-
 " sonabill we understude *qubat we suld luke to*
 " *follow thairupon*, in cais we preive all that we
 " alledge; utherwayis we sal be als [as] incer-
 " tane efter the caus concludit as we are pre-
 " sentlie [at present]. And thairfoir we pray zow
 " [you] require hir Hienes *in this point* to resolve
 " us."* Murray wanted not to bring forward
 the accusation of Mary. He was already in pos-
 session of the regency. He could not be in pos-
 session of more, even if he succeeded in the ac-

* Appendix, No. III. at the end of vol. 2d. Mr. Goodall in preface, p. x. by mistake calls it "Murray's note to Mid-
 " dlemore, the *eighth* of June," which is the date of Eliza-
 beth's letter to Murray. Goodall, ii. 73.

cusation. He might not succeed. He knew well the defectiveness of his proofs. He was therefore very naturally full of apprehensions, concerning the event. But Elizabeth *would have* the accusation to proceed. And he was scheming plainly to make a formal agreement with her, before he ventured to produce his evidences. He saw the eagerness of the Queen to have them produced. He durst not refuse her. The slightest assistance lent to Mary against him, would have overset him at once from his seat of usurpation. Yet he prudently refused to gratify her, before he had entered into some stipulations to his own advantage. He would be left in the regency by Elizabeth, if he proved his charges; and Mary should never be assisted by Elizabeth in disturbing him.

Thus plainly did Elizabeth urge the unwilling Murray, to come forward with a charge of adultery, and with a charge of murder, against Mary. Yet at this very time, she was pretending to Murray himself, *not* to intend to invite any charges against her; *not* to mean to allow of any faults in her; and merely to design a settlement of all differences between her and him upon reasonable terms. So hypocritical was she at the very outset of the business! Yet she was still more so. At this very time, when she was stimulating Murray to accuse Mary, and yet telling him she did not want him to accuse her; she was even then pressing Mary to agree to a conference with Murray, *in order to give opportunity for introducing the accusation*

cusation, and yet under an exprefs stipulation of *making Murray by it to reſtore the crown to Mary*. Theſe two facts together unite to form ſuch an extreme of hypocrify, and ſuch a comprehenſivenefs of diſſimulation, as is ſcarcely to be credited. I therefore proceed to prove them.

We have already ſeen, that “the Quenis Ma-
 “jeſtie was myndit to have a trial taken” concerning Mary, and that ſhe “*would have the*
 “accuſation directlie to proceed” againſt her. Yet in a ſet of objections and answers written by her prime-miniſter Cecil himſelf, and relating to this meſſage of Murray’s, “the Quene’s Ma-
 “jeſty,” it is ſaid, “never meaneth ſo to deale
 “in the cauſe, as to proceed to any condemna-
 “tion of the Queen of Scots; but *bath a deſyre*
 “*to compound all differences betwixt hir and hir*
 “*ſubjects*, and therein not to *allow any faults*
 “that ſhall appear to be in the Quene, but by
 “reasonable and honourable conditions *to make*
 “*ſome good end*, with ſufficient ſuertie for *all par-*
 “*ties*.”* And at the ſame time, as Mary her-
 ſelf informs us, “hir Grace of hir guidneſs did
 “promise to *ſupport me*, and to *reſpone me in my*
 “*awin realme* be hir grace’s forces onlie, quhair
 “throw I miſſerit not [I ſhould not trouble my-
 “ſelf] to require any uther prince for aſſiſtance
 “in my cauſis; and, in hoip theirow, deſyrit me
 “ERNESTLIE to deſiſt and ceis fra all ſuit at the
 “king of Spain and uther princes handis for ſup-
 “port; quhilk deſyre I obeyit, putting my haill

* Goodall, ii. 89.

“ confidence, nixt God, in hir Grace’s promifes.” With fuch a variation of hypocrify was Elizabeth acting at this moment! But having thus induced Mary to drop all applications to foreign princes for aid, by a folemn promife of reftoring her to her crown, with her own foldiery; ſhe then began to falter a little in her promife. “ Then,” ſays Mary, “ hir Grace thinking it to “ be mair meit, that all my caufis ſould be fet “ forward be ſum gude drefs, *rather than be force*, “ hir Hienes defyrit me alſwa VERY ERNESTLIE to “ ſuffer hir a ſhort ſpace to travel with the Erle “ of Murray and his adherents (*quba bad ſubmittit thair baill caufis in hir handis*), to cauſe “ thame REPAIR THE WRANGIS AND ATTEMPTA- “ TIS COMMITTIT AGANIS ME THEIR SOVERANE, “ and contrair thair alledgeance and dewtie, and “ TO DESIST AND CEIS IN TIMES CUMING, quhair “ throw I micht be REPOSIT in my realme, auctoritie and government thair of, but [without] “ ony impediment, and be her Hienes’s labouris “ and moyen, *rather than be force of armis*; de- “ fying alſwa, that I wald uſe hir counſal to- “ ward the WRANG and OFFENCES committit be “ thame, how the ſamin ſould be REPAIRIT to “ my honour, and my CLEMENCIE BE USIT TO- “ WARDIS THAME be hir Grace’s ſicht.”* So explicit was ſhe ſtill in her promife of reſtoring Mary to her throne, even when ſhe was forming her plan for keeping her out of it.

* Goodall, ii. 338, 339.

Nor let any doubt arise upon the mind of my reader, as to the validity of Mary's evidence against Elizabeth. She must be the only evidence of what she alone can know, the contents of Elizabeth's letters to her. All, indeed, is confirmed by a memorial, which her commissioner, the bishop of Ross, *presented to Elizabeth herself*. At Mary's coming into England, he says to Elizabeth, "Zour Majestie causit hir to be thankfullie reffavit, and TUK IN HAND TO DRESS HIR CAUSIS TO HIR HONOUR AND WEILL, sobeit scho wald leive the seiking of ayd and support of all uther princes, and stay himself onlie upon zour Hienes, quhilk, upon the trust soirsaid, scho willinglie obeyit."* But, what doubly confirms all, Elizabeth at this very time, says the same bishop in a treatise afterwards, "did assure the moste Christian kinge of Fraunce," of success in this treaty; "promisinge to doe her exact diligence, to procure THE RESTITUTION OF THE Q. OUR SOVEREIGNE TO HER CROWNE AND REALMES, and a goode agreement to be made amongst her subjects for the commoun quietnes of the realme."† And, to preclude all possibility of doubt, Sir Francis Knollys informs Cecil, by a letter of July 28th, 1568, that my Lord Herries, just returned from Elizabeth to Mary, informed the latter in his and Lord Scroop's requested presence, He was authorized by Elizabeth to say, "yf she wold commyt hyr

* Goodall, ii. 384.

† Lesley's Negotiations, 24. Anderson, iii.

“ cause to be heard by hyr Hyghnes order,—as—
 “ hyr deare coufine and frende,—hyr Hyghnes
 “ WOULD SURELY SETT HYR AGAYNE IN HYR SEATE
 “ OF REGIMENT AND DIGNITYE REGALL;” if her
 rebels should bring any satisfactory reasons for
 their behaviour, “ conditionally,” that her re-
 bels should be pardoned; and, if they did not,
 “ then her Hyghnes WOULD ABSOLUTELY SETT
 “ HYR IN HYR SEAT REGALL.”* So seemingly
 mounted up to the very *apex* of hypocrisy at once,
 does Elizabeth here appear! So seemingly does
 the first stroke of the pencil complete the picture
 of dissimulation in her! But we shall see her pic-
 ture heightened with a thousand touches of dis-
 simulation besides; and we shall see her mount
 infinitely higher on the pinnacle of hypocrisy
 hereafter.

Murray’s overture to Elizabeth is the funda-
 mental evidence of all. To that overture Eliza-
 beth undoubtedly acceded. We have not, in-
 deed, her immediate answer to it. An answer,
 we know, she actually returned. “ When their
 “ lettres, contayning the doubt before by them
 “ moved,” say the commissioners of Elizabeth
 to Murray and Murray’s associates a little af-
 terwards at York, “ were delivered to the Quene’s
 “ Majestie’s handes, they knew that *immediately*
 “ *hir Highbnes did forthwith depeche* [dispatch] *her*

* Anderson, iv. part. i. 109—110. In consequence of this
 promise, Mary with equal propriety and dignity exclaimed
 a little before her murder, “ *Hæc dextra fidesque?*” and,
 “ *Sic nos in scepra reponis?*”

"*answer thereunto.*"* This answer has been lost. We have, indeed, what is called an answer, in the objections and replies which I have just mentioned, as drawn up by Cecil with a view to this letter of Murray's. But, as those could be only the rudiments of an answer, so could they not be of the real and actual answer. They carry with them the appearance of a paper merely *ostensible*. Let the reader judge from one of the objections and replies. "*Obj.* They would be loth "to enter fyrst into an accusation of the Quene, "and then after that to enter into a qualification. *Ans.* The Quene's Majesty never ment "to *have any to come to make any accusation of "the Queen*, but meaning to have *some good end to "grow betwixt the Quene and hir subjects*, was "content to hear any thing which they had to "say for themselves; and if they will come into "hir Majesty's realme, they shall be heard."†

This evidently bears such an air of hypocrisy upon the face of it, as could never be hoped to be successfully imposed upon a Murray. It could be calculated only for his exhibition of it to some of his honefter adherents. Such a hypocrite as Murray is never to be taken in by dissimulation. Nor will such a hypocrite as Elizabeth ever attempt to do it. And that it was not the real answer given to Murray, is plain from what are equally satisfactory to us with the real one

* Goodall, ii. 127.

† Goodall, ii. 69.

itself, but which are very different from this ostensible one of Cecil's; the instructions of Elizabeth to her commissioners afterwards, and a letter of Elizabeth's to Murray, dated the same day with the instructions.

"Where we hear say," says Elizabeth, on September the 20th, to Murray, "that certain reports are made in sundry parts of Scotland, that whatsoever should fall out now upon the hearing of the Queen of Scotts cause, in any proof to convince (convict) or to acquit the said Queen concerning the horrible murder of her late husband our cousin, *we have determined to restore her to her kingdom and government*, we do so MUCH MISLIKE HEREOF, as WE CANNOT INDURE THE SAME TO RECEIVE ANY CREDIT; and therefore we have thought good to assure you, that the same is UNTRULY DEVISED by the authors TO OUR DISHONOUR: for as we have been always certified from our said sister, both by her letters and messages, that she is by no means guilty or participant of that murder, which we wish to be true; so surely if she should be found justly to be guilty thereof, as hath been reported of her, whereof we would be very sorry; then, indeed, it should behove us to consider otherwise of her cause, than to satisfy her desire in restitution of her to the government of that kingdom: and so we would have YOU AND ALL OTHERS THINK, that should be disposed to conceive

"HONOURABLY

“HONOURABLY of us and our actions.”* This is sufficiently explicit. But let us turn to the instructions, which are equally dated on the 20th of September, in the grand commission for the whole. These do what Elizabeth’s letter does not. These plainly refer to Murray’s message before. These directly reply to it. And they run thus. “If the Earle of Murray and his partie shall alledge,” she says, “that although they can justly convince [convict] the Quene of the great crimes wherewith she hath been burdened, yet they find it not expedient so to do *upon the doubt they have*, that the Quene’s Majesty will, notwithstanding any crime proved upon her, *restore her to her kingdom and rule*, whereupon they should never be free from her indignation; and so they will *stay and not proceed*, without they may *know* her Majesty’s purpose, in case the said Quene should be proved guilty of her husband’s murder; it may be answered by the Quene’s Majesty’s commissioners, that, *if her Majesty shall find it to be plainly and manifestly proved*, surely her Majesty would think hir UNWORTHY OF A KINGDOM, and would NOT STAYNE HER OWN CONSCIENCE by RESTORING HER TO A KINGDOM.”† All, therefore, shews us very plainly the answer of Elizabeth to the overture of Murray; that answer which she returned, as the

* Robertson, ii. 387. Edition 4th.

† Goodall, ii. 99.