

when the place was surrounded by an armed force. Bothwell escaped by a postern, and reached his own castle of Dunbar. Mary fled, disguised as a man, and joined her new husband in his fortress. The confederates secured the capital. The queen called her followers round the royal banner at Dunbar; and on the 14th of June advanced with a considerable force towards Edinburgh. She entrenched herself on Carberry-hill—a place remarkable as the position which the English held before the battle of Pinkie. On Sunday the 15th the confederates marched out of Edinburgh; and the two armies were soon in presence of each other. Bothwell sent by a herald his personal defiance of any one who accused him of Darnley's murder. The challenge was accepted by Lindsay; but Mary forbade the encounter. Her own army began to desert her, and a general panic soon ensued. The queen demanded a parley. Grange came to meet her, and tendered the obedience of the lords in arms if Bothwell were dismissed. She did dismiss him. There was a brief farewell; and they met no more. He became a pirate and an outcast. Mary was conducted to the camp of the confederates; and she soon perceived that she was a prisoner. "Give me your hand," she said to Lindsay; and placing her delicate fingers in his rough palm, she exclaimed, "By the hand which is now in yours, I'll have your head for this." Riding between Athol and Morton, she was conducted into Edinburgh amidst the execrations of an infuriated populace. The soldiers carried a banner, on which was painted the body of the murdered Darnley lying under the tree near the Kirk of Field, and a child kneeling beside it, with the legend, "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord." This terrible flag was paraded before her; and when she awoke next morning, and looked out of the window of the provost's house in which she had been lodged, the same dreadful representation was hung up to meet her first gaze. In her despair she attempted to address the people, who were moved to some pity at her agony. That day she was carried as a prisoner to Lochleven.

CHAPTER III.

Mary compelled to resign the Crown.—Murray accepts the Regency.—Escape of Mary from Lochleven.—Circumstances of her escape.—Battle of Langsyde—Mary takes refuge in England.—Mary's detention in England.—Conferences of York and London.—Mary placed under charge of the Earl of Shrewsbury.—Anxiety for her safe custody.—The duke of Norfolk and Mary.—Lady Catherine Grey.

THE captivity of queen Mary was the signal for the return of John Knox to Scotland. If he were not privy to the conspiracy for the assassination of David Riccio, he did not withhold his satisfaction at an event which he considered essential to the safety of religion and the good of the commonwealth. He had fled from Edinburgh when Mary was in a condition to revenge that murder. He came back when she was a prisoner, to urge the strongest measures against her; grounding "the lawfulness to punish her upon Scripture history, the laws of the realm, and her coronation oath."* The confederacy against Mary and Bothwell was known as the Secret Council. Knox heartily embraced their cause; stipulating that the Reformed religion should be restored to the position in which it was placed by the parliament of 1560. After various attempts to persuade Mary to renounce Bothwell, Knox "thundered out cannon-hot against her."† Morton told Throckmorton, the English ambassador, that he could not do for the queen what he wished; but was obliged to give way to the zeal of the clergy and the people. Elizabeth, no doubt with sincerity, was remonstrating against the confinement and proposed deposition of Mary; but she was, at the same time, not prepared to take any strong measures of forcible interference for her safety. The unhappy queen was hemmed about with violent enemies and doubtful friends. Elizabeth charged her ambassador to insist that subjects were not to be judges of a sovereign;—it was "contrary to Scripture and unreasonable, that the head should be subject to the foot." Knox, Buchanan, Craig, and other preachers boldly maintained, and it was "a public speech amongst the people," that

* Report of Throckmorton, July 13.

† Throckmorton to Cecil.

"their queen hath no more liberty nor privilege to commit murder nor adultery than any other private person, neither by God's laws nor by the laws of the realm." The people were inflamed to the highest fury. Mary's life appeared in danger, and she talked of seeking refuge in a French nunnery. The General Assembly of the Church united with the lords of the Secret Council in desiring the queen to be brought to trial, and, if found guilty, to be put to death; "and there seemed every probability that this dreadful result was about to take place, had it not been for the interference of Throckmorton."* Murray was absent in France. At last, another course was resolved upon. Lord Lindsay, under whose severe custody she had been five weeks at Lochleven castle, and who had come to the capital to attend the General Assembly, now returned to the queen with three instruments to which her signature was demanded; whose tenour was, to resign the crown in favour of her son; to appoint Murray regent of the realm during her son's infancy; and to constitute certain lords regents till Murray's return, or permanently if he should decline the office. Mary long refused compliance; but the stern Lindsay terrified her into submission. The immediate coronation of the infant prince was their next measure. The English ambassador was invited to attend the ceremony, but he gave a peremptory refusal, stating that the proceedings of the Secret Council had been wholly against the advice and remonstrances of Elizabeth. The abdication of Mary took place on the 24th of July; the coronation of James on the 29th. The earl of Mar, his governor, bore the infant prince to the throne at the High Church of Stirling: the deeds of resignation by his mother were read, and Lindsay and Ruthven swore that they were her voluntary acts; Knox preached; the child was crowned; Morton swore for him that he would maintain the Reformed religion and extirpate heresy; the lords took the oath of allegiance; and the infant of thirteen months was carried back to his cradle. The indignation of Elizabeth at this proceeding was expressed in the strongest terms through her ambassador; but he was assured, without any reserve, that the hostility of the English government would only shorten Mary's days; for that those who pretended to be her friends, the party of the Hamiltons, had, within the last forty-eight hours, proposed to the interim-regents to put her to death. All that Throckmorton could accomplish in favour of the prisoner, was

Tyler, vol. vii. p.

that so fearful a measure, "the outgait" of the question, as they termed it, should be suspended till the return of Murray.*

Murray came from France at the beginning of August. The French government showed indifference to the fate of Mary, and great efforts were made by that government to secure the interest of the powerful man who had been chosen regent. He decided to communicate with Elizabeth. Alleged proofs of Mary being privy to her husband's murder had been put into his hands; and he was disposed to take part with the confederate lords. He had an interview with the queen of England, who took a high tone, and expressed her determination to restore Mary to her crown. Elizabeth's advisers would have moderated her indignation at Mary's rebellious subjects; but she kept to her resolution to support the cause of a sovereign held captive by an authority that set itself above the throne. When Murray reached Scotland he was irresolute as to the acceptance of the regency. On the one side, he was pressed by those who held in their hands letters and papers which they exhibited as proofs of Mary's guilt; on the other, it was represented to him that Mary's abdication was extorted from her. He determined to see her himself. On the 15th of August, in company with Morton, Athol, and Lindsay, he visited her at Lochleven. Mary appealed to him as her brother and her friend. He set before her all that had been alleged as the follies and crimes of her life; and a conversation, which lasted till midnight, ended in his exhorting her to seek refuge in the mercy of God. In the morning they had another interview, when Mary exhorted him to save her life, and pressed him to accept the regency. On the 22d of August Murray was proclaimed regent. At a meeting with the English ambassador, he declared his intention to make common cause with the lords. Though he had not been a party to their past doings, he commended what they had done; "and seeing the queen my sovereign and they have laid on me the charge of regency, a burden I would gladly have avoided, I am resolved to maintain their action, and will reduce all men to obedience in the king's name, or it shall cost me my life." Throckmorton having asked to see Mary, was refused; and he was recalled to England. On the 15th December, the regent summoned a parliament. The queen's resignation of the crown, the king's cor-

* The undoubted details of this treachery of Mary's pretended friends are given by Mr. Tyler, vol. vii. pp. 170 to 175, in complete disproof of the statements of "our popular historians."

onation, and the regency of Murray, were confirmed. The pope's authority was abolished; the Confession of Faith of 1560 was sanctioned; all heretics and hearers of mass were declared liable to various punishments; and the Presbyterian Church was fully established as "the Immaculate Spouse of Christ." An Act of parliament was passed to exonerate those who had risen in arms to demand justice on the murderers of Darnley; which Act declared that the queen was confined for her demerits, seeing that by her private letters to Bothwell, and by her pretended marriage with him, she was cognisant, art and part, of the murder of the king her husband. These "divers her privy letters written wholly with her own hand," have been the subject of interminable controversy. They were said to have been found in a silver casket, which Mary had given to Bothwell, and which came into the hands of Morton after her surrender at Carberry-hill. Hume holds that "the objections made to their authenticity are, in general, of small force." * These letters afterwards formed part of the evidence upon an elaborate inquiry into the guilt or innocence of Mary. After the queen had been six months under restraint, opinions came to be more divided about her conduct and character. The sympathy naturally inspired by the misfortunes of a young and beautiful woman began to operate as a counterpoise to the severe denunciations of the stern reformers. New factions began to be formed, each having its objects of personal ambition. Murray, as was almost inevitable, screened the higher delinquents in Darnley's assassination, and proceeded severely against their tools. The Romanists, now a marked and proscribed minority, were anxious for some revolution which might restore their influence. On the 2d of May, 1568, Scotland was convulsed by the tidings that Mary had escaped from that prison whose walls were girded by the waters of Lochleven, seeming to present an insurmountable barrier to her release. In that isolated castle she had passed nine months of sorrow and anxiety—possibly of penitence—but never without hope of restoration to sovereign authority. Admiration she could command under the greatest reverse of fortune. George Douglas, the younger brother of William Douglas, the owner of Lochleven castle, was subdued by her charms; and even his proud mother, whose

* History of England, vol. v. Robertson and Laing agree in this opinion. Hume supports his conviction by an argument for their genuineness under fifteen heads (Notes to vol. v.) Mr. Aytoun boldly says, "The letters are now, I believe, universally admitted to be rank forgeries." Notes to "Bothwell," p. 293.

son was the regent Murray, had mitigated her original severity under Mary's fascinating influence. By the aid of George Douglas, she had attempted to escape in the disguise of a laundress; but her delicate white hands had betrayed her real condition, and she was brought back to her solitary prison. This attempt was made on the 25th of April, and is described in a letter from Drury to Cecil. Mary had put on the hood of her laundress and had covered her face with a muffler or veil; and so, with a bundle of clothes she entered a boat that was about to cross the Loch. "After some space, one of them that rowed said merrily, 'Let us see what manner of dame this is,' and therewith offered to pull down her muffler, which to defend she put up her hands, which they espied to be very fair and white." Thus discovered, the boatmen heeded not her commands to row her over to the shore, but carried her back again to the castle. George Douglas, John Beaton, a brother of the archbishop of Glasgow, and other friends, were waiting at Kinross. A more successful attempt quickly followed. On the 2nd of May she accomplished her purpose by the aid of the same devoted admirer, the younger Douglas, who, dismissed from the castle, was still able to carry on a secret correspondence with the queen, and contrived to organise a formidable confederacy in her favour.

The story of Mary's escape has been worked up into the most picturesque of narratives by the great novelist of Scotland, and with no important deviation from the actual circumstances. These are related with some minuteness in an account transmitted by John Beaton to the king of France, and, upon his authority, repeated in an Italian letter to Cosmo de Medici from his envoy at Paris. * Beaton, nothing discouraged by the failure of the 25th of April, had contrived a new plan for her escape; and on the evening of the 2nd of May, there are anxious watchers on the neighbouring hills, and in the village of Kinross. One solitary man is gazing towards the castle from the edge of the lake. The outer gate opens, and a female hastens towards a boat. She leads a girl of ten years old by the hand; and a youth stays behind for a minute to lock the gate through which they have passed. He is a page of the castle, called the little Douglas. He has been won to Mary's succour, and he has rendered the most effectual aid by adroitly removing the massy key as he places a plate before the castellan, who is intent upon his evening meal. "The lad, Willie," as he is

* Tytler, "Proofs and Illustrations to History of Scotland," vol. vii. p. 457.

called in a letter from Kirkaldy to Douglas, has done his work like a true hero of romance; and he has been immortalised under another name.* The female and her two youthful attendants enter the boat. There is a white veil, with a broad red fringe, waving in the setting sun; and the gazers upon the boat know by this signal that it remains for them to insure success to this perilous enterprise. It was lord Seaton and his friends who were watching the going in and the return of the boat, from their quiet hidings on the hills. It was George Douglas who was the first to receive Mary on the edge of the lake. The instant she landed, the queen was on horseback—she who once regretted “that she was not a man, to lie all night in the fields, or to walk upon the causeway with a jack and a knapsack, a Glasgow buckler and a broadsword.” She rode at full speed to Niddrie castle, where she rested a few hours; wrote a letter to France; commanded a Hepburn to go to Dunbar to claim the castle for her; and then to carry to Bothwell, in Denmark, the news of her deliverance. She then again took horse, and arrived at Hamilton, where she considered herself secure. In a few hours she was surrounded by numerous lords and their followers. The deposed prisoner of a dreary castle on the 2nd of May, was on the 5th a queen at the head of an army.

But the earls and bishops, the barons and abbots, who, to the number of a hundred and fifty, had assembled at Mary's Council at Hamilton, and had declared the proceedings which had ended in Murray's regency as treasonable and of none effect,—these, in the want of a commanding leader, and each with his motives of vague ambition,—were unequal to cope with the master-mind of the regent, supported as he was by able counsellors who had every thing to lose, and by enthusiastic reformers whom no peril could turn away from the great cause for which they were as ready to fight as to preach. Murray was at Glasgow, only eight miles from Mary's camp at Hamilton with an ordinary train, who attended upon his presidency in a court of justice there. Offers of negotiation were sent to him from the queen's council; but he issued a proclamation in which he avowed his resolve to support the government of the king. Some advised retreat. He decided not to move, but to gather assistance for an instant attack upon the queen's force. In ten days he was at the head of four thousand disciplined men. Mary's soundest advisers first counselled that she should remove to Dunbarton, which castle had been secured for her; and there,

* Roland Græme, the page in “The Abbot.”

without the hazard of a battle, to endeavour to regain that influence in the kingdom which she had lost from the time of her fatal marriage with Bothwell. But the party of the Hamiltons thought themselves strong enough to destroy Murray, and secure their own ascendancy. The march to Dunbarton on the 13th of May, was, however, decided upon; but it was to be made in the face of an enemy who had his choice of attack or delay. Murray's camp was on the moor on the right bank of the Clyde, near Glasgow. The queen's army had its line of advance on the opposite bank. They had to defile through a narrow lane. Grange, who commanded under Murray, saw his advantage, and fording the Clyde with his horsemen, each having a foot-soldier behind him, placed them amongst cottages and gardens on each side of this lane. The queen's vanguard were driven back by the heavy fire which awaited their progress. Murray and Morton had crossed the river by a bridge, with their border pikemen. Morton led an advance, and the conflict was for some time doubtful. Murray had stood for a short time on the defensive against the charges of cavalry; but by an attack upon the queen's ranks with his main force the battle of three-quarters of an hour was decided. The number slain was comparatively small—not more than three hundred on the queen's side, and only two persons on the side of the regent. There is an account in the State Paper Office, headed “Advertisements of the Conflicts in Scotland,” dated May 16, which, in mentioning the flight of the queen's party, says, “At the beginning of which chase the earl of Murray willed and required all his to spare for shedding of more blood.” We learn from the narrative, that “the queen beheld this conflict within half a mile distant, standing upon a hill.” In that civil warfare she would ill distinguish between her friends and her foes; for “there were divers of the queen's part taken and not brought in, for there was the father against the son, and brother against brother, as namely, three of the Melvins of the lords' side, and two of the queen's.” When all hope was lost on the dispersion of her army, Mary rode at full speed towards Dumfries; and never halted till she had reached the abbey of Dundrennan, near Kirkcudbright. On the 16th, having determined to take refuge in England, she crossed the Solway in a small boat, and landed at Workington, in Cumberland. On the 17th, while remaining at Workington, she addressed a letter in French to Elizabeth, in which she enumerates the wrongs she had received from her rebellious subjects; describes the battle of Langsyde;

and implores the queen that, having come into her country, she would receive her for safety of her life, and further assist her in her just quarrel. She adds, "I entreat you to send to fetch me as soon as you possibly can, for I am in a pitiable state not only for a queen but for a gentlewoman; for I have nothing in the world but what I had on my person when I made my escape, travelling sixty miles across the country on the first day, and not having since dared to proceed except by night."* When Mary arrived at Workington she was received with kindness by the country gentlemen; and was conducted with respect to Carlisle by Mr. Lowther, the deputy-governor. She was attended by her friends, lords Herries and Fleming. Herries had taken the precaution to write to Lowther on the 15th, to know if the queen could come safely to Carlisle; but Mary was too impatient to wait for the answer, which was to the effect that, without instructions, he could only undertake to receive her with due honour, and to keep her in safety till the pleasure of the queen of England was known.

The position in which the English government was placed by the sudden events of a single fortnight was one of real embarrassment. We say the English government; for to attribute the policy pursued towards Mary to the personal feelings of Elizabeth, and not to the deliberate advice of her counsellors, is one of those mistakes which, in deference to popular views, historical writers have not been sufficiently careful to avoid. There is a paper extant in Cecil's handwriting which shows his extreme solicitude to arrive at a safe judgment upon the most difficult question that had ever presented itself to the sober regard of a statesman. That the queen of Scots should continue to be deprived of her crown, and that the administration of the country should remain under the regency, he holds to be the best way for England, but not the easiest. The escape from Lochleven, the claim of aid from Elizabeth of succour and protection, complicated that safer position which existed when the matters in dispute were confined to Mary and her own people. The queen of England had been strongly opposed to the deposition of Mary; but to take measures for her restoration, in opposition to an established authority which had been confirmed by the Scottish parliament, was to enter upon a war against those Protestant opinions upon which the rule of Elizabeth herself was founded. To permit Mary to return to Scotland without conditions, or to seek for aid from France, would either be a course of no light danger.

* Ellis, First Series, vol. p. ii. 236.

To suffer her to remain in perfect freedom in England would have been to endanger Elizabeth's own position, by giving encouragement to that Roman Catholic party that held Mary as the legitimate heir of the English throne. Cecil saw all these difficulties, when he had to consider whether Mary's demand of an interview with Elizabeth could be conceded. Sir James Mackintosh holds that in the arguments which Cecil had set down for the guidance of his sovereign, he "had taken a comprehensive view of all the mixed considerations of policy and justice which arose on that peculiarly debateable ground, on which the safety of a people seems to create a species of moral right, and to justify those acts which are necessary to secure the undisturbed quiet of the state, even when they deviate from rules which are, with reason, deemed inviolable in any but the most extreme and extraordinary cases."* The detention of Mary, the deposed queen of the Scots, and of Napoleon, the abdicated emperor of the French, when each had put themselves in the power of the English government without conditions, have some parallel in their exception from ordinary rules. Pointing out this general resemblance of the cases, the same wise teacher of political philosophy says, "The imprisonment, though in neither case warranted by the rules of municipal or international law, was in both justified by that necessity from which those rules have sprung, and without which no violence can rightfully be done to a human being." †

The policy of the English government with regard to Mary resolved itself into a determination that there should be a solemn investigation into the truth of the charges against her of being accessory to the murder of her husband. Elizabeth, whatever might have been her notion of the abstract right of sovereigns, was too wise, or had too wise advisers, to listen to the exhortation of Catherine de Medici, "to persevere in the same opinion which you have hitherto maintained, that princes should assist each other to chastise and punish subjects who rise against them, and are rebels to their sovereigns." Sir Francis Knollys, a kinsman of Elizabeth, was sent by her to confer with Mary at Carlisle; and he used an argument towards her, as reported by him to his queen, which opens a large field of exception to the doctrine of the queen-mother of France: "I objected unto her that in some cases princes might be deposed from their government by their subjects lawfully, as if a prince should fall into madness. And, said I, what difference is

* History of England," vol. iii, p. 115. † *Ibid.*, p. 121, note.

there between lunacy and cruel murdering; for the one is an evil humour proceeding of melancholy, and the other is an evil humour proceeding of choler; wherefore the question is whether your grace deserved to be put from the government or not." At this argument the tears fell from the eyes of the unhappy Mary. Whether Elizabeth wholly approved of the logic of her representative, or not, the decision of her government was put upon this issue.

The detention of Mary at Carlisle, near the Scottish frontier being thought dangerous, she was removed in July to Bolton castle. Her indignation at being considered a prisoner was unabated. The factions in Scotland were at open war. A French army was expected with eagerness by Mary's adherents, though she herself disclaimed any knowledge of their intended landing. An armistice was at length concluded between the opposing parties; and a conference was opened at York on the 4th of October. The queen of England was represented by three commissioners, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler, who were to hear the allegations of the queen of Scots against her rebellious subjects; and the counter-charges against herself, made by those who had raised war against their sovereign. Mary chose the bishop of Ross and lord Herries, with others, to be her commissioners. Murray was accompanied by four commissioners, with Lethington and Buchanan as assistants. The representatives of Mary set forth the notorious facts of the revolt against her by the usurpers of her authority, of her imprisonment, her deposition, the coronation of her infant son, the regency of Murray, her enforced flight into England. Murray was placed in a position of extreme difficulty if not of danger. Before he brought forward proofs of the crimes of Mary, which could alone justify the course he and his friends had pursued, he sought to receive some assurance that, if the queen of Scots should be declared guilty, he should be sanctioned by the English government in his proceedings, and supported in his office. The assurance was not given; for the question was to be submitted to Elizabeth's own decision. The duke of Norfolk, who afterwards paid a terrible penalty for his espousal of the cause of Mary in the desire to become her husband—not without some inclination to favour her claim to the English crown—influenced Murray to withhold his accusations against the queen of Scots. "The English queen, his mistress," he said, "was resolved during her life to evade the question of the succession, careless what blood might be shed, or what confusion might arise upon the point: as to the true title

none doubted that it lay in the queen of Scots and her son; and much he marvelled that the regent, whom he had always reputed a wise and honourable man, should come hither to blacken his mistress, and, as far as he could, destroy the prospect of her and her son's succession."* In consequence of this influence, Murray withheld the real defence of himself and his friends, and made no public charge against Mary. But he privately exhibited to Norfolk, Sussex, and Sadler, the written proofs of Mary's guilt, alleged to have been found in the silver casket. The commissioners of Elizabeth transmitted to her an abstract of these papers, with this strong opinion of their authenticity:—"The letters discourse of some things which were unknown to any other than herself and Bothwell; and as it is hard to counterfeit so many, so the matter of them, and the manner in which these men came by them, are such that as it seemeth that God, in whose sight murder is abominable, would not permit the same to be hid or concealed."† The commissioners of Mary had now an interview with Elizabeth, when she informed them that the enemies of their queen had entirely failed in their defence; but that another conference should be held in London. Murray, after some further hesitation, made his accusation against the queen in the strongest terms; and Lennox, the father of the murdered Darnley, also accused Mary of conspiring his death. Mary's commissioners now required that she should be heard in person by Elizabeth; which Elizabeth refused, until Murray had brought forward his proofs. The commissioners of Mary then took an extraordinary step. They made a proposal for a compromise, by which Murray and the queen should be reconciled. This proposition was rejected by Elizabeth. The bishop of Ross, and his associates, now declared that the conferences were at an end, as Elizabeth had determined to receive from Murray proofs of his injurious charges against Mary, before she was herself heard in the presence of her sister-queen. The discussions and recriminations were prolonged for some time. Murray delivered his proofs as regarded the written evidence of Mary's complicity in the guilt of Darnley's assassination; and her commissioners still persisted in their refusal to re-open the conferences. Elizabeth, as Norfolk had intimated, would come to no final decision. Mr.

* Melvil's Memoirs, quoted by Tytler as unquestionable authority, "as he was not only present at York, but the regent made him privy to this secret interview." See also Jardine's "Criminal Trials," vol. i.

† Letter from York, October 11, 1568.

Tytler, after fully narrating these remarkable proceedings, in which he holds that "both Elizabeth and the queen of Scots acted with great art," says, "so far as we judge of these conferences by themselves, they leave the mind under the unsatisfying and painful impression that the conduct of the Scottish queen, throughout the whole investigation, was that of a person neither directly guilty, nor yet wholly innocent."*

During the conferences at York and London, Mary Stuart had remained under the care of Lord Scrope, at Bolton. By an order of Council in January, 1569, she was placed with George, earl of Shrewsbury, and was removed to his castle of Tutbury, on the 2nd of February. The earl, one of the highest of the peers of England, had the burthensome, dangerous, and not very honourable office imposed upon him, of having the custody, for many years, of the deposed queen, who, however strictly watched, was in correspondence, from first to last, with the enemies of Elizabeth and her government; and who was the pivot of most of the domestic and foreign intrigues for the overthrow of English Protestantism. Before the end of 1568 the earl of Shrewsbury had written to his energetic wife, known as "Bess of Hardwick," that the queen had told him she meant to trust him as she would trust few, by which he understood that he was to have the custody of the queen of Scots. It is difficult to understand how any nobleman of great riches and influence, if possessed of a high spirit, could have submitted to the slavery of such an office. Shrewsbury and his wife were to be ever at Mary's side. She was carried about with them from Tutbury to their various castles and manor-houses—to Sheffield, to Buxton, to Worksworth, to Chatsworth, to Winfield. These, indeed, were pleasant places, surrounded by cultivated fields and rich woods—far different from the solitary Lochleven. Tutbury castle stood upon a high hill, at the foot of which runs the river Dove; with Needwood forest around it, and the Peak mountains in the distance. Sheffield castle was upon an eminence overlooking the little town, where "the whittle" was then forged without the tilt-hammer. In the grand old halls where John Talbot had held his state, Mary spent fourteen years of her captivity, with a few temporary changes. Tradition says that Hardwick was amongst her prison-houses; and in that fine mansion of the Tudor days we are shown her bedroom and her tapestry-work. But tra-

* "History of Scotland," vol. vii. p. 268.

dition is wrong, according to modern archæology; * although Bishop Kennet, a hundred and sixty years ago, said of Mary, "Her chamber and rooms of state, with her arms and other ensigns, are still remaining at Hardwick; her bed was taken away for plunder in the Civil Wars." † But wherever Mary was, the anxiety of Elizabeth for her safe detention was unremitting. In August, 1569, Cecil writes to the earl that the queen was troubled that he, Shrewsbury, was going, or gone, to the baths at Buxton; "and," he says, "if you were gone, which she said she would hardly believe, then I should seek to understand what order your lordship had left for attendance upon the said queen, and that yourself should not be long absent from thence." Cecil adds, what may be considered as a piece of court duplicity, that "her majesty said she did as much esteem for her own honour to have the queen of Scots to be honourably attended, as for any matter of surety." ‡ Within a fortnight after this letter, Shrewsbury is warned not to permit persons coming to himself or his lady, "to have resort to the queen of Scots' presence." In another month, the earl of Huntingdon, in consequence of the sickness of Shrewsbury, is commanded to repair to Shrewsbury's house, with his own trusty servants, "and there to take the charge of the said queen." In a letter from Elizabeth herself to Huntingdon, she says, "We will have you also, after conference with our said cousin of Shrewsbury, to devise how the number of the queen of Scots' train might be diminished, and reduced only to thirty persons of all sorts, as was ordered, but, as we perceive, too much enlarged of late time. You shall also, jointly with the earl of Shrewsbury, give order that no such common resort be to the queen as hath been; nor that she have such liberty to send posts as she hath done." § A short note from Cecil to Shrewsbury, of the same date, shows a cause for all this jealous vigilance: "The queen's majesty is entered into no small offence with the intention that she thinketh hath been to devise of a marriage with the Scottish queen." || We have seen how, during the conferences at York, the duke of Norfolk prevailed upon the regent Murray to suppress his charges against Mary. When Murray was goaded into a public accusation, Norfolk was greatly angered against him; but they became reconciled, and Murray consented

* See a paper by the Rev. J. Hunter, in "Archæologia," vol. xxxii.

† Quoted in Mr. Craik's "Romance of the Peerage," vol. iii. p. 178.

‡ Lodge's "Illustrations," 4to, vol. ii. p. 18.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 21

|| Lodge's "Illustrations," 4to, vol. ii. p. 23

to favour Norfolk's project of a marriage with Mary. In 1569 this scheme was promoted by some English nobles, without the privity of Elizabeth; and a letter was written by Leicester, and three other lords, to Mary, urging her to consent to such a marriage, to which she returned a favourable answer. A formal contract of marriage was afterwards drawn up. In August, 1569, some ladies of Elizabeth's court got to the knowledge of this secret—with the feminine "sagacity in smelling out amatory affairs."* Leicester, who was subsequently accused by Norfolk as the inventor of this scheme for his ruin, revealed the transaction to the queen and was forgiven. Elizabeth then invited the duke to dine with her; and, when he rose to leave, significantly told him "to beware on what pillow he laid his head." This is Camden's anecdote, no doubt founded upon what was urged against the duke by the queen's serjeant, upon his trial in 1572; namely, that the queen having understood his intention to marry with Mary, he complained to her of the rumour; "in which complaint," says the serjeant, "as I have heard her majesty herself declare it, and some here of my lords have likewise heard it, he said, 'To what end should I seek to marry her, being so wicked a woman, such a notorious adulteress, and murderer? I love to sleep upon a safe pillow. I account myself, by your majesty's good favour, as good a prince at home in my bowling-alley at Norwich as she is, though she was in the middle of her kingdom. The revenues of the crown of Scotland are not comparable to mine own, that I enjoy by your goodness, as I have heard of the chief officers of that realm; besides, her kingdom is not in her own hand, but possessed by another. If I should seek to match with her, knowing, as I do know, that she pretendeth a title to your crown, your majesty might justly charge me with seeking to take your own crown from your head.' This the duke spake to the queen's majesty, in his excuse, when the rumour was spread of his proposed marriage with the Scottish queen; and yet, at that time, he had dealt earnestly in it."†

The duke of Norfolk was committed to the Tower on the 9th of October, where he continued a prisoner till the 4th of the following August. Cecil honestly protested against the duke being brought to trial for high treason upon insufficient evidence. But this autumn of 1569 was a period of great anxiety, which sufficiently justified the vigilance and suspicion of Elizabeth's government. Immediately after the arrest of Norfolk an insurrection broke out

* Camden.

† Jardine, p. 162.

in the northern counties, headed by the catholic lords, Percy, earl of Northumberland, and Neville, earl of Westmoreland. They proclaimed their design of restoring the old religion, and it was their intention to release the queen of Scots, and to place her upon the English throne. They also contemplated the release of Norfolk. Mary was hurriedly removed from Tutbury castle to Coventry. The details of this insurrection will be better understood after a brief view of the progress of the country towards a settled government and established religion, since the accession of queen Elizabeth.

In the desire not to interrupt the course of our narrative as regards Mary, queen of Scots, we passed over an interesting matter of public and personal history—the touching story of lady Catherine Grey. This second sister of lady Jane Grey had been betrothed to lord Herbert; but upon the fortunes of the house of Suffolk falling before the ascendancy of Mary Tudor, the alliance was repudiated, and Herbert was married to a daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury. After the death of the duchess of Suffolk, the niece of Henry VIII., in the first year of Elizabeth's reign, her daughter, lady Catherine Grey, stood next to Mary Stuart as the heir to the crown after the death of Elizabeth; and, according to the will of Henry VIII., she was considered by some as having the true title to its immediate possession. Lady Catherine had a court-appointment under Elizabeth, and was the intimate friend of Jane Seymour, the daughter of the Protector Somerset, who was also one of the Maids of Honour. His brother, Edward Seymour, who had been created earl of Hertford, was fascinated by Catherine; and these lovers were privately married, the bride being about twenty-one, and the husband a year older. Hertford went abroad in 1561, and Catherine, having been unable to conceal the consequences of this hasty union, was sent to the Tower. The widow of the Protector writes to Cecil denying all knowledge of her son's marriage, and hopes the wilfulness of her unruly child will not diminish the queen's favour.* Harsh as the imprisonment of Catherine Grey may seem, we must bear in mind the extreme jealousy with which alliances of persons of royal blood, made without the consent of the reigning sovereign, have at all times been regarded. But the evidence of this marriage was not forthcoming. The young people had made their way on foot from Whitehall to the earl's house,—according to their own statements after Hertford had re-

* "Calendar of State Papers," August 22, 1561.

turned home and had been also imprisoned,—and a priest, whose name was unknown, had married them, the sole witness being Jane Seymour, who had soon after died. A commission of inquiry was appointed, consisting of archbishop Parker and certain divines and lawyers; and it was declared that there had been no legal marriage. A second son was born in 1563, Hertford and Catherine being still in confinement. Some additional severity was now thought necessary, and Hertford was fined in three several sums of five thousand pounds, by process in the Star-Chamber.* From this period till her death in 1568, Catherine continued under the queen's displeasure; and there are some touching letters of her uncle, which show how deeply she felt this anger, which kept her in a dishonourable position, and separated her from him who she maintained was her true husband. But the common narratives which state that she wore out her life in strict confinement in the Tower, and there died, are not founded in fact. We can trace the course of her suffering years of marriage distinctly, from authentic documents. She was sent to the Tower in August, 1561. Her rooms were furnished somewhat sumptuously by the queen's command; but, according to the petition of the lieutenant of the Tower, who, in September 1563, asked to have "the stuff" for his perquisite, it was "most of it so torn and tattered with her monkeys and dogs, as will serve to small purpose." Catherine and her husband were removed from the Tower in August, in 1563, on account of the plague having broken out in London; the lady being given to the charge of her uncle, lord John Grey. The displeasure of Elizabeth might probably have passed away, had not John Hales, a partisan of the claims of the house of Suffolk to the crown, published a book in April, 1564, in which he attempted to confute the pretensions of the Scottish queen, and maintained the validity of the marriage of Hertford and Catherine Grey. On May 26, 1564, we find that the earl of Hertford was committed to the custody of the lieutenant of the Tower; † but the common statement that both he and his wife were re-committed to that prison in 1565, appears to be supported by no very clear evidence. Catherine's uncle died in November, 1564, and she was then given in charge to Mr. Secretary Petre. On the 14th of May, 1566, sir John Wentworth writes to the Council, saying he has received a letter from the

* The legitimacy of the children of this marriage was established in 1606, by an action at law, when the priest who married Hertford and Catherine was produced.

"Calendar of State Papers."

queen commanding him to take charge of the lady Catherine, but he prays to be excused. But no doubt the responsibility was forced upon him, for on the 2nd of October, 1567, the queen directs sir Owen Hopton, in consequence of the demise of sir John Wentworth, to take into his charge the lady Catherine Grey, but to keep her from the access of all strangers. On the 11th of January, 1568, Hopton writes to Cecil that she has kept her bed three days. On the 27th of that month she died at his house at Yoxford, in Suffolk. The common assertion that she, who was reserved for a more lingering misery than her sister Jane, died in the Tower, is altogether incorrect. There is a very affecting account of the death-bed of this poor lady, and her last conversation with sir Owen Hopton; who perceiving her draw near her end, said to a bystander, "Were it not best to send to the church, that the bell be rung."* Upon this subject we have received the following interesting communication. †

"When vicar of Yoxford, in Suffolk, I found the record of her burial there. It was the first entry I noticed in the register. This led me to examine the Manuscript in the British Museum, giving an account, as stated, of her death in the Tower. The heading of the Manuscript, indeed, is to this effect; but the heading is not in the handwriting of the original scribe, and is of more recent date. The error is obvious, and so is its cause. Sir Owen Hopton, afterwards lieutenant of the Tower, ‡ was present, and asked, should the passing bell be tolled? The writer of the heading was not aware that sir Owen Hopton was lord of Yoxford, and that Catherine resided under his charge at Cockfield hall. Here her great chest with the royal arms of England may be still seen. One of the heralds in his Visitations mentions the affecting story of her lap-dog persisting to lie upon her grave there, and expiring in sorrow for her loss."

The lady Mary Grey, the youngest daughter of Frances Brandon, made also a rash marriage with Elizabeth's Serjeant Porter. She, the least at the court, married the biggest gentleman—as Cecil described them. They also had to endure the anger of the queen, and were sent to prison. The tiny woman survived her husband, but died many years before Elizabeth.

* Harl. MS., Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 288.

† Letter to the author of this History, from the Rev. Joseph D'Arcy Sirr, D. D., Assistant Chaplain to the Forces.

‡ The first notice of sir Owen Hopton being Lieutenant of the Tower is found ("Calendar of State Papers") under the date of March, 1571.