

## III.

QUEEN MARY AT JEDBURGH IN 1566. By JOHN SMALL, M.A.,  
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In bringing before the Society a document which gives much information as to Queen Mary's well-known visit to Jedburgh at the close of the year 1566, in relation to which her conduct has been much misrepresented by Buchanan and other historians, it may be sufficient to state that amongst the books and papers given by the distinguished poet, William Drummond of Hawthornden, to the Library of the University of Edinburgh, is one which he himself described as follows, in the printed Catalogue of his donation:—"Marie, Queene of Scotland, The Declaration of Her Will with Her Prayers and Exhortations, MS." This paper consists of a closely written sheet of four pages, in a contemporary hand, and contains the instructions the Queen dictated when lying ill at Jedburgh, after the famous ride she took on horseback to visit the Earl of Bothwell at Hermitage Castle.<sup>1</sup> In order to show the place which this document occupies in the chronological order of events in 1566, a short narrative of these may not be uninteresting.

For many years previously, the border district beyond Jedburgh, known as the "Debateable Land," had been infested by bands of freebooters, who, disowning allegiance alike to England and Scotland, at occasion offered sold their services to either. Mary in 1566, with the view of putting an end to their depredations, and at the same time of visiting the southern portion of her dominions, made proclamation, that it was the intention of the King and Queen to hold "justice airs" or circuit courts for the purpose of quelling all disturbances. The lords, barons,

<sup>1</sup> That this paper has not hitherto been printed is owing to the circumstance that it, along with several other MSS. belonging to Drummond, who presented them to the Library in the form of a small packet of papers, was taken away about sixty years ago by Mr Alexander Bower, the acting librarian, for the purpose of being catalogued and arranged for binding. Mr Bower, however, died suddenly of heart disease, and the packet was taken to London by his son-in-law Mr Alfred Marshall, who in 1875 restored its contents to the University.

gentlemen, and freeholders of the counties of Edinburgh, Berwick, Haddington, Peebles, &c., were accordingly summoned to meet at Jedburgh "weil bodin in war," with twenty days provisions, to aid the authority of the law. The Earl of Bothwell, one of the most active officers of state, and who had been appointed by Mary of Lorraine, Warden of the Marches, was sent to Liddesdale to apprehend the most prominent offenders and bring them to justice. He accordingly summoned them to surrender, and detained some of them in Hermitage Castle.

One of the most prominent of these, however, John Elliot of Park,<sup>1</sup> having failed to appear, Bothwell, on the same day that Queen Mary left Edinburgh for Jedburgh, rode over from Hermitage to Park, a distance of about eight miles, to induce him to come in. What occurred is told in the words of a contemporary annalist:—"Upoun the samyn day, James, Erle Bothwell, Lord Hailis of Crychtoun, being send be our soverenis to bring in certain thevis and malefactouris of Liddisdail to the justice air, to be puneist for thair demeritis, and he being serchand the feildis about the Hermitage, eftir that he had takin certane of the saidis thevis, and had put thame in the place of the said Hermitage, in presoun, chancit

<sup>1</sup> Elliot of the Park, better known perhaps as "Little Jock Elliot," was no common marauder. "He claimed," says Professor Aytoun, "to be, if not the head of his name, at least the chief of the Elliots, and asserted that by hereditary rights he was the captain of Hermitage Castle. He is celebrated as the subject of an old poem by Sir R. Maitland, 'Aganis the thieves of Liddesdail'":—

Thai spulzie pair men of their packs,  
 Thai leave them nocht on bed nor backs :  
     Both hen and cock,  
     With reel and rock,  
     The laird's Jock,  
     All with him takes.

They leave not spindle, spoon, nor spit,  
 Bed, bolster, blanket, shirt, nor sheet,  
     John of the Park,  
     Eypis chest and ark ;  
     For all such wark  
     He is right meet.

Aytoun's "Bothwell," p. 244.

upon ane theif callit Johne Eluat of the Park. And eftir he had takin him, the said John speirit gif he wald saif his liff; the said Erle Bothwill said, gif ane assyiss wald mak him clene, he was hertlie contentit, bot he behuivit to pas to the Quenis grace. The said John heirand thay wordis slipis fra his horse to have rin away; bot in the lychting, the said erle schot him with ane dag (pistol) in the body, and lychtit doun to have takin him agane, and followand feirsleie upon the said theif the said erle slipit our ane souch and tomlit doun the same, quhair throw he was sa hurt that he swownit. The saide Johne persaveand himself schot and the erle fallin, he geid to him quhair he lay and gaif him thrie woundis, ane in the bodie, ane in the heid, and ane in the hand; and my lord gaif him twa straikis with ane quhingar at the paip, and the said theif depairtit; and my lord lay in a swoun quhill his servantis come and caryit him to the Hermitage. At his coming thairto, the saidis thevis quhilk was in presoune in the said Hermitage, had gotten furth thairof and was maisteris of the said place, and wald not let my Lord Bothwill in, quhill ane callit Robert Elliot of the Schaw come and said, that gif thai wald let in my Lord Bothwill, he wald saif all thar lyvis, and let thame gang hame; and sua thai leit my lord in, and gif he had not gottin in at that tyme, he and all his company haid been slane. And the said theif that hurt my Lord Bothwill deceissit within ane myle upon ane hill, of the woundis gottin fra my Lord Bothwill of befoir.<sup>1</sup> After this unfortunate occurrence, Bothwell lay for some time in a state of great weakness, and it was generally reported that he had been killed.

It was on the 9th of October 1566 that Queen Mary, accompanied by her officers of state, arrived at Jedburgh and opened the circuit court in that ancient border town. It continued sitting for six days. On the 10th of the same month she herself presided at a meeting of the Privy Council held there; at which an order was made regulating the prices of provisions, lest they should be unduly raised owing to the arrival of so many strangers. On the 11th another meeting of the Council took place,

<sup>1</sup> Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 100.

when an injunction was issued for the "pursuing of justice," requiring all who had complaints to make to come to Jedburgh and lay them before the Justice-Clerk. Having sat till the 14th, the court was closed without a single execution taking place. On the 15th, Le Croc the French ambassador arrived, and on the 16th, when the pressure of public business was over, the Queen made a journey across the country to visit her wounded lieutenant at Hermitage Castle, distant about twenty-three miles in a direct line from Jedburgh. She set off on horseback, accompanied by several members of her Privy Council, and, according to an old tradition, rode to the castle by way of Hawick. This, Sir Walter Scott surmised to be very probable, for, although not a direct route, the Queen would thus pass through districts where the clans were in her interests. Sir Walter Elliot, however, thinks that there is no evidence of this, and supposes that she took a more direct route, which would even now be taken by any one acquainted with the district. He remarks that—"leaving Jedburgh by the town-head, and passing the castle, the Queen would proceed along the base of the Dunion Hill, across Swinnie Moor, into Rule Water, thence across the Earlside Moor to Colifort Hill, crossing the Slitrig below Stobs, and leaving Hawick considerably to the right. Her path in all likelihood would then pass Whitlaw, Flex, and Priestthaugh, and on between Greatmoor and Caldcleugh Hills to the head of the Braidlee Burn, where there is a morass in which her white palfrey sank, and which is still called the Queen's Mire. From Braidlee Burn is but a short and easy descent into the Hermitage valley."<sup>1</sup> Sir Walter Elliot, who is intimately acquainted with the district, estimates this route at more than thirty miles.

That the visit of Queen Mary to Hermitage Castle was not altogether of a private and friendly nature, but that some public business was there transacted, is shown by the following extract from the Privy Seal Register of the 16th October 1566:—

"At Armitage: ane letter made to Mr George Sinclair, son of Thomas

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Berwickshire Nat. Club, vol. vi. p. 42.

Sinclair, writer, of the gift of the office of the forming, writing, and perfecting of all and whatsoever testaments that shall happen to be confirmed by the Commissaries of Edinburgh for all the days of his life.”

The Queen also gave directions for supplies of victuals for the castle, which was one of the royal strongholds, and not Bothwell's private property.

The Queen returned to Jedburgh the same day, a distance going and coming of upwards of sixty miles. “Many writers,” Mr Jeffrey remarks in alluding to this subject, “express great surprise that a female could accomplish such a journey in one day through such a district, forgetting that the women of that day were accustomed to the saddle, and thought nothing of a ride of forty miles, and that Mary herself had once galloped from Perth to Queensferry when Murray lay on one side of the road and Argyle on the other to intercept her. At the present day it is quite common for persons considerably advanced in years to come on foot to Jedburgh from places situated beyond the castle of Hermitage, and return on the same day. Forty miles is not yet deemed a long day's walk on the borders.”<sup>1</sup>

James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, whose name is thus so much associated with that of Queen Mary at this time, was the head of a family originally of Northumbrian origin, which was ennobled in 1488. He was born in 1535, and thus was the Queen's senior by seven years. He was hereditary Lord High Admiral of Scotland, Sheriff of Berwick, Haddington, and Edinburgh, as well as Bailie of Lauderdale, with the castles of Hailes and Borthwick for his fortresses, and was, next to the Duke of Chatelherault, the most powerful noble in the south of Scotland. In 1556 he was served heir to his father, who died in exile; and it is supposed that he lived abroad in his youth, and only returned in the above year, which is stated as being his first entry into Scotland. It is probable that while he was in Norway he married the lady of that country who afterwards claimed him as her husband. In 1558 he was appointed by

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Roxburghshire*, ii. p. 174.

Mary of Lorraine, Lieutenant Warden of the Borders, and Keeper of Hermitage Castle.<sup>1</sup> He also acted as a member of the Privy Council. In 1560 he was at the court of the young Queen at Paris, and was one of seven lords appointed by her to be commissioners for summoning the Parliament, and preparing for her return to Scotland. He had always been of a turbulent and restless disposition, and in 1562 he was accused by the Earl of Arran of treasonable intentions against the Earl of Murray, viz., that he had offered to Arran to help him to carry off the Queen, and put her under his power in Dumbarton, proposing at the same time the slaughter of Murray, Lethington, and others that "misguide her." He had also grievously offended the Queen, and in May of that year he was summoned to take his trial for misdemeanours, and was for some time confined in the castles of St Andrews and Edinburgh. He, however, made his escape, and in August took refuge in Hermitage Castle, and eventually escaped to France.<sup>2</sup> In March 1565 he sued for permission

<sup>1</sup> This strong castle was built about the year 1244, and was so named from the cell of a hermit, who in early times lived in the neighbourhood, giving the name to the river and thence to the castle. It was long a chosen hold of the Earls of Douglas and the succeeding branch of the house of Angus, who appear to have fortified it with little attention to architectural beauty, but greatly to improve the natural advantages of its wild sequestered situation. It afterwards fell into the hand of the Crown, and seems usually to have been garrisoned with a few hired soldiers, and was the ordinary residence of the Earls of Bothwell during their power on the Borders.

The building is of great size, 100 feet square. The east and west fronts are flat, without any projection. The northern and southern sides, however, present a curtain flanked by a huge square tower at each end. Its situation is exceedingly strong, being defended on the southern side by the river, and on the other three by a deep and level morass, above which the site of the castle is considerably elevated. There are also traces of an ample moat, which, being supplied with water from Hermitage Brook, added the defences of art to those of nature.

On the forfeiture of Francis Stewart, the last Earl of Bothwell, the castle of Hermitage and adjacent domains became the property of the Earl of Buccleuch by a grant from the Crown, and have since remained in that family.—Scott's "Bord. Ant.," ii. p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> With all his faults Bothwell was on friendly terms with Knox, who, writing to him at this time, says—"Wold to God that in me war counsall or judgement that mycht comfort and releave you. For albeit that to this hour it hath nott chaused me to speik with your Lordship face to face, yit have I borne a good mynd to your house; and have bene sorry at my heart of the trubles that I have heard you to be

to return to Scotland. In a letter of Randolph to Cecil it is stated "the Queen misliketh Bothwell's coming home, and hath summoned him to undergo the law. He is charged to have spoken dishonourably of the Queen." Mr Hosack remarks that it is worthy of notice with reference to subsequent events, that the Queen was decidedly averse to his return, and for a reason which no woman was likely to forget.

After the Queen's marriage to Darnley a new combination of the nobility was formed, the Earl of Murray and those concerned in the murder of Rizzio being in disgrace, while Bothwell and the Earl of Huntly were taken into favour. Huntly was then restored to the honours and estates of his family, which had been forfeited by his father. From the political associations of Bothwell and Huntly, a marriage was arranged between the former and Lady Jane Gordon, Huntly's sister, an alliance calculated to strengthen the cause of the Queen and her husband. It was accordingly celebrated on 22d February 1566 in the Canongate Church.

Lady Jane was then in her twentieth year, and Queen Mary took so much interest in this alliance that her name is the first signature in the contract of marriage between her and Bothwell. The Queen also gave her a wedding-dress of cloth of silver lined with taffeta, and such was her regard for her that in her will, made shortly afterwards, she bequeathed her a head-dress ornamented with rubies, pearls, and garnets. A circumstance connected with this marriage is interesting when taken in connection with subsequent events. From a family relationship between Earls of Bothwell and Huntly, it was necessary under the canon law to obtain a dispensation from the Archbishop of St Andrews for the marriage, after which it was celebrated with much rejoicing.

The visit of Queen Mary to Bothwell at Hermitage Castle, which was but a natural mark of attention to one of her principal officers of State,

involved in. For, my Lord, my grandfather, goodsher, and father have served your Lordshipis predecessoris, and some of them have died under thair standartis, and this is a part of the obligation of our Scotch kyndness."—Knox's "History," ii. p. 323.

then lying wounded in her service, and whose wife was one of her particular friends, gave rise to the grossest misrepresentations. Buchanan, who is the earliest authority for these slanders, in his "Detection" narrates as follows:—

"Within few days after, when the Queen determined to go to Jedworth to the Assizes there to be holden, about the beginning of October, Bothwel maketh his journey into Liddesdale. There behaving himself neither according to the place whereto he was called, nor according to his nobility of race and estimation, he was wounded by a poor thief, that was himself ready to die, and carried into the castle called the Hermitage, with great uncertainty of his recovery. When news hereof was brought to Borthwick to the Queen, she flingeth away in haste like a mad woman by great journeys in post, in the sharp time of winter, first to Melrose, and then to Jedworth. There, though she heard sure news of his life, yet her affection impatient of delay could not temper itself, but needs she must bewray her outrageous lust, and in an inconvenient time of the year, despising all discommodities of the way and weather, and all danger of thieves, she betook herself headlong to her journey with such a company as no man of any honest degree would have adventured his life and his goods among them. Thence she returned again to Jedworth, and with most earnest care and diligence provideth and prepareth all things to remove Bothwel thither. When he was once brought thither, their company and familiar haunt together was such as was smally agreeing with both their honours. There, whether it were by their nightly and daily travels, dishonourable to themselves and infamous among the people, or by some secret providence of God, the Queen fell into such a sore and dangerous sickness that scarcely there remained any hope of her life. When the King heard thereof, he hasted in post to Jedworth, to visit the Queen, to comfort her in her weakness, and by all the gentle services that he possibly could, to declare his affection and hearty desire to do her pleasure. So far was it off, that his lodging and things necessary were provided for him against his coming (as were wont to be for mean persons) that he found not any one token toward him of a friendly mind. But this was a point of most barbarous inhumanity used against him, that the Nobility and all the Officers of the Court that were present were specially forbidden to do him any reverence at all at his coming, nor to yield him their lodging, nor to harbour him so much as for one night. And whereas the Queen suspected that the Earl of Murray, which afterward was Regent, would shew him courtesie, she practised with his wife to go home in haste and feign herself sick, and keep her bed, that at least by this colour, under



pretence of her sickness the King might be shut out of doors. Being thus denied all duties of civil kindness, the next day, with great grief of heart, he returned to his old solitary corner. In the meantime, while the King in that want of all things, and forsaken of all friends, scarce with begging findeth room in a cottage, Bothwel, out of the house where he was lodged before, as it were in triumph over the King, was gloriously removed, in sight of the people, into the Queen's own lodging, and there laid in a lower parlour, directly under the chamber where the Queen herself lay sick. There, while they both were yet feeble and unhealed, she of her disease, and he of his wound, the Queen being very weak of her body, yet visited him daily, and when they were both a little recovered, and their strengths not yet fully settled, they returned to their old pastime again, and that so openly, as they seemed to fear nothing more, than lest their wickedness should be unknown."<sup>1</sup>

Till within recent times the narrative of Buchanan has been more or less adopted by subsequent Scottish historians. Principal Robertson, in his "History of Scotland," describes the Queen's journey to Hermitage Castle in language much to the same effect. He remarks: "Mary instantly flew thither, with an impatience which has been considered as marking the anxiety of a lover, but little suited to the dignity of a queen."

In the "History of Scotland" by Malcolm Laing, there is the following paragraph:—"It is certain that she posted to the Hermitage on the first notice of Bothwell's wound."

These statements, which from the character of the writers have been very generally supposed to give a faithful version of the occurrence, have been subjected to careful criticism by Mr William Tytler in 1790, and by Mr Hosack in 1870, both of whom have done much to put the history of Queen Mary in an impartial light. In particular, Mr Tytler's "Inquiry" was stated by Lord-Chancellor Hardwicke to be the best concatenation of circumstantial proofs brought to bear upon one point that he had ever perused.

With reference to Principal Robertson's statement, Mr Tytler remarks: "This reasoning seems more specious than solid. In arguing on facts of a remoter age, the manners of that age are to be considered,

<sup>1</sup> *Detection*, ed. 1721, p. 10.

which differ very widely from the present. The peace of the Border and the quelling of insurrections, these had always been considered by our monarchs as an object worthy of attention. Mary's father, the high-spirited James V., had often in person quelled such disorders. Mary herself had before this made expeditions of this kind through several parts of her kingdom. It plainly appears that an insurrection was premeditated on the Border, and for preventing this, and holding a solemn court of justice, the whole country then attended the Queen in arms at Jedburgh. The rumour of the attack on Bothwell we may believe was greatly magnified, together with the contempt of the Queen's authority, then in the very neighbourhood ; all this, with the consciousness of her strength to crush so audacious an insult, may sufficiently, and without any supposed love for Bothwell, account for Mary's sudden march to the Hermitage. On the contrary, I apprehend Mary acted on this occasion the very reverse of what a lover would have done. Love, says our author, made her fly to Bothwell through eighteen long miles of bad roads in the month of October. But let me ask, upon her finding Bothwell slightly wounded and the rioters fled, was it love that made her in such a violent haste return back the same night to Jedburgh by the same bad roads and tedious miles? The Queen we have seen had a very plausible pretext for making the journey to the Hermitage. Surely, if love had in any degree possessed her heart, it must have supplied her with many more as plausible reasons for passing that night in her lover's company without exposing herself to the inconveniences of an uncomfortable journey, and the inclemency of the night air at that season. I cannot on this occasion agree with Dr Robertson as a love-casuist. I apprehend the Queen's behaviour in both the foregoing instances is a convincing testimony on her side that she was altogether free from any love attachment whatever at this period."<sup>1</sup>

Mr Hosack, who has also carefully investigated this matter, remarks that Queen Mary, "instead of hastening to visit Bothwell immediately on hearing of his wound, did not stir from Jedburgh until the business of

<sup>1</sup> *Inquiry*, vol. ii. p. 40.

the assize was finished, fully a week afterwards ; that the journey was performed, not in the midst of winter, but in the middle of October, when the weather in the south of Scotland is often fine ; and that, instead of being attended by the worst of company, the companion of her journey was her brother, who was Regent of Scotland, and the patron of Buchanan at the time the latter composed his famous libel."

The state progress of Queen Mary through the Borders, which was intended as a means of strengthening her power against the Lords of the Congregation, failed in the main purpose for which it was designed. This was owing to two causes, the first of which was the escape of the rough borderers that had been captured by Bothwell for the purpose of being tried at Jedburgh assizes, and the second the absence of Darnley, who should have attended the Queen on this important occasion. The quarrels, however, in the royal household had been so violent that Darnley went to his father at Glasgow, refusing to accompany Queen Mary to Jedburgh, and threatening to go abroad. From Glasgow he wrote to the Queen in affected language, wherein he grounded his complaints on two points of grievance—the first, that the Queen did not trust him with so much authority, nor was at such pains to advance him, and to make him be honoured by the nation as formerly ; the second, that nobody attended him, and the nobility avoided his company. To these alleged grievances the Queen made answer, that she had at the beginning conferred so much honour on him as had rendered herself very uneasy, and that he had abused her favours by patronising the conspiracy against her ; but, notwithstanding this great failing on his part, she continued to show him such respect that, though those who entered her chamber with him and murdered her faithful servant had named him the chief of their enterprise, yet she had never accused him thereof, but did always excuse him, as if she had not believed the fact. As to his not being attended, the fault was his own, as she had always offered him her own servants ; and as to the nobles, they pay deference according as they receive respect themselves ; and if they desert him, his own deportment is the cause, as he is at no pains to make himself beloved by them,

and had even gone so far as to prohibit those noblemen to enter his apartment whom she had at first appointed to attend upon his person.<sup>1</sup>

On the 17th of October, the day after her visit to Bothwell, Queen Mary was seized at Jedburgh with an illness which for ten days caused her physicians to despair of her life, and by special request prayers were offered up for her in all the adjacent churches. On the second day of her illness the Queen was unconscious, but next day, being somewhat recovered, she told her nobles that death was approaching, and expressed her desires for the regulation of the future management of the affairs of the country and for the proper guardianship of the infant prince. On the morning of the 23d, an official report was made by the Privy Council to the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Scottish ambassador at the Court of France, of the following tenor:—

“My Lord, after our hartlie commendationis, we onderstand that Mons. de Croc hes presentlie send this Bearer expreslie to advertis the Quene-moder of the Quenis Majestie our Soveraygnis Disease, quihilk is greit indeid. And nochtheles because we fear that the suddayn advertisement thair of rais Bruyt, that the Danger is greiter than zit appeiris to us, we haif thoct gude to wryt thir few lynis unto you, that ze be not ignorant of the Trewth, quihilk is That hir Majestie hes bene sick thir sex Dayis bypast and this nicht hes had sum Dwaumes of Swouning, quihilk puttis men in sum Feir; nochthles we see na Takynis of Death, and hopis in God that He will schortlie releave hir Majestie, and restoir hir to hir health, and will not suffer this pure Realme to fall in that miserie as to lack sa gude and gracious a Governour. All thingis ar in Godis Handis, bot assuritlie, for our opinionis, we see na appeirance of Death; Quihilk we wryt to the Effect that neither ze yourself be discouragit, nor suffer utheris to be farther then Resson is, and sa we committ your Lordschip to God. Frae Jedburgh the xxiii October in the morning, in haist.

“Your Lordschipis assurit Freindis, Huntly, James Stewart [E. Murray] Athol, W. Maitland. [Postscript by Secretary Maitland.] Gif I had knawin a quarter of ane Hour soonar I wald haif maid your Lordschip langer Discourse; bot the berar his hastie Departure mon serve me for ane Excuse, quihilk I pray your Lordschip tak in gude Part. I sall, God willing, mend it heirafter.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chalmers' "Life of Queen Mary," vol. i. p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> Keith's "History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland," Bk. ii. App. p. 133.

Next day M. Le Croc, the French ambassador, himself wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, of which the following is a translation :—

“Monsieur,—I think that the Lords of this country who have written to you have not so much astonished you by their letters as I do by mine, because the courier who was sent was delayed seven or eight hours after I had written. We began to entertain better hopes of the Queen, which have since always continued from better to better. At present the physicians are no longer in doubt. She still has vomitings after she takes food, which are a little troublesome ; but as to that the physicians are not surprised, for she sleeps very well and composedly. This last night she slept five hours without waking. I assure you, her Majesty is well taken care of, and God knows how all the Lords here have occupied themselves about her ; you may imagine the trouble in which we were and the disaster which would have been to this poor realm. The King is at Glasgow, and has not come here. It is certain he has been informed of it by some one, and has had time enough if he had been willing ; this is a fault which I cannot excuse. I have sent this dispatch to the Governor of Berwick, and begged him to convey it to M. De la Forrest, hoping that in five or six days the Queen will be able to sign, and that her Majesty will despatch another courier soon, by whom I shall send you more ample news. I have not thought fit to write to my Lord the Cardinal of Lorraine on so distressing a subject, for it seems that this prince never comprehends the evil fortune which comes to him day by day. At the same time, I believe that the Queen will have sent him the letter which I have written to his Majesty ; I beg you, if convenient on your part, to relieve him of the great distress which he must have received.

“Recommending myself humbly to your good favour, I beg God to give you a happy and long life. At Jedburgh, this 24th October 1566.

“Your humble and obedient Servant,

“LE CROC.”<sup>1</sup>

On the same day, the 24th, a letter was sent from Jedburgh by the Secretary Maitland to Sir W. Cecil, Principal Secretary to Queen Elizabeth, describing the Queen’s illness. In it he stated that on that day such favourable symptoms had set in that he thought the Queen would be able to return home within three or four days, and he wished to quiet the

<sup>1</sup> See Keith’s “Church Hist.,” App. p. 133.

alarm caused by previous communications. This letter is printed among the fac-similes of the National MSS.<sup>1</sup>

The following letter of John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, the staunch friend of Queen Mary, gives a graphic account of the whole illness. From it we learn that on the evening of the 24th the symptoms returned and on the 25th reached their crisis, after which the Queen gradually recovered ;<sup>2</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii., No. 57.

<sup>2</sup> The symptoms of this illness, according to a distinguished physician, seem to indicate an attack of hæmatemesis or effusion of blood into the stomach, subsequently discharged by vomiting ; presenting also, possibly, hysterical complications, the whole induced by over-exertion and vexation. The following additional account written by Claude Nau, who was Secretary to the Queen from 1575 till her death in 1587, from a MS. in the British Museum, is given in a paper by the Rev. Jos. Stevenson, in *The Month*, vol. xvii., for 1879, p. 98 :—

“ On the following day she was seized by a pain in the side, which confined her to bed. It proved to be a severe attack of the spleen, which had troubled her during the present week, and to which she had been more or less subject ever since her confinement. Some thought she was dead. She vomited more than sixty times, and on the third day of the attack she lost her sight. From the frequency and the violence of these fits of vomiting within the period of a single day, it was suspected that she had been poisoned, particularly as among the matter ejected from the stomach there was found a lump of a green substance, very thick and hard. On the Thursday news came that the prince was so ill that his life was despaired of ; but after having been made to vomit he recovered. On the Friday her majesty lost the power of speech, and had a very severe fit of convulsions about ten or eleven o'clock at night. All her limbs were drawn together, her face was distorted, and her whole body became cold. Every one present, especially her domestic servants, thought that she was dead, and they opened the windows. The Earl of Moray began to lay hands on the most precious articles, such as her silver plate and jewels. The mourning dresses were ordered, and arrangements were made for the funeral. But Arnault, her surgeon, having observed some tokens of life in her arms, which had not entirely stiffened, used an extreme remedy in an extreme case. He bandaged very tightly her toes, her legs, from the sole of her foot upwards, and her arms ; and he poured some wine into her mouth, which he caused to be opened by force. When she had recovered a little, he administered a clyster, the evacuations produced by which were considered by the physicians to be very suspicious. From that time she gradually recovered until she went to Edinburgh, where she vomited a great quantity of corrupt blood, and the cure was complete. On the day before this convulsion fit the Queen, feeling that her strength was decaying and believing that she was in danger of death (for she had now lost her sight), called together the lords who were in attendance upon her. She reminded them at some length of the importance of their mutual union and agree-

“ My Lord,—After maist hartlie commendationis I wryt upoun haist to your Lordschip with Sanderis Bog, quha was send be Mons. de Croc this last Wednesday to adverteis of the Quenis Majesties Seyknes, quhilk at that tyme was wonderous gryt; for assurtilie hir Majestie was sa handleit with gryt vehemencie, that all that was with hir war disparit of hir Convalescens. Nochtheles soone after the departing of Sanderis Bog hir Majestie gat sume relief quhilk lestit quhill Furisday at Ten houris at Evin, at quhilk tyme hir Majestie swounit agane, and failziet in hir sicht, hir Feit and hir Neis was cauld, quhilkis war handleit be extreme rubbing, drawing, and uthervis Cureis, be the space of four Houris, that na creature culd indure gryter Paine; and throch the vehemencie of this Cure hir Majestie gat sume relief quhill about sax houris in the morning on Fryday that hir Majestie become deid and all hir Memberis cauld, Eene closit, Mouth fast, and Feit and Armis stiff and Cauld. Nochtheles Maister Naw, quha is ane perfytt Man of his Craft, wald nocht gif the mater owr in that maner, bot of new begoud to draw hir Neis, Leggis, Armis, Feit, and the rest, with sic vehement Tormentis, quhilkis lestit the space of three Houris, quhill hir Majestie recoverit agane hir sicht and speeche, and gat ane gryt swyting quhilk was halden the Releif of the Seyknis, becaus it was on the nynt day, quhilk commounlie is callit the Creisis of the Seyknis and swae heir thocht the Culeing of the Fever. And sensyne continueallie, thankis to God, hir Majestie convalescis better and better, bot the vehement presse of vomiting and laxative, with the gryt paine of rubbing and drawing of her Memberis quhilkis hir Majestie hes sustenit, hes maid hir sa waik that sche is nocht abill haistlie for Travell furth of thir Partis. Always I assuir your Lordschip in all this Seyknes hir Majestie usit hirself marvelous godlie and catholic, and continueallie desyrit to heir speik of God and godlie prayaris, and causit me remane continueallie with hir to that effect, to remember hir on hir Dewtie and pray continueallie besyd hir. Hir Majestie hes maid the maist godlie Exhortationis to all the Nobilitie being heir at this present Tyme that ever Prince or uthir maid at sic Tyme; first making hir Confessioun to God of hir offenceis, recognossand Him Creator of all, and hir to be the Wark of His Handis, desyrand His godlie Will to be fulfillit; That gif

ment for the good of the country and the safety of her son. She especially recommended him to their care, for she feared that his father might do him less than justice as to the succession to the crown, to which he laid claim in his own right, and might take a second wife. She also asked M. du Croc, the ambassador of France, to recommend her son, his country, and affairs to the most Christian king, his master. Then she caused prayers to be read by the Bishop of Ross, and disposed herself, as one at the point of death, requesting those who were near to take care of her. Yet she felt confident that if she could get over that Friday she would ultimately recover.”

it hes plesit His Majestie to suffer hir to remane in this present Wardill for the governing of His Pepell committit to hir Cair, or to reseif hir to His Bliss sche glaidlie wald accept that Thing quhilk His godlie Will hed appoyntit, and with als gude Hart and Will to die as to leif ; protestand alwayis that sche deit in the Catholic Fayth, in the quhilk sche was nurissit and brocht up intill ; of the quhilk hir Majestie take me oft to witnes. And thaireftir turnit hir to hir Nobilitie and besechit thame to tak Attendance to the governing of this our Realme ; and to the Effect thai may do the same the bettir, that thai keip Luf, Unitie, and Charitie amangis thameselffis, rehersand quhat gryt gudnes cumis of Unitie and Concord, and be the contrar, of Discord all Desolationis ; and recommendit alswa hir Sone the Prince to thair governance, praying thame effecteouslie to suffer nane to be with him in Company in his Zoutheid that war of evill Conditionis, or wald gif him evill Exempill in Maneris, bot that sic war present with him quha wald and culd instruct him in vertew and in all Godlienes, and nocht to suffer him to tak or use ony evill Conditionis and Inclinationis quhilk may fall unto him throch his Fader, Moder, or only his naturall Parentis. Thaireftir hir Majestie recommendit unto thame the Stait of the Religioun within this Realme, praying them effecteouslie to truble nor press na man in his Consciens that professit the Catholic Religioun, aggreging meikle the Prik and Stinnell of Consciens, quhilk is ane fair mater to prease ; with hir awin Determinationis to die constant in the Catholic Religioun. Thaireftir recommendit hir Servantis, sum in particular, and sum in generall, to be rewardit for thair gude service.

Last, hir Majestie send for Mons. du Croc, and thair in his Presens declarit hir constant Mynd to die in the Catholic Religioun, the gude Mynd hir Majestie bair and bairis at all Tyme to the Realme of France, and Crowne thairof and Allyance, and recommendit hir Sone the Prince to the King and to Madame the Quene-Moder, and requestit the Nobilitie present to keip thair Amytie as sche hes done in tyme past, and to bring up her Sone in the same Friendschip ; and desyrit Du Croc to mak hir hartlie commendationis to the King, the Quene-Moder, the Cardinall, and utheris hir Friendis in France, and desyrit him to request the King and Quene to grant ane zeir of hir Dowarie to reward hir Servantis in France, with mony uthir godlie and profitabill Exhortationis and Prayaris, sa perfytlie as neiver we hard ane speik in the maner, being swa handillit with sa gryt Infirmities quhair of this is the Sumare. Thaireftir the Lordis heir present, sic as the Erlis Huntlie, Murray, Boythwell, Rothes, Cathnes ; Lordis Levingstoun, Arbroth, Setoun, Zeister, Borthwick, Sommerveill, with mony uthir Baronis and Bischopis hes concludit and promissit faithfullie to retane thenselffis togidder till thair cuming to Edinburgh and thair to mak ane Conventioun, and oppin the Quenis Testament, and caus the



same be put to Executioun, gif it may stand with the Lawis of the Realme ; utherwayis to appoint such for the governing of the Cuntrie and Keiping of the Prince as accordis of Law ; and in the mene tyme to suffer na Brek in ony Part of the Realme, and quha evir attemptis to begin ony Troubill in ony Part, thai all salbe Ennemyis to the Beginnar, besyd that he salbe punisit be the Law. And swa this Promisse is maid in cace ony thing happen, quhilk is the best can be taken at this present. But I hop in eternall God that He will nocht suffer us to be swa plagit to tak fra us sic ane Princes, quhilk gif He dois for our Iniquityis we luk for nathing bot for gryt Troubill in thir Partis, less God in His Gudenes schaw His Mercy upoun us. The King all this tyme remaneis in Glascow and zit is nocht cumm toward the Quenis Majestie. The Quenis Majestie is sa waik in her persoun that hir Majestie can nocht be empeschit with ony Besines concerning the Nunce, bot alwayis hir Majestie maid ane Depesche befor sche fell seik, bot at this present may nocht be inquest thairof ; and thairfor it is gude ze solisit the Cardinall of Lorraine to cause the Nunce tak Patience, for hir Grace is verry desyrous to haif him heir, bot alwayis wald haif his cumming differrit to the Baptisme war endit. In the mene tyme it salbe gude your Lordschip bear him gude Company, that he tak na evill opinioun of the differring of his Answer for the causis occurrand. As your Lordschip findis opportunitie it will pleis your Lordschip remember on my Business ; the quhilk I dout not bot my Lord Cardinall of Lorraine will solisit and hauld hand, gif his Lordschip be remembrit thairupoun. In respect I remane continueallie with the Quenis Majestie, being my allane, for lack of Concurrens, quhairthrow it is meikle to be mervalit that the Papis Halynes is sa difficile in granting of my Provisioun, gif his Halynes be weill informit ; and in respect thair is sa few of this Cuntrie that suitis for securitie furth of thai Partis, quhilk I do nocht without the Disdane of mony : Bot, God willing, I sall constantlie do my Dewitie, quhilk I pray God to grant me at all tyme His strength to persevere, quha als wa haif you in His Protectioun. At Jedburgh the xxvi day of October lait at Even. The Quenis Medicinar and Maister Naw hes wouderous gude Houop of hir Graces Convalescens in respect hir Grace is passit this Nicht without Seiknes, quhilk was fearit be reason of hir awin Consaitt that sche fearit this Saturday at Even to be seikest of all. Bot I trest God of His infinite Gudenes, throw the Prayaris of mony maid for hir at this present, hes preservit hir to the Avancement of His Glorie and Comfort of His Pepill committit to hir Cure, quhame I hop zit to be weill governit be hir mony zeiris. It will pleis you send Answer agane with Capitane Hay the Bearer. Mons. du Croc seing the Quenis Graces Infirmitie to haif maid hir waik, hes wryttin to the Ambassadouris, that gif thai be nocht cumm furth of France as zit to remane still quhill he send Word, or to stay in

Lunden. Siclyk, my Lord Boythwell is heir, quha convalescis weill of his Woundis ; and thair is gude Obediens and Quyetnes upon the Borderis bayth of England and Scotland. As ony uther occuris, your Lordschlip salbe advertisit. I sall do Dilligens to collect the Quenis Graces Exhortationis and latter Declarationis of hir Will that sa Godlie and vertuous Sayingis pereis not, and send the same to you : Bot this I wryt for Shortnes with the Bearer at this present ; and God Eternall be your Helpar. At Jedburgh this Sunday at Morning the xxvii October 1566."<sup>1</sup>

Vester ex animo,

JOANNES, *Episcopus Rossensis.*

The following paper from the Drummond collection, now brought to light, seems to have been the notes taken down by the Bishop of Ross of the Queen's sayings at this time, which may be further assumed, perhaps, from the passage at the end of his letter, where he expresses his intention of collecting the Queen's words, "that sa Godlie and vertuous sayingis pereis nocht," and may possibly even have been dictated by the Queen. Although she could not at this time write in Scottish (as it was in 1568 she wrote a letter to Elizabeth which she describes as her first attempt to write in that language), in the following paper are some words where the spelling indicates that they had been pronounced with a French accent :—

The Declaration of the Will of the most mychtie and werteous  
Prencess, Marie Quene of Scotland, Dowariere of France, duryng  
the tyme of her extreme maladie, with the Praers and Exhortations  
maid be hir.

My Lordis quho ar presentlie nier vn to me sence it hes plesit God to wisit me with this sicknes, and git of his infinit goodnes hes gewin me tyme and leser to declair on to you my will and intention, and syklyk to cry to him for mercy for many and moist offences quhilkis I have committit agains his majestie, I will not forget to mak the discours in your presence of the desyre which I haue, alsweill towerdis the comunweill of this contre and bessines of this world, als of my dewte onto my Lord my God. And first ye haue knawin the guidwell and affection quhilk in all tymis I haue born onto the comun weill and rest of this realme and also the loue and moist earnest affection

<sup>1</sup> Keith's "Church Hist," ii. p. 134.

quhilk I haue onto zow all in generall and ewery ane in perticuler, trawelyng be all occasions till interteny zow togyther in the lyke loue cherite and concorde; and for this cause I requyre of zow the lyk loue and affection of hart and comun accord (syk as I haue alwayis wssit to be amongis zow, be the quhilk we all as memberis of ane body of this comun weill may put zour selfis togyther) for to hold this same believ and obedience dew als weill to God as onto the ciuill societe and comun rest with administratioun of justice amongis the subiectis of this realm. Ye know forsythe that be the diuisioun of governours prouinces and regions are trublit and molestit, and contrarie be agrement and write stablissit, pacifiet and auancit, quhairfor aboue all thyrngis I requyre zow to haue charite, concorde, and lone amongis zour selfis.

Secondlie I commend my sonne, your naturall prence, onto zow praying zow moist earnestlie to haue respect to bryng him wp and nuriss him in the fear of God and all wertnes, and godly exercises, als ze will ansuer onto God and the comun weill of this realme, and that ze suffer no ewill campagne to be nier him duryng the [tyme] of his zouthheid, quhilk be wicked companie mai be inducit to misknaw his deute towardis his God and the world, and that he be correctit in his zowth to the end that he may reigne als ane christiene and wertens prence in this reaulme. My Lordis, ye know the goodnes that I haue wsit towardis sum quhilkis I haue awancit to ane gret degre of honneur and preeminence aboue otheris, quha not withstanding has wsit mair nor ingratitude towardis me, quhilk hes ingendrit the displeour that presentlie maist grienes me, and also is the cause of my syknes. I pray God mend them; also their is sum that hes greivouslie offendit me and of quhom I desyre na gret wengéance, bot commettis them to the will of God, for I am sure that he will haue regarde to my juste cause, zit for all auentures I pray zow that gif that cum to pass that eftir my decess thai returne to this realme ze suffer them not to haue any access nier my sonne nor gouvernement or autorite nier his persone; and sence it hes plesit God to schorten my dayis and that I haue luit in gret honnouris and triumphis to this present, now I lichtly syk wanites, and thynkis me ane of the maist humble and puir creatures of the earth, and castis me at the feet of my creator reddy till imbrass his will; neuertheles efter my decess (gif ze pleis) ze sall have regarde to caus eard my body.

ze know also, my Lordis, the fauour that I haue born onto ze sence my arriuyng in this reaulme, and that I haue presit nane of ze that professes the relygion by zour conscience. I pray ze also on zour part not to presse them that makkis pfeffession of the auld faith catholique, and gif ze knew quhat yt war of ane persone that is in extremite als I am, and that it behuit him to think that he may rendre compte of his faltes als I do, ze wald newir presse them; I pray ye, brother Erle of Maurey that ye trouble nane.

My Lordis, ze knaw that befor I tuik bed<sup>1</sup> I maid my testament in sik sort as was convenient, the quhilk I have seelit and subcruit with my hand and closit with stamp, quhik presentlie is in Stirlyng. I besyk ze altogether maist affectiouslie and for the honnour of God that ze open it and tak paine that the pointis contenit intill it may be keepit and put to execution, holdyng myself maist certain that that quhilk is within it is in nawayis prejudiciall to the lawis of this realme, and gif paraventure thingis be not sa weill establisit as war necessar I pray ze with ane accorde to prowde to the best for the same, the quhilkis I have newir desyrit freinge. Hiereftir returnyng to my Lord the ambassadour of France callit Monsieur du Croc quha then was present, said onto him—Monsieur du Croc, ze see quhow it hes plesit God to wisit me with this maladie, quhairby it is evident that the hour of my death approches, and that it plesis my God to call me out of this lyif till his mercy, for this cause I will speik of four thyngis onto thee; as touchyng the first ze sall testifie to the Kyng my guid brother, and to the Quene Madame my guid mother, and to Madame my grandmother, to Monsieur the Cardinall of Lorane, and to all my Lordis my oncles that I die in the Catholique faith, in the quhilk I haue been instructit, and as I lywit in France, and still hes continuit sence my returnyng in this realme.

Secondlie ze sall recommande my sonne to the Kyng and Quene, quha sum day sall do them sarvice, I desyre that alliance mai still continue.

The third ze sall desyre pardone at there maiestes for me gif I haue offendit them, quhilk I neuer thoicht to do.

The fourt, I desyre the Kyng that my dowarie may be continuit ane zier efter my endyng to recompence my guid and faithfull seruandis, quhairfor I pray ye Monsieur du Croc to remember weill the thingis that I haue said onto ye and to rendre guid testimony, and also to desyre pardone at madame my grandmother and all my Lordis my oncles for thai loiss the prencess of the world that has lowit them best. I am suir that thai wilbe wery displesit to loiss me, but it behuuit to apply onto the will of God.

<sup>1</sup> This seems to refer to the will which the Queen made in June 1566, before "taking her chamber" prior to the birth of her son. Mr Robertson says:—"It was written in three copies; one she kept in her own hands, another she left under seal to those who were to have the chief trust in Scotland, the third she sent to her kins-folks in France. No one of these copies would seem to have been preserved, nor is it certainly known what their terms were." All that can now be learned of the Queen's feelings and wishes is to be gathered from the Testamentary Inventory of her jewels, printed in Mr Robertson's *Catalogues of her jewels for the Bannatyne Club*. (Preface, p. xxx.).

“O my God, creator of heawin and earth, quho of thi infinit guidnes hes send thy only sonne Jesus Chryst our sauour into this world to tak our humane nature and to sched his precious bluid for the redemption of us and all chrystians, with ane maist humble hart I acknowledge and confess that I am the work of thy handis, and that of thy infinit guidnes thow hes apointit me (albiet I be onworthy) to reule and gouerne this peple quhilke hes been comittit to my charge, and to be onto thes ane lantern and lycht of guid lyif, and for this purpoiss hes indewit me with dywerss graces and uertuiss, the quhilkis nocht the less I haue not wsit ass my dewtie requyrit, for this cause, my guid God, I remitt me to thi mercy, and desyris this same for my griuouss offences quhilkis I haue committit, quhilkis vordely desseruis punisement, bot O my God thow hes promisit mercy and remission till all them quha with ane penitent hart desyris pardon. Grant me mercy, for I seik not lang lyif in this world, bot only that thy will may be fulfillit in me. O my God thow hes apointit me aboue the peple of this realme to reule and gouerne them, gif theirfor yt be thi plessour that I remain with them in this mortell lyiff, albiet that yt be painfull to my body, so that yt pleas thi dewyne guidnes I will gif myself to thi keiping. Gif thi plessour and purpose be to call me frome hence to thi mercy, with guid will I remitt mi self to thi plessour, and is als well deliberat to die ass to lyue, desyryng that thi will be fulfillit, and as the guid Kyng Ezechios (afflictit with seyknis and other infirmitis) turnit him to thi dewyne will and plessour, so do I the lyk. O moist mercifull creator I confess that I haue not wsit thy giftis to the aduancement of thy gloiry and honour and guid exemple of lyif to thi peple that hes been committit onder my charge ass I aucht to haue don, bot I rather hes bien transportit be the fragilitie of my natwre, and truly I haue offendit thi maieste, not wsyng my eis ass my dewtie requyrit, for the quhilke cause presentlie maist worthely hes thow takin from me the power of them; bot my God, quho of thy guidnes and infinite grace helit the man quho wes long blind, and gev him pouer to see, grant onto me so lang ess I liue in this mortall liue that not only I may haue fruition of the corporell eis, bot also that with the eis of faith and spret I may behold thy dewyne maiestee, or otherways tak this lyfe fra me accordyng to thy plesour and will. I haue off dywers tymis offendit thi dewyne guidnes bot git haue I na wayis declynit fra thy faith, bot still continuit and constantlie perseuerit in the catholique faith in the quhilke I was instructit, brocht wp and nurisit, and of the quhilke befor thy dewyne gudnes, and in the presence of all that onderstandis me I mak profession, desyryng the of thi infinit gudnes to grant me the strenth and constancie to perseuere in this same onto my last sobbis, and that I declyne not frome it but constantlie to continue.”

This remarkable paper fully confirms the surmise of the Secretary Maitland,<sup>1</sup> that the cause of the Queen's illness was the vexation and anxiety caused by the perverse conduct of Darnley. It is, at the same time, valuable in itself, as showing the great advance which she had made in her notions of religious toleration beyond those of her people.

During her convalescence Darnley arrived at Jedburgh, but was coldly received by the nobles. It is not certain that he was even permitted to see the Queen. At all events he only remained one night in the burgh, and lodged, not in the house in which the Queen lay, but in one which belonged to Lord Home, which is now pulled down.

By the 30th of November the recovery of the Queen was nearly complete, and she then caused the sum of twenty pounds to be distributed amongst the poor of the burgh, as a thank offering to God. She also paid forty shillings to one John Hume for playing to her on the lute, and four pounds to John Heron for playing on the pipe and quihissil during her illness.<sup>2</sup>

Among the other disbursements of the Queen at this time were those for the expenses of the assize. She caused to be paid to the Justice-General three pounds a day; to Sir John Bellenden, the Justice-Clerk,

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Archbishop Beaton; Sloan MSS. Brit. Mus., 3199, fol. 141. "The occasion of the Queen's sickness, so far as I can understand, is caused of thought and displeasure, and I trow by what I could wring further of her own declaration to me, the root of it is the King. For she has done him so great honour without the advice of her subjects; and he, on the other hand, has recompensed her with such ingratitude, and misuses himself so far towards her, that it is a heart-break to her to think that he should be her husband and how to be free of him she has no outgait."

<sup>2</sup> It is a curious domestic detail, that along with the drugs which came from Edinburgh for the Queen's use, were twenty apples and pomegranates and six citrons.

The following letter, written by the Queen from Jedburgh to the High Treasurer, ordering materials for a new dress, is still preserved:—

"Thesaurer, after the sight of this writ ye shall not fail to send a servant of your own in all possible haste to Edinburgh, and cause him to bring to this town twenty ells of red champit chamlet of silk, with twenty ells white plaiding, four ells white taffaty, three ells fine black velvet, four ells small Lyons canvass, six ounces black stitching silk, with a pound of black thread. This in no way shall ye fail to do, keeping this writ for your warrant. Subscribed with our hand at Jedburgh the penult day of October 1566.

MARIE R."

“for his ordinar and clerks remaining at the Airs (Circuit Courts) of Jedburgh, from the 9th day of October to the 8th of November, forty shillings per day; and to Lady Fernihirst the sum of forty pounds, for the use of the house she had occupied during the thirty days she abode at Jedburgh.”

The house, pointed out by tradition, as the one occupied by the Queen, is situated in a back street of the town, and is still occupied as a dwelling house. It is three storeys in height, and is roofed with thatch. The walls are very thick, and leading to the different apartments is a fine spiral staircase. In front is an arched doorway, now built up, surmounted by a cross, and above this are the combined arms of the Homes and Kerrs. Attached to the house is a large and valuable orchard, in which are several very old fruit trees. “With its screen of dull trees in front,” says Dr R. Chambers, “the house has a somewhat lugubrious appearance, as if conscious of connection with the most melancholy tale that ever occupied the page of history.”<sup>1</sup>

After her recovery from her dangerous illness, Queen Mary left Jedburgh and went to Kelso, where she spent two nights; she then went to Home Castle, Langton, and Wedderburn, and visited Berwick, accompanied by 800 or 1000 horsemen. There she was received by Sir John Forrester, deputy of Lord Bedford, who rode out to meet her, and caused a royal salute to be discharged in her honour. After viewing the town she resumed her journey, visiting Coldingham, where she spent a night, and thence to Dunbar and Tantallon. She at length reached Craigmillar Castle, where she remained until she had to go to Stirling for the baptism of her son the young prince.<sup>2</sup> While at Craigmillar the Queen suffered much dispeace from the actions of her wayward and im-

<sup>1</sup> The house occupied by Queen Mary is now the property of Colonel Armstrong, St Petersburg. In the end of last century it was owned and occupied by Dr Lindsay, whose daughter Isabella was the “sweet Isabella Lindsay” of Burns.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to contrast with the libellous statements of Buchanan already quoted, and whom as recently as October 1877, a writer in the *Brit. Quarterly Review*, compliments for his substantial accuracy, that at the christening of the prince he extolled the virtues and graces of Queen Mary in an elegant Latin poem addressed to

perious husband, while the nobles openly stated that they could not suffer "such a young fool and proud tyrant" to bear rule over them. The Queen at this time also frequently expressed herself to Le Croc as tired of life, while the ambassador endeavoured as much as possible to bring about a better understanding in the royal household. It was there, it is believed, that schemes were laid by the nobility for the separation of the Queen and Darnley, which ultimately ended so disastrously for both.