

occasion, an incident, which he could not but have noticed with the "trumpet tongue" of energy, if it had happened; and is still plainer, if possible, from his notice of the letters, as mentioned for the first time by the rebels, in a dispatch which he wrote several days afterward. The whole formal and pompous tale therefore, which the rebels have given us of the seizure of Dalgleish and the letters on the 20th of June, appears again for the twentieth time, and appears every time with an additional weight of evidence, to be an impudent effort of experiment, to try how far the credulity of their credulous party would extend.*

Throgmorton wrote again to Elizabeth on the NINETEENTH. Matters were now ripening fast to a conclusion. "The repair to this town doth begin to be great," he says, "and men which kept no place of counsellors, and yet of good regard, do boldly and overtly by their speech utter great rigour and extremities against their Sovereign, saying, it shall not be in the power of any *within* this realm, neither *without*, to keep her from condign punishment for her notorious crimes." They thus charge the Queen with "notorious crimes." They thus threaten her with "condign punishment" for them. They thus defy all the efforts of the royalists, and all the exertions of Elizabeth, to save her from their avenging hands. They were mad enough, to fancy the

* Robertson, ii. 374—378.

truth of all their surmises, and to intend the execution of all their menaces. Yet these very madmen SAID NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS. Dalgleshe had been seized only a day or two before. Powrie had been seized with him. Their confessions were now the common topick of the town. They themselves were the first "who gave information of the manner of the murder." Yet, with all this new light breaking in upon the publick, the maddest of the rebels SAID NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS.

"I find," adds Throgmorton, "the matter likely to be brought to one of these four issues.—The first and best is, to restore their Queen and Sovereign to her liberty and royal estate," &c. "The next and second degree is, that the Queen shall abandon this realm, and—reign all government—to—her son," &c. "The third end and degree is, to prosecute justice against the Queen, *to make her process, to condemn her, to crown the prince, and to keep her in prison all the days of her life* within this realm. To this opinion there doth lean (as far as I can understand) both *the most part of the counsellors, and a great many others.*" Only the very day before, Throgmorton has informed us, that "the lords and councilors speak reverently, mildly, and charitably of their Queen, so as I cannot gather by their speech any intention to cruelty or violence."* Only five days before, he hath also informed us, that

* Robertson, ii. 377, July 18.

“ they do speak of her with respect and reverence, and *do affirm*, as I do learn, that the “ conditions aforesaid accomplished,” the murder prosecuted and the divorce made, “ they “ will both *put her to her liberty, and restore her to “ her estate.*” * Yet now, we see, “ the most part “ of the counsellors,” in only five days, in only one, without a single discovery intervening, and SAYING NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS, are so entirely changed; that they, who were for restoring her to her liberty and her crown, are now for pretending to try her, to condemn her, to depose her, and to keep her in prison for life. The quickness of the transition shews evidently the artificialness of the change. They had been secretly poisoning the people, with their infamous calumnies against Mary; and they had been artfully deferring the audience of the English embassadour, that they might see the operation of their drugs; before they ventured upon the completion of their measures. And as soon as they saw the delirium, which they had brought on by their potions, to be strong enough to bear them out in all that they intended; they changed their language without one blush of shame, and they entered upon their measures without one compunction of remorse. Yet, with all this hypocrisy before and all this flagitiousness behind, they SAID NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS.

“ The last and worst degree of all is,” adds

* Robertson, ii. 371, July 14.

Throgmorton, "not only to have the Queen's
 " process made and her condemnation publick,
 " but also THE DEPRIVATION of her ESTATE and
 " LIFE to ensue. *A great number* do prefer this
 " before the other going before, because they
 " fear they shall want sure means to keep her
 " ALIVE in prison," &c.* Yet even these fanatick
 savages, who mounted up in principles at once,
 to all that eternal disgrace of our country, the
 regicidal butchery of 1648, did not pretend to
have any letters against her. They were for
 trying, for condemning, for beheading her. But
 THEY SAID NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS.
 And yet the very lords could afterwards allow,
 could afterwards affirm, and could afterwards with
 a selfish solemnity maintain, that their conduct
 past and to come, in imprisoning and deposing
 their Queen, could be vindicated by "no other
 " way or moyen" possible to be found, than by
 appealing to the letters.

Throgmorton wrote again to Elizabeth on the
 TWENTY-FIRST, and inclosed an answer in form,
 which the rebel lords had given him at last, to
 some of his requisitions.† This answer and dis-
 patch were thought to have been lost. But the
 latter has been found. And the former was
 only disguised by a false date to it, the 11th
 for the 20th.‡ I shall begin with the answer,
 and end with the dispatch.

The rebel lords still defer his audience, on the
 poor pretence of the absence of some amongst

* Keith, 420—421. † Ibid. 428. ‡ Ibid. 417, and
 Pref. xi.

them; a pretence that would never be wanting, if they chose it. On the 15th,* it seems, he had presented a "great and large remonstrance" to them, upon their rebellion against the authority, and upon their imprisonment of the person, of their Queen; "putting them in mind of the duties of "subjects towards their natural princes." They therefore, for Elizabeth's and his "better satisfaction herein," do now "declare some part "of their intents and proceedings." Now then, if they have the letters, they will certainly mention them. And we shall have at last some intimation of this grand discovery, upon which in the December following they ground all their past, and even all their future, transactions, for their full and complete vindication.

Yet we are still doomed to disappointments. They still SAY NOT A WORD OF THE LETTERS, They even say, what evidently shews they had *not* the letters yet. "First," they say, "we "pray her Highness," Elizabeth, "to conceive "of us, that we take no pleasure to deal with "our Sovereign after this sort, AS WE ARE "PRESENTLY [at present] ENFORCED TO DO, "being THE PERSON IN THE WORLD WHOM (ac- "cording to our bounden duty) WE HAVE IN "OUR HEARTS MOST REVERED AND HONOURED, "whose grandeur WE HAVE MOST EARNESTLY "WISHED, and WITH THE HAZARD OF OUR "LIVES would have ENDEAVOURED OURSELVES "TO HAVE PROCURED IT." All this alledged honour and reverence for the Queen's person,

* Keith, 424.

all this earnestness of wishes for her grandeur, and all this readiness to promote her grandeur, even at the hazard of their lives; however hypocritical and false, are plainly extended down to the present moment, as proofs that they *now* take no pleasure in what they are *now* enforced to do. But they could not talk in this strain *at present*, if they had intercepted, if they had fabricated, or if they had planned, any letters against her.

They then dwell strongly upon the murder of the King, and the acquittal of Bothwell: though the former was executed, in concert with Bothwell, by MORTON their leader; and though, at the latter, MORTON was not content to have laid his trains in secret for the deliverance of Bothwell, but stood openly during the trial within the same box with him.* They next dwell *more strongly*

* See Jebb, i. 403. But Jebb, i. 464, informs us of Morton's standing in the box with Bothwell, at the trial. And Camden, Transf. 94, and Orig. 117, tells us what is much more, that Morton undertook the management of his whole cause for him, "*Mortonio causam ejus sustinente.*" These two notices unite together, to shew us the main spring that set the whole machine a going. The four assessors to the hereditary judge, Argyle, were plainly picked out for the purpose; being all four warm friends to Morton and the faction, being all four deeply engaged in the rebellion with him, and being all four commissioned with him afterwards to charge Bothwell and Mary with that murder, of which they acquitted Bothwell now (Keith, 375). Buchanan tells us expressly, "that the murdereris themselves maid the chuse of 'ye judges'" (Detection, 31, ii. Anderson, and 294, i. Jebb). The flaw in the indictment too, which fixed the 9th of February for the day of the murder, when it was actually committed about two on the morning of the 10th, was contrived

strongly upon the seizure, and forced marriage, of the Queen. They say she was "led captive" by

trived by Morton in concurrence with John Spens, one of the Queen's two advocates and prosecutors (Anderson, ii. 97), who was probably engaged in the murder himself (Anderson, i. 48), and who was certainly embarked in the rebellion afterwards (Keith, 452); as an additional barrier of security to Bothwell (Anderson, ii. 98 and 114). Morton could not tell, what evidence Lenox might have obtained concerning the murder. He knew Bothwell's guilt and his own so well, as to be clear he might obtain the fullest. And, as the assessors in such a case would have been compelled to condemn, it was requisite to have a second subterfuge. For this reason also, he added a third. To *prevent* the production of evidence, was better than to baffle it when it was produced. Morton, therefore, provided a body of armed men with a flag to attend Bothwell to the place of trial (Anderson, ii. 157, and Keith, 405). These were meant only for a terrour to the timid Lenox. They could be intended for nothing else. They could not have rescued Bothwell from punishment, if he had been condemned. A condemnation also was effectually precluded, by the measures already taken. And they could not be calculated to counteract any armed men with Lenox, because Lenox was coming without any (Anderson, ii. 106—107). They were intended therefore to terrify only. They were intended, say the rebels themselves, "that nane sould compeir to persew him." (Keith, 405). This they did completely. Lenox had now reached Stirling on his way to the trial. He there heard of the prepared soldiery. He was alarmed. He stopt where he was. He wrote to the Queen, to defer the trial *on account of his sickness* (Anderson, i. 52—53). And, finding the trial was not to be deferred and would come on the next day, he so far recovered himself, as still to determine not to appear, but to send over his servant with a letter to the court, and to avow the real reason of his absence. "The caus of his "absence," he says, "is the schortnes of tyme, and that he is "denyit of his freindis and servandis, quha suld have accom-
panyit

by Bothwell. They say she was "by fear, force," &c. "compelled" to marry him. And they consequently had not yet an *idea* of any letters, that should shew she was seized by her own management, was married by her own concurrence, and had been an adulterous whore to him before. But they tell us this secret, even more pointedly afterwards. "What rested," they say, for Bothwell "to finish the work begun, and to "accomplish the whole desire of his ambitious "heart, but to send the son after the father, and, "as might be suspected, seeing him keep another "wife in store, TO MAKE THE QUEEN ALSO DRINK "OF THE SAME CUP, to the end he might invest himself with the crown of the realm?"* The rebel lords *at this time*, it is plain, had not admitted even *one solitary idea* into their minds, of any adulterous commerce betwixt the Queen and Bothwell. The idea indeed had been started among the multitude, but it was not yet admitted by the lords. It never was admitted by them. It first became general among the

"panyit him to his honour and *sanctie of his life*, in respect of "the *greitnes of his* [Bothwell's] *partie*, and he having assistance "of na freindis *bot only himself*" (Anderson, ii. 106—107). And, with the same view, Morton appeared in the box with Bothwell, to countenance and to encourage him. All these measures are only so many gradations in one scale of villainy. They are all parts of one system. They were therefore the acts of one directing mind. And this mind, as Camden informs us, was Morton's. Camden gives the general work to Morton. And Jebb, i. 464, appropriates *one* of the particulars *expressly* to him.

* Keith, 417—418.

people, and then the letters were resolved upon by the lords. And this forms a most complete vindication of the Queen from the charge. It not only shews the letters *not* to have been then intercepted. It shews them not to have been then thought of. It shews the fundamental principle of them all not to have then existed, in the belief of those hypocritical and calumnious wretches.

But the rebel lords reinforce this striking declaration, by a repetition of it. They even reinforce it, with a pointed addition in their manner. "It behoved us assuredly," they say, "to have recommended the soul of our prince, and of the most part of ourselves, to God's hands; and, *as we may firmly believe*, the SOUL ALSO OF OUR SOVEREIGN THE QUEEN, who SHOULD NOT HAVE LIVED WITH HIM HALF A YEAR TO AN END, as may be conjectured by the short time they lived together, and the maintaining of his other wife at home at his house." And they thus shew us in the most convincing manner, that the charge of adultery against Mary was never thought of by themselves, in all their wildest frenzies of calumny against her, while *the King was living*, while *the Queen was a widow*, or while *Bothwell was actually present with her*; that it was never believed by them, even after they had taken up arms, even after they had induced her to abandon Bothwell, even after they had thrown the Queen into a prison, or even after the accusation was firmly believed among the populace; and that the charge of murder,

which

which was founded only on the charge of adultery, must of course have been later still than this, in its reception among them.

The rebel lords had now gone on to the last limits of hypocrisy. They had been avowing sentiments of moderation to their Queen. They had no thoughts of blasting her character. They had not an idea of touching her life. They meant to restore her to her liberty and her crown. In all this they were undoubtedly hypocritical. But why were they so? They were waiting to see the influence of their political *charms* upon the enchanted multitude, at the ecclesiastical assembly on the 20th. If the multitude should then prove to have been deaf to the voice of these charmers, and be for mild measures to their young and amiable princess; then the lords must have acted as they said, followed the inclinations of the populace, and restored their Queen. But, if the people should appear to have been wrought upon strongly by the force of their magick, and to be ready and clamorous for any exorbitancies of usurpation; they should recall all that they had said, they should wrap themselves up in the tempest that they had raised,

Ride in the whirlwind, and direct the storm.

They were now come to this period. The members of the assembly were all for violence. "Yow harde yesterdaye," says Lethington to Throgmorton on the 20th, "and somewhat thys daye, how bothe yow and I weere publykelye taxed in the preachynges, though we weere not named:

"named: wee must be fayne to make a vertue
 "of necessitye, and forbearne neyther to doe our-
 "selves good, the Quene, nor our countrie:—
 "to my great gryeffe I speake that, the Quene
 "my Soveraygne maye not be abyden amongest
 "us: and thys ys not tyme to doe hir good, if
 "she be ordeyned to have anye." "Mr. Knox,"
 adds Throgmorton in this very letter, "dothe
 "contynew hys seveare exhortacyons, as well
 "agaynst the Quene as agaynst Bodwell;
 "thretnynge the greate plage of God to thys
 "wholle countrey and natyon, yf she be spared
 "from her condigne ponyshment." Such a
 deluded ideot in his notions, and yet such a wild
 raver in his speeches, was this ANTI-POPE of
 Scotland! "The convencion of all the churches,"
 Throgmorton subjoins, —"dothe houlde; and
 "thys daye (being the 21 of this monethe) theye
 "are assembled in the Tollebowthe, where they
 "doe propounde such matters as they intende to
 "treate of at thys tyme.—They be verye auda-
 "cious, and yt appeareth theyre hartes be
 "mervelowflye hardened agaynst theyre Sove-
 "raygne; which God mollesye." The spirit of
 Knox rested upon them all. They shared in his
 idiotcy. And they partook of his ravings. The
 rebel lords therefore, as we see by Lethington's
 verbal intimations to Throgmorton, were already
 resolved to throw themselves upon the current of
 popular fury, that ran so strongly in their favour,
 and to float on it to the farthest point, which they
 had ever wished to reach.

Throgmorton accordingly informs us, in his
 covering

covering dispatch to their answer, thus.—“ Your
 “ Majestie,” he says,—“ mycht perceyve by my
 “ letters of the 19 of Julye, upon such groundes
 “ as I made my collectyons, that th’ yssue of thys
 “ great matter heere was lyke to be determyned by
 “ one of the four degrees and endes in my sayde let-
 “ tres mencyned; albeit I dyd pryncypallye relye
 “ by conjecture upon the twoe laste and extremest.
 “ But nowe I have by assured intellygence (not-
 “ withstanding this smowthe speache, uttred by
 “ theys lordes in thys wrytinge which I sende
 “ your Majestie) they bee resolved to put in
 “ executyon forthewith the coronatyon of the
 “ yonge prynce, with the Quenes consent, yf
 “ they can obteyne the same; promysynge her,
 “ that her conformyete in thys matter shall as-
 “ sure unto her, that they meane not neyther to
 “ towche her in honor nor in lyffe, neyther other-
 “ wyse to procede agaynst her judyciallye by
 “ waye of proces; otherwyse they are determyned
 “ to procede agaynst her publykelye, by many-
 “ festacion of suche evydence as they are hable
 “ to charge her with. And, for the perfectynge
 “ of thys theyre entent, they have sent for all
 “ the lordes and gentlemen, which they thynke
 “ will conjoygne with them.”* The rebels are
 thus “ resolved to put in execution forthwith the
 “ coronation of the young prince,” and conse-
 quently to depose their Queen, either with or
 without her own consent; at the very time when

* Keith, Pref. xi—xii. The language of this letter is much more *antient* than that of the others, because this is printed *literatim* from the original.

they are declaring, that she is "the person in
 "the world, whom (according to their bounden
 "duty) they in their hearts most revere and ho-
 "nour, whose grandeur they most earnestly wish,
 "and with the hazard of their lives would en-
 "deavour themselves to procure." They are
 thus determined "to proceed against her judi-
 "cially by way of process," and "by manifesta-
 "tion of such evidence as they are able to
 "charge her with," for the murder of her hus-
 band; at the very moment, when by their
 own conjectures the real murderer of him, even
 Bothwell, meant "to make the *Queen* also drink
 "of the same cup;" and when also, according
 to their own "firm belief," it was most probable
 the *Queen* "should not have lived with him
 "*half a year to an end.*"

The bane and antidote are both before us.

The rebels had been long in the habit of pro-
 fessing a regard, a respect, and a reverence for
 Mary, which was directly contrary to their real
 designs against her. But these designs they could
 not avow yet. They might never be able to
 avow them. They might be obliged to resign
 them up for ever. They must wait to see, how
 high their own excited tide of faction among the
 populace would rise, before they could either
 resign or avow. They therefore went on, speak-
 ing only the real regard, which the *Queen's* ami-
 ableness had long drawn from all of them; ex-
 pressing only the real respect, which the *Queen's*
 virtues

virtues had long forced from all of them; and declaring only the real reverence, which the Queen's dignity of mind and spirit had long extorted from all of them. They even went on in the same strain, when there was no longer the same necessity for it, when the tide had risen up to their highest water-mark, and when they could embark themselves and their designs upon it. From the active influence of habit, from the lively energies of nature, and from the strong awe and controul, which the Queen's good and great qualities still kept upon their souls; they still went on, as the assertors of the Queen's innocence and the maintainers of the Queen's honour, when they had actually resolved to depose her, and when they had actually determined, if she would not consent to her own deposition, to charge her with the murder of her husband, and to try her publicly for her life. And thus, when they had taken their last and final resolution of profligacy, when they had mounted up to their highest heights of impudence and calumny, and when they were now riding the clouds in their extravagancies of imagination against her; in those very moments, by a happy interposition of the idiotcy of wickedness among them, did they speak in the strongest terms for Mary that they had ever used yet, did they put them all down formally upon paper, and did they present them all formally upon paper to Elizabeth's embassadour for his mistress: so forming one of the amplest vindications of Mary, and one of the most powerful condemnations of themselves, that is to be met with in all the records of her and their history.

We are now got a full month, beyond the date assigned by the rebels for the pretended seizure of the letters. But we find that these have not been seized yet. Their own accounts at the time, evince the falsehood and forgery of their accounts afterward. Such dupes have the world been to the impositions of these men ! But we are now coming at last, to some intimation concerning the letters. And this will concur with the silence before, to wring these fraudulent wretches to the ground, and to pin them there for ever.

Throgmorton wrote to Elizabeth again on the TWENTY-THIRD.* But this dispatch is lost. He wrote, however, the same day to the Earl of Leicester. This is preserved. In it he speaks thus. "This Queen," he says, "is like *very shortly to be deprived of her royal estate, her son to be crowned king, and she detained in prison within this realm, and the same to be governed in the young King's name, by a council consisting of certain of the nobility and other wise men of this realm.*"† The plan of proceeding is now settled by the rebels. It had long been settled in their own minds. This is plain from the intimations of it by Lethington to Throgmorton, at their first meeting on the *eleventh* of July before ; and from their subsequent execution of it in all its parts. And at the very time, when they were talking reverently of the

* Robertson, ii. 380. It is dated the 24th. But the sequel shews, that it cannot be later than the 23d. † Ibid. 378.

Queen; when they professed their intention to restore her to her liberty, and to replace her on her throne; even then they were acting upon the religious passions, and urging on the honest credulity, of their people, in order to lead them to a formal deposition, and a perpetual imprisonment, of her. They particularly stimulated that well-meaning "son of violence" and barbarism, that religious SACHEM of religious MOHAWKS, KNOX, to exert all the wonderful influence, which his rude but impassioned oratory had over the people, and to wind them up into madness, for the execution of their villainies. "This day," says Throgmorton on the 19th, "being at Mr. Knox's sermon, who took a piece of scripture forth of the Books of the Kings, and did *inveigh vehemently against the Queen,* and *perswaded extremities towards her,*" &c.* "He continues," says Throgmorton on the 21st, to "threaten the great plague of God against this whole country and nation, if she be spared from her condign punishment." They thus accomplished their flagitious purposes. By means of this their principal electrician, and by their own concurrent operations in turning the wheel, the people became so many charged vials of lightning. And then they resolved to discharge it all, under some prudent regulations, against the person of their Sovereign. But let it be carefully noticed, that all this while neither KNOX nor they SAID A SINGLE WORD CONCERN-

* Keith, 422.

ING THE LETTERS. *He* had "inveighed vehemently" against the Queen. *He* had "perswaded" "extremities towards her." *He* had threatened them all with "the great plague of God," if She was not put to death for a murderers. Yet he pretended not to speak of any letters against her. *They* also had resolved upon her deposition, upon the substitution of her son in her place, and upon the imprisonment of her person for life. Yet they pretended not, any more than he, to have any letters against her. And, after all, they could in a few months more assert the letters, to be the only possible ground of justification to them, for that very deposition, that very substitution, and that very imprisonment. They rose in rebellion against her on the 10th of June. They faced her in rebellion at Carbarrie-hill on the 15th. They sent her away into prison on the 16th. Yet they afterwards justified all by letters, which they *said* they discovered on the 20th.* They actually proceeded to accuse her of crimes, even of adultery, and even of murder, on the 18th of July. They actually resolved on the 21st, to depose her in form, and to sentence her in form to imprisonment for ever. Yet they afterwards justified all by letters, which they *pretended not* to have in their hands *at the time*, and which they *pretended not* to have before the 24th. This, if we consider it as folly, is one of the most striking and eminent acts of folly, that the world

* Goodall, ii. 63 and 67.

has ever beheld. But it ought to be considered in a light much more dishonourable to the rebels. And, as knavery, it is one of the rankest, that has ever been attempted to be imposed upon the sons of men.

Throgmorton wrote again to Elizabeth on the TWENTY-FOURTH.* This dispatch brings us to the final result of all their aims and wishes. "The Earls of Glencairn and Mar, the Lords Sempil, Ochiltree, and the master of Graham, accompanied with many gentlemen of the west of this realm, to the number of two hundred horses, arrived in this town the 23d of this month; so did the Lord Lindsay also, being sent for by these lords from Lochleven. *The same day* all the lords, and others of the best quality, had conference together concerning their proceedings with the Queen their Sovereign; and, as I can learn by assured intelligence, this was among them resolved," as had been resolved by the other lords before, "That the Lord Lindsay should this day, being the 24th, accompanied with Robert Melvil," that black BAT in politicks, "repair to the Queen, and have in charge to declare unto her, That the lords here assembled considering her former misbehaviours, as well in the government of the realm as in her own person (the particularities of both which misgovernments they would forbear to touch, for respect they had to her honour), could not permit her

* Keith, 424.

“ any longer to put the realm in peril by her
“ disorders, which were such and so many, as
“ they could not think meet, that she should
“ any more stand charged with the governance
“ of the realm; and therefore they did require
“ and advise her to accord quietly, and thereto
“ to give her consent, that her son the Prince
“ might be crowned their King and Sovereign;
“ and also, by her assignment, that a council
“ might be appointed and established to govern
“ the realm in his name: And thus doing, they
“ would *endeavour* themselves to save both her
“ life and honour, both which otherwise stood in
“ great danger.”

“ Further it was resolved,” he adds, “ that
“ in case this Queen would not be conformable
“ to their motions, then her liberty should be
“ restrained to more straitness, and the ladies,
“ gentlewomen, and gentlemen, which be about
“ her, to be sequestered from her. And as far
“ as I can understand, in this case of the Queen’s
“ refusal to these their demands, they mind
“ to proceed both with violence and force, as
“ well for the coronation of the Prince, as for
“ the overthrow of the Queen.—I do perceive,
“ if these men cannot by fair means induce the
“ Queen to their purpose, they mean to charge
“ her with these three crimes, that is to say,
“ tyranny, for breach and violation of their laws
“ and decrees of the realm, as well that which
“ they call common laws as their statute laws;
“ and, namely, the breach of those statutes which
“ were enacted in her absence, and confirmed
“ by

“ by Monf. de Randam and Monf. d’Ofell in the
 “ French King her husband’s name and hers.
 “ Secondly, they mean to charge her with in-
 “ continency, as well with the Earl Bothwell as
 “ with others, having (as they say) fufficient
 “ proof againft her for this crime. Thirdly,
 “ they mean to charge her with the murder of
 “ her husband, whereof (they say) they have as
 “ apparent proof againft her as may be, as well
 “ by the testimony of HER OWN HAND-WRIT-
 “ ING, which they have recovered, as alfo by
 “ fufficient witneffes.”*

I have thus thrown all the parts of this very memorable difpatch, that relate to the charges againft the Queen, into one extract. They will therefore be feen in one view. And, as each appears to illuftrate the other, fo the LETTERS appear to give light and luftre to all nearly. The letters are now noticed at laft by the rebel lords of the time. The letters are now to found a charge of adultery and of murder againft Mary. The rebel lords therefore fpeak in a very different tone, from what they have hitherto ufed. They fpeak not only of her mis-govern-ment of the realm, but alfo of “ her—misbeha-
 “ viours—IN HER OWN PERSON.” *Thefe*, as well as thofe, “ they would forbear to touch for
 “ refpect they had to her HONOUR.” Her “ dif-
 “ orders” in *both* had been “ fuch and fo many,
 “ as they could not think meet, that ſhe ſhould

* Keith, 424—427. Here, with the laft part of the quo-
 tation, ends all that was written on the 24th. The reft was
 written on the 25th.

“ any more stand charged with the governance
 “ of the realm.” And “ both her LIFE and
 “ HONOUR stood in great danger,” from the re-
 sentment of the nation against both. If she
 submitted to their proposals, they meant to spare
 her honour and her life. If she did not, they
 “ minded to proceed both with VIOLENCE and
 “ FORCE, as well for the coronation of the Prince,
 “ as for the OVERTHROW of the Queen.” They
 meant to charge her with adultery and murder,
 as well as tyranny. And we need only contrast
 the intentions of the rebels at present, with their
 own accounts of them merely three days before ;
 to see the difference, now the letters are actually
 appealed to. *Then* the Queen, who is *now*
 charged with adultery, was declared to have
 been “ led captive” by Bothwell, “ and by fear,
 “ force,” &c. “ compelled to become bedfel-
 “ low” to him. *Then* also the Queen, who is
now charged with the murder of her husband,
 would, “ as might be suspected,” have been made
 by Bothwell “ to drink of the same cup” with
 her husband, and “ should not have lived with
 “ him half a year to an end.” And thus she,
 who was no adulteress at all then, is now trans-
 formed into an abandoned one ; and she, who
 was in great danger then of being murdered
 after her husband by Bothwell, is now made a
 party with Bothwell in the murder of that very
 husband.

We thus, after a thousand disappointments,
 find these fugitive letters at last. But we find
 them, long after the rebels pretend that *they*
 found

found them. So they pretended *posteriously*. But what they pretended *at the time*, was very different. They then did not pretend to have them, they then very evidently had them not, on the 20th of June, the day assigned afterwards for their seizure. They neither had nor pretended to have them, for A WHOLE WEEK, for A WHOLE FORTNIGHT, or even for A WHOLE MONTH, afterwards. They never hinted at their possession of papers, which they must have proclaimed with the loudest voice of fame, before the 24th of July; just FOUR AND THIRTY days after the date of their asserted seizure of them. And the story of their seizing them with Dalgleshe on June the 20th, appears finally to be one of the boldest fictions, that ever was obtruded on the faith of man; being invented within *fifteen months* only from the time, and being then sanctioned solemnly, even, by the privy council of Scotland itself; the rebel lords together thus giving a defiance to all the memories, and all the papers, of the nation; desperately staking their honour, on what was almost sure to be detected immediately; and yet attracting a considerable degree of credibility to the whole, from the very audaciousness of their proceedings concerning it.

CHAPTER V.

§ I.

HAVING now, with some portion of a Dutchman's patience, gone over the whole account which the rebels chose to give posteriorly, of their seizing the letters on the 20th of June; and having demonstratively proved it, I hope, to be charged with absurdities on every side, and even to be contradicted by all the numerous documents of the time: I shall proceed, as I proposed, with the regular history of these important writings. I shall therefore begin first with the rise and origin of them. I have already disproved the rebel accounts of their rise, and I shall now point out their real origin. In a work that intends to trace steadily the course of the Nile, from its beginning to its end; the fountain of the whole must be an object of peculiar investigation. The source of these letters, like that of the Nile, has long been hid in obscurity:

Caput inter nubila condit.

Some inquirers have come near it. But none have decisively reached it. I have shewn it not to be in the *mountains of the moon*, in which the rebels had placed it. I shall now endeavour, like another BRUCE, to find out where it is, and

to go directly to the well-spring of the whole. This I hope to do with a success so far superiour to a BRUCE's, that all shall see, and all shall be satisfied. And I shall then fall down the current, following its bends and curves, and tracing its growing progress to its ample conclusion.

We have already seen the rebels, whatever they latterly asserted, not to be in possession of any of Mary's letters on June the 20th. Nor were they even on July the 24th, whatever they affirmed at the time. This the very manner in which they mention them shews. They speak "of her own hand-writing, WHICH THEY HAVE RECOVERED." This is all the account that they give us, concerning their possession of the letters. They assert the fact. But they tell not the circumstances. They say not WHEN they "recovered" the letters. They say not WHERE they "recovered" them. They say not ON or FROM WHOM they "recovered" them. A story so devoid of all the necessary adjuncts of time, place, and person, could hardly obtain credit, even among the pitiable inhabitants of St. Luke's Hospital. But it appears the more idiotish still, when we compare it with the account of the discovery on June the 20th. *This* is as particular as *that* is general. *This* carries the air of a story calculated for reception, while *that* prohibits its admission by its aspect at once. And every thinking mind, at the first glance, must reject such a tale from such men with the scorn of indignation. The rebels also *act* in such a manner concerning the letters, as shews strongly their

their consciousness of their own falsehoods. They do not come forward with them in a bold exultation of spirits, natural to so fortunate an incident. They have no boldness. They have no exultation. So different are the cold mimickries of art, from the warm realities of nature ! They say barely, that they have " recovered " some of her letters. They say merely, that they shall build upon them a charge of murder against her. And they say only, that they intend to do this *at some future and indeterminate time, and in case* she does not comply with some requisitions of theirs. Such is the creeping and sneaking pace, with which villainy often attempts and betrays its own purposes of imposition ! In consequence of both, the letters, thus said to be in the possession of the rebels, were never shewn to the English embassadour, were never shewn to their own council of lords on the 23d, and were never shewn to a single person at the time. They were even not so much as dwelt upon, in the council. They were even not so much as mentioned, in the message from it to Mary. They were even not so much as hinted at, by that Lord Lindsay, who came from the Queen to be present at the council, and who carried back the message to the Queen from it. That they were not spoken of in the one, and not noticed in the other, is plain from Throgmorton's account of both before. That they were not, even remotely, hinted at to Mary by Lord Lindsay, amidst all his blustering and brutish addresses to her ; is equally plain from an account, which I shall soon give

I

from

from Mary herself. And the whole was left to be insinuated privately, to be suggested covertly, to be spoken of with all the vagueness of something merely contingent and ideal, and so to skulk with the timidity of guilt at first in holes and corners.

By all this, the rebels meant merely to frighten Mary into a resignation of her crown. They meant it by all their proceedings towards her. They therefore suggested hints to "the mob of gentlemen who *think* with ease," concerning her adultery with Bothwell and her murder of the King. Finding that these believed in the nonsense; the vulgar, to whom they were connected below, received it for sound sense, and the nobles, with whom they were united above, adopted it for useful policy. They founded upon it their publick message, demanding a resignation from her. They founded upon it their private declarations, of intending to use violence and force if she would not resign. They founded upon it, also, their secret insinuations to the English embassadour, of their design to produce *some* letters of Mary's which they had *somewhere* procured, and to prove murder against her from them. And all were made to operate upon Mary, just as they wished them to operate. They were all designed merely, to give the embassadour and others a colour, for pretending to be frightened on her Majesty's account, and so pressing her Majesty to do *what the rebels wanted her to do*.

Accordingly we find, that the embassadour
and

and others wrote to the Queen, as under the terrours of fear for her safety, and with earnest urgency upon her to secure her safety by compliance. Throgmorton wrote to her, advising her by all means to sign the paper of resignation, in apprehension of the consequences. Even some of the rebel lords, some of the chiefs in all their counsels and actions, sent to her at the same time, pretending to be her friends, and impelling her into the same measure. These were Athol, Mar, Tullibardin, Lethington, and Grange. And, what shews the fraud completely, they sent their message to her by the same retainer of rebellion, the same shuffling and self-accommodating knave, who carried the letter of Throgmorton to her. "The Erle of Athol," says Mary herself by her commissioners afterwards, "Lardis of Tullibardin and Lethington, being principallis of their counsell," and, as the loyal lords of Scotland add in their instructions to these commissioners, "utheris, partakeris in that cause;"* or as one of the commissioners, the bishop of Ross, speaks in his own defence of Q. Mary's honour, "with other principals of their factious band,"† meaning, as James Melvill specifies, Mar and Grange;‡ "sent Robert Melvile [Melvill] to her Hienes "with one ring and tokenis," which one of them had interchanged with her before under pretence of sending her messages, and Lethington assuredly, the very man, no doubt, who had reported the resolution of their council, the message, the

* Goodall, ii. 362. † Lesley, 37. ‡ P. 85.

designs, and the letters to Throgmorton, and who had suggested equally to him the idea of his writing to Mary; "counselling her Majestie to sub-
 "scrive sic writingis as would be presented to
 "her Grace, for dimission of her crown, for to
 "put off that present deith, quhilk was preparit
 "for her Hienes, gif she refusit the same; assur-
 "ing her, quhatsoever her Majestie did in cap-
 "tivitie mycht nocht prejuger her Hienes in na
 "sort: And also the said Robert Melwile brocht
 "at the same time ane writing fra Sir Nicolace
 "Throgmortone, writtin with his awin hand,
 "desyring her Hienes to subscribe quatever
 "they woulde require her unto; for the estate,
 "quhairin her Grace was then, coulde not prejuger
 "her, quatever her Majestie subscribed."*

Nor let it be thought uncandid in me, to be the first who has ever suspected Athol, Mar, Tullibardin, Lethington, and Grange, of acting in this perfidious manner to Mary. I wish to be candid. But I must also be just. The number of rebel lords, who thus united to address her in privacy, is too great for the amount of the whole. The advice was too pernicious likewise, to be ever given by any real friends of Mary's. It was the very advice, which her enemies would instigate all her treacherous friends to give her. And, what is a full evidence that these were only *such* friends to her, they were one and all before, they were one and all afterwards, leaders and directors under the usurpation. Lethington,

* Goodall, ii. 166. And see Ruddiman's Buchanan, ii. Chameleon, 15, for Lethington's intercourse with Mary in prison.

Grange, and Athol,* indeed, are known to have declared for Mary afterwards. But they declared not for years. Tullibardin also is said to have deserted the rebels, so early as the spring of 1568. But, if he did, he actually returned to them on or before February 1570.† Nor did he ever unite himself to the adherents of Mary, in the interval. And Mar continued with the rebels to the last, and closed his life in the service of the usurpation. Yet, if this had not been the case, we may ask with great propriety and energy concerning all,

Had they not seen PHARSALIA?

Had they not all pledged their honours to Mary, by the mouths of Grange and Morton, at the hill of Carbarrie and on the 15th of June,‡ in the presence and hearing of both the armies; to obey and respect her with as much fidelity, as had ever been shewn to any of her ancestors by any of the nobility of Scotland? Yet had they not seen her instantly, almost before the sound of Grange's words had gone off from her ears, almost before the breath of Morton's lips had mingled with the common air, griped by the vile and infamous hands of their associates, compelled to mount on horseback, and hurried away under a guard of soldiers to a prison? Did not even Athol, did not even Mar, as well as all the others, ac-

* Crawford, 158.

† Keith, 469, Buchanan Hist. xix. 368, and Crawford, 150.

tually sign the execrable order for this ?* Did not even Mar, did not even Athol, formally and solemnly accept, at the coronation of the prince, that very resignation as free and valid, which they had assured her could not be valid because it was not free ? † And did they not all continue to act with one another, and with the other brothers of their fanatical fellowship, under the whole ? They did, they did. Such persons, therefore, could be actuated by no principles of friendship for Mary, in the advice which they gave her. They could be impelled only by the same spirit, which continued to impel them afterwards. They were serving that cause of usurpation, to which they had been so obstinately attached. They were serving it with no greater perfidiousness to Mary then, than what they had shewn to her already. And they all shewed the grossness of their perfidy to every eye, in advising her to sign the demanded resignation, because she was in prison ; and because this, and the superadded threats of violence, would render all that she did under both unavailable against her : when on her escaping from the prison, and revoking the resignation, not one of them all joined her ; and when Mar, Lethington, and Grange, actually appeared in arms against her. ‡

Nor can Throgmorton be acquitted any more

* Anderson, ii. 225, mentions Morton, Athol, Mar, Glen-carne, Ruthven, Hume, Lindsay, Semple, and “diverses “utheris” barons and gentlemen. And Crawford’s Memoirs say, that “all the associators signed” it, p. 40.

† Keir, 408.

‡ Ibid. 478 and 480.

than they, from endeavouring to give a form of law to their usurpation, by imposing upon the honest credulity of Mary. It is indeed an act of baseness so flagrant, to abuse the confidence of unsuspecting generosity, to abuse it under the pretence of friendship, and to abuse it to these vast purposes of villainy ; as asks no common portion of meanness, to be guilty of it. But we have seen Throgmorton already to be too well tutored in the school of the world, not to be capable of it. He came into Scotland, ready to side with the rebels, because they were in power, and ready to take part against the Queen, because she was slandered. He continued afterwards, receiving implicitly the calumnies that they reported of Mary, even when these calumnies carried their own refutation with them, even when they were overthrown directly by Mary's own letter to him. And, what confirms all, though he wrote such a letter of advice to Mary, he never dared to mention it to Elizabeth. He must have written it late on the 23d, the day on which the council was held, or early on the 24th, the day on which his letter reached Mary. But we have one whole letter written by him on the 23d, and a very large part of another on the 24th. Yet he does not give the least hint of his having so written to the Queen, in either or in any other. He knew Elizabeth to be more attached to Mary yet than to the rebels, because she was not fully convinced yet, that Mary could not serve her purposes as well as they. He shews his knowledge of this point so late as the very 23d, when in his letter

letter to the Earl of Leicester he speaks thus. "It is easy to be seen," he says, "that the power and ability to do any thing to the commodity of the Queen's Majesty and the realm of Scotland, will chiefly, and in manner wholly, rest in the hands of these lords, and others their associates, assembled at Edinbrough: now if the Queen's Majesty *will still persist* in her former opinion towards the Queen of Scotland (unto whom she shall be able to do no good), then I do plainly see, that these lords and all their accomplices will become as good French, as the French King can wish, to all intents and purposes."* A genuine statesman has but one set of ideas. Publick expediency swallows up all other considerations. In this kind of civil madness was Throgmorton, we see, to the very day of writing to Mary. Yet he saw Elizabeth, whose ideas were as few and as discoloured as his own, not sufficiently assured hitherto of Mary's inability to minister to her schemes, and so leaning to Mary still. And he therefore presumed not to tell Elizabeth, what he had done in concert with the rebels by advising Mary,†

He

* Robertson, ii. 378.

† Mary plainly saw into this trick of Throgmorton's afterwards; as appears from a letter of hers to Elizabeth in 1582, Camden's Orig. 333, and Transf. 276. But Throgmorton had even played the same trick of dishonesty upon Mary before, though not with the same success. When Murray and his rebels in 1565 were driven into England, Throgmorton wrote to Mary to prevent their attainders. He wrote evidently in concert with Murray, to save him

He wrote to advise her. She wrote back to tell him she would follow his advice, and to beg he would acquaint Elizabeth with the whole. "Her Grace sent answer in writ," say her commissioners, "that her Hienes would use his counfall, and prayit him to declair unto hir derrest sifter, the Quenis Majestie of England his mastres, how hir Hienes was handilit be hir subjectis, and quhat estaite her Grace was in for the tyme; and to declair also, that the subscriyving of that dimissioun was against her will; and *doubtis nocht*, bot the said Sir Nicolace schewit the samyn unto the Quenis Majestie of this realme, *ber Hienes being myndit at that tyme, to haif send an armie in Scotland for the delyvering of ber Majestie furth of presoun*, war not [were it not that] *ber Majestie was suirlie advertisit, in case ber Hienes had so done, the blude of our mastres had payt the sould [wages] of ber Hienes souldiouris.*"* We here see a couple of bold falsehoods, that had been imposed by Throgmorton upon Mary, before he advised her to the ruinous measure of a resignation. He had persuaded her of Elizabeth's intention, to send an army into Scotland for her release; which we

and his from utter ruin. Yet he wrote so artfully, that Keith has produced his letter as a proof of his "generosity." See it in Melvill, 60—63, and Keith, 322—324. And with a weakness of credulity, that is the natural result of probity in the world, he has hitherto been thought by all, to have acted in both these deeds of baseness with sincerity and fairness.

* Goodall, ii. 166—167.

know from a full view of his and Elizabeth's dispatches, to be absolutely false. He had afterwards persuaded her, as it was never intended to be done, that it could not be because of the danger to her life from it; the rebels, he said, having threatened to put Mary to death as soon as the army entered Scotland; a threat, that we equally know from the same correspondence, to have been never uttered to Throgmorton at the time, and never reported at the time to Elizabeth.* These false topicks of application to Mary he suppresses in his dispatches, equally with his false advice to her. He acted in all, no doubt, under the influence of the rebels, and particularly of Lethington. And his silence concerning all, shews that he was equally false in all.†

It

* Such a threat, but not *this*, was afterwards made, Cabala, 1st part, 130, and Keith, 463.

† Let me here add another instance of Throgmorton's *prevarications* in this embassy. On July 21st, he wrote to know Elizabeth's pleasure, if he should be asked to attend at the proposed coronation of the young Prince (Keith, Pref. xii). This letter she answered on the 27th, "We think," she says, "that knowing our mind in all this action as you do, that you will not by any such act affirm their doings;" and she expressly forbids him "to assent thereto by any means" (Keith, 430). Yet after he had written for instructions, and before he received them, on the 29th he "affirmed their doings," not indeed by his own presence, but by the presence of one of his train, *his own cousin*, and *the principal person under him*. In his previous embassy, the 21st of May, 1565, he says, "I arrived in the morning at Stirling, and descended from my horse at the castle-

"gate,

It seems very extraordinary, that they who had the courage to arrest the person of their Queen, to force her to Lochleven, and to shut her up in a prison there; that they, who had the boldness to seize all the jewels, all the patrimony, and all the power of the crown; and that they, who had thus taken complete possession of all the wealth and authority of Mary; should yet condescend to the humility of asking her in any manner to resign a crown, of which she had been deprived by them. It proves strongly the predominancy of right over violence, and of royalty over usurpation, on the minds of the most violent usurpers. But it is perhaps more extraordinary, that the very few persons, who constituted the council of the rebels at this period, should have had the presumption to do all this. Throgmorton has given us an account of them, which is curious. They admitted him to an audience at last. But it was not till the 24th; till they had actually sent off Lord Lindsay in the morning, to insist upon a resignation from the Queen. This however gave him an oppor-

“gate, having sent before my cousin Middlemore, your Majestie’s servant, to demand my audience” (Keith, 276). And in his present, says the rebel journal, “July 24, the Quene maid resignation of hir crowne in favour of hir sone—; at this tyme Sir Nycholas Throgmorton was in Scotland: 29. the King was crownit at Striviling; MIDDILMOIR WAS PRESENT” (Appendix, No. x). He had written to hear, if he should be present himself. He knew her mind to be averse to it. Yet he sent his representative to attend for him, in order, as much as he dared, “to affirm their doings.”

tunity,

tunity, of seeing all the members of the council the day before, except Lindsay, collected together again. There were present, he says, "these lords whose names I send your Majesty in a schedule." The schedule runs thus: "Barons of the parliament, the Earl of Athol, Earl of Morton, Earl of Glencairn, Earl of Marre, Master of Montrose, called Lord Grahame, heir to the Earl of Montrose; Lord Hume, Lord Ruthven, Lord Creighton of Sanquhair, Lord Sempill, Lord Enermeith, Lord Ochiltree, L. Craigmillar, Provost of Edinburgh; the Commendator of Driburgh, the Commendator of Cambuskenneth, Mr. James Macgill." These, says Throgmorton, "were set about a long table;" and with them appears to have been Lethington also. There were also, he adds, "round about them a great number of barons and gentlemen (whose names I do omit to make mention of) to the number forty, bestowed upon seats."* They were therefore FOUR earls, ONE heir to an earl, SEVEN barons with Lindsay, the Provost of Edinburgh, two commendators or secular abbots, the secretary of state, the clerk of the council, and FORTY of the petty barons and gentry, men not barons of parliament, men inferior even to the Provost of Edinburgh, and therefore placed on seats behind. Accordingly Mary says of the coronation of her son afterwards, when the same men nearly, we may be sure, attended upon the

* Keith, 426 and 427, and Pref. xi.

occasion; that "quhair in that realme [Scotland]
 "thair is MA [more] ERLIS, BISCHOPIS, AND
 "LORDIS, HAIFING VOICE IN PARLIAMENT, NOR
 "AN HUNDRETH [than a hundred], of the quhilk
 "the haill, or at the leist the greytest part,
 "should haif consentit thairto, and to all uthir
 "publick actiounis of consequence, [there]
 "WER ONLIE FOUR ERLIS; quhairof the most
 "honorabill hes nocht the sevint or eight place
 "in parliament amangis the Erlis, nor the first
 "of twenty voitis amangis the haill estatis," the
 Earls of Scotland then voting according to their
 personal precedency; "SEX LORDIS ONLIE, quha
 "wer all at hir Grace's taking, together with
 "ANE Bischope, and TWA OR THRE Abbotis and
 "Prioris; quhilk could be na sufficient number
 "to determine and conclude sa weightie an
 "caus."* They certainly could not. THIRTEEN
 out of MORE THAN A HUNDRED could only be
 an EIGHTH part of the whole. If such a petty
 proportion could constitute themselves, the repre-
 sentatives of all the rest; could, by the aid of men
 not members of parliament, assume to themselves
 an authority, which all the nobility and all the
 gentry together had never possessed, and to rise
 paramount to the royalty itself; then a club of
 drunken porters in a night-cellar at present, may
 vote themselves into a house of commons, chuse
 a speaker, seat him in a chair, place a *bauble* for
 a *mace* upon a table before him, and form taxes
 for the whole nation.

* Goodall, ii. 167—168.

These men however, few as they were, had firm nerves and strong spirits. They relied on the prevailing spirit of folly, among the clergy and the people. On this they grounded their main hopes of success. And, even if they should not succeed, they were sure of finding mercy in the bosom of Mary. She who had so easily pardoned Morton, Glencairn, and Lethington for the murder of Rizzio, and forgiven to Murray and to Grange their rebellion against her, would in a little time have been calmed down, by the excess of her good-nature, into forgiveness and pardon again. They had therefore much to hope and little to fear. *This* strung their nerves, and *this* supported their spirits. This particularly emboldened them to urge Mary for a resignation, by every publick and every private solicitation in their power; by every delicacy of regard for her threatened honour, by every anxiety of fear for her endangered life, and by every treacherous persuasion concerning the unbinding nature of her compliance, under such threats, with such dangers, and in the confinement of a prison. They should thus retain all the authority which they had seized, in the name of her infant son. And they should throw a thin veil of law, over the scandalousness of their present usurpations.

Their embassadour, Lindsay, set out on this business upon the 24th of July. It was ordered by the council, that he should that day, "*accompanied with Robert Melvil*, repair to the "*Queen.*" Accordingly, as Throgmorton adds, "*the*

“ the Lord Lindsay departed this morning from
“ this town to Lochlevin, *accompanied with Robert Melvil.*”* But though they were to go together, and though they actually set out together, yet the plan of fraud which was to be executed by Melvill, and the system of violence which was to be pursued by Lindsay, required that they should part before they reached Lochlevin, and each make a separate entry upon the stage. The fraud was to be tried first. The violence was kept for the reserve. Melvill therefore, who carried the dispatches from Throgmorton and the pretended friends of Mary ; who was apparently sent by the council that he might carry them, as he has no *publick* concern in the whole business ; and who appears to have had such a pliancy of knavery with such a speciousness of honesty about him, as made him a very proper tool for this act of perfidious villainy ; passed the lake, and came to Mary. And in the mean time Lindsay, who carried the verbal demand of the council to her, and the instruments of resignation for her signature, waited at a house upon the opposite bank of the lake, † Melvill produced the ring and other tokens which he had received, and delivered his message. He then produced Throgmorton’s letter. But this he had politically hid in the sheath of his sword, ‡ under the pretence of concealing it from those, who were sure *not* to search a man

* Keith, 424 and 425.

† Melvill, 85, and Lesley’s Defence, 37.

‡ Lesley’s Negotiations, 19—20, Anderson, 111.

that came commissioned from the council itself. Every circumstance is thus awry, in the transaction. The fear pretended, the parting made, the sending Melvill with Lindsay, the message which he bore from some of the rebels, and the dispatch which he carried from Throgmorton, are all only so many steps in one regular course of imposture. Yet all was ineffectual. The strong mind of Mary was not to be warped by such solicitations, however disguised, and however urgent. And she peremptorily refused to think of signing the papers.*

Then Lord Lindsay came forward. To give the greater formidableness to his presence, his coming was announced beforehand. He was at the new house on the other side, just ready to take boat and cross over. And he was threatening much what he would do.† So well were the two parts of the drama kept up! This man is said to have been passionate, even to madness.‡ Yet he appears not, in the intervals of his lunacy, to have possessed one spark of that good-nature, which usually distinguishes the passionate. He was as stern as he was wrathful, and as steady as he was quick in his fury. Such a man might well give an alarm, to the apprehensions of a lady and a Queen. She began to shrink in her resolutions, at the intelligence of his approach.§ The applications before, however expressive of

* Melvill, 85.

† Ibid.

‡ Jebb, ii. 221. See also Crawford, 302, for his "furious" and "violent humour," and also 274.

§ Melvill, 85.

the violences intended by her enemies, yet being made by pretended friends to her, had not roused her fears so strongly, as to overpower her judgment. She saw clearly what she ought to do. And she determined firmly to do so. But now the very violence itself approached. Lindsay entered. He carried in his hand "three instruments to be signed by the Queen; the one containing her consent to have her son crowned, and to relinquish the government of the realm; the other a commission of regency of the realm, to be granted to the Earl of MURRAY, during the King's minority; the third a like commission, to be granted to certain of the nobility and others, for the governance of the realm during the King's minority, in case the Earl of Murray will not accept the regency alone."* He demanded her immediate subscription to them. He was authorized privately by the council, "to denounce punishment and death unto her for the murder of her lawful husband King Henry," if she refused to subscribe.† A man so insolent and so imperious as he was by habit, would be sure to behave with a double portion of imperiousness and of insolence to a fallen Queen. She had pardoned that very lord, for his share in the murder of Rizzio and the imprisonment of her person before.‡ But all generosity was lost upon his swollen spirit. He was probably the more insolent, because she had had the power, and the more

* Keith, 425.

† Ibid. 425.

‡ Lesley's Defence, 58.

imperious,

imperious, because she had had the generosity, to forgive. "He minessit her Grace," say Mary's commissioners upon her own authority, "that, gif she wald nocht subscriyve, he had "command to put her presentlie IN THE TOWRE," the usual dungeon, no doubt, for common offenders, "and WALD DO THE SAME; and coun- "salit hir fulfill thair desyre, or ellis war," worse than being thrust into the dungeon, even death, "would SCHORTLIE FOLLOW" her being there.* Lindsay, says the bishop of Ross, "MOST GREVOUSLY, with FEAREFUL WORDES, "and VERY CRUEL AND STERNE COUNTENANCE, "thretned her, that, unlesse she would therto "subscribe, SHE SHOULD LOSE HER LIFE."† And then "hir Hienes subscriyvit WITH MONY "TEARIS, never luiking what was contenit in "the writings," and "declaring plainly thair- "estir," as soon as she had subscribed, "gif "ever hir Grace come to liberti, [she] wolde "never abyde thairat, becaus it was against her "Majestie's will."‡

With this "abhorred mixture of cunning and "ferocity," § did the rebels assail their imprisoned

* Goodall, ii. 167. † Lesley's Defence, 37—38.

‡ Goodall, ii. 167. "They threatened her with no less "than death, if she complied not;" and at last "she signed "whatever papers they presented to her, without so much "as reading one of them; and indeed *her tears would hardly "have permitted her that benefit, if she had desired it.*" Crawford, 45.

§ "The villain spider lives, cunning and fierce,

"Mixture abhorred!" Thompson.

Queen. The cunning was baffled, but the ferocity prevailed. Lord Lindsay instantly posted back to his associates at Edinburgh. Only five of them, however, were now in town. These met instantly. They were Morton, ATHOL, Hume, Sanquhar, and Ruthven. They met on July the 25th, the very day after the resignation was so signed. They "glaidlie aggreit "thairto, allowit, and apprevit the samyn."* An order was made for the prince to be crowned on the 29th. The rebels crowned him accordingly. They gave MURRAY the regency on the 22d of August.† And they thus threw a thin veil of law at last, over the scandalousness of their usurpation. But it was a veil of black cyprus only. It was too transparent to hide any thing. All their scandalousness was seen through it. And their usurpation was shewn and set off at once, by the blackness of it.

Though the rebels had now gained the grand object at which they aimed, yet the manner, in which it was gained, continually embarrassed their conduct afterwards. The cession pretended to be a voluntary one. Yet it was an outrageous deed of violence. What ground then shall they take, in their publick memorials concerning it? Shall they assert the voluntariness of the resignation? Or shall they boldly fix their possession of power upon the footing of force? To do *that*, would be an enormity of impudence indeed. But to do *this*, would be to render the resignation

* Keith, 434.

† Appendix, No. x.

itself useless. They therefore do not know, which line of conduct to take. They take neither decisively. They walk sometimes upon one stilt, and sometimes upon the other. This is a very striking fact in the proceedings of the rebels. And it is another instance of the shifting and dodging, so natural to conscious villainy. In a parliament which they held the December following, they had Mary's "FRE ASSENT AFFIRMIT," say the nobles of Mary's party, "be *sindrie* there "present, with MONY SOLEMNIT AITHIS be sum "lordis," Lord Lindsay one of them, no doubt, "and INSTRUMENTIS OF NOTARIS DECLARING "THE SAMIN."* Such was the bold and perjurious impudence of the rebel lords. Yet with the natural inconsistency of guilt, to the contradiction of their own notarial instruments, and to the confusion of their own perjurious witnesses, in the very same parliament they passed a law, which says all done to the Quene "unto the day "and dait of this present act, and in all tymes to "cuim, tuiching the said Quene and deten- "ing of her person,—WES IN THE SAID QUENIS "AWIN DEFAULT, in sa far as—scho was previe, "airt and pairt, of the actual devise and deid "of the—murthour of the King."†

Thus was Mary, in one and the same parliament, expressly averred by many solemn oaths of lords, and by the formal attestations of publick notaries, to have freely ceded her crown to her son; and yet asserted by a law, to have had it rightfully taken from her, because she was ac-

* Goodall, ii. 363.

† Ibid. 67.

cessary to the murder of her husband. But the former was affirmed only by notaries and lords. The latter was recorded in form upon the statutes of the kingdom. So much better did the rebels like their possession by force, than their right by consent! Yet in the answer, which they afterwards put in at York to Mary's accusation of them, they amazingly blended both together. Bothwell, they said, murdered the King, seized the Queen, and married her. They took up arms to rescue her person, and dissolve her marriage. They did the one. She would not let them do the other. They could have no answer from her, "bot rigorus minassing, on the ane
"part avowand to be revengit on all thame
"that had schawin thamefelfis in that cause," that is, to be revenged on those who had *rescued* her; "and on the uther part offerand to leif,
"and gif over, the realme and all, sua scho nicht
"be sufferit to posses the murtherer of hir husband," the very man who had *seized* her person, who had *forced* her into a marriage, and was likely to have *murdered* her in a short time, according to the accounts of the rebels themselves before; "quhilk hir inflexible mynd—compellit
"thame to sequestrate hir persoun for a season," as imprisonment is the best cure for love; "during the quhilk tyme, sco finding hirself, be
"lang, irksom, and tedious travail takin be hir
"in the government of the realme,—sa vexit
"and weryit, that hir body, sprite, and senses
"wer altogidder unable langer to occupy that
"realme," though she was just now *menacing* them
1 *rigorously,*

rigorously,—"thairfoir dimittit and renuncit the
 "office—in favouris of hir—sone."* Of these
 impudent falsehoods we may say, as Prince Henry
 does of Falstaff's, but with some little variation
 of words, and with a much higher reach of mean-
 ing, "these lies are like THE FATHER THAT BE-
 "GOT THEM, grofs as a mountain, open, pal-
 "pable." They are such a jumble of force and
 freedom, such an union of contradictory asser-
 tions, as perhaps was never exhibited to the world
 by any set of usurpers before.

Yet all is equalled in the accusation against
 Mary, presented by these very men at West-
 minster afterwards. Charging her with the mur-
 der of her husband, they say "the estatiss of the
 "realme of Scotland, FINDING HIR UNWORTHIE
 "TO REGNE, decernit hir DIMISSION of the
 "CROWN—TO BELAUCHFULLIE—DONE."† It seems
 to be the peculiar curse of usurpations, to think
 with a wild confusion of ideas, and to speak with
 a wild contradictoriness of language, concerning
 their own transactions. The fact is, that the
 wickedest men can hardly ever rise to such an
 altitude of wickedness at once, as to become
 perfectly clear and consistent in their pretences
 for it. And even after all, after they had so-
 lemnly assured Elizabeth's commissioners under
 their own hand, that their parliament had pro-
 nounced Mary "unworthy to reign," and had
 "decreed her dismissal of the crown to be law-

* Goodall, ii. 145—146.

† Ibid. 207.

“fully done;” they actually put Elizabeth upon treating with Mary *as still in possession of the crown*, and *on inducing her to resign it again* in the very terms of her former resignation.

This desire of a second resignation, was the natural consequence of their confusion and contradictoriness under the first. It was merely a recurrence to that original plan, which had failed. It was still to frighten. But it was to frighten by intimated approaches of danger, and not by the immediate presence of it. It was therefore to give a semblance of voluntariness to the resignation, though there was no reality in it. And it would be of great consequence to them, to substitute such a resignation in the place of the present, which had neither reality nor semblance in it. It was with this view only, that the letters were first thought of. The idea of them was thrown out at first, entirely with this view. And, with this view only, was the idea reduced into writing afterwards. This is plain from the tenour and spirit of Elizabeth’s conduct, concerning them. She made Murray produce them before her commissioners, on the 8th of December 1568. *She* urged him to the act, to gratify her own mean mind by the slanders thrown in them upon Mary. But *he* consented to it, in order to push his plan into execution, by terrifying Mary into a second, and seemingly unforced, resignation. Then Elizabeth, gratified in her own purposes, was earnest to indulge him in his. Her secretary therefore, so early as the 22d of December afterwards, went to work for him. Cecil drew up a detail upon

upon paper, of what was proper to be done at the present emergency. The *first* point that occurred to his mind, was—the resignation of Mary. “What is meetest,” he asks. And he answers himself thus: “First, that the Queen of Scots be *induced* to yield herself to remain in “the realme” of England, “and not depart; “and that *the estate of her son and the regent may remain and continue.*”* That very day, Elizabeth wrote herself to Sir Francis Knollys, one of Mary’s keepers, to instruct him, “that in conclusion it is thought, of all uther devisees, *this* “to be the best for us.” So thoroughly did she consider Murray’s cause to be her own! She then proposes the scheme, as Cecil had delineated it. “And the cause of this hir yelding and assent,” she adds, is “to be grounded and notified to “procede of hir owne good-wil, by reson of hir “werynes of governance, and of desyre to see “hir sonne stablished, in such termes, *to save* “*hir honor*, as is at more length conteained in “THE INSTRUMENT DEvised FOR THE DIMISSION “OF HIR CROWN, WHYLEST SHE WAS IN LOUGH- “LEVIN.”† So completely did the parts of Elizabeth’s system, now unite into one with Murray’s! But Mary was not to be warped in her judgment, or affected in her spirit, by these applications of Elizabeth’s to her; any more than she had been, by the solicitations of Throgmorton, and five of her rebel chiefs, before. They were both fraudulent and perfidious. Mary

* Goodall, ii. 274.

† Ibid. ii. 278—279.

was not to be wrought upon by either. And she returned that high-toned answer to the last which we have recorded before to her honour.

Yet the overture was of too great consequence to Murray, to be given up even for such a majestic rejection of it as that. Cecil therefore took up his projecting pen again, on the 7th of January. He formed another scheme upon paper. But it was still the same. His mind, at this period, entirely moved upon the pivot of resignation. And his present project is conceived, half of it in the same manner as his former, and half in a new way. The plan is thus described by himself: "That she may require licence to remain
 "in this realm, free from the troubles of government of her realm, and that her son may
 "remain King,—and the government to be in the
 "Earl of Murray;" or else, "That if the Queen
 "will remain Queen both in name and possession,
 "—yet—she may have her son also remain
 "King, and be joined with her in all respects,
 "and that the government may remain, untill
 "the King shall come to 18 years, in the Earl
 "of Murray."* Elizabeth was ready to concur in any measures of accommodation, that would be as effectual as a voluntary resignation in itself, by fixing the sceptre in the hands of Murray. And she solemnly proposed the former half of the overture to Mary's commissioners, that very day. "It semit," she said, "maist meit and
 "convenient, that scho," Mary, "as being
 "wearie of the realme and government thair of,

* Goodall, ii. 295.

“fould zeild [yield] up the crown and government thair of, and demit the same in favouris of hir sone the prince.”* But the instant reply of the commissioners to this proposal, their peremptory rejection of it in the name of their mistress, their unanimous and absolute refusal even to transmit it to her, and their determinate perseverance in all, for ever put an end to the project, and even prevented the offer of the alternative designed.

The hope of a second and seemingly voluntary resignation, then, appears to have been the actuating motive to Murray, and through him to Elizabeth at last; in forming the charge of murder against Mary, in forging letters that should pretend to prove it, and in producing them as he did produce them. Elizabeth had no other view at last. And he had scarcely any other, from the beginning to the end of his proceedings; from his first production of them before the council and parliament of Scotland in December, 1567, to his last before the English commissioners at Westminster in December, 1568.

Buchanan has hitherto had the super-eminent infamy among the friends of Mary, of having forged the letters from her to Bothwell. It was not given to him very early.† Yet it has been continued to him very steadily. But I am compelled by the force of evidence, to clear Buchanan of this villainy, and to lay it upon another.

* Goodall, ii. 300.

† The forgery was originally attributed to Mary Bethune or Beaton, one of Mary's maids of honour. Jebb, i. 524, and ii. 243.

The first time, that the idea of a set of forged letters was suggested to the rebels, was on the 24th of July, 1567. It was pretty certainly a spark, struck off from the mind of LETHINGTON, by the friendly collision of the ideas of adultery and murder, then floating among the mob of clergy and gentry in Edinborough, and his own habits of forging the hand-writing of Mary. These habits are sufficiently attested by *his own confession*; as he acknowledged in secret to the commissioners at York, that he had frequently forged her writing.* His active hand, therefore, caught the spark as it flew, threw in the combustibles, which his active genius could always furnish, and fanned both immediately into a little flame. He is expressly said by the rebels themselves, to have been "esteemed" by them, as "one of the best ingines or spirits of his country."† He is particularly reported, to have had "a crafty head and fell [or sharp] tongue."‡ Elizabeth also is declared by her own embassadour, to have known him well "for his wisdom to conceive, and his wit to convey, whatsoever his mind is bent unto to bring it to pass."§ And he is described by another cotemporary, to have been "naturally enclined to plotting and intriguing, and fond of countering difficulties, as tools that served to sharpen his wit, of which he had a very great

* Camden, Translation, 116, Original 143—144.

† In Paris's first Confession, Goodall, i. 140.

‡ Keith, 205.

§ Ibid, 262,

"stock."

“stock.”* He instantly conceived the plan of a series of letters, fabricated in a writing similar to Mary’s, and proving all that the mob asserted; in order to terrify Mary into the wanted resignation. He instantly connected it with its proper accompaniments. His mind had always a quickness of invention, and a vigour of formation, about it. And his tongue, which was as lively as his fancy, instantly reported the whole, for a system already in existence, to Throgmorton; to whose lodgings he frequently repaired, and in whose ear he frequently pretended to whisper the secret designs of the party. He was, no doubt, the principal channel of intelligence to Throgmorton on all occasions. He was the only channel upon this. Had the project of the letters been known to any, except the relater and the reporter; it must soon have crept out among the busy partizans in the city, and appeared in some of Throgmorton’s intelligences concerning them. Such a pretended discovery, if it had once gone out beyond the two, would not long have crept. It would soon have raised itself upon its feet. It would soon have stalked forth in gigantick formidableness, among the amazed crowds. And it was privately intimated to Throgmorton only, that he might act in conjunction with Lethington, and his four associates in treachery; that he might write like them to Mary, upon the dangers that were pressing upon her from every side; and that so he might unite

* Crawford, 107.

to drive the poor doe, which they could not *bunt* down, into the *toils* prepared for her.

In this manner, I believe, was the first intimation of the letters thrown out to Throgmorton. It was purely calculated, as the very timing of it shews, to promote the grand purpose of a resignation. This was obtained. And *the idea was heard of no more for months*. The rebels had obtained their resignation, however, not by the force of their reported letters, not by any indicated dangers, but by applications of a more impressive nature, by denunciations of immediate death. Yet this was not known to the world. They asserted the contrary. And nobody could disprove it. In this state they continued, perfectly satisfied with the resignation, and totally unmindful of any letters of Mary's for some months. They then saw it requisite to summon a parliament, in order to procure a seeming sanction to all their measures, and a seeming security to all their persons. This was certainly a very bold step. But they prepared very cautiously for it. They provided themselves with a double suit of armour for the encounter. They felt severely the embarrassment, which the compulsory nature of the resignation threw in their road. They must clear it away, or they must fall over it. They accordingly made use of expedients, that shew at once the desperateness of their resolution, and the flagitiousness of their hearts. They prepared some peers WHO WERE NOT PRESENT, ready to SWEAR solemnly to the voluntariness of the resignation. They prepared
equally

equally some notaries publick, WHO WERE EQUALLY NOT PRESENT, ready to subscribe formal instruments of attestation to this voluntariness. And they resolved upon a set of forged letters, that should presume to call themselves Mary's writing, and should convict her of murder. To such heights of hellish impiety did they determine to mount, upon this occasion! The suborned notaries and suborned peers were to prove the freedom of the resignation. The forged letters were to prove, that, even if the resignation was *not* free, yet the deposition was just and reasonable. She had been concerned in the murder of her husband. She was convicted of the concern, by the evidence of her own letters. She was therefore unfit perhaps to live, and certainly unfit to reign. There was indeed an obvious contradiction, between the letters and the other testimonies. *Those* were to shew her deposition just. *These* were to prove her resignation free. But the same contradictoriness, as I have remarked before, always attended them in their movements afterwards; and was the mark of CAIN set upon them for their conduct, by the hand of Providence. And what are contradictions to such CAINS as these, who are sweeping violently to the accomplishment of their purposes, with PERJURY marshalling them on their way, and with FORGERY bearing up their train for them?

Some days before the parliament was to meet, they asssembled in council together, to project their measures against the meeting. Their

avowed

avowed aim, was to justify all their proceedings against Mary, if the resignation should be deemed a compulsion; and their *secret* one, which went hand in hand with the other though unseen, was to frighten Mary into a voluntary resignation afterwards. To prove the former resignation free, they had already provided, no doubt, their swearing peers and their attesting notaries. But they must now contrive some mode of vindicating their conduct, if they should be voted to have deposed their sovereign. For this indeed *they* cannot want arguments. They have been always complaining of her government. Religion has been in continual danger, from her keen propensities to popery and persecution. Liberty has been nearly strangled with a bow-string, by the ready and obsequious mutes, that have always attended behind the chair of this imperious sultana of Scotland. And they have, so recently as the 24th of July before, determined solemnly, we know, to arraign her for TYRANNY: and, specifically, “for breach and “violation of their laws and decrees of the “realme, as well that which they do call common “laws, as their statute laws; and namely, the “breach of those statutes, which were enacted in “her absence, and confirmed by Mons. de Randal and Mons. d’Osell in the French king her “husband’s name and hers.” They said so then; but they dare not go upon it now. Religion is generally reported to be most in danger, when there are *many* attached to religion, and when there are a *few* that want to make *their* attachment

ment