

The Scottish itinerary of Mary Queen of Scots, 1542–8 and 1561–8

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ABSTRACT

The journeys of Mary Queen of Scots through her kingdom are analysed for information on methods of transport, types of building stayed in, her reasons for travel and her impact on her hosts.

From the reign of Mary Queen of Scots writers have been interested in that unfortunate queen's movements through her kingdom. Attempts to produce an accurate itinerary of the queen may be said to commence with the contemporary English ambassadorial despatches (*CSP Scot*, I & II, *passim*). The royal household accounts (E/33/6–9) also recorded information on the routes of Mary's travels, but they were not utilized for that purpose for two and a half centuries. Then in the second decade of the 19th century George Chalmers (1822, I, *passim*) drew on them for his biography of the queen. Unfortunately, D Hay Fleming (1897, 515–43), who produced the only full itinerary for Mary, was unaware of them. His oversight has been rectified for the travels in Aberdeenshire, 1562 (Buchanan 1958, 20–1), Argyll (Small 1928, 13–19), and the south-west in 1563 (Maxwell 1920, 1–13). However, the numerous biographers of Mary have never attempted a revision of Fleming. Fortunately, on the eve of the quadracentenary of Mary's death Historic Buildings and Monuments, Scottish Development Department appointed me to investigate the matter for a book (Breeze 1987) and a series of exhibitions linking Mary to the monuments in care of the Secretary of State for Scotland.

The queen undertook her journeys for numerous reasons, by a variety of means, and stayed in or visited diverse types of accommodation. The most intriguing of her journeys to her biographers were those connected with political events. In addition the queen traversed Scotland in order to appear at state occasions, hold judicial courts, hunt, rest from the formal atmosphere of Holyroodhouse, attend social events, and seek a husband. The queen also went on progresses, that is formal tours of the country similar to those of Elizabeth I of England. Visits by the queen also appear to have influenced her hosts in a generally favourable manner. Before proceeding to examine those topics a word is necessary concerning the types of transport Mary used in Scotland.

The transportation structure in Scotland in the mid 16th century was underdeveloped not only by present standards, but also by those of the rich French kingdom Mary knew so well. The absence of adequate roads prevented any common use of coaches. Mary of Guise, the queen's mother, introduced the first one in Scotland. However, it did not inspire the nobility to imitate her. In 1562 Queen Mary had a coach repaired at St Andrews (*TA*, XI, 154). Whether this was the same coach her

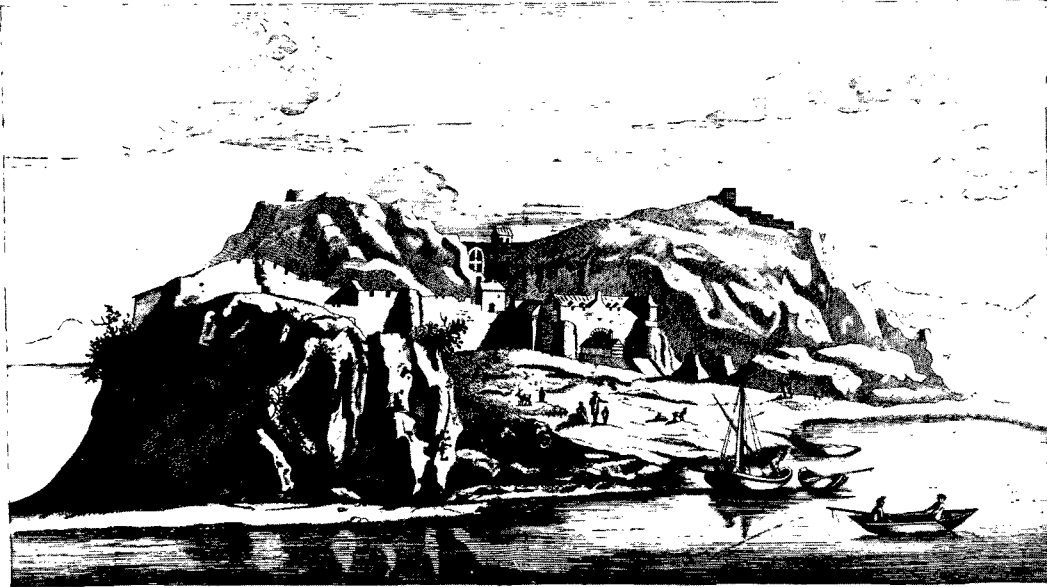
*The Navy Museum, Washington Navy Yard, Washington DC 20374, USA

mother used is unknown. Nor is it stated if the queen travelled to the metropolitan see from North Queensferry by coach, or if she merely utilized it around the St Andrews area. There is no further mention of the coach during the reign, which may suggest that it was either too liable to breakdown or very uncomfortable. In December 1565 Mary reached Linlithgow from Edinburgh by a horse litter (Fraser 1969, 240). In January 1567 Darnley was carried in one from Glasgow to the capital (*ibid*, 285–6). However, this conveyance was unsuitable for the lengthy treks made by the queen. Significantly, Mary used it when she was pregnant, while Darnley travelled by that means when he was ill. The queen on at least one occasion had recourse to the most common means of transport – foot. This was necessary to allow Mary to slip through the forces of the Confederate Lords besieging Borthwick Castle so that she could rejoin her third husband, James Hepburn, fourth earl of Bothwell. The most common method of land travel used by Mary was horseback. She maintained a stable of high quality, which included horses brought from France in 1561. The queen enjoyed riding and was an accomplished horsewoman (*ibid*, 178). On several occasions she made memorable rides of great length and endurance. The most famous ones were the trip between Jedburgh and Hermitage Castle, and the flights from Lochleven and Langside. From her itinerary (fiche 1:C3) it appears that the queen regularly took journeys of 30 miles or so. On her progresses Mary moved at a more leisurely pace with the objective of moving from one host to another. If Mary had lacked the love of riding or the ability to do it well, it is probable her journeys would have been much limited in their scope.

While land transport was the most obvious means of travel, the geography of the country necessitated the use of waterborne means. In travelling to France in 1548 and back to Scotland in 1561 the queen sailed in ships of the French royal navy. In Scotland her most common excursions by water were trips across the Firth of Forth by the ‘Queen’s ferry’. In 1562 Mary crossed the Spey at Boharm by ferry. In addition she sailed on the firths. In summer 1563 during the Argyll and south-west progress Mary went across the Firth of Clyde and associated lochs by ship. After the birth of Prince James in June 1566 she travelled from Newhaven to Alloa by some type of vessel. With the exception of Mary’s last Scottish sea voyage information on the type of boat or ship utilized is lacking. On that instance, when she crossed the Solway Firth from Abbeyburnmouth to Workington, the queen and her minute court sailed in a fishing boat. Sea passages may have disagreed with Mary, because she seems not to have had any plans to recreate her father’s circumnavigation of 1540. Although queen of her country Mary enjoyed no visible advantage over her nobles or gentry (and probably wealthy farmers, too), in her transport capacity. As with them her travels relied upon the horse and small shipping.

Just as the queen utilized various methods of transport she also visited different types of buildings. These ranged in ownership from royal to ecclesiastical to landholder to burgess, and in kind from palaces to monasteries to castles to townhouses. Mary stopped at these places most commonly for over-night accommodation, but sometimes only halted for a meal. The queen went to 15 of the royal properties. Two of them (Redcastle and Gartly Castles), pertained to noble estates which had fallen to the crown. Of the remainder, eight served as her principal royal residences. They ranged in type from the renaissance palaces of Holyroodhouse, Falkland and Stirling to starkly medieval piles. Linlithgow was a modernized medieval palace remodelled on a lavish scale. Dunbar Castle, while scarcely palatial, was one of the best examples of artillery fortification in Scotland. Edinburgh Castle represented a transition from the medieval to the new classical style. Dumbarton Castle (illus 1) and Dunfermline Abbey might be regarded as the most medieval of the royal buildings in which Mary stayed with any frequency. The castles at Carrick, Dunoon, Inverness, Lochmaben and Peebles were likewise medieval in nature. Nevertheless, despite royal ownership their prime users were the crown’s lieutenants.

Mary took advantage of the traditions of clerical hospitality and the crown’s close relations with



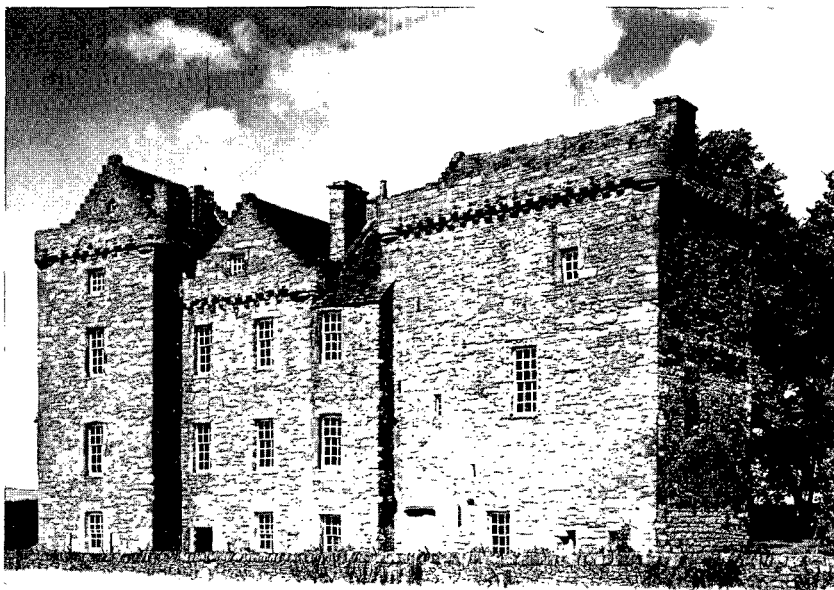
Facies Arcis BRITANNODUNENSIS ab Oriente. The Prospect of y^e Castle of DUMBRITTON from y^e East.

ILLUS 1 17th-century view of Dumbarton Castle from the east

the Kirk in selecting accommodation. The queen may have been a guest at as many as 22 ecclesiastical properties. These included bishop's palaces as in Old Aberdeen, urban abbeys like Ayr, rural monasteries as at Beaulieu, Coupar-Angus, Glenluce and Dundrennan (illus 2), and medieval castles such as Grange and Spynie. Mary may have also stayed at other ecclesiastical establishments in burghs, of which Kelso Abbey and the Bishop's Palace at Dunblane are examples.



ILLUS 2 Properties of the Church. Ruins of Dundrennan Abbey: church and cloister from the south-west



ILLUS 3 South elevation of Huntingtower Castle, former home of the Lords of Ruthven

The queen also utilized the dwellings of her nobles, visiting 34 of them (belonging to 25 peers), throughout the realm. The castles of Hermitage, Huntingtower (Ruthven) (illus 3), Glamis, Drummond, Hailes, Crichton and Campbell were largely medieval dwellings. However, Balvenie Castle, despite its location, had a wing in the new style (illus 4). Craignethan Castle was a military dwelling heavily influenced by artillery architecture. The most grandiose noble dwelling – Huntly Castle – was never seen by Mary.

The lairds owned the largest number of residences visited by the queen. She went to 50 of them, including four that were either townhouses in or castles adjacent to burghs. Among the rural laird's dwellings were Edzell, Barnbogle, Rosslyn and Wemyss Castles, all medieval fortress dwellings. The most infamous is Lochleven Castle (illus 8), where Mary spent over 10 months as a close prisoner.

She was not averse to the hospitality of burghs, staying at 17 excluding those in the categories already covered. Unfortunately, the places associated with her at Perth, Dundee and Cupar remain unknown. Her townhouse at St Andrews has been preserved. Although Mary's residence at Jedburgh is now unidentified, contemporaries left descriptions of it.

Some places visited by Mary fit no category due to a lack of information. These include Queensferry, Rodono, Moffat and Crawford Moor. From these examples one can observe that the queen accepted the hospitality of all three estates, and endured (if she did not enjoy), the more medieval atmosphere of Scotland as compared with her French childhood home.

Why the queen travelled so extensively throughout Scotland is the next matter of attention. In a brief space, no more than five years and nine months, Mary visited all of Scotland save the Northern Isles, the Hebrides, and the highlands north and west of a line between Dingwall and Inveraray. Considering the adverse climatic effects which made some rivers and passes seasonally impassable and the necessity of holding a formal court (usually at Holyroodhouse, but also in Stirling and Perth), Mary's achievement was remarkable. The primary reason for travel was related to the business of



ILLUS 4 Renaissance front of Balvenie Castle, Dufftown (Billings)

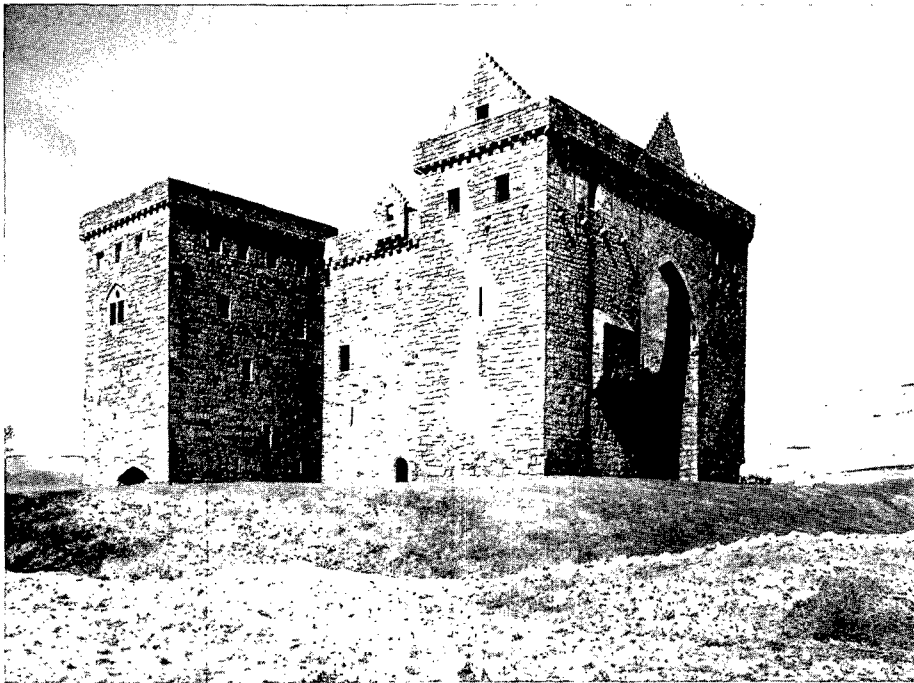
state. This broad heading breaks down into several categories: state occasions, justice courts, progresses and political activities. It would be wrong to compartmentalize too severely the causes behind Mary's travels. For instance, progresses could take on a large political tone, while official business could intrude upon the queen's leisure travels. While it might be argued that Mary preferred the pleasures of court life, hunting and attendance at social functions, it would be wrong to suggest that she avoided the public functions of the monarchy. Her itinerary demonstrates the veracity of this view.

The established ceremonial of the Scottish court was meagre by French standards. However, in one instance they shared a common activity, the official royal entry of towns or burghs. Sixteenth-century France produced a number of illustrated pamphlets on entries made by the kings. Unfortunately, Mary's entries failed to result in similar publications. Indeed, contemporary written accounts of them are sparse. Mary's most lavish burghal entry was at Edinburgh on 2 September 1561. That day she went from Holyroodhouse to Edinburgh Castle passing the burgh on the north. The queen returned to the palace via the High Street, where she witnessed several anti-Popish tableaux. Later in the month Mary undertook her first journey through the realm after her return. Mary made entries into Perth and Dundee, and probably into Linlithgow, Stirling, Cupar and St Andrews which she visited on that tour. On her first northern progress the queen made an entry into New Aberdeen on 23 September 1562. That is the last recorded royal entry, but it does not signify that Mary made none after that date. For example, she may have made entries into Glasgow (July 1563), Ayr (August 1563), Dumfries (August 1563), Dingwall (August 1564), or Dunbar (December 1562). As the queen had been crowned as a child it was unnecessary for her to travel to Scone for that ceremony. For her two Scottish weddings, which took place in Holyroodhouse, Mary had no need to travel, because she was already in residence. However, the baptism of Prince James and its associated festivities in December 1566 led the queen to ride from Holyroodhouse to Stirling Castle, the royal nursery. From this survey it is obvious that state occasions accounted for only a small portion of Mary's travels.

The same can be said of judicial tours. It would be correct to assume that Mary had little interest in personally dispensing justice. Instead she relied upon royal lieutenants and sheriffs. In the borders the queen utilized her half-brother Lord James Stewart (later earl of Moray) and the earl of Bothwell at different times. However, it was in that region that she made her sole journey inspired by the desire to sit on the justice ayre. October 1566 saw Mary depart from Edinburgh to attend the court at Jedburgh. That, and not as Buchanan and his followers would have us believe, was the reason she was in the vicinity of Hermitage Castle (illus 5). Even the trip there could be construed as quasi-judicial in nature, because Mary desired to consult with Bothwell about the state of the border, then a matter more related to internal order than external security. Nevertheless, it would be correct to place judicial business at the bottom of the priorities of state business which led the queen to travel.

Royal progresses, however, were a matter of the first import, only ranking behind political events as a reason for travel. In a Scotland lacking the means of mass communication the royal progress played an essential role in relations between the monarch and the country. A progress allowed Mary to examine her realm and freed the royal household from maintenance costs. Furthermore, a progress permitted the queen to meet her notables and be seen by the populace. The progress was essential to the creation and continuance of good relations between the court and the country. It showed those landowners unable to afford the cost of residence at court that the queen was interested in them. For those who could attend court the progress provided a means of entertaining (and impressing) their queen with their loyalty.

Mary went on four progresses in which she visited the clergy, landholders and burghs. The first northern progress (August–November 1562) became entwined with a political crisis, the earl of Huntly's rebellion. Still it was chiefly at Aberdeen and Inverness and from Spynie Palace to Cullen



ILLUS 5 Hermitage Castle, headquarters of the Earl of Bothwell as royal lieutenant for the borders

that the queen was directly involved in political matters. For the rest of the time she moved leisurely from residence to residence enjoying the hospitality of bishops, abbots, nobles and lairds. The western progress of summer 1563 which encompassed the Glasgow area, Argyll, the south-west and other places between Dumfries and Edinburgh was the most extensive one of the reign. During it the queen rarely stayed anywhere longer than three nights. In July–September 1564 Mary went on her least documented progress, which took her to Inverness and Dingwall via Badenoch and back to Edinburgh by way of Aberdeen. There are many gaps in this tour and its purpose is uncertain. Was the queen on a pleasure tour or did she mean to examine the earldom of Ross as a marriage portion for a future husband?

Mary's last progress occurred in autumn 1566 when she travelled from Jedburgh to Craigmillar Castle (illus 6) via the Tweed valley and the east coast. This trip may have been caused by her weakened condition after her near fatal illness in Jedburgh. Yet it provided the queen with a knowledge of the eastern borders and parts of East Lothian which she had previously lacked. The progress as a cause for the queen's travels was only overshadowed in importance by journeys necessitated by political events.

From the beginning of Mary's life political considerations played a great role of her Scottish movements. As a child she was moved about between 1542 and 1548 solely for reasons of state. Initially, the pro-French party brought her from Linlithgow to the greater safety of Stirling Castle. During the English invasions she was removed to the relative remoteness of Inchmahome Priory (September 1547), and possibly to Dunkeld (May 1544). Before travelling to France as the bride of the dauphin Mary was taken to Dumbarton Castle, which was a safer embarkation point than any



ILLUS 6 South and east elevations of Craigmillar Castle, home of Sir Simon Preston the queen's provost of Edinburgh

place on the east coast. The personal reign witnessed further travels initiated by political events. Indeed the breakdown of Mary's reign can be observed from the increasing number of these trips. The first political tour occurred in 1562 during the northern progress. The troubles created by Huntly and his sons cast a pall on the progress from Aberdeen to Inverness and back. However, only on certain points of the trip – the capture of Inverness Castle and the escorted march from Spynie towards Banff – did the crisis impinge directly on the queen's movements. In 1565 after falling in love with and becoming engaged to Darnley, Mary undertook several journeys to gather support for the marriage. In the expeditions against those who opposed the marriage (known as the Chaseabout Raid, but in reality three separate expeditions), Mary and Darnley traversed a good portion of the lowlands. Initial operations were concentrated on the Falkirk–Stirling–Glasgow triangle. Then the queen moved east into Fife and after that to Angus and Perthshire in order to gather support and seek out traitors. The campaigns culminated in an expedition which brought the royal army from Edinburgh and Stirling to Dumfriesshire in time to miss the rebels who hastily fled over the border into England. After Riccio's assassination on 9 March 1566 Mary had recourse to flight eastwards from Edinburgh so that she could form an army against her foes. In January 1567 Darnley was personally retrieved by Mary from Glasgow (in the midst of the Lennox earldom) and brought to Edinburgh where his political plots against Mary could have little hope of success. Several months later in April the queen visited her son in Stirling, but on her return accepted abduction by Bothwell as a means of securing a new political order. Mary was 'kidnapped' at The Briggs south of Cramond and brought by the earl to Dunbar Castle, where he was the royal lieutenant. From there the affianced couple proceeded to Edinburgh by way of Hailes Castle (a property pertaining to the earldom). Following Mary's marriage to Bothwell she went on a trip to the east of Edinburgh in June to gather supporters amongst the Lothian notables. This operation began problematically with the siege of Borthwick Castle and ended disastrously with the queen's capture by Confederate Lords at Carberry Hill. The queen's subsequent trip to and imprisonment in Lochleven Castle arose from the political calculations of her noble opponents. In May 1568 Mary's movements were again dictated by political necessity. The escape from Lochleven to Hamilton country, which served as a safe haven and rallying place for the queen's forces, also served the interest of the Hamiltons. They hoped to gain control of Scotland following the defeat of the King's Party by possessing the queen and possibly marrying her into the family. Likewise the manoeuvre against Moray in Glasgow, which culminated in Langside, arose from Hamilton desires to dominate the Queen's Party by gaining the decisive victory for it. Mary's flight south to England arose solely from her own political considerations: she feared that capture by Moray's men would lead to her death and she hoped that once in England, Elizabeth could be persuaded to provide puissant assistance for a restoration. Generally Mary travelled for political reasons when she was reacting to crises, not when she was initiating a policy. The more frequent these travels became and the shorter the intervals between them the greater the strain on the stability of the monarchy. This section brings to a close the discussion of the reasons of state which inspired Mary's journeys; from them we turn to the calls of leisure.

The dramatic collapse of Mary's personal monarchy has led many to concentrate on the events that caused her removal from the Scottish scene. This stress has overlooked the court life of the reign, which was heavily influenced by the conventions of France. Mary enjoyed immensely the pleasures of court: banquets, masques, dancing, sports, hunting and games. However, the queen also revelled in vacations from the formal atmosphere of court. Furthermore, she took pleasure in attending the social functions of her nobility. During the early months of 1565 Mary travelled extensively during her courtship with Darnley. *Mary's leisure time, that is the periods empty of state business or away from court, was spent on vacations, hunting trips, social events and her romance with Darnley.*

The vacations and hunting trips of the queen often coalesced, but on occasion hunting was the

main reason for her travels. Every spring from 1562 to 1565 Mary went from Holyroodhouse to Fife. There she concerned herself chiefly with acting the bourgeois housemistress in a St Andrews merchant's house or hunting from Falkland Palace. However, in April 1563 she broke her holiday to travel to Lochleven Castle for a conference with John Knox. At Rossend Castle, Burntisland in February 1562, Châtelard, a French poet enamoured of the queen, committed *lèse majesté* by surprising Mary in her bedchamber. (This rash act subsequently resulted in his execution in St Andrews.) More momentously for her reign the queen met Darnley at Wemyss Castle in February 1565. On her vacations in Fife, Mary visited 22 properties including Balmerino Abbey and the castles of Collairnie, Brunton, Newark and Strathendry.

Mary's trips undertaken solely for hunting occurred in August 1563 (Glenartney Forest), August 1566 (Meggetland) and September 1566 (Glenfinglas Forest). Yet her most celebrated hunting expedition formed part of the northern tour of 1564, when the earl of Atholl led a Highland-style hunt up Glentilt. The historical significance of the queen's vacations has some importance in that they do account for many of her journeys and allowed her to develop personal ties with numbers of nobles and lairds.

Mary also cultivated her nobles by giving and attending social events. For instance the wedding banquets of Lord James Stewart (earl of Mar and later of Moray) and Lady Agnes Keith, John Fleming, fifth Lord Fleming and Elizabeth Ross, and Bothwell and Lady Jane Gordon took place at Holyrood. The queen also travelled to share in similar social occasions. In January 1562 she proceeded from Holyroodhouse to Crichton Castle (illus 7) for the marriage of her half-brother Lord John Stewart and Lady Jane Hepburn. The next January Mary crossed the Forth to attend a wedding hosted by her half-sister Jean Stewart, countess of Argyll and her cousin Archibald Campbell, fifth



ILLUS 7 West and south fronts of Crichton Castle, Midlothian

earl of Argyll. In July 1565 the queen travelled from Perth to Callander House to be present at the baptism of a child of William Livingston, sixth Lord Livingston of Callander. It is significant that the three noble hosts on these visits were loyal supporters of the queen during the civil wars.

The final matter to be considered concerning the reasons for the queen's journeying was her courtship with Darnley. While their marriage had important political and dynastic implications, the reports about Mary during this period suggest that her movements and actions were inspired by her love and desire to marry the 'lang lad'. Between 31 March and 20 April Mary travelled seven times between Holyroodhouse and Stirling Castle, where Darnley was ill. She broke off this constant movement in order to procure support for the marriage.

From this survey it is evident that the queen's extensive travels were generally purposeful and provide insight into the progress of the reign. From analysing the purposes of Mary Queen of Scots' journeys it appears that when she dictated her own movements the queen's position was secure, but when political events inspired her travels Mary's throne was often in difficulties.

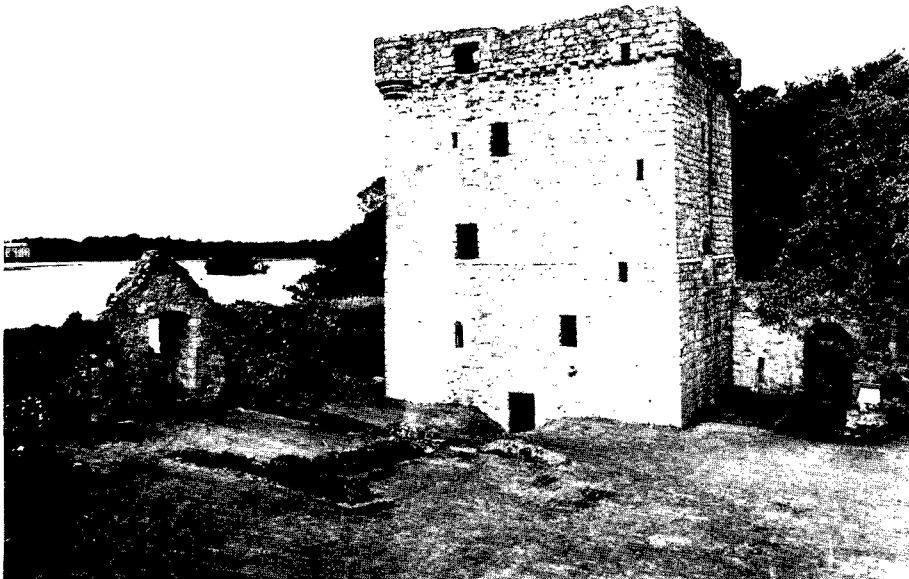
What impact did a visit by Mary Queen of Scots have on her hosts? In other words were her travels (excepting those that led to defeat) beneficial to Mary's authority and prestige, or would the queen have been wiser to remain solely in the royal residences such as Holyroodhouse or Stirling Castle? While it would be too simplistic to assign a brief sojourn by Mary at a place as a reason for the subject's subsequent loyalty to the queen, it is not impossible that such visits had some positive effect for the crown. For instance a visit could flatter hosts and provide the queen with the opportunity to exert her universally acknowledged charm on them. In addition these visits permitted subjects directly to approach the queen for favours, and for her to grant boons. However, royal visits might also result in a negative reaction. The chief reason for this was the heavy cost engendered in providing for the royal train, which few Scots landholders could look upon without some anxiety. The information on the loyalties and activities of Mary's hosts has been taken from Donaldson (1983, *passim*), whose analysis is the best guide for determining the faction espoused by the ecclesiastical and lay figures of mid 16th-century Scotland (fiche 1: D4).

The political situation facing Mary Queen of Scots upon her arrival in Scotland on 19 August 1561 was grim. Her mother, Mary of Guise, who had ruled Scotland as regent from 1554 to 1560, had died amidst a successful rebellion. The young queen superficially resembled her regent in that she was a Roman Catholic with a French upbringing. However, Mary overcame the prejudice which had brought her mother to ruin. During the personal monarchy the queen stayed with 82 different hosts during her journeys. Of them 41 had taken part in the events of 1559-60 (Donaldson 1983, 31-47). Twenty-seven or 66% of these men had supported the rebellion as committed Protestants or as politically motivated adherents to the Lords of the Congregation. The remaining 14 or 34% consisted of 12 Catholics and two Protestants who had remained loyal to the regent. Some anticipated it was this second group to whom the queen would appeal on her return. Instead she allied herself to Lord James Stewart, a Protestant and leader of the Congregation. During the rebellion of George Gordon, fourth earl of Huntly in 1562 eight or about one-third of the regent's opponents in the above group supported the queen. These new royal supporters included Lord James, who although not a host of Mary's at this time had been in nearly constant attendance since her landing, and two hosts Andrew Leslie, fifth earl of Rothes and William Keith, fourth earl Marischal. Huntley's rebellion posed no serious threat to Mary, because no other noble joined him. Three years later, however, Moray led a revolt against the Darnley marriage. By 1565 Mary had stayed with most of her hosts. Half of the eight who had adhered to her in 1562 were rebels, but she had managed to recruit nine more of her mother's enemies. Thus within four years the queen had gained the allegiance of 48% of those hosts who had opposed the regent. Looking at the situation another way Mary had been the guest of 34 ecclesiastics, nobles or lairds. Twenty-five or 73.5% of them remained loyal during the rebellion of 1565. More

significantly these men represent roughly a third of the queen's men identified by Donaldson (1983, 76), while only nine or 26.5% supported Moray. The Chaseabout Raid marked an apogee in the personal reign; henceforth the queen faced frequent and dangerous crises. The 1566–8 period for Mary was a time of challenge, recovery and an eventual defeat.

Several months after the rebels of 1565 had fled into England Mary faced another political crisis again born out of the fears and ambitions of the English-Protestant party. The assassination of David Riccio on 9 March 1566 in the queen's chambers at Holyroodhouse involved approximately 120 conspirators (Donaldson 1983, 78–80). Twenty of them were Edinburgh burgesses, the remainder nobles, lairds and their retinues. In all, eight hosts of the queen were involved, but their significance in the plot was great. For in addition to their own complicity, they recruited 25 members of their kin groups. Thus these eight accounted for one-third of the non-burghal plotters. The queen was unaware of the adherence of Moray and Rothes to the plot, but the previously loyal James Douglas, fourth earl of Morton and Patrick Ruthven, third Lord Ruthven played such prominent parts that exile was their only option upon the queen's recovery of power. Eleven months later one finds half of the Darnley murder conspirators drawn from among Mary's hosts (Fraser 1969, 285–304). Of the four, two – Bothwell and Morton – were important leaders in the conspiracy.

The death of Darnley was in some ways a political blessing for Mary, because her husband had become a threat to her position as monarch and an embarrassment as a spouse. However, in the aftermath the queen behaved with such bad judgement that traditional and personal loyalty to the crown weakened. Mary's behaviour may have been affected by porphyria (Hunter & Macalpine 1968, 210–12). Her marriage to Bothwell brought disgrace to the crown and rebellion among the governed. Nineteen royal hosts' loyalty can be determined on 15 June 1567 at Carberry Hill (Donaldson 1983, 81–2). Of them fourteen or 74% were in the party of the Confederate Lords, the



ILLUS 8 Lochleven Castle, home of Sir William Douglas and Scottish prison of the queen

rebels. As Donaldson (*ibid*, 81–5) has pointed out, this was the low ebb of Mary's political fortunes; the rebellion of many previously loyal men in 1567 arose not from animosity to the queen but from envy and dislike of Bothwell. With the queen's imprisonment in Lochleven Castle (illus 8) and her third husband's exile in Denmark, Mary's fortunes revived. On 2 May 1568 she escaped and was safely escorted the next day to the country of her Hamilton allies. With that the civil war began and continued until the fall of Edinburgh Castle in 1573. Of Mary's 82 hosts the positions of 56 can be determined in the war (*ibid*, 83–116). It is an analysis of them that suggests that personal contact may have gained the queen supporters. The majority of the hosts loyally supported Mary. It is informative to note that some of these men had formerly opposed her mother. Perhaps exposure to the queen's charms and the chance to develop a personal relationship with the monarch during her visits had gained Mary friends. Of these men 37 were constant supporters of Mary and another three defected to her party. The King's Party could rely upon the continual adherence of 14 hosts, and two more shifted their allegiance from the Queen's Party. Thus, Mary had the support of 72% of her hosts whose loyalty can be discovered. Meanwhile the regents could only muster 28% of these former royal hosts. It would be too simplistic to suggest that the sole determiner of allegiance in those political crises faced by Mary was whether she had visited a certain person. However, it is another factor in the discussion of allegiances examined in detail by Donaldson, though not considered by him, nor by Fraser. Looking back on the crises of the reign only in the Riccio conspiracy and the campaign leading to Carberry Hill do we find royal hosts heavily engaged against the queen. Otherwise they were loyal and, more to the point in an age heavily influenced by sectarian strife, zealous Protestants stood by a Papist queen.

Hopefully this article and its accompanying appendix (fiche 1: C3) will provide new insights into the importance of the Scottish travels of Mary Queen of Scots. Often her frequent trips through her kingdom were related to state business or political crises. Nevertheless even the progresses and vacations of the queen had political implications as they provided opportunities for personal contact between the queen and the ruling classes of Scotland.

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