

not to be called upon to answer for their recent conduct; and all controversies were to be reserved for parliament. The Congregation, however, remained distrustful; Knox openly preached that the treaty would only be kept till the regent and her Frenchmen became the stronger, and before leaving Perth the Lords of Congregation entered into a new bond for mutual defence. The regent entered Perth the day they left (29th May), accompanied by the duke of Chastelherault and a bodyguard of French as well as Scottish troops paid by French money. The deposition of the provost in favour of a Papist and the occupation of the town by these troops were deemed breaches of the agreement, and Argyll and Lord James now joined the Reformers and took the lead in their proceedings. Their numbers increasing, the regent felt unable to retain Perth, and quitting it marched south, followed by the army of the Congregation, to which she abandoned Stirling, Linlithgow, and Edinburgh, taking refuge at Dunbar. The only conflict was at the Muir of Cupar, where a small force sent to save St Andrews was quickly dispersed by the superior numbers of its opponents. It was made a condition of a truce that no Frenchman should be left in Fife. The Reformers occupied Edinburgh for a few weeks, but were obliged to abandon it upon new terms of truce intended to preserve the *status quo*. Both parties were engaged in negotiations for active assistance, the one from France and the other from England. The regent had been daily expecting reinforcements, and a considerable number of troops about this time landed at Leith, which they began to fortify.

In the end of June Kirkaldy of Grange began a correspondence, afterwards continued by Knox, with Cecil, Percy, and Sir Herbert Croft. Their scheme was far-reaching. The young earl of Arran, though brought up in France, had become Protestant, and if he, the heir-presumptive to the Scottish crown, were married to Elizabeth the union of the two countries would be secured along with the Reformation. This would be a counter-stroke to the union of France and Scotland under a Catholic, which almost at the moment became for a brief time an accomplished fact, by the dauphin succeeding as Francis II. to the French crown on the death of his father. The policy of the Guises, who continued to control the Government under the new king, almost forced Elizabeth in this direction. Mary quartered the arms of England with those of Scotland, implying denial of Elizabeth's right both as illegitimate and as a heretic. But Elizabeth knew the value both of her hand and of the state, which, thanks to the ability of her ministers, was daily becoming more loyal. She had special cause for hesitating to ally herself with the Lords of Congregation. Knox had offended her by his vehement *Blasts against the Regiment of Women*, which, though primarily aimed against the Catholic queens, admitted no exception in favour of a Protestant. Nor could Knox even when supplicating aid adopt the courtier's language to which Elizabeth was accustomed. She was really afraid of the revolutionary principles of some of the Reformers, which seemed to threaten the throne as well as the altar. Moreover, Arran, who came secretly to the English court, did not please her, and there was an end of the matrimonial part of the scheme. The rest of it would probably also have miscarried, but for the consummate statesmanship of Cecil, who saw where the interest of England lay. In August 1559 Sadler was sent with £3000 to the assistance of the Scottish Protestants. Another supply followed, but was intercepted, and in January 1560 a treaty was agreed to at Berwick between Elizabeth and the Lords of Congregation, to whom the duke of Chastelherault had now gone over. The Scots engaged not to enter into an alliance with France, and to defend the

country against French aggression. Elizabeth was to support Scotland by an army, but no place of strength was to be left in English hands. If any were taken from the French they were to be razed or retained by the Scots. The Scots were to assist England if attacked by France, and to give hostages for fulfilment of the treaty. Next spring an English army under Lord Grey crossed the Tweed (28th March 1560), met the forces of the Congregation at Prestonpans, and invested Leith, in which the French were also blockaded by sea. The regent had taken refuge in Edinburgh castle, and here on 10th June she died of dropsy. She had been deserted gradually by almost all her Scottish adherents. The last to go was Maitland of Lethington, the most talented but also the most cunning of the Scottish statesmen. His desertion was the sign of a lost cause. Even some of the higher clergy now conformed. Lord Erskine almost alone remained faithful. The regent's own courage never failed, and, though she received a visit from the leaders of the Congregation and consented to see Willock, she died a firm Catholic. Her misfortunes and her conciliatory policy during her long struggles to maintain the French connexion with Scotland have gained her a lenient judgment even from Protestants, all save Knox, whose personal animosity is palpable, though his view of her policy is correct.

Her death removed the chief obstacle to peace, which the English and the French courts had for some time desired, and the treaty of Edinburgh was concluded on 8th July 1560 upon terms favourable to Scotland. The military forces of both France and England were to evacuate Scotland, except a certain number of French, who were to remain in Inchkeith and Dunbar. Leith and Eyemouth were to be dismantled; Mary and Francis were to abstain from using the arms of England. By separate articles certain concessions were granted to the nobility and people of Scotland showing the length to which the limitation of the monarchy was carried. No French or other soldiers were to be brought into the realm unless in the event of an invasion and only with the consent of the estates. Neither peace nor war was to be made without their consent. A council of twelve (seven chosen by the king and queen and five by the estates out of twenty-four selected by the estates) were to govern the kingdom during the absence of Mary and Francis. The chief officers of the crown were to be natives. An Act of oblivion was to be passed for all Acts since 6th March 1558. Neither the nobles nor any other persons were to assemble in arms except in cases provided by the law. The duke of Chastelherault and his son, Arran, and all other Scots were to be restored to their French estates. With matters of religion the deputies refused to deal; but envoys were to be sent to the king and queen to lay before them the state of affairs, particularly those last mentioned.

Before parliament met an important step towards a new organization of the church was taken. Superintendents, some lay, others clerical, were appointed for Lothian, Glasgow, Fife, Angus, Mearns, Argyll, and the Isles. The principal ministers of the Congregation were planted in the chief towns,—Knox receiving Edinburgh as his charge. The convention parliament which assembled on 10th July and began its business on 1st August 1560 was the Reformation parliament of Scotland. Like Henry VIII's famous parliament, its work was thorough. It not merely reformed abuses but changed the national creed and accomplished more in one than the English parliament did in three sessions. The parliament was the most numerous yet held in Scotland, being attended not only by nearly all the nobility but by some bishops and an unusually large number of lesser barons or landed gentry, representatives of the burghs. Its statutes never received the royal assent,

Treaty of
Edinburgh.

but were confirmed by the first parliament after Mary's deposition. On 18th August the Confession of Faith received the sanction of the estates. On the 24th an Act was passed declaring that the bishop of Rome had no jurisdiction or authority within the realm. Another rescinded all Acts passed since James I. contrary to God's word; and a third prohibited the mass or baptism according to the Roman rite, and ordained strict inquisition against all persons contravening the statute. The form of church government was not explicitly altered. The archbishop of St Andrews, and Dunkeld and Dunblane alone of the bishops, are said to have voted against the Confession, and Athole, Somerville, Caithness, and Bothwell alone of the nobles. The whole power of the state was at this time in the hands of the party of the Reformation and resistance was useless. The Confession of Faith, the cornerstone of the new policy both in church and state, was drawn up by Knox and five other ministers, but revised by the more moderate Reformers Lethington and Winram. The power of the civil magistrate was declared in terms which indicate the revision of Lethington rather than the original draft of Knox. Its language is certainly such as monarchs had been little accustomed to, though the expression is not so blunt as Knox used in preaching and conversation. Kings, princes, and magistrates in free cities are declared to be those to whom the reformation of religion "chiefly and most principally appertains." They are themselves to be judged by God, being appointed for the maintenance of the true religion and suppression of idolatry. Resistance to them, but only when vigilant in the execution of their office, is declared sinful.

The same persons who had prepared the Confession were entrusted with the composition of a code of ecclesiastical polity, and a draft, after being first laid before the convention of 1560, was submitted as revised to that of the following year. This *First Book of Discipline* was not universally approved; several of its provisions, especially those relating to church estates and their application to the support of the ministry, the relief of the poor, and the furtherance of education, were little to the taste of the nobility, and it was never sanctioned by the estates or fully acted on. Other parts of it were, however, embodied in the *Second Book of Discipline*, which became the law of the Reformed Church. It remains a memorial of the far-sighted views of Knox, its author; and the verdict of posterity has been in his favour and against the nobles who prevented its being carried out. See PRESBYTERIANISM, vol. xix. p. 679 sq.

The death of Francis II. (6th December 1560) materially altered the political situation. The much feared subordination of Scotland to France was at last averted. Mary Stuart, only nineteen, was young enough to be influenced by a new husband and new responsibilities. Her character was not yet known, but her relations with Catherine de' Medici were not friendly, and there was little doubt that she would take advantage of the provision in her marriage articles and return to Scotland. Sir John Sandilands's mission to France to procure the royal sanction to the treaty of Edinburgh and the Acts of the Reformation parliament must have been unpalatable, and he was not favourably received. Before she left France Mary was visited by envoys of the opposite parties into which Scotland was divided. Lesley, official of Aberdeen, afterwards bishop of Ross, and her valiant defender, was sent by the Catholic lords and bishops with a special message from Huntly, urging her to come to Aberdeen, where an army of 20,000 men would be at her disposal. But Huntly had not proved trustworthy during the regency and Mary rejected an offer which would have plunged the kingdom in war from the moment she landed. The very day after she had seen

Lesley her brother Lord James, who had been sent by the Lords of Congregation, met her at St Dizier. She received him favourably, but declined to ratify the treaty till she consulted her council. An attempt was made to capture Mary on her way to Scotland; but, sailing from Calais on 14th August, she landed at Leith on the 19th. She was accompanied by three uncles and a considerable suite, including Castelnau the historian, Brantôme the memoir writer, and the poet Chastelard.¹

On her return to Scotland Mary showed herself disposed to conciliate the Reformers provided she was allowed the exercise of her own faith. This had been guaranteed her by Lord James. His near kinship to the queen at a time when the stain of bastardy was less regarded, and his close relation with the Reformers, made him necessary to both and gave him an influence which his eminent prudence used for the good of the nation, but with an eye to his own advantage. Without thrusting himself too prominently forward, he led the privy council (ably supported by Lethington, and, without the name, was in fact prime minister. The title of Mar, and, when that was reclaimed by the heir of the Erskines, of Moray or MURRAY (*q.v.*), with its large territories, gave him the designation by which he is best known, as well as great wealth, which he dispersed by means not well explained. But the leaven of another influence than that of the statesman was now at work in Scottish politics. This was embodied in John Knox, the most representative Scotsman since Wallace. The first Sunday after Mary's arrival the mob tried to interrupt mass at Holyrood, and Moray had himself to keep the chapel door to prevent its being broken. "His best excuse was," says Knox, "that he wald stop all Scotchmen to enter into the mass." Next Sunday Knox preached in Edinburgh against idolatry. "One mass was more fearful to him," he said, "than 20,000 armed enemies." Little likely as such sentiments were to please the young queen, a meeting between her and the preacher was arranged by Moray, the only third party present. On the matter of religion he was unbending, yet not more so than Mary. His judgment of the queen's character was, "If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty spirit, and an indurate heart against God and His truth my judgment faileth me." In 1562 Huntly, the chief Romanist in the north, who offered to have the mass said in three counties, rebelled, being indignant at the grant to Moray of an earldom whose estates he then held. Mary, accompanied by her brother, made a progress in the north, where Huntly was defeated and slain at Corrichie, his elder son being imprisoned, his second beheaded, and the lands of Huntly, of his kinsman the earl of Sutherland, and other barons of the house of Huntly forfeited. On her return to Edinburgh Mary again met Knox at Holyrood. He rebuked her for dancing and other frivolities, advised her to attend the public sermons, and told her that it was not his duty to leave his studies in order to wait at her chamber door. There were other interviews, in one of which (April 1563) only Mary seemed to yield a little. She was anxious to use his influence to quiet a threatened rising in the west, and to heal a quarrel between her half sister the countess of Argyll and her husband. Knox promised his aid, but required in return that the penal laws should be enforced against the Papists. This Mary agreed to, and her promise was also apparently kept. Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews, and forty seven other persons were prosecuted for hearing confession

¹ The story of Mary Stuart, which now approaches by rapid steps its climax, has been told by Mr Swinburne (see *MARY*, vol. xv. p. 594 sq.) and a poet may regard human character in a manner different from the historian,—interpreting motives and drawing conclusions *à priori* history, whose view is limited by evidence, cannot reach. Here only the leading facts in her personal story can be stated so far as they affect the course of Scottish history.

Knox
and
Mary.

1567. and celebrating the mass. Yet Knox's comment in his *History* is, "This conference we have inserted to let the world see how Marie queen of Scotland can dissemble, and how that she could cause men to think that she bore no indignation for any controversy in religion, while that yet in her heart was nothing but venom and destruction, as short after that did appear." She was in fact corresponding with her uncle the cardinal of Lorraine, with the pope, with Philip II., testifying her steadfast attachment to Papacy and her desire to restore the Catholic faith. At a last conference Knox remonstrated against her marriage, then thought imminent, with a Papist, claiming the right of a subject "to speak out on this topic which so nearly concerned the commonwealth," remaining unmoved by the last argument of a woman, which he savagely describes as "howling and tears in greater abundance than the matter required." Nothing but perusal of the conversations can bring before us this pregnant passage of history—the abasement of the Scottish monarchy before the religious democracy—of the woman forced to dissemble and weep before the stern man believing he delivered a message from God to the head of a corrupt court. Something was allowed to Knox's sincere outspokenness. He moved men and women alike by words which, like Luther's, go straight to the realities of life. He is the typical Scottish divine framed on the model of the Hebrew prophets, and often reproduced in weaker copies. The Reformation in Scotland, in both its strength and its weakness, was his work more than that of any other man. The Presbyterian form of government, of which his friend Calvin was the author, was introduced by Knox from Geneva and continued for long to enforce discipline, first by censure and then, if need be, by excommunication and temporal punishment, entirely in his spirit.

Mary's marriage to Darnley.

Not only to Knox and the Reformers but to all classes the question of the day was the queen's marriage. Apart from her beauty, her political position rendered her hand of importance to the balance of power. It held not only the dowry of France and the possession of Scotland but a claim, which might be at any moment asserted, to the English crown. She avowed her inclination to marry, and indeed she required a man to put her in possession of her kingdom. Don Carlos, the archduke of Austria, son of Philip of Spain, Charles IX. of France, the kings of Denmark and of Sweden, the archduke Charles, second son of the emperor, were all passed in review but rejected. Elizabeth pressed the claim of her favourite Leicester,—a project supported by Cecil and Moray. In the end the fair face and fine figure of her young cousin Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, carried the day. A party of the Scottish nobles—Athole, himself a Stuart, Morton, Crawford, Eglinton, and Cassilis—favoured the alliance. David Rizzio, the queen's foreign secretary, who already had great influence with her, promoted it. But it was her own act, the most dangerous of many false steps in her life. Shortly before the marriage (29th July 1565) Moray attempted to seize Darnley and the queen as they rode from Perth to Callendar near Falkirk. When it was accomplished he rose in arms with the duke of Chastelherault, the head of the Hamiltons, Argyll, and Rothes; but Mary with a large force pursued them from place to place in the Roundabout Raid, from the neighbourhood of Edinburgh through Fife, where she levied fines, and finally to Dumfries, from which Moray fled to England. He had been secretly but not vigorously supported by Elizabeth, who, when she heard of his flight, recalled her orders to Bedford, then on the marches, to place troops at the disposal of the insurgents. Mary still retained some of the popularity of a young queen, and fostered it by an apparent desire to honour the Reformers. For the first time she attended a Protestant

sermon. But the consequences of a union between a high-spirited woman, active in mind and body beyond her sex and years, with a vain and dissolute youth were soon seen. His alienation from the queen, the murder of Rizzio, with the intrigues that preceded and followed it, the rapid growth of Bothwell's influence, the pitiable vacillations of Darnley, and his murder at Kirk of Field (10th February 1567) have been sketched in the article MARY (vol. xv. of *Darney*, p. 596 sq.). The authors of the last crime were Bothwell, who devised it, and his servants, who executed it. Their confessions leave no doubt of their own guilt. Who were their accomplices has from that day to this been debated without conclusive answer. The great controversy is whether the nobles with Moray at their head had bound themselves to support Bothwell, as he and Mary afterwards declared, or whether Mary, possessed with passion for Bothwell and hate of Darnley, herself instigated her husband's murder. Some have thought both the queen and the nobles were implicated. The casket letters, alleged to have been found in a coffer that was given to Morton by Dalgleish when intrusted with it by Sir James Balfour for its delivery to Bothwell, must be left out in any fair examination of this question. The mode of their recovery and their production, first partially and secretly before Elizabeth's commissioners at York, then with apparent but not real publicity at Westminster (for Mary's counsellors were not allowed to see them), their contents, so different from her known writings, and the disappearance of the originals render their evidence inadmissible. What weighs most against Mary is her subsequent conduct, explicable only in favour of innocence if she was absolutely in Bothwell's power from the time of the murder to the defeat of Carberry,—an hypothesis not borne out by facts. Though Lennox and his wife urged that the murderers be brought to justice, there was delay till 13th April, when Bothwell was at last brought before an assize. The trial was a sham, and his acquittal on the pretence that there was no accuser could deceive no one.

The strange wooing which commenced when Darnley was just buried, if not before, was continued by the seizure of Mary by Bothwell near Cramond and her captivity in her own castle of Dunbar—a pretence according to her adversaries, an opportunity for an outrage from which marriage was the only escape according to her defenders—at last culminated in the marriage at six in the morning, at Holyrood, on the 15th of May 1567. It was the month when wicked women marry, said the people, writing Ovid's line on the Tolbooth walls. Before it took place she created Bothwell duke of Orkney, and pardoned him for any violence. She also wrote in palliation of his conduct to the French king. His divorce from Lady Jane Gordon had been hurried through both the bishops' court and that of the Protestant commissaries,—in the former on the false pretence that there had been no papal dispensation for his marriage to one of near kin, and in the latter on the ground of adultery. Mary had been more than once warned of the consequences of such a marriage by Lord Herries, by the faithful Melville, and by Craig, the minister who, with the utmost reluctance, proclaimed the bans. It was an act which required no warning. She had no alternative, urge her vindicators, to save her honour, and her tears on the morning of marriage are proof that she was forced; but the more scrupulous admit she should have preferred death to union with a man she must at least have known was not clear of Darnley's murder. Her enemies said then, and historians who take their side repeat, that it was the madness of a passion she could not resist. The view most consistent with the facts seems to be that she accepted, not without fits of remorse, the service of the strongest sword at her disposal on the only terms on which she

Murder of Darnley.

Mary's relation with Bothwell.

could obtain it. But, if Mary cannot be acquitted of the degree of complicity implied in accepting the consequences of the murder, many of the leading nobles were involved in equal guilt. On 19th April a bond asserting Bothwell's innocence and urging Mary to marry him had been signed at Ainslie's tavern, not only by Bothwell's few friends, but by "a great part of the lords." Most of those who signed had in the parliament just concluded received grants of land or remission of forfeiture, and it is urged by Mary's defenders that they were bribed to acquiesce in Bothwell's designs. When the bond was afterwards put in evidence against them their plea was that they had been forced to sign it by Bothwell. It is contended on Mary's behalf that with so many of the nobles committed to approval of the marriage she had no one on whom to rely. There is something in this argument; but it does not meet the point—Why did she rely on Bothwell? That a scheme was arranged before Darnley's murder to entrap her into this marriage, in order to pave the way for her deposition, and that the casket letters were fabricated to clench her guilt, has been suggested; but the facts necessary to prove so deep a train of conspiracy are wanting. The two Scotsmen who almost alone maintained the character of honest men, Kirkaldy of Grange and Sir James Melville, who were so far from being unfriendly to Mary that they ultimately espoused her cause, believed that she was a willing victim and threw herself into Bothwell's arms. The narrative in her own despatch to the bishop of Dunblane does not allege that she was forced, but only that "he partlie extorted and partlie obtained our promise to take him as our husband."

Mary a prisoner.

The leading nobles were not disposed to accept a new master in Bothwell, whose vices, unlike those of Darnley, were coupled with a strong instead of a weak character. They kept jealous possession of the young prince, placed in the custody of Mar in Stirling; and, when a muster was called to enforce order on the border, secretly collected their forces to act against instead of for the queen and her husband. Within a month of her marriage she was met at Carberry Hill, near Musselburgh (15th June 1567), by a force of the confederate lords, headed by Morton and Glencairn, Ruthven and Lindsay. Mary, after a fruitless attempt at mediation by Du Croc, the French ambassador, and an offer equally vain by Bothwell to decide the issue by single combat, surrendered to Kirkaldy. Bothwell rode off to Dunbar with a few followers, and Mary was conducted to Morton's camp. Once in their hands, the lords treated her as a prisoner, and confined her at Lochleven Castle, where she was forced to abdicate, surrendering the crown in favour of her son and committing the regency during the minority to Moray. The young king was crowned at Stirling on 29th July. The prudent Moray, who had kept out of the way in France while these events were transacted in Scotland, now returned and was installed as regent (22d August). Mary remained prisoner in Loch Leven for nearly a year. After her escape on 2d May 1568 the duke of Chastelherault and other Catholic nobles rallied round her standard; but on 13th May Moray and the Protestant lords met her forces at Langside near Glasgow, and the issue of that battle forced her to fly to England, where she placed herself (19th May) in the hands of Lord Lowther, governor of Carlisle, recalling Elizabeth's promises of protection. Mary, however, found that she was really a prisoner. Like Baliol, she disappears personally from the field of Scottish history; but her life in exile, unlike his, was spent in busy plots to recover her lost throne. It became clear as time went on that she placed her whole reliance on the Catholic minority and foreign aid; even in prison she was a menace to Elizabeth and ready to plot against her as an enemy. The Pro-

testant party increased in Scotland until it became a majority almost representative of the whole nation; even her own son when he came to hold the sceptre, little inclined as he was to accept Presbyterian principles, regarded her as a revolutionary element fortunately removed. Her knowledge of Babington's plot for the invasion of England is proved, though her assent to the death of Elizabeth is still an open question. By her will, confirmed by her last letters, she bequeathed the crown of Scotland and her claim to that of England to Philip II. The letters contain this modification only, that her son was to have an opportunity of embracing the Catholic faith under the guardianship of Philip to save his own throne. There was no such reservation as regards that of England. The Armada, from whose overthrow date the fall of Spain and the rise of Britain as the chief European power, was due to the direct instigation of Mary Stuart.

Meantime, in Scotland, four regencies rapidly succeeded each other during the minority of James. The deaths by violence of two regents, Moray and Lennox, the suspicion of foul play in the death of the third, Mar, and the end scarcely less violent because preceded by a trial of the fourth, Morton, mark a revolutionary period and the impossibility of the attempted solution by placing the government in the hands of the most powerful noble. Hereditary royalty, not the rule of the aristocracy, was still dominant in Scottish politics and a regency was an experiment already disparaged in the preceding reigns. Moray, said Sir J. Melville, "war and is called the good regent," mingling with this praise only the slight qualification that in his later years he was apt to be led by flatterers, but testifying to his willingness to listen to Melville's own counsels. This epithet bestowed by the Protestants, whose champion he was, still adheres to him; but only partisans can justify its use. He displayed great promptness in baffling the schemes of Mary and her party, suppressed with vigour the border thieves, and ruled with a firm hand, resisting the temptation to place the crown on his own head. His name is absent from many plots of the time. He observed the forms of personal piety,—possibly shared the zeal of the Reformers, while he moderated their bigotry. But the reverse side of his character is proved by his conduct. He reaped the fruits of the conspiracies which led to Rizzio's and Darnley's murders. He amassed too great a fortune from the estates of the church to be deemed a pure reformer of its abuses. He pursued his sister with a calculated animosity which would not have spared her life had this been necessary to his end or been favoured by Elizabeth. The mode of production of the casket letters and the false charges added by Buchanan, "the pen" of Moray, deprive Moray of any reasonable claim to have been an honest accuser, zealous only to detect guilt and to benefit his country. The reluctance to charge Mary with complicity in the murder of Darnley was feigned, and his object was gained when he was allowed to table the accusation without being forced to prove it. Mary remained a captive under suspicion of the gravest guilt, while Moray returned to Scotland to rule in her stead, supported by nobles who had taken part in the steps which ended in Bothwell's deed. Moray left London on 12th January 1569. During the year between his return and his death several events occurred for which he has been censured, but which were necessary for his security,—the betrayal of the duke of Norfolk and of the secret plot for the liberation of Mary to Elizabeth, the imprisonment in Loch Leven of the earl of Northumberland, who after the failure of his rising in the north of England had taken refuge in Scotland, and the charge brought against Maitland of Lethington of complicity in Darnley's murder. Lethington was committed to custody, but rescued by

Moray's character.

Kirkaldy of Grange, who held the castle of Edinburgh, and while there "the chameleon," as Buchanan named Maitland in his famous invective, contrary to the nature of that animal, gained over those in the castle, including Kirkaldy. Moray was afraid to proceed with the charge on the day of trial, and Kirkaldy and Maitland became partisans of the queen. The castle was the stronghold of the queen's party,—being isolated from the town and able to hold out against the regent who governed in the name of her son. This defection was mourned over by the Reformers. Knox, with the self-confidence which marked his character, sent from his deathbed to Kirkaldy a message of warning that "neither the craggy rock in which he confided, nor the carnal wisdom of the man [Maitland] whom he esteemed a demi-god, nor the assistance of strangers, should preserve him from being disgracefully dragged to ignominious punishment." It has been suspected that Maitland and Kirkaldy were cognizant of the design of Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh to murder Moray, for he had been with them in the castle. This has been ascribed to private vengeance for the ill-treatment of his wife; but the feud of the Hamiltons with the regent is the most reasonable explanation. As he rode through Linlithgow Moray was shot (23d January 1570) from a window by Hamilton, who had made careful preparation for the murder and his own escape. Moray was buried in the south aisle of St Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh, amid general mourning. Knox preached the sermon and Buchanan furnished the epitaph, both unstinted panegyrics. His real character is as difficult to penetrate as that of Mary. It is easy for the historian to condemn the one and praise the other according to his own religious or political creed. It is nearer truth to recognize in both the graces and talents of the Stuart race, which won devoted followers, but to acknowledge that times in which Christian divines approved of the murder of their enemies were not likely to produce a stainless heroine or faultless hero, indeed necessitated a participation in deeds which would be crimes unless they can be palliated as acts of civil war. Let us absolve, if we can, Moray and Mary of Darnley's blood. It remains indisputable that Mary approved of Moray's assassination and that Moray would have sanctioned Mary's death.

Moray was succeeded in the regency by Lennox, Darnley's father, the male nearest of kin to the future sovereign, but really the nominee of Elizabeth. His brief term of office was marked by the renewal of the English war under Sussex and other generals, which made the queen's cause again the more popular. Lennox, another victim of violence, was slain (3d September 1571) in a hasty attack by one of the Hamiltons on Stirling, from which Morton, the real head of the Protestant party, who at first had been taken and threatened with the same fate, barely escaped. Mar, who had all along held the custody of the young king, was now chosen regent and held the post for a year, when he died (28th October 1572). During his regency the civil war between the queen's and the king's party continued. An English intrigue was carried on with great mystery, and never brought to a point, by Randolph and Killigrew to deliver Mary to the regent that she might be tried within her own dominions. On the death of Mar, Morton, who had been the most powerful noble during the last regency, at length reached the object of his ambition by being elected regent. On the day of Morton's election Knox died. He was "one," said Morton, "who never feared the face of man." If we condemn his violent language and bitter spirit, it is just to remember that he lived during the red heat of the struggle between Rome and the Reformation, and died before the triumph of the latter in Scotland was secure. He had felt the thongs of

the galleys and narrowly escaped the stake. The massacre of St Bartholomew spread consternation throughout Protestant Europe just before his last illness. Mary and Philip of Spain were still plotting for the destruction of all he held vital. His scheme for the reformation of the church and application of its revenues was in advance not of his own time only. He contemplated free education for children of the poor who really required such aid,—a graduated system of parish schools, burgh schools, and universities, which would have forestalled the most recent educational reform. While he introduced Presbyterian government by kirk-sessions, presbyteries, synods, and general assembly and opposed even a modified Episcopacy, he saw the advantage of the superintendence of districts by the more learned and able clergy. While he insisted on the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments in the vulgar tongue, his liturgy shows his favour for forms of public prayer. Knox's first wife was English, and two of his sons took orders in the Church of England. Scottish Presbyterianism had not yet been hardened by persecution into a hatred of prelacy as bitter as that of Popery. It meant separation from Rome, but inclined to union with England, and the question of the form of church government was still open.

Morton, like his predecessor, favoured the Episcopal order, and, acting upon a compromise agreed to at Leith, a modified Episcopacy was restored. The bishops appointed were declared subject to the king in temporal and to the church and general assembly in spiritual matters, and were to have the same jurisdiction as the superintendents. The assembly of Perth protested against the use of certain ecclesiastical titles, but passed over that of bishop. Most of the clergy sanctioned, though with reluctance, the appointment of bishops in the hope of retaining their revenues. The people called them "tulchan" bishops, from the straw counterfeit used to rob the calf of its mother's milk. Almost the whole church property remained in the hands of the landed proprietors, Moray in the first instance and afterwards Morton receiving a lion's share. Avarice was Morton's besetting sin. In other respects he was an energetic and capable ruler. He effected at Perth, with the aid of Elizabeth's envoy, a pacification with Huntly, Chastelherault, and the Catholic nobles who supported Mary. Only the castle of Edinburgh held out, and this, aided by English artillery, he succeeded in taking after a brave resistance by Kirkaldy and Lethington. Kirkaldy and his brother were executed at the cross of Edinburgh. Lethington escaped their fate in what Melville calls "the Roman manner,"—at his own hands, perhaps by poison. The death of the bravest and the ablest Scotsman of that age put an end to the last chance of Mary's restoration by native support. Morton, now without a rival, restored order in the borders, and when an encounter occurred between the English and Scottish borderers called the Raid of the Redswire his prudence prevented it becoming a national conflict. He appointed a commission for the reform of the law,—a far-sighted scheme, often attempted but always stopping short of success, to codify the law, which several Continental states, notably Denmark, about this period engaged in. The time was not ripe for a change which, now that it is, remains unaccomplished. But, while all seemed to favour Morton, there were undercurrents which combined to procure his fall. The Presbyterian clergy were alienated by his leaning to Episcopacy, and all parties in the divided church by his seizure of its estates. Andrew Melville, who had succeeded to the leadership of Knox, was more decided than Knox against any departure from the Presbyterian model, and refused to be won by a place in his household. His expensive buildings at Dalkeith, which got the name of

the Lion's Den, roused the jealousy of the nobles. The arrogance of his favourites exceeded his own. The commons were disgusted by a depreciation of the coinage. The powerful earl of Argyll, incensed by the recovery from his wife, the widow of Moray, of some of the crown jewels, and Athole, a Stuart and Roman Catholic, united with Alexander Erskine, governor of Stirling, who now had the custody of the young king, in a league which received so much support that Morton bent before the storm and offered to resign. The king, whose education had been forced by Buchanan, now barely twelve years of age, nominally assumed the government, but was directed by a council of nobles headed by Athole as chancellor. Morton surrendered the castle of Edinburgh, the palace of Holyrood, and the royal treasures, retiring to Loch Leven, where he busied himself in laying out gardens. But his ambition could not deny itself another stroke for power. Aided by the young earl of Mar, he got possession of Stirling castle and the person of the king. Civil war was avoided only by the influence of Bowes, the English ambassador. A nominal reconciliation was effected, and a parliament at Stirling introduced a new government. Morton, who secured an indemnity, was president of the council, but Athole remained a privy councillor in an enlarged council with representatives of both parties. Shortly afterwards Athole died, of poison it was said, and suspicion pointed to Morton. His return to power was brief, and the only important event was the prosecution of the two Hamiltons, the abbots of Arbroath and Paisley, who still supported Mary and saved their lives by flight to England. The struggle with the Presbyterian clergy continued. The *Second Book of Discipline* had been presented to the king before he assumed office, and, although the general assembly in 1580 condemned Episcopacy absolutely, parliament did not sanction the condemnation. The final fall of Morton came from an opposite quarter. In September 1579 Esmé Stuart, Lord D'Aubigny, the king's cousin, came to Scotland from France, gained the favour of James by his courtly manners, and received the lands and earldom of Lennox, the custody of Dumbarton castle, and the office of chamberlain. One of his dependants, Captain James Stuart, son of Lord Ochiltree and brother-in-law of Knox, had the daring to accuse Morton at a meeting of the council in Holyrood of complicity in the murder of Darnley, and he was at once committed to custody. Some months later Morton was condemned by an assize for having taken part in that crime, and the verdict was justified by his confession that Bothwell had revealed to him the design, although he denied participation in its execution. He was executed by the Maiden—a guillotine he had himself brought from England—on 2d June 1581.

From December 1580 to August 1582 the government was in the hands of Lennox and Stuart, now captain of the guard,—a small force which the estates had reluctantly allowed the king to protect his person. Their jealousy threatened but never reached an open rupture. Stuart was rewarded by the gift first of the tutory, then of the earldom of Arran in April 1581. Lennox was created duke, a title seldom granted in Scotland. Their aim, carefully concealed by nominal adherence to the Protestant faith, appears to have been the association of Mary with her son in the government, a breach with England, the renewal of the league with France, and the restoration of the Roman Church. The nobles, bribed by office or the spoils of the church, were men of too feeble character to resist, but the Presbyterian ministers were made of stronger metal. Illegal banishment of the contumacious clergy and arbitrary orders of council were followed by a rising against Episcopacy. The proclamation of an extraordinary chamberlain air—an itinerant court of justice—to be held by Lennox

at Edinburgh on 27th August precipitated the *coup d'état* of the Raid of Ruthven, which took the usual form of Scottish revolutions,—the seizure of the king and the transfer of power to his captors. When on a visit (22d August 1582) to the earl of Gowrie, son of his mother's foe Lord Ruthven, at his castle of Hunting Tower near Perth, the earl his host, Mar, the master of Glamis, and others, taking advantage of the absence of Lennox and Arran, surrounded the castle with armed men and made James a prisoner, though still ostensibly treating him as king. Arran, returning to Perth with only two followers, was seized and put in prison. Lennox, after taking refuge in the castle of Dumbarton, fled to France, where he died in disgrace with the Catholics, because he had conformed to the Protestant doctrine.

The government was for ten months in the hands of a new council, of which Gowrie as treasurer was the head. There was no parliament, but a convention at Holyrood ratified the consequences of the Raid of Ruthven. A declaration was extorted from the king condoning his capture; but James, no longer a boy, chafed under the tutelage of the Protestant nobles and the admonitions of the Protestant ministers. In June of the following year he escaped from Falkland to St Andrews, which was held by Colonel Stewart. Arran was recalled, the Raid of Ruthven declared treason, Gowrie executed, and the chief Protestant lords banished. Melville and other ministers found it necessary to fly to England. A parliament confirmed the supremacy of Arran, who was created chancellor, and the forfeiture of the chief persons implicated in the Ruthven Raid. The king's power was declared to extend over all estates and subjects within the realm; all jurisdictions not approved by parliament and all assemblies and conventions without the king's licence were discharged. A commission was granted to Patrick Adamson, archbishop of St Andrews, and other bishops for trying ecclesiastical causes, and a form of judgment was established for depriving ministers of their benefices for worthy causes. A declaration was required to be subscribed by all benefited men—ministers, readers, masters of colleges and schools—acknowledging their submission to the king and obedience to their ordinary bishop or superintendent appointed by him, under pain of forfeiture. A few subscribed unconditionally, others with the qualification, "according to the Word of God"; but a large number declined, and suffered the penalty. Early in 1585 Adamson issued a paper declaring the king's supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, defending the restoration of bishops, and announcing the king's intention that the bishops should hold synods twice a year, that general assemblies should be allowed provided they had his sanction, but that no jurisdiction was to be exercised by presbyteries. This document, which cut at the root of the Presbyterian system and was a formal declaration in favour of the royal supremacy and Episcopacy, was met with vehement protests by Melville and the exiled ministers.

Meantime a series of intrigues went on between the English and Scottish courts. Elizabeth, while ostensibly favouring the exiles, disliked their political principles. James and Arran, instead of leaning on the papacy as Mary did, had shown signs of accepting a solution of the problem of church government more like that of England than of Geneva. There was here ground for a compromise of the religious controversy which political reasons made so desirable. Accordingly Lord Hunsdon, a favourite courtier of Elizabeth, met Arran near Berwick in the autumn, when it was arranged that the master of Gray, then a follower of Arran and personal favourite of James, should go to London in October. At his instance Elizabeth removed the banished Scottish lords and ministers from Newcastle to London. But Gray was playing his own

Reaction
in favour
of Episcopacy.

Lennox
and
James
Stuart
regents.

game, and his suggestions that these lords might return to Scotland, and that the alliance with England should be carried out by their aid and his own influence independently of Arran, were taken up by the queen, who had no personal liking for Arran, and ultimately effected. Elizabeth sent Wotton to Scotland, who won the confidence of James, to whom he promised a pension of £5000 a year, and while openly negotiating with Arran secretly plotted with Gray for his downfall. A mutual league between England and Scotland against the Catholics, called "the Bond anent the True Religion," was agreed to by a convention of estates in July 1585.

This was a turning-point in the life of James and in the history of Scotland. The choice was made between France and England, Romanism and Protestantism. It was not likely to be reversed when with Elizabeth's declining years the crown of England was thrown into the balance. The day before the conclusion of the treaty Arran was at the request of Elizabeth's envoy put in strict ward, under the pretext that he had been privy to the death of Lord Russell, son of the earl of Bedford, in a border fray, and he only escaped at the price of his estates and honours. In November the banished lords—Angus, Mar, the master of Glamis—returned, and along with them the two Hamiltons; and, aided by Gray, they seized the person of the king, the castle of Stirling, and assumed the government. The alliance with England was finally ratified at Berwick by Randolph. James, at the instigation of Gray, wrote a harsh letter to his mother; and at the instance of Elizabeth he allowed George Douglas, who had been concerned in Darnley's murder, to return to Scotland. The exiled Protestant ministers were restored to their livings; but James was resolute in maintaining Episcopacy and enforcing the laws against all who denied the royal supremacy. Adamson was indeed forced by a general assembly to disclaim any authority as archbishop not allowed by God's Word, and an Act was passed again dividing Scotland into presbyteries, but the king refused to subject the bishops to their jurisdiction. Mary, deserted by her son, now allowed herself through her immediate confidants, especially her secretaries Nau and Curle, to take an active though secret part in the Jesuit plots which embraced both Scotland and England in their ramifications. That which had for its aim the assassination of Elizabeth was discovered by Walsingham's spies, and, though forgery was resorted to, it is difficult to doubt that Mary was cognizant of the design. The trial at Fotheringay could have but one result under a statute according to which any attempt against the queen's life was treason in the person for whom it was made as well as in the actual perpetrators. The execution (8th February 1587) of Mary naturally roused the anger of the Catholic powers and some indignation in Scotland, which James professed to share; yet he did nothing but expostulate. In truth his own crown was threatened by the same enemies. Mary had disinherited him in favour of Philip of Spain, unless he adopted the Catholic faith. The defeat of the Spanish Armada by the sovereign and people of both countries was felt to be a providential deliverance. Nothing could have served better to efface the memory of Mary and extinguish pity for her fate. The fall of Gray, who was tried and condemned for treachery during his English embassy and for correspondence with Catholic princes, left James, now of full age, without what was almost a necessity to his weak nature,—a favourite, though Sir John Maitland, a younger brother of Lethington, was secretary and exercised the chief influence in the government. Advantage was taken of the royal majority to pass an Act annexing to the crown all church lands under certain limited reservations. But, as all prior grants to lay impropriators were saved, and

the king was still allowed to grant feus of church lands, the nobles and landed gentry really profited most by this measure, which gave a parliamentary title to their estates derived from the church and the hope of future spoils. The Act was accompanied by a general revocation of all gifts made during the king's minority or by Mary after his accession. Another statute of constitutional importance renewed, and for the first time carried into effect, the law of James I. by which the lesser barons in the counties were excused from personal attendance and allowed to send representatives to parliament. This was a check on the nobles who had hitherto almost exclusively attended and ruled parliament. It was the first and only large deviation of the Scottish parliament from the feudal model of the *curia regis*.

Projects for the king's marriage had been on foot at an earlier period; but at last the choice fell upon Anne of Denmark. Elizabeth opposed the match; but James, perhaps tempted by the offer to surrender the Danish claim to Orkney and Shetland, perhaps also not unwilling to show he could choose for himself, was married to Anne by proxy. Anne set sail for Scotland, but was driven back by a storm. Accordingly James himself went to claim his bride, when the actual marriage was at once celebrated at Copenhagen, where he spent the winter. It was a political advantage both to the king and Scotland to form a connexion with a kingdom which, though small, stood comparatively high at that time in Europe, and was completely independent both of England and of France. After the king's return the Presbyterian party was in the ascendant. It has been doubted whether the favour shown to it by James at this time was genuine, but without reason. He had been married, and the queen was crowned, by Robert Bruce, a leading minister, for whom he had a personal liking. Shortly before going to Denmark James had published a tract interpreting the Apocalypse in the well-known Protestant sense. Notwithstanding the failure of the Armada, the air was still full of Jesuit intrigues and Spanish plots. At no moment of his life was James less inclined towards the English form of the Reformation, which he described in a celebrated speech as retaining the superstition of the mass "without the liftings." A severe blow was given to Episcopacy in Scotland by Archbishop Adamson shortly before his death retracting in a published confession his writings against Presbyterianism. In 1592 parliament, led according to James Melville by Maitland, now Lord Thirlestane and chancellor, re-established Presbyterian church government. General assemblies were to meet once a year, and provincial assemblies or synods, presbyteries, and sessions were confirmed. The Act of 1584 conferring jurisdiction on bishops was rescinded, but there was no formal abrogation of the office. The assembly had asked for the repeal of the Act of Annexation of 1587, but this was not conceded. The landed interests were too powerful to allow of the Reformed Church receiving the patrimony of its predecessor. Shortly after the termination of the parliament the discovery of the plot of "the Spanish blanks" showed that the danger of a Catholic rising and foreign invasion was real. The conspiracy proved abortive, and two of its chief promoters (Huntly and Erroll) left Scotland; on their return three years later they publicly renounced Catholicism and conformed to the Protestant faith.

From the king's majority to his accession to the English throne, his relations to the nobles on the one hand and to the Presbyterian party led by the ministers on the other require to be kept in view as giving the key to a singularly confused and changing course of events. After the death of Thirlestane in 1595, the king had to rely on his own counsel, of the value of which he had an overweening

Re-establishment of Presbyterianism.

Relations between church and state.

opinion. He had studied the theory of kingcraft and wrote the *Basiliocon Doron* expounding it. He fancied that he really governed, while he was in fact drawn this way or that by the contending forces which emerged in this revolutionary epoch. In spite of occasional displays of resolution, his character was at bottom weak. It was the destiny which conducted him to the English throne that saved him from the dangers of his situation in Scotland. A nobleman, who, although only connected by his mother with Mary's Bothwell, seemed to inherit the reckless daring of his predecessor in the title, thrice attempted and once for a short time succeeded in seizing the royal person and assuming the reins of government. But James, who was not without adroitness in baffling plotters by arts similar to their own, escaped from his custody. Towards the Catholic lords his policy was not to proceed to extremities, but to keep them in hand as a counterpoise to the extreme Protestant party. He prudently allowed the finances to be managed after Thirlestane's death by a committee, called from its number the Octavians, on which both Catholics and Protestants acted.—Seton, afterwards Lord Dunfermline, the president of the session, and Lindsay of Balcarres being the leading members. With their advice James set himself against any measures which the Protestant ministers proposed for the restoration or increase of the revenues of the church. It was this critical point of money, the assertion of the royal supremacy in spiritual matters, and the favour the king showed to the Catholics which led to the quarrel between him and the ministers. At a convention of the estates at Falkland and then more strongly as one of a deputation sent by the ministers from Cupar, Andrew Melville, in the spirit and manner of Knox, made his well-known speech to "God's silly vassal" on the two kingdoms and the two kings. Although James, frightened by this vehement language, made promises that he would do nothing for the Catholic lords till they had made terms with the church, it was impossible that a quarrel, whose roots were so deep, as to the limits of the royal authority and jurisdiction in matters ecclesiastical could be appeased. Neither party to it could see how far each overstepped the bounds of reason. The king was blind to the right of freedom of conscience which Protestantism had established as one of its first principles. Melville and the ministers were equally blind to the impossibility of any form of monarchy yielding to the claim that the members of an ecclesiastical assembly should use the name of Christ and the theory of His headship over the church to give themselves absolute power to define its relations to the state. Other occasions quickly arose for renewing the controversy. A violent sermon by Black at St Andrews gave a favourable opportunity to James of invoking the jurisdiction of the privy council, and the preacher was banished north of the Tay. Soon afterwards a demand made on the king in consequence of a sermon of another minister, Balcanquhal, and a speech of Bruce, the king's former favourite, that he should dismiss the Octavians, led to a tumult in Edinburgh, which gave James a pretext for leaving the town and removing the courts of justice to Linlithgow. Supported by the nobles, he returned on New-Year's Day 1597, received the submission of the town, levying a severe fine before he would restore its privileges as a corporation and withholding from it the right of electing its own magistrates or ministers without the royal consent. Emboldened by this success, James now addressed himself to the difficult problem of church and state. He did not yet feel strong enough to restore Episcopacy, perhaps had not quite determined on that course. The ingenious scheme due to Lindsay of Balcarres was fallen on of introducing representatives of the church into parliament without naming them bishops. This would have the twofold effect of

The Octavians.

diminishing the authority of the general assemblies and 1595-1603 of conferring on parliament a competency to deal with matters ecclesiastical. Parliament in 1597 passed an Act that all ministers promoted to prelaties (*i.e.*, bishoprics or abbacies) should have seats in parliament, and remitted to the king with the general assembly to determine as to the office of such persons in the spiritual polity and government of the kirk. Accordingly James summoned successive assemblies at Perth and Dundee, where there were two sessions in 1597, and finally at Montrose in 1600, selecting those towns in order to procure a good attendance from the north, always more favourable to royalty and Episcopacy and less under the influence of the Edinburgh clergy. By this and other manœuvres he obtained some concessions, but not all that he desired (see PRESBYTERIANISM, vol. xix. pp. 681-682). It was the Gowrie conspiracy (5th August 1600) whose failure gave him the courage and the ground for finally abandoning the Presbyterians and casting in his lot with the bishops. Repeated investigations at the time and since cannot be said to have completely cleared up the mystery of this outrage. The most probable solution was afforded by the discovery several years afterwards of a correspondence between Gowrie and Logan of Restalrig which pointed to the seizure of the person rather than the murder of James as the object of the plot. More important than this object, which failed, was the sequel. The Ruthvens, who were chiefly implicated, were amongst the most prominent of the Protestant nobility, and the Presbyterian ministers with few exceptions refused to accept James's own account of what had happened, confirmed though it was by depositions of various noblemen who were with the king at the time. They even insinuated that the plot had not been by but against Gowrie at the king's instance. Although James by arguments and threats at last extorted an acknowledgment of the truth of his account from all the ministers except Bruce, who was deprived of his benefice and banished for his contumacy, the insult and the injurious suspicions were never forgiven.

In October, with the consent of the convention of estates, he appointed three bishops to vacant sees, and they sat in parliament, though as yet without any place in the government of the church, which was still Presbyterian, and with no sanction of course from the assembly or the ministers. James had to assume the English crown before Episcopacy could really be restored. This crisis of his career was not long delayed. Already Elizabeth's death was being calculated on, and her courtiers from Cecil downwards were contending for the favour of her heir. She died on 24th March 1603 and James was at once proclaimed her successor in accordance with her own declaration that no minor person should ascend her throne but her cousin the king of Scots. Leaving Edinburgh on 5th April, James reached London on 6th May, being everywhere received with acclamation by the people. Thus peacefully at a memorable epoch in the history of Europe was accomplished the union of South and North Britain. Often attempted in vain by conquest, it was now attained in a manner soothing the pride of the smaller country, without at first exciting the jealousy of the larger, whose interest was, as Henry VII. prophesied, sure to predominate. To James it was a welcome change from nobles who had threatened his liberty and life, and from ministers who withstood his will and showed little respect for his person or office, to the courtier statesmen of England trained by the Tudors to reverence the monarch as all but absolute, and a clergy bound to recognize him as their head. To Advantages to Scotland, a poor country, and its inhabitants, poor also but enterprising and eager for new careers, it opened prospects of national prosperity which, though not at once, were ultimately realized. It was an immediate gain that

Union of English and Scottish crowns.

Advantages to Scotland.