

peculiar danger to the enemy, to attract his shot to the point, and to blow up the whole by the blundering artifice.

These remarks are sufficient to shew the wonderful infatuation, that has taken place in the fabrication of this primary part of the forgery. But I shall add one remark more. It is principally a chronological one. And anachronisms are the strongest of all possible proofs of forgery. The grand reason insinuated by the rebels, for Bothwell's conduct in sending for the letters about June the 20th, is this. He was just going to set out for the north, and wanted to secure the papers before he went. "June 20th," says the journal, "Dalgleshe—wes takin," &c. "About this tyme my Lord Buthwell fled be "sea to the north." But the reason is equally impertinent and false.

Had he never thought of going to the north, had he actually gone to the south, and had he even gone to neither, but staid where he was at Dunbar; still he must have equally wished to recover his letters, and still his letters must have been equally in danger from the rebels. But indeed his letters, if lodged in the castle before he left Edinburgh on June the 7th, must on June the 20th have been beyond all chance of danger, and beyond all wishes for recovery. They must have been already in the possession of the rebels. Nor could the design of departing to the north, have possibly suggested any effort, that would either hasten the possession or remove the danger. And the rebels must have been

been masters of them, the moment they entered Edinburgh on the 12th of June before. Then Balfour had done his worst. He had thrown the die for rebellion. He had past the Rubicon of villainy. He and his brother rebels could now stand only, by their firmness, their effrontery, and their audaciousness. And, as to break open a box that carried such plain evidence of its guilty contents within, would naturally be the first, because it would be a private, act of perfidy to Bothwell and the Queen; so to produce these letters to the other chiefs of the rebels, to shew them to all, and to publish them to the world, would be a necessary act of wisdom and justice, for the vindication of him and them, and for the joint condemnation of the Queen and Bothwell.

Nor is the departure of Bothwell from Dunbar about the 20th of June, less false as a fact, than impertinent as a reason. His intention of going to the north at all, was to repair to a part of the kingdom, in which he had lately had a considerable interest ceded to him by the Queen. In the marriage-contract of the month immediately before, she had given him "all and hail  
" [whole] the Erldom, landis, and ilis of Ork-  
" nay and Lordship of Zetland [Schetland], with  
" the holmis—castellis, touris, fortalices, manor-  
" places,—tenentis, tenandries, service of fre  
" tenentis,—with the toll and custumis,—to-  
" gidder with the offices of sheriffship of Orknay  
" and fowdry of Zetland, and office of justiciarie  
" within all the boundis als weill of Orknay as  
Zetland,—

“Zetland,—erectit in ane haill and fré Dukry,  
 “to be callit the Dukry of Orknay for evir.”\*

All this must have created him a vast influence in the Orkney and the Schetland isles. It was also at the greatest distance from the seat of usurpation. It was therefore the least likely to be affected by that awe and terroure, which was sure to be impressed upon the minds of the generality, from the very arrogance and audaciousness of the rebel proceedings. For these reasons, no doubt, he would not repair to his old tenants in Lydisdale, but visited his new tenants in the north. And he would try to collect a second army among them, and attempt to have another struggle with them for the possession of the Queen. Their horrible act of perfidy to her, would strengthen his interest, and diffuse his influence, among these late tenants to the Queen. All would induce him to hasten to them. Yet he did not set out, as the journal avers he did, and as the whole story of seizing the letters is made to intimate he did, “about” the 20th of June. *About* the 20th, we are sure that he was still at Dunbar. *After* the 20th, we are sure that he was still there. Even some, even many, days after it, we are sure that he was still there. He “staid at least” “fourteen days” there, say Crawford’s Memoirs.†

\* Goodall, ii. 59. This accounts for the mistake in Crawford, who says he was created Duke of Orkney “and “Schetland” (Keith, 385). He had the Earldom of Orkney and Lordship of Schetland erected into the Dukedom of Orkney.

† P. 54.

He actually staid there two and twenty days. He did not set out, before the 8th of July. And we have the testimony of the very rebels themselves, and the testimony even of their public and authoritative acts, for this new proof of the spuriousness of all the circumstances, in the asserted discovery of the letters.

Six days after the time specified by the rebels for Bothwell's flight to the north, they themselves issued a proclamation, which proves him to have been then in Dunbar. On the TWENTY-SIXTH of June, they made an act of council for letters to be sent to the heralds, &c. directing them to repair to the castle of Dunbar, and to demand the surrendery of the castle to the executor of the orders within six hours after notice, "because the Earl of Bothwell was "reset and received within the said castle."\* Bothwell thus appears evidently, from the rebel orders themselves, to have been *at that time* in the castle of Dunbar; though, by the rebel journal, he ought to have been halfway over the sea to Orkney. Nor can the journal pretend to stand in competition with the orders. These were an open and publick act of council, executed by a deed of great pomp and notoriety, at the moment; while that was a private diary, constructed for private purposes, and fabricated at a late period. But the former is supported by another act, equally as public and notorious as itself. On the NINTH OF JULY the

\* Keith, 408.



rebels first heard of Bothwell's actual outlet for the north. They heard of it, no doubt, within four and twenty hours after it happened. The distance of Dunbar from Edinborough, only seven and twenty miles, shews they must. They accordingly entered a charge on their council-book, upon the 9th of July, for a proclamation "prohibiting any person *in the isles of Orkney* to "respect or be assisting to him."\* They knew of his outlet. They knew of his design in it. And they endeavoured to prevent the success of both, by the force of terror. Bothwell therefore put to sea on the 8th of July, no less than EIGHTEEN days after the time, *about* which the Journal sends him. He was bound for Orkney. But he landed by the way in Murray. His great uncle, Patrick Hepburn, was Bishop of it. In his house, and under his tuition, he had been educated.† He therefore went to visit him. And the rebels at Edinborough heard of his landing there, by the 14th or 15th, and again by the 18th; as on the 18th Sir Nicholas Throgmorton writes from Edinborough to Elizabeth, that "Captain Clerk—did the 16th of this month—kill one Wilson a seaman,—about the ship which—was appointed by these lords to go to the north of Scotland, *to impeach the passage of the Earle Bothwell*, in case he "went either to the *isles* or to any other place," and "by the death of this man, this enterprize

\* Keith, 408.

† Detection, 55. Anderson, ii. and 256. Jebb, i.

“ was dashed;” and afterwards, that “ Bothell  
 “ doth *still* remain in the north parts, but the  
 “ lord Seaton and Fleming, *which have been*  
 “ *there*, have utterly abandoned him, and do re-  
 “ pair hitherwards.”\* By the 21st they had  
 received some fresh intelligence, concerning his  
 movements in Murray. He had been enter-  
 tained by the Bishop at his palace of Spinie.  
 He had been accompanied by the Bishop to the  
 houses of various gentlemen in the county. They  
 therefore issued a proclamation for punishing the  
 Bishop, by prohibiting his tenants from paying  
 him their rents.† And they had heard by the  
 same day, that in Murray he had “ assembled  
 “ four or fyve small shypes together,” had  
 “ equipped and manned the same,” and had  
 already or was just going to put to sea.‡ But  
 their intelligence in this last article was erroneous.  
 He did not leave Murray for several days after-  
 ward. On the 10th of August they give a charge  
 in council, for letters to all owners of ships, skip-  
 pers, and mariners in Dundee, to be ready in five  
 hours with their ships for pursuing Bothwell and  
 his company, who “ haveing rest and spulzeit  
 “ diverse schippis, als weil pertaining to his  
 “ Hieneis [the new and infant King’s] awn sub-  
 “ jectis, as unto strangeris, freindis, and conse-  
 “ derattis of yis realm, accompaneit with cer-  
 “ tain notorious pyratteis, *ar past to the sey*, mynd-  
 “ ing to continew in yar reis and pyracie, baith

\* Robertson, ii. 376. and 377.

† Anderson, i. 144.

‡ Keith, Pref. xii.

“ aganis the subjectis of yis realm and all nationis, *and first are begun at bis Majestie’s propper landis of Orknay.*” \* A Squadron of these ships accordingly put to sea, in quest of Bothwell at the northern isles. And by the 30th of August they had received information, that their vessels were “ within forty miles of *Shetland*, “ where *Bothwell was*,” and that “ the principal “ man of the isle, named Fogge, doth favour “ Bothwell, it is said, whereby his party shall be “ the stronger.” † All these papers serve to mark the progress of Bothwell from Dunbar to Orkney and Shetland, very distinctly. They shew him very clearly to have left Dunbar on the 8th of July, to have reached Murray about the 10th or 11th, to have arrived at Orkney in the beginning of August, and to have reached Shetland about the middle of it. They all unite together to form a regular chain of intelligence. Each links with the other. Each lends an additional strength to each. And all serve to shew the reason assigned for Bothwell’s sending after the letters on June the 20th, because “ about that “ tyme he fled be sea to the north;” to be as much a forgery as all the other circumstances of the discovery have been proved to be, to stand in direct contradiction to the genuine dates of his motions, and to concur with all the other parts of the pretended fact, in sinking the whole under its own load of absurdity and falsehood for ever.

\* Anderson. i. 145—147.

† Keith, 458—459.

## § III.

WE have thus buried the rebel account of the seizure of the letters, in the grave of its own infamy. But let us raise it from the earth again, and call it to a new and a severer trial. We have examined all the *circumstantial* parts of the story. Let us now examine the *essential*. Let us come to the main fact itself. We cannot be too particular, in exposing this fundamental incident to the whole history of the rebels. And we shall see at last, instead of Dalgleish and the letters being seized on the 20th of June, that *he* was not apprehended till nearly a month afterwards, and that *they* were not in existence till some time after his apprehension. So open to assault on every side are the accounts, which the rebels have given us of the first appearance of the letters!

These accounts indeed are only such, as the rebels fabricated for the publick, long after the period assigned for the events. This appears in part from the date of them, the *latest* of the narratives being FIFTEEN MONTHS posterior to the events, and the *fullest* of them being TWO YEARS AND A HALF. And it will appear in the whole decisively, by only comparing them with the accounts, which the rebels themselves gave AT THE TIME. They had no gift of foresight. They had no prescience, of what they should find it requisite to say afterwards. They therefore asserted incidents to be true at the moment, some of which were true, and some were false,  
but

but all proved the falsehood and the spuriousness of the incidents asserted afterwards. And we need only contrast the later with the prior accounts, to see the forgery concerning the discovery of the letters, displayed in the strongest colours.\*

When the letters were first seized by the rebels, they must have been a prize of so much consequence to their schemes, that the acquisition would give a loose to their tongues and a play to their pens, which nothing could have stopped for a time. In how important a light they actually considered them, *nearly six months afterwards*; we see in a council which they held on December the 4th, 1567. Then, wanting to found their actions on the best ground possible for their advantage, in order to impose upon the coming parliament; they could find no better than this of the letters. "The matter," they say, "being largelic and with gude deliberation" "ressonit at great lenth, and upon sundry daies, "at last all the—lordis—can find no other way "or moyen [means] how to find or make the "saied securitie," but by fixing their vindication on the footing of the letters. These, they add, will vindicate all that they have done, and *all that they shall do* likewise.† In such a gigantick form is this correspondence brought forward by the rebels, even at that distant period;

\* This argument was suggested by Dr. Stuart, who has opened it in part with equal vigour and judgment in i. 358—360, and 363—368.

† Goodall, ii. 62—63 and 67.

With Atlantean shoulders, fit to bear  
The weight of mightiest USURPATIONS!

Six months preceding therefore, just after the first interception of the letters, and at the very moments of it, the rebels must have infinitely triumphed in their own good-fortune, and have infinitely insulted over the fate of their fallen princess. Every act of council must have founded their joy among themselves. Every proclamation must have diffused their discovery over the kingdom. Both would have united to publish their own justification, and the reprobation of their Queen, in the fullest and freest manner, together. The thunder of their public virtue, would have roared with peculiar loudness in her ear. The lightning of their patriot indignation, would have darted with peculiar fierceness in her face. And she would have stood forward to the eye of the universe, a blackening monument of blasted iniquity.

Let us therefore examine all the publick and private papers of the time. The interval is not a large one. The documents are not very many. They are at least not so many, as to distract us with their multiplicity. Yet they are enough, to convince us by their united evidence. And let us see, if we can find this justly expected appearance of things in them.

Fortunately, at the first step, we can brush up close to the very 20th of June. We have a paper of the very day after it. On the TWENTY-FIRST of June 1567, the rebels held a council.



We have a minute of it, and of their transactions in it, upon the council-books. The very principals of the rebellion, who were present, are all specified. And amongst the rest we have MORTON, the very seizer of the letters the day before. Here therefore we shall have an amazing burst of exultation, upon the glorious and happy incident of the day preceding. Morton will lay the whole transaction, with pomp and solemnity, before them. They will expatiate with a gay formality, upon the mighty service which he has thus rendered, to the cause of protestantism and rebellion, liberty and usurpation. They will return him their set thanks in the name of the whole community, for the meritorious deed that he has done. And all will be recorded, in the most ample and expressive manner, upon their council-books. Yet what is our astonishment, when we read the real minute of the council on that day? This is the first council, in which they assumed to themselves the appellation, by which they continued ever afterwards to act, that of Lords of the Secret Counsel. They were therefore actuated with a higher insolence of rebellion, than they had felt before. YET THEY SAY NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. This is very astonishing indeed. The members present were many, Morton, Athol, Glencairn, Mar, Hume, Ruthven, Semple, Sanquhar, and Ochiltree. These command all the Lords of Session, advocates, writers, and all other persons belonging to the Court of Session, to return to Edinborough, and to administer justice as before;



promising them safety in the execution of their respective offices, threatening them with punishment if they do not, and assuring the people at large, of a security to their persons in their attendance on the court.\* They were thus endeavouring to model their usurpation, into a regular and orderly form of government. Yet THEY SAY NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. This is very astonishing indeed. We are now in the very element, in which the thunder and lightning were sure to be generated. We are now at that very point of the element, from which the thunder and lightning were sure to issue. Yet the sky is completely clear. Not one black speck is to be seen, within the whole compass of it. And therefore we are fully convinced, that the letters are not yet in the hands of the rebels.

But what we have missed here, we shall find (to be sure) a few days afterward. We have a proclamation from the rebels, upon the TWENTY-SIXTH of June. Here, then, we shall certainly have a formidable communication of the late discovery, of the infamy of Mary detected in the letters, and of the vengeance due to Bothwell and her for their joint crimes. Here we cannot but anticipate a publication, at which even *his* ear will startle, and *his* cheek grow pale. And here at least the rebels will

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a tale unfold,  
To harrow up *her* soul, freeze *her* young blood,  
Make *her* two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres,

\* Keith, 406.

*Her knotted and combined locks to part,  
And each particular hair to stand on end,\*  
Like quills upon the fretful porcupine.*

But "this eternal blazon," it seems, is not even yet to be made "to ears of flesh and blood." The proclamation is long and particular. The letters have been now intercepted these six days. Yet IT SAYS NOT A WORD OF THEM. This is even more astonishing than before.

"Forsameikle," it says, "as the Lordis of  
"Secreit Counsell, and utheris of the nobilitie,"  
&c. "persaving the miserabill estate of the  
"common-weall, how the King, the Quene's  
"Majesties lait husband, was horriblie and  
"schamefullie murtherit, na tryell taikin thair of,  
"nor punischment execute uppon the authoris,  
"howbeit thai wer knawin weill enough in the  
"sicht of men, *hir Hienes awin person tresson-*  
"*abillie ravischit*, and thairastir joint with the  
"Erle Bothwell, principall author of the said  
"cruell murther, in mariage;—thairfoir thai haiff  
"taikin on armes, to punisch the authoris of the  
"said cruell murther *and ravisching*," &c. These  
were their reasons for rising in rebellion, on the  
fifth of June. They meant to punish Bothwell,  
for the murder of the King, and for the seizure  
of the Queen. They had *then*, as even their  
latest accounts acknowledge, no box of Mary's  
letters in their possession. But, as those ac-  
counts alledge, they had *now*. Now therefore  
they will alter their tone, and speak with a dif-  
ferent and a much louder voice against the  
Queen.

Queen. And they will specify their new-discovered letters, as their great reason for doing so. Yet they do not alter their tone at all. They still continue to speak in the same pitch of voice concerning Mary, to the very end of their proclamation. They SAY NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS.

Yet they exalt their voice against *Bothwell*. Concerning *him* they say, that “of the murther  
“now, be just tryell taikin, he is found, not  
“onlie to have bin the inventor and devyser,  
“but the executer with his awin handis, as his  
“awin servantis, being in companie with him at  
“that unworthie deid, hes testifiet.” They had now therefore, as they intimate, apprehended some of *Bothwell*’s servants; and these servants, as they tell us, had deposed to all his concern with them in the murder. Yet it is evident even from themselves, that, if they had seized the servants, *they had not seized the letters with them*. Had they, they could not but have dwelt upon the fact with the utmost explicitness. *Nor had they yet seized any of the servants of Bothwell*, whatever they may venture to affirm in this proclamation. They seized not any of them, as I shall soon prove, before the 17th or 18th of July, *three weeks posteriour to this proclamation*. They shew indeed in this very passage that they had not, by the exaggerations so natural to dissimulation; when they speak of his “servantis” in the plural number, though in their accounts before it was only one servant of his, even George Dalgleshe; and when they say, that “by just tryell taikin”  
he

he had been proved to be concerned in the murder, though no trial had been or could possibly have been taken, and though all Scotland must know none had been taken, or could have been. Such was THE BRAVERY OF FALSEHOOD in these men, at the very commencement of their course of profligacy!

But this extraordinary passage proves still more against them. *It proves their own concern in the murder.* It shews their complete acquaintance with all the circumstances of the murder. They say that Bothwell was “not onlie the inventor “and devyser” of it, “but *the executer with “his awin handis, as his awin servantis, being “in companie with him at that unworthie deid, “hes testifiet.”* We know it to be true, that Bothwell was personally assisting at the murder, and that his servants were personally assisting with him. But *they* could not know it *at that time*, unless they had been personally assisting with both. These particulars were not known to any but the conspirators themselves, as I shall soon shew from an authentick document of the time, before the 17th or 18th of July afterwards. Yet the rebels knew it all beforehand. They knew it, because they were concerned in the murder with Bothwell. Morton particularly, their present leader, was judicially convicted of a concern in it afterwards. And he and they, in the over-acting of their pretended zeal against Bothwell, were weak enough to tell some circumstances of the murder to the publick, which demonstrated their own share in the murder to every reflecting mind.

mind. Such was THE WILD ERUPTION OF FOLLY in these men at present, betraying their own guilt, and pronouncing their own condemnation !

Yet, in this proclamation, they order the heralds to proceed to the market-cross of Edinborough, and all other places necessary ; to publish their proclamation there ; and so to prohibit all persons from receiving Bothwell into their houses, or lending him any assistance out of them, “ under the pane to be repute—as plane partakeris with him in the said horibill murther, ravisch-  
“ ing, and uther—crymes—committit be him,” and of being punished accordingly. They also add, that “ quhasomever will tairk the said Erle, and bring him to the burgh of Edinburgh, to be punishit be justice for his demeritis, shall haiff for thair reward *ane thousand crownes of the sone.*” They thus shew the keenest alacrity to slander Bothwell, and to destroy his fortunes. Yet THEY SAY NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. They even prove they had *not* the letters in their possession at present, by speaking at the very close, of punishing him for the *seizure of the Queen*. This the letters taught them afterwards to consider, as no seizure at all ; as a mere act of collusion between him and her, in order to make way for the marriage. But they also promise any one who will take Bothwell, a reward of “ *ane thousand crownes OF THE SONE.*” \* They thus do in words at last what they did in reality afterwards, take the whole government into their

\* Anderson, i, 139—141.

own hands, and exalt the son into the throne of the mother, by offering the reward as *from the son*. Yet they alledge not the letters in their vindication. They could appeal to them afterwards, when they had them, as an authority sufficient to vindicate them in all that they had done, and in all that they should do to the end of time. They could not even find any other vindication then, for their past proceedings; except the letters. YET THEY SAY NOT A WORD OF THEM at present. And their own account of intercepting the letters on the 20th of June, is completely disproved by this proclamation of their own at the time, in that first and principal part of it, the date.

On the very same day with the date of this proclamation, as I have shewn in the last section, they commanded the heralds to go to Dunbar castle, and demand the delivery of it within six hours, because it had received Bothwell into it. Yet in this, as well as in the proclamation, THEY SAY NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. And, in such a case as this, the argument of their silence is as full an evidence of their not having the letters at present, as is any incidental mention of circumstances contrary to the letters.

We have afterwards no other papers of the time, till JULY THE SECOND. Then the rebels thought it for their interest, to allure the city of Edinburgh into their association. This capital of Scotland, like our own capital, was always ready to lend its ear to the clamours of sedition, and to give its hand to the operations of rebellion. All great towns are naturally impregnated,  
from



from the collected multitude of their inhabitants, and from the consequent predominance of vulgarity over sentiment, with the principles of faction and folly in their very constitution. Thus our own London has in all ages been distinguished, by that low and groveling turn of thinking, which makes it only a box of tinder, ready to catch fire from any the clumsiest applications of imposture. Edinborough was a mere London at this period, though upon a scale of importance and activity much more contracted. It was equally willing to present itself, as a humble dupe to the designs of the factious. MORTON and Athol, therefore, the first a presbyterian, and the second a papist, in the name of others who were neither papists nor presbyterians probably, appeared by agreement in the city-council on the second of July, and invited the city in form to sign a writing of association with them. And they produced a writing for the purpose, which the citizens agreed should be signed immediately by their provost in their name. Yet even this writing SAID NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. It was merely the same writing indeed, which the rebels themselves had signed on the SIXTEENTH of June before. "2. Julii, 1567," says the register of the town-council,—“com-  
 “pearit nobil and michtie lordis, my Lordis  
 “Erlis of Mortoun and Atholl, having with  
 “thame the maist honourabil and godlie band  
 “laitlie maid and subscrivit be *ane greit partie of*  
 “*the nobilitie* of this realme,” &c. This band was subscribed “be *thair lordschips* and *utheris*  
 “ of



"of the nobilitie of this realme," as an *attested copy* of *this* act of the city-council, with a very remarkable recoil from falsehood in the original to truth in the copy, states the real fact to have been, upon the 16th day of June before, *four* days *antecedent* to the affirmed seizure of the letters.\* And this, like that, obliges the subscribers "upon the respect of thair dutie towart" "thair *Soveraine*," to see the murder punished, the Queen's marriage with Bothwell dissolved, and "our said Soveraine to be *relevit* of the" "thraldome, bondage, ignominie, and schame, "quibilk scho hes sustenit and underlies through" "the said Erlis occasion;"† a full and complete evidence, that the rebels were no more in possession of the letters on the 2nd of July, than they were on the 16th of June before.

The next paper that we have of the time, is an act of council dated the SEVENTH of July. It is now more than a *fortnight*, since the pretended seizure of the letters. Yet in all the publick documents, that have been hitherto issued by the rebels themselves, there is not a single syllable concerning them. When therefore did the letters first appear in reality? Whenever they appeared, they certainly appeared not upon the day stated by the rebels. They consequently come forward to us at once,

With all the tokens of a knave complete.

But let us pursue the track of light that we have been following, and trace it with a patient

\* Anderson, i. 134. † Keith, 409, and Anderson, i. 137.  
activity

activity onwards, till it leads us to the very appearance of the letters. We shall thus fix a double note of falsehood, upon the asserted seizure of them. And we shall see the letters themselves sinking before us, under a double load of forgery. In this act of July the seventh, then, the rebels take a bolder step than ever. They had already seized the power of the crown. They had already seized the moveable property of it. They now made a seizure of its patrimony. They took the Queen's hereditary revenue from her, by prohibiting all payments to the Queen's comptroller, under penalty to the payers of paying the same over again, and of suffering under their usual engine of terror to the nation, by being condemned as parties in the murder of the King. Yet THEY SAY NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS, to justify their conduct. They even shew, that they had *not* the letters at all. For they still continue to speak, as they spoke *before* the 20th of June, concerning Bothwell's seizure of the Queen. And the penalty denounced against all who paid their rents to the comptroller, is not merely to be punished as parties in the murder, but to be also punished as accessaries to the Queen's seizure. They are to be "pursued as art and part of the King's murder  
"AND THE QUEEN'S RAVISHMENT."\*

On the NINTH of July we have another act of council. Yet even this SAYS NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. It only forbids "any person

\* Keith, 410-411.

“ in the isles of Orkney to respect or be assisting  
“ to” Bothwell.\*

Below the ninth of July therefore, and NINETEEN days after the 20th of June, we are sure that the rebels had not yet got the letters into their possession. We have seen much zeal against Bothwell; yet we see no intimations of the letters. We have seen some against Mary; but it has been all covered and disguised. The marriage of the Queen with the Earl, is repeatedly urged as an intolerable offence in itself; and is always attributed to the force, which he put upon her person. That the murderers of the King were not punished, is equally dwelt upon, as a stain and stigma of dishonour upon the whole nation; and is equally ascribed to the influence, which he had gained over her mind. So cautiously did the rebels proceed at first against the Queen, even after they had entangled her by the seizure, and fettered her by the marriage! Almost all their *publick* activity of calumniation, was confined entirely to Bothwell. Nothing was *publickly* said against Mary, except by distant inferences and secret insinuations. And thus, though they had the impudence to imprison her person, they had not the effrontery to calumniate her character. This shews very clearly the good opinion, which the generality of the nation entertained of her at present, notwithstanding the murder, the seizure, and the marriage. But it shews, much more clearly

\* Keith, 408.

still, the absolute non-existence of the letters at this period. When they fabricated the letters, they must have totally altered their plan of conduct. When they produced the letters, either by description or by exhibition; the publick must have been equally changed in their mode of thinking. Then it was, and not till then, that their thunder began to roll, and their lightning to flash, against Bothwell and Mary united. At present their lightning, even against Bothwell, is little more than the playhouse lightning of brimstone. And their thunder against Mary is not even so much, as the playhouse

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—thunder of the mustard-bowl.

We thus leave the public papers of the rebels, because we can now come to some private ones, that give us intelligence equally derived from the rebels, and more circumstantial and full. We now come to Throgmorton's dispatches to Elizabeth. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was sent into Scotland by Elizabeth, on the infamous violation of every principle of honour, of duty, and of decency in the rebels, when they seized, carried away, and locked up in a prison, the amiable and worthy Queen, who had come over to them in a too dignified reliance upon the probity of wretches, that had scarcely a grain in their whole composition. But they were twin-souls to Elizabeth. They, like her, could make the most sacred promises, and break them instantly.

instantly. They, like her, could pretend to the most exalted principles of Christianity, and yet do what a heathen would have blushed to do. Their Jupiter laughed at the perjuries of rebellion. And the rebels, particularly, were some of the most abandoned miscreants, that the history of human hypocrisy holds up to our view. But Elizabeth *now* pretended to pity the Queen, to take part with her, and to resolve upon her restoration to liberty. She accordingly sent Throgmorton as her embassadour into Scotland, with instructions dated the 30th of June, to demand her liberty from the rebels, and to threaten them with the vengeance of England if they did not comply. They did not comply, yet no vengeance was hurled down upon them. They positively refused, at the very opening of the business, to release the Queen from her prison; and they at last turned the very solicitations of Elizabeth for the release, into a reason for carrying their measures against the Queen to extremity, and for forcing the Queen to resign up her crown for ever. Yet Elizabeth made not a single movement of hostility, to resent the additional insult shewn to the Queen, and to avenge the additional indignity offered to herself. She, who had been so prompt before, and who was so prompt afterwards, to line the cause of rebellion there with her aid, to assist the enemies of Mary, and to crush her friends; and she, who by sending only one thousand men into Scotland at this moment, might have re-established the whole kingdom upon its natural center of rest

again; even she sent not a single soldier into Scotland now, to effectuate her own purposes, and to support her own consequence, in the delivery of Mary from her prison. To have done this indeed, would have been to act with an honourable and a generous policy. But Elizabeth's was all of the low and creeping kind. She had not agility of soul enough, to mount 'up to the other. She, like the serpent which she rivalled in cunning and in mischief, was always crawling upon the ground. And at the very time that she was sending Throgmorton into Scotland, under pretence of procuring the release of Mary from the prison of the rebels; we incidentally know her to have been acting, by her prime minister Cecil, in a vigorous concert with them.

On June the twenty-sixth, only four days before the date of Throgmorton's instructions, Cecil wrote to the English embassadour at Paris in these significant terms. "At this time," he says, "I send unto you *certain packets of letters* "left here *by Mr. Melvin*, who lately came hither "from the Queen of Scotts." This was Sir Robert Melvill, who was sent in the preceding month of May, and just after the Queen's marriage with Bothwell, to explain the reasons of it to Elizabeth.\* "The sending of these" packets, adds Cecil, "TO MY LORD OF MURRAY, requireth *great haste*, whereof you may not make "the *Scottish embassadour privy*." Yet Melvil,

\* Anderson, i. 89 and 102—107.

though



though equally an embassadour from Mary, was such a perfidious wretch, as to carry them to London for the rebels, even while he was going in a publick capacity for Mary. "But I think," says Cecil, "you may make Robert Steward," the reputed assassin of a French president, "privy; with whom you may confer for the *speedy* sending away of the same letters. His *RETURN INTO SCOTLAND IS MUCH DESIRED OF THEM.*" So early had the rebels prepared their measures of usurpation; so closely were they united with Murray in them; so particularly did they request his return into Scotland, even in the month of May, when he had only left them on the ninth of April before;\* and so fully was Elizabeth in the secret of all! "And," as Cecil goes on, "*for the weal both of England and Scotland, I wish he were here: and for the manner of his returning, touching his safety, I pray require Mr. Steward to have good care.*" Elizabeth and Cecil, we see, were uncommonly solicitous for the safe return of this darling babe of grace, to co-operate actively with the rebels and with Elizabeth, and to lend his hand and head in destroying his sister. All this reflects a strong light back upon Elizabeth's proceedings, at the conferences in England. It shews her flagitiousness still more plainly than before. It shews she was only acting then the same part, which she had been previously acting. She was only winding up her bottoms in iniquity. She

\* Appendix, No. x.



was only finishing her career of profligacy. But she was not content *at present* to do all this by her faithful Cecil, in favour of the conspirators against Mary. She did more. As he had written the letter above, a few days *before* Throgmorton set out for Scotland; so he wrote another, a few days *after* Throgmorton set out. On the fourteenth of July he wrote thus: "If "MY LORD OF MURRAY should lack credit for "money, my Lord Steward," the Earl of Pembroke, "*would have his son give him such credit "as he hath.*"† Elizabeth was fearful, lest Murray's useful return should be delayed by the want of money. Her prime minister therefore writes to her embassadour, to point out the person who will advance him as much as he wants, without any limitation. And Elizabeth, who by a penurious conduct often starved her warlike expeditions, and deprived them of their full effectiveness, expended her money very freely in all the dirty services of intrigue. All displays the hypocrisy of Elizabeth in the present embassy, very clearly. A mind, long practised in hypocrisy, takes such a settled bend and warp with it, that it cannot be straightened again, but retains its crookedness for ever.

Indeed the release of Mary was only the ostensible object of the present embassy. The real aim of it was, to get the prince, the infant son of Mary, into her hands. This is apparent from the continual urgency of Elizabeth con-

† Cabala, 1st part, 128—129, and Keith, 442. See also Crawford, 25, and Jebb, ii. 220.

cerning the point, during the whole of this embassy, and even for years after it.\* The cunning of Elizabeth was perpetually laying snares for her knavishness. It was now stimulating her to an act, which promised her some security from the Scotch, and which must have terminated at last in the atrociousness of murder. The fate of the mother tells us with an infallible certainty, what would have been the fortune of the son, if Elizabeth had succeeded in her views. But the son was saved from the extended claws of this harpy, to succeed her on her throne, to unite two high-spirited and ever-warring kingdoms in peace, and to lay the foundation of all our commercial greatness. And the mother fell a victim to those political designs, which were originally calculated for the son; and which, if those designs had been carried into execution in all their natural train of consequences, must have involved both the son, the mother, and the whole island, in one common destruction.†

For

\* Keith, 413—414, 420, 422, Robertson, ii. 368, 369, Diff. 23, Goodall, ii. 325, 329, Crawford, 358, and Moyse, 50 and 52.

† There is a passage in Moyse's Memoirs to this purpose, which is little known, and yet very remarkable. In 1587, he says, and "upon the 27th of May or thereabout, the [new] Earl of Bothwell apprehended and challenged an *Englishman*, who was sent into Scotland on purpose to *poison* the King's Majesty, or to take him away by some indirect means. It was said at the time, that he was induced thereto by the *Queen of England* and her council. This knave was ex-

"amined

For the execution of Elizabeth's present scheme, Throgmorton was selected, who had been on an embassy to Mary before, who appears to have behaved with a paltry policy in it,\* and who had even dishonesty enough to engage in this iniquitous measure of Elizabeth's concerning the son. He would have been perhaps a man of virtue and integrity in private life.† But a new system of ethicks, it seems, had been even then invented for publick life, which discards virtue as a superfluity, and rejects integrity as an incumbrance. Embassadors of nations, and ministers of state, thus think themselves at liberty, and even suppose themselves compelled by necessity, to do many things in their political capacity, which in their personal would deservedly brand them for scoundrels. They may fancy themselves, by this mode of acting, standing nobly forward like the Decii of Rome, and devoting themselves to the *DI MANES* for the good of their country. And, in reality, they are only acting with all the scandalous dishonesty of a horse-dealer, who will tell ten thousand lies in the sale of a single horse, will vouch them to be truths with the solemnest air of hypocrisy, will afterwards acknowledge their falsity when they have done their intended service, and then laugh at the fools that were cheated by a con-

"amined by *his Majesty himself*, and *confessed* the form of that  
 "treasonable enterprize, which I remit to his deposition; and  
 "thereupon he was committed to ward within the castle of  
 "Edinburgh." P. 128.

\* Keith, 280, 282, &c.

† Melvill, 46 and 60.

fidence

fidence in them. But this was peculiarly the case, with the ministers and embassadours of Elizabeth.

*Those numerous worthies of the maiden reign, of whom vulgar history is so full, were, many of them, only superior adepts in the immoral policy of a horse-dealer. Throgmorton, particularly, had been bred up in this court. He had imbibed a portion of this spirit. And he shews he had, at the very admission into the activities of his office; when he was now at Berwick on the 11th of July, just ready to enter upon Scottish ground. "I am sorry to see," he then writes to Cecil, "that the Queen's Majesty's disposition*  
*"altereth not towards the [rebel] lords; for when*  
*"all is done, it is they which must stand her more*  
*"in stead than the Queen her cousin, and will be*  
*"better instruments to work some benefite and quiet-*  
*"ness to her Majesty and her realme, than the Queen*  
*"of Scotland, which is void of good fame."\**  
 This is conceived and expressed in the very spirit of Elizabethan jockeyship in politicks. All the great principles of religion, were to be given up to the calls of publick expediency. Justice, honour, compassion, and generosity, all that is great in the gospel, and all that is glorious in man under it, is to be trampled upon by the cloven-foot of policy, in order to serve some petty shifts and shuffles for securing England's and Elizabeth's quietness. Mary was disabled from acting with Elizabeth, in sending her son

\* Robertson, ii. 365. See also 378—379.

into England; and Elizabeth therefore was to unite with her enemies against her. And, as Mary was slandered by her enemies, she was therefore to be crushed by Elizabeth and by them in union, for a woman "void of good fame." Such are the poor creatures, that take upon themselves to manage the affairs of nations, and that fancy themselves the best calculated to manage them, because they are poor creatures! But, from this ignoble turn of thinking and acting, Throgmorton won more upon the confidence of the rebels, than a man of more exalted sentiments could have done. He came nearer to their own low level. He was also more open to all their insinuations against Mary. And from the joint influence of both, he was the better able to inform us of many particulars in the assertions of the rebels, which now prove eventually in favour of Mary, and which particularly shew their forgery in this great and initial part of the history of the letters, the pretended seizure of them and Dalgleshe upon the 20th of June.

Throgmorton entered Scotland on the ELEVENTH of July. He lay that night at Fast-Castle, a seat of Lord Hume's; and was there received by Lord Hume, Lethington, and James Melvill, a brother to Robert the *ambi-dexter* embassadour before, and as *ambi-dexter* as he in his political conduct.\* He instantly began with them upon the business of this embassy. He

\* Goodall, i. Pref. xviii—xxvii and 288.

mentioned his first overture to them from his mistress, the release of Mary from prison. But Lethington, who spoke for the rest, refused to accede to this in the most peremptory manner. "As to the Queen's liberty," Throgmorton tells us, "which was the first head that I proposed, they said, *that thereby they did perceive that the Queen wants their undoing*, for, as for the rest of the matters, *it was but folly to talk of them, the liberty going before.*" They thus declared explicitly, it would be folly even to treat upon any other points, unless the requisition for Mary's liberty was previously withdrawn. So resolute were they at the very first opening of the business, and in defiance of all the threatenings of Elizabeth, to keep Mary still in prison! Yet THEY SAID NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS, in order to palliate this determined severity to Elizabeth.

It now appears also, that the rebels had some time before addressed a letter to Elizabeth, for assistance in money. They knew her well, or they could not have been capable of making such an application to her. They now resent her total neglect of their address. Yet they acknowledge themselves to be more apprehensive, of the consequences of her conduct towards them, than of the interposition of the French, or the opposition of the royalists. So easy was it for Elizabeth at this period, by the smallest exertion of generosity and vigour, to have procured that release by her arms, which she pretended to insist upon by her memorials!

Yet NOT A WORD HAS BEEN SAID OF THE LETTERS hitherto to Elizabeth.

Lethington however, in order to play off France upon England, and to promote the views of usurpation by both, disclosed a little of the plan, that was now begun to be seriously agitated among them, and that was finally pursued with some variations by them. A French embassador was coming, he said, "to deliver them of their Queen for ever, who shall lead her life in France in a abby reclused, the prince at the French devotion, the realm governed by a council of their election of the Scottish nation, the forts committed to the custody of such as shall be chosen amongst themselves."\* They were thus mounting already in imagination, to the very meridian of their glory and greatness. They were even now meditating to consummate all their enormities, in that closing deed of villainy, the formal deposition of their sovereign. Yet THEY SAY NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS.

Throgmorton went to Edinborough on the TWELFTH, accompanied by the same persons; and reached it that night. The rebel lords in town were MORTON, the pretended seizer of the letters on the 20th of June before, Athol, Hume, Lethington, SIR JAMES BALFOUR, the pretended deliverer of the letters to the person seized with them, and still captain of the castle, Mr. James Macgill, and the president of the session. But the next day being Sunday, and a day "appointed for a solemn communion" in the

\* Robertson, ii. 366—367.



town, and even, according to the primæval absurdity of Presbyterianism, for "a solemn fast" too; he could not be admitted to an audience with them. He urged Lethington, however, for a speedy admittance. He urged MORTON, whom he met by chance. In the afternoon Lethington came to him. It then appeared, that though the day was a day of solemn communion and of solemn fast, and though it therefore prohibited them from hearing *him* on the subject of his embassy, yet it had not prohibited them from meeting and consulting together on the subject. They had heard of the embassadour's intended overtures from Lethington. He himself now came "on the behalfe of the lords and others," to tell him, that they begged he would defer the audience, till they could send for the absent lords. He also informed him, that they could not even grant him the request which he had made, of having access to the Queen; for fear forsooth, lest they should offend the King of France, to whose embassadour they had equally refused access before. So resolute were they, in cutting off all intercourse between the imprisoned Queen and the embassadours of both nations; that they might be at liberty to forge falsehoods, and to create calumnies, against her without restraint. And yet, though by their posteriour accounts the letters had been now in their possession more than THREE WEEKS, they DID NOT SAY A SINGLE SYLLABLE CONCERNING THEM.

Throgmorton, having mentioned all this in a dispatch

dispatch to Elizabeth, then proceeds "to advertise her Majesty of the state of all things, as he has learned since his coming thither." He accordingly speaks of Mary, as "in good health" within her prison. The Lord Ruthven is no longer one of her guards, "because he began to shew great favour to the Queen, and to give her intelligence." She is now "guarded by the Lord Lindsay, and Lochleven the owner of the house." She is "waited on with five or six ladies, four or five gentlewomen, and two chamberers, whereof one is a Frenchwoman." But this intimation, concerning the largeness of the Queen's household in prison, we know to be a falsehood imposed upon Throgmorton by the rebels. She has here "five or six ladies" and "four or five gentlewomen" about her; yet, only four days afterwards, Throgmorton himself tells us, "she required to have some other gentlewomen about her, naming none." She has here "two chamberers;" yet then she requires "to have a varlet of the chamber." And in fact, as we know undoubtedly from herself, she had scarcely any of these attendants about her; her whole household consisting of two women, a man-cook, and a surgeon. "Ils m'on tenue," says Mary to Elizabeth in a letter of May 17, 1568, "*sans serviteurs que deux femmes, et un cuisinier, et un chirurgien.*"\* So lying do the rebels appear, in this slight circumstance concerning the imprisoned Mary, at present!

\* Robertson, ii. 375, and Anderson, iv. part i. 31.

The " Earle of Buchan, *the Earle of Murray's brother,*" say Throgmorton's informants, " hath  
" also liberty to come to her at his pleasure." Lindsay and Lochlevin " doe keep her very  
" straitly, and, as far as I can perceive, their  
" rigour proceedeth by their order from these  
" men, because that the Queen will not by any  
" means be induced to lend her authority to  
" prosecute the murder, nor will not consent by  
" any perswasion to abandon the Lord Bothell for  
" her husband, but avoweth constantly that she  
" will live and die with him; and faith, that if  
" it were put to her choice to relinquish her  
" crown and kingdom or the Lord Bothell, she  
" would leave her kingdom and dignity, to go  
" as a simple damsel with him, and that she will  
" never consent that he shall fare worse, or have  
" more harm, than herself." I have transcribed  
this passage in all its pointedness against Mary,  
to shew the desperate promptitude of the rebels  
to calumniate her at this period. They had  
always been exercising this promptitude in secret,  
even while they were pretending to vindicate  
her reputation, and to rescue her person, from  
the degrading bands of a Bothwell. But they  
now began to be bolder. They wished to win  
Elizabeth completely to them by their lies. They  
therefore communicated this slander to Throg-  
morton. Though they had precluded him from  
all access to her, and *then* told him all these ca-  
lumnies against her; yet he was too partial to  
the cause of triumphant rebellion, not to be-  
lieve all that they said of an imprisoned Queen.

He

He therefore received all, without any check from his discernment. And he therefore reported all to Elizabeth, without any restraint from his generosity. His generosity was overpowered by his policy, and his discernment was smothered by his credulity.

What is here said of the Queen, that she "will not by any means be induced to lend her authority to prosecute the murder," had been asserted before by the rebels on June the 15th, when we know it to be absolutely false; and is retracted even by the rebels themselves in a letter of Throgmorton's just after the present, in which he acknowledges from them, that, in a *letter* of the Queen's to them, "she yieldeth in words," and therefore in reality, as words were all that were asked by them, and all that could be given by her, "to the prosecution of the murder."\* With regard to the other point, her asserted attachment to Bothwell, the whole relation is directly opposed by a fact, and the private anecdote is confronted by public history. Mary had actually abandoned Bothwell near a month before. She had abandoned him in open day, in a most striking manner, and in the presence of her own and the rebel armies. This all history testifies. And any accounts of her spirit and speeches afterwards, that are contrary to this, and that are at the same time derived from men, who were at once the usurpers of her power, the prisoners of her person, and the only possible

\* Robertson, ii. 375. And see Cabala, 1st. part, 128.

reporters of her temper and sayings in prison, are as light as vanity itself in the scale against it. But this very mass of calumnies was revived afterwards by the rebels, and formally brought against Mary at the conferences in England. Mary by this means had an opportunity of knowing and answering it, by her commissioners. Her answer is clear and strong. It runs thus. "Thay," she says, "nor nane of thame, either *befoir* the "marriage or *efter*, cam to her Hienes, as the "part of trew subjects should haif done, knowing at that tyme, as thay affirme, the contrare " [that Bothwell was concerned in murdering "the King], either *privatelie* or *oppinly* to find "fault with the said Erle concerning the murder "for said, or yet in any wayse seemit to *grudge* or "disallow the said marriage, *unto sic tyme* thay "had practizit *the keipar of the castell of Edinburgh* and *provest of the town* to be *thair assistoris*; and then secreitlie tuke armis, and "upon the suddan on the nyght with thair forces "environit the castell of Borthwik, quhair her "Majestie was in quiet and peaciabill manner. "So that *thair first warning* was *be sownd of trumpet* and *thair sycht in armis*. And her "Grace eschaping to Dunbar, quhairthrow thay "could nocht attain to thair conspyrit purpos, "returnit suddenlie to Edinburgh, raisit bandis "of men of weir, set out thair proclamatiounis, "affirming *the same to be for her relief*, umbesett "hir way betwixt hir Grace's castellis of Dunbar "and Edinburgh. And her Majestie willing, "for the tender luif her Hienes bair her sub-

VOL. I. R "jectis,

" jectis, to stanch all effusioun of blude amongis  
 " thayme, *did nocht prefer the impunitie of the*  
 " *Erle Boythwell to her awn honor, in seeing him*  
 " *conweyit away*" [which was an additional slan-  
 der of theirs], " as in their answer is contenit :  
 " For thay, being on the feild in arrayit battell  
 " aganis hir Majestie, send [sent] the Laird of  
 " Grange to hir Hienes, and desyrit her Grace  
 " to *caus the Erle Boythwell pass off the feildis,*  
 " alleging him suspect of the said cryme, *unto*  
 " *the tyme the caus mycht be tryit* ; and that her  
 " Grace wald pass with thame, and use the  
 " counfall of her nobilitie, and *thay sould honour,*  
 " *serve, and obey her Majestie as thair Princes and*  
 " *Sovereigne* : And *upon thair promeis,* for eschew-  
 " ing of bludeshed, as said is, her Majestie  
 " consentit thairto, and passit with the said Laird  
 " of Grange to thame, quho at the samyn tyme  
 " **TUIK THE ERLE BOYTHWELL BE THE HAND,** and  
 " BAID HIM DEPART, PROMISING THAT NA MAN  
 " SHOWLD FOLOW NOR PURSEW HIM ; and swa BE  
 " THAIR AWIN CONSENT HE FAST AWAY : And  
 " gif they had bene myndit to persew him onlie,  
 " thay wald nocht haif left the doing of all dili-  
 " gence was possible, quhairthrow he mycht haif  
 " bene tane ; bot fra [from the time] thay had  
 " gottin her Majestie's persoun in their handis,  
 " thay maid *na travell nor persuit* aganis him,  
 " *sa lang as he was in the countrey neir thame,*  
 " quhair he remanit *ane gryte space,* and mycht  
 " haif apprehendit him more esilie ; nor quhair  
 " [for] *lang tyme,* he being furth of the realme  
 " and unrecoverabill, *maid ane colorit maner of*  
 " *seiking*



“ *seeking him upon the sey*; as now it appeiris  
 “ manifest, it was nocht him they socht, bot  
 “ thair awin particular profit; quhairthrow to  
 “ all men of haill judgement it may appere, hir  
 “ Grace preferrit nocht his eschaiping and im-  
 “ punitie to hir awin honour; for quhatsoever  
 “ was left ondone in that behalfe, it may maist  
 “ justlie be laid to thair awin charge. And  
 “ thairafter, *at her Grace's first cuming to thame on*  
 “ *the feildis*, the Erle of MORTOUN said to hir  
 “ Majestie *with gryte reverence*, Madame, hair  
 “ is the place zour Grace should be, and we will  
 “ HONOUR, SERVE, and OBEY ZOW, AS EVER THE  
 “ NOBILITIE OF THIS REALME DID ANY OF ZOUR  
 “ PROGENITORS OF BEFOIR; and haifing RATIFYIT  
 “ the promeis maid be the Laird of Grange in  
 “ thair names, hir Majestie passing with thame  
 “ to Edinburgh, *being ludgit in one sempill burges*  
 “ *bous* (setting asyde her awin pallaces and  
 “ castellis), and *ruidlie and rigourouslie entreatit*  
 “ *be thame*, contrare thair promeis, being thair  
 “ Princes and Sovereigne, it was na wounder in  
 “ case her Majestie had gevin thame quick and  
 “ scharp answeris, (as we belief) nocht unrea-  
 “ sonable; bot WAS ALWAYS CONTENT, tuitching  
 “ ONY thing allegit be thame, TO OFFER THE  
 “ SAME TO BE REFORMIT be the tryall of the haill  
 “ nobilitie and estais of the realme, *her Grace*  
 “ *being present and heard*; and TO THAT EFFECT  
 “ DIRECTIT HER SECRETARE LETHINGTOWN TO  
 “ THAIR COUNSALL that held her captive at that  
 “ tyme, and WAS ALUTERLIE [utterly] REFUSIT  
 “ THAIROF; and maid NA offer to leif the realme,

“ that her Grace mycht possesse the Erle Boith-  
 “ well, as thay allege. And thairefter her Grace  
 “ was secretlie convoyit perforce, and aganis her  
 “ will, in the nycht, and imprisonit within the  
 “ fortalice of Lochlevin.”\*

This is a full and circumstantial answer to the original slanders in Throgmorton's dispatch, and to the additional calumnies fabricated afterwards by the rebels. They never ventured to controvert the facts in this answer. And it stands an eternal monument of their verbal forgeries against Mary. But it stands a monument of something more. The collision of one falsehood with another, has often demonstrated the forgery of both. It does so here. And this was the great reason, for my proving the falsehood of Throgmorton's reported slanders, by so long a quotation. In those, the rebels shew their virulent eagerness to calumniate their Queen. The more virulent is their calumny, the greater appears to be their eagerness. They have even gone so far in both, as to report what undermines its own credibility by its exaggerations, and betrays its forgery by its extravagance; that Mary protested she would resign her crown, and go as a simple damsel, to wander over the world with Bothwell. Yet, in all this wild rage of calumination against her, when they were so desperately bent upon laying her honour and dignity in the dust, THEY SAID NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. Had the letters been now discovered, they could

\* Goodall, ii. 164--166.

not but have mentioned them, they could not but have produced them. Either way, they would have overpowered the embassadour with them. They would have set their foot firmly upon them. They would then have shaken the too yielding heart of the embassadour, most effectually, from them. But THEY SAID NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. The letters, therefore, were not yet discovered. And the account, which the rebels gave afterward of their seizing Dalgleshe and the letters on the 20th of June, is all a solemn banter upon the credulity of the times.

But we may re-urge the argument with equal efficacy, from another report in the letter. This is very different from the other. It is indeed quite opposite to it. Yet it carries the same look of expressiveness, and speaks with the same tone of energy, in favour of Mary. "As far as I can perceive," adds the embassadour, "they intend not either to touch the Queen in suerty or in HONOUR, for THEY DO SPEAK OF HER WITH RESPECT AND REVERENCE." If the letters had been *now* discovered, they could *not* have intended not to touch the Queen in her honour, they could *not* have spoken of her with respect and reverence. They must have intended to assault her honour violently. They must have spoken of her as an adulterous strumpet. They must have loaded her name with foul imputations of murder.

To these evidences out of this important letter, I shall subjoin one more. Nor am I afraid

of dwelling too long upon it. In an argument of this nature, the force of the whole arises from an accumulation of parts. And the more rays of intelligence are brought to meet in one centre, the stronger will be the blaze of conviction. "Against the 20th day of this month," says Throgmorton, "there is a generall assembly of all the churches, shires, and boroughs towns of this realm, namely of such as be contented to repair to these lords to this town, where it is thought the whole state of this matter will be handled, and I fear me much to the Queen's disadvantage and danger; unless the Lord of Lidington, and some others which be best affected unto her, do provide some remedy; for I perceive *the great number*, and in manner *all*, but chiefly *the common people*, which have assisted in these doings, do greatly dishonour the Queen, and mind seriously either her deprivation or her destruction.—The chiefest of the lords which be here present at this time, do not shew so much lenity to the Queen as I think they could be contented, for fear of *the rage of the people*. The women be most furious and impudent against the Queen, and yet the men be mad enough; so as a stranger over-busie may soon be made a sacrifice amongst them." The rebel leaders had been artfully working up the spirits of the ignorant and inflammable mob, with their private suggestions of slander against Mary, even while they were publicly avowing themselves, the assertors of her reputation, and the vindicators of her liberty; till at last a storm was beginning

beginning to arise among the populace, which would enable them to throw off the masque that they had hitherto worn, and to appear in their proper characters. The populace are generally as heady as they are honest, and as violent in their resolves as they are weak in their understandings. But, though we have seen the lords abusively and boldly slanderous against Mary, THEY SAID NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. We now see the commonalty openly inflamed against her. The men are "mad" in their animosity to her. The women are still more "furious and "impudent" in their speeches concerning her. Betwixt both, her honour, and even her life, are in danger. Even an embassadour, even Elizabeth's, even a Throgmorton, was apprehensive of being torn to pieces, if he shewed himself "over-busie" to avert the threatened dangers. And yet these political Bedlamites did not, any more than their keepers the lords, SAY A SINGLE SYLLABLE CONCERNING THE LETTERS.\*

On the SIXTEENTH, Throgmorton wrote to Elizabeth an account of his transactions with the lords since the 14th, and of their answer to him. But this dispatch is now lost. We have only an intimation concerning it, in a subsequent dispatch. Throgmorton then says to Elizabeth thus: "It may please your Majesty, you might "perceave by *my letters of the 16th*, how far I "had proceeded with these lords, and what was "their answer."†

\* Robertson, ii. 368—374.

† Ibid. 374. See also Keith, 420, for a letter of the 16th.

But Throgmorton wrote again on the EIGHTEENTH. "I have spoken *particularly*," he says, "with the Earle MORTON," who is said to have seized the letters on the 20th of June before, "the Lord of Lidington, and Sir JAMES BALFOUR captain of this castle," who is said to have given up the letters on the 20th. But does he hear any thing of the letters from them? No! They still refuse him an audience. They still deny him access to Mary. But they have no *new* reasons for either. They still SAY NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS.

Throgmorton then goes to the news of the day. Robert Melvill, the very man who went as an embassiadour from Mary to Elizabeth, in the month of May before, to explain the reasons of her marriage; who carried letters with him from the present rebels to Murray, and who left them with Cecil for him; came "from the Queen" in Lochleven to this town the 6th [it should be "the 16th"]\* of July, and brought a letter from "her." He mentions the contents of this letter, *as reported to him*. He then tells of a secret correspondence, which he has found means (by Robert Melvill, no doubt, acting "in his vocation" of *double* knavery) to commence with the Queen. This authoritatively explains the other. In *that*, it is said, "she will by no means

\* That the date should be the 16th, is plain. This letter is one of a train, a follower to letters of the 16th and 14th. And, in this letter of the pretended 6th, Mary desires, that Throgmorton "might have access unto her;" when he did not even reach Edinborough till the 12th.



“yield to abandon Bothell for her husband, “nor relinquish him; which matter will do her “most harm of all, and hardeneth these lords to “great severity against her.” In his letter immediately preceding, Throgmorton had told us a reported falsehood concerning her, exactly of the same tendency. I then took particular pains to refute it. But here it is refuted by his own account of his own letter from her. In both, Mary refuses to renounce Bothwell for her husband. But in the latter she assigns a reason satisfactory to the highest delicacy. She “grounds “herself upon this reason,” says Throgmorton, “*taking herself to be seven weeks gone with child,* “[and that], by renouncing Bothell, *she should “acknowledge herself to be with child of a bastard,* “and *to have forfeited her honour,* which she “**WOULD NOT DO TO DIE FOR IT.**” This last stroke is quite in the elevated tone of Mary’s former magnanimity.\* It must be particularly pleasing to every dignified spirit. But, to the low-souled policy of a Throgmorton, it naturally appeared to be too high-set. He saw not the evident refutation, that his own letter from Mary supplied of his former and of his present slanders against her. He felt not this ray of heaven, that now lightened from the mind of Mary. “I have persuaded her,” he adds in the disgraceful strain of a cold-blooded politician, in order “to save *her own life and her child,* to

\* So on July the 5th, 1568, she says to Elizabeth, “In “that you trust me, I will not (*to die for it*) deceive you.” Robertson, ii. 453.

“choose

"choose the least hard condition." Her own life was still threatened, we see. It was threatened too by so speedy a fate, as would involve her child in the same destruction with herself. And yet the very threateners of death to her and her embryo child, DID NOT SAY A WORD OF THE LETTERS. The murder was projected and was threatened, first; and the letters were *discovered* afterward, to justify the threats, and to authorize the project.

"Although the lords and councilors," as Throgmorton goes on, "speak *reverently, mildly,* "and *charitably* of their Queen, so as I cannot "gather by their speech *any* intention to *cruelty* "or *violence*; yet I do find by intelligence, that "the Queen is *in very great peril of her life*, by "reason that the people assembled at this convention do mind *vehemently* the *destruction* of "her." The respect shewn by the leaders, proves the letters *not* to have been yet discovered. And the malice shewn by the rest, coincides in evidence with it. *This* pretends not to any letters, as the reason and ground of its malice. *That* precludes every idea of the letters. And this Mars and Venus of Scotland, Bothwell and Mary, have not *yet* been caught in the iron net of adultery, and exhibited as a spectacle of derision, either to these gods of rebellion, or to the humble mortals below them.

"It is a public speech," adds Throgmorton however, "amongst all the people, and amongst "all estates (saving of the counsellors), that their "Queen hath no more liberty nor priviledge to  
"commit

“commit MURDER NOR ADULTERY, than any other private person, neither by God’s laws, nor by the laws of this realm.” This is the first hint that occurs in all the papers of the times, concerning any charge of adultery, or concerning any imputation of murder, against Mary. Neither had been thought of before. But they both appear now. And yet, even yet, the very imputers of adultery, the very chargers with murder, SAY NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. These were not yet discovered. These were not yet fabricated. These were not yet planned. And the rebel story of their discovery on the 20th of June before, stands peculiarly convicted of forgery at this moment.

But, though the letters are not in being, the charges in them against Mary are. The charges therefore were invented first. The letters were fabricated afterwards. This is very plain upon the present passages. The charges were circulated at this period, with a malicious industry, among the lowest and middle ranks of life. They were peculiarly calculated by their nature, to fasten on the minds and spirits of these. Where the intellect is little exercised, and where the passions are greatly agitated, as is the case in all such revolutions as the present; and where the principles of historical credibility are little known and less considered, as was peculiarly the case then with the middle ranks of society in Scotland, and has always been, and always will be, with the lowest in Scotland and in England; any bold and mysterious surmise of slander, any in-

timation

timation of a dark and dreadful villainy, however absurd in its matter, however incredible in its manner, and however un-founded and un-authenticated in both, will operate with the force of a demonstration. A WARMING-PAN will become pregnant. A whole nation of philosophers and thinkers, once believed it to have been so. The faith has even remained impressed upon their descendants, for two or three generations since. And there are few of our Presbyterians at present, who do not still believe the truth of the story. This astonishing proof of the political credulity of our fathers and of ourselves, may serve at once to illustrate, and to excuse, the bigotry of the Presbyterians of Scotland at that period. An extravagance of credulity, in *political* matters peculiarly, has been, and still is, the degrading characteristick of Presbyterianism in every part of our island. They thus believed Mary to have been guilty of adultery, without a shadow of a reason for it. They then believed her to have been guilty of murder, because—they believed her to have been guilty of adultery before. They reared Pelion upon Ossa, and Ossa they founded on air.

All this, no doubt, proceeded at first from the artful insinuations of some leaders in mischief. These threw out the tales, to catch the silly multitude. Falling into the hot-bed of popular folly, the seeds there grew up and flourished exceedingly. And then the rebel lords took up their own insinuations from the lips of the vulgar, adopted them for solemn truths, and confirmed

firmed them—by the letters. This is a curious instance of that inverted process in knavery, which has often been used, I fear, to impose upon the good people of this island. When there are so many thousands among us, who will pretend to judge of publick transactions, without one atom of knowledge to direct them, and with a large fund of inflammable matter within to mislead them; they are sure to become a prey to the knowing, the artful, and the un-principled. Just so it was, but in a much higher degree, in Scotland then. The rebels had no ground for their calumnies at the time. They pretended to none. Had they, Throgmorton, who was so ready to report every calumny against Mary, must have dwelt with a peculiar emphasis upon this. Yet they threatened her with deposition. Yet they threatened her with death. Yet they threatened the child within her with death too. What a picture is this, of the knaves who had breathed the whispers of calumny against her, and of the fools who had inhaled them from their mouths; of the stupidity of these, in believing without reason, without authority; of the masterliness of those, in making a nothing to operate so forcibly for their views; and of the savageness of both, in so accusing and so threatening a lady, who was then supposed to be pregnant, and a Queen, who was and is an honour to their nation.

But, though the accusations had not an inch of ground to rest upon at present, they had afterwards. They were lowered from the situation in which they stood, hovering like vapours in the  
air,

air, and ready every moment to mix with it. They were brought down to earth, and compressed into palpableness (if I may be allowed the expression), by being attached to the letters. And then, then, the rebel lords themselves could allow, *that they had never had any foundation before*. They could then "find NO OTHER way or "moyen" to vindicate their proceedings, nor "the securitie of them and their posteritie be "ONLY OTHER meane myght be providit and "established," than by grounding all which they had done or should do upon the letters.\* So plainly, by the confessions of the rebels themselves, had they not the least authority for all their impudent calumnies against Mary, even when they were most violent in their clamours concerning them, before they discovered the letters! And so plainly, by the passages above, were the letters *not* discovered, *till* the calumnies had been openly circulated, *till* the clamours upon them had been exceedingly violent, *till* deposition and death had been actually planned and menaced for them.†

But we now come to a passage in the letters, that is peculiarly important. DALGLEISHE is said by the rebels to have been seized with the letters, on the 20th of June. Yet we now find, that not only *not* the letters were then seized,

\* Goodall, ii. 63.

† Throgmorton says, that "Mr. Knox arrived here in "this town the 6th of this month." It is a mistake again for the 16th. In his letter of the 14th, he said before, "Knox "is not here, but in the west parts." Robertson, ii. 373.

but



but that even Dalgleishe himself was not; and that, when he was seized, the letters were not seized with him. This is a powerful addition to all the accumulated evidences of the forgery before. And it comes in the more usefully here, as we have just seen the Queen openly set up by all ranks and orders of the rebels, except the counsellors,

A fixed figure for the time of scorn  
To point its slow unmoving finger at.

"The Earl of Bothwell," says Throgmorton, "and all his adherents and associates, be put to the horn by the ordinary justice of this town, named the lords of the session; and commandment given to all sheriffs, and all other officers, to apprehend him, and all other his followers and receiptors." The rebels, it seems, had induced or compelled the lords of session and all the retainers of the court, to resume the discharge of their respective functions; by their proclamation of June the 21st before. Bothwell was then "chargeit to underly the law" before them; and "yairfoir, in default of finding of souertie," say the rebels by a proclamation of July the 21st, "he is ordourlie denuncit oure soveranis rebell, and put to ye horne."\* This appears from the present letter, to have been done since the date of the last, and only the day before the date of this. And let us, before we proceed, mark the inconsistencies of the rebels, in their accounts of that guilt, for which Bothwell was now condemned judicially in his absence.

\* Anderson, i. 144.

In their proclamation on June 26th they said, that "the authoris" of the murder "wer knawin weill enough in the sicht of men."\* In their acts of council and of parliament the December following, they added, that "all men in thair harts were fully perswaided" at the time of the murther, "of the authors and devisers of that mischevous and unworthie fact."† In their answer also before the commissioners of England they asserted, that, when the King was murdered, "James, sumetime Erle Bothwell, *being well knawn for chief author thairas*, enterit in so great credit and authoritie with the Quene, that, within thre monethis efter the murther of hir husband," he—seized her; and that they took up arms to "punish the said Erle, chief author of the murther."‡ And yet at the very commencement of their rebellion, and on June the 12th, they say that they have taken up arms, "*understanding* yat James Erle Bothwele *put violent bandes* in our Sovereigne Ladies maist nobile persone;" and they add, that "*attour* [moreover] the saidis lordis and nobilitie *ar* assuredlie INFORMIT, yat the same James Erle Bothwele—was the principall author, devisor, and instrument of the—murther," and this appears to be of veritie," because—the Earl was hastily divorced of his wife afterwards, even while he kept the Queen confined, "*quhilk confirms* the INFORMATION given to the saidis lordis and nobilitie, of the said Erle Bothwele."§

\* Anderson, i. 139.

† Goodall, ii. 64 and 67.

‡ Goodall, 144 and 145. § Anderson, i. 131 and 132.

Thus

Thus he, who was well known to ALL to be the author of the murder at the very time, and of whose guilt they themselves were so sure that they actually took up arms to punish it, was so little known at the time to be guilty; that they really took up arms to rescue the Queen, not to punish him, that they were first informed of his guilt *after* they had taken up arms, and that then they were obliged to couple the divorce and the seizure with the information, in order to deduce his guilt from all together.

On the 16th of June they dare not rely on the INFORMATION, which they had received on the 12th. They only glance at it now, though it was their principal argument then. They dwell wholly on the circumstances, that were only corroborative before. In a bond of association which they drew up, on the day of sending the Queen away to prison, and in consequence of resolving upon this execrable villainy, they say; that there was "no maner of just tryell takin, nor ment to be takin, for the cryme" of the king's murder, "albeit, *in all this tyme*, the murderis wer *weill enouch knawin*; for quho culd be ignorant thair of, and not cleirly see it, behalding the proceeding of Erl Bothwell the tyme of the attempting that odious fact, and continuallie syncesyne? That wer sufficient, althocht there wer na uther pruiſſ."\* But on the 26th we find the rebels rejecting both their deductions and their information, and founding

\* Anderson, i. 134—135.

his guilt upon a new point. "Of the quhilk  
 "murther now," they say, "be *just tryell taikin*,  
 "he is found, not onlie to have bin the inventor  
 "and devyser, but the executer with his awin  
 "handis."\* And yet on the 27th, the very day  
 afterwards, they order William Blackater, James  
 Edmonstone, John Blackater, and Mynar Frazer,  
 to be put to the torture "for furthering of  
 "the tryall of the *veritie*."† The trial there-  
 fore had been held before the 26th of June, and  
 yet was still to be held on the 27th. The truth  
 had appeared on the 26th, and had disappeared  
 on the 27th again.

Throgmorton also informs us from the rebels  
 on the 14th, that Bothwell has been "with  
 "manifest evidence notoriously detected to be  
 "the principall murderer."‡ Accordingly, on  
 the 26th of June before, the rebels declared of  
 Bothwell, that "his awin servants, being in  
 "companie with him at that unworthie deid,"  
 the murder, "hes testifiet" to his share in it.¶  
 Yet on the 27th four retainers of his were ordered  
 to be tortured, "for furthering of the tryall of  
 "the veritie." And the two first of his servants,  
 that were ever pretended specifically and by name  
 to be taken, were not taken till the 17th or 18th  
 of July; and then they "confessed *such fundry*  
 "circumstances," says Throgmorton in this dis-  
 patch of the 18th, "*as it appeareth evidently*,  
 "that he, the said Earl, was one of the principal

\* Anderfon, i. 140.

† Robertson, ii. 371.

‡ Keith, 407.

¶ Anderfon, i. 140.

"executors of the murder, in his own person.  
 "accompanied with fundry others, of which  
 "number I cannot yet certainly learn the names,  
 "but of three of them, that is to say, two of the  
 "Ormistons of Tivot-dall, and one Hayborn  
 "of Bolton: the lords would be glad, that none  
 "of the murderers should have any favour or  
 "receipt in England; and hereof their desire is,  
 "that the officers upon the border may be warn-  
 "ed." This then was the grand æra of disco-  
 very concerning the murder. The trials taken,  
 the detections made, the informations, and the  
 servants, which have been mentioned before, are  
 all as false as they are contradictory. And all  
 form a wonderful addition to the mass of false-  
 hood and forgery, which we have seen before.

But who were these servants of Bothwell, that  
 were now taken and that now confessed? Let  
 us see Throgmorton's account of them. "The  
 "Earl of Bothell's PORTER, and one of his other  
 "SERVITORS OF HIS CHAMBER, being appre-  
 "hended, have confessed such fundry circum-  
 "stances, as it appeareth evidently, that he, the  
 "said Earl, was one of the principal executors of  
 "the murder," &c. Bothwell's porter was Wil-  
 liam Powrie, called "servitor to the Erle Both-  
 "well" in some depositions published by the  
 rebels,\* denominated expressly "Powrie le por-  
 "tier" in the second confession of Paris,†  
 and called equally by the preceding depositions  
 in another place, "William Powrie servitor and

\* Anderson, ii. 165.

† Goodall, ii. 77.