

CHAP. III.

1559 - 1561.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>England.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Portugal.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Popes.</i>
Elizabeth.	Francis II. Charles IX.	Philip II.	Sebastian.	Ferdinand I	Paul IV. Pius IV.

THE occupation of the capital by the army of the Congregation, was an event of great importance. It convinced the Queen Regent that all hope of avoiding a civil war was at an end, unless she was prepared to agree to a total alteration of the established religion, —it was equally decisive on the minds of the reformers. In the eye of the law, they had gone too far in resistance to dream of retreat, and considerations of safety urged them to press forward in the work which they had begun. It becomes an interesting inquiry at this moment, what was the exact object which they proposed to themselves, and fortunately we have their own evidence upon the subject. In an original letter from Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, one of the ablest leaders of the Protestants, written to Sir Henry Percy the day after they entered Edinburgh, he thus speaks, “I received your

letter this last of June, perceiving thereby the doubt and suspicion you stand in for the coming forward of the Congregation, whom I assure you, you need not to have in suspicion, for they mean nothing but reformation of religion, which shortly throughout the realm they will bring to pass, for the Queen and Monsieur D'Osell, with all the Frenchmen, for refuge are retired to Dunbar. The foresaid Congregation came this last of June, by three of the clock to Edinburgh, where they will take order for the maintenance of the true religion and resisting of the King of France, if he sends any force against them.* * The manner of their proceeding in reformation, is this: they pull down all manner of Friaries, and some Abbeys, which willingly receive not the Reformation. As to parish churches, they cleanse them of images and all other monuments of idolatry, and command that no masses be said in them—in place thereof, the Book set forth by godly King Edward is read in the same churches. They have never as yet meddled with a pennyworth of that which pertains to the Church, but presently they will take order throughout all the parts where they dwell, that all the fruits of the abbeys and other churches shall be kept and bestowed upon the faithful ministers, until such time as a further order be taken. Some suppose the Queen, seeing no other remedy, will follow their desires, which is a general reformation throughout the whole realm, conform to the pure word of God, and the Frenchmen to be sent away. If her Grace will do so, they will obey her, and serve her, and annex the

whole revenues of the abbeys to the Crown; if her Grace will not be content with this, they are determined to hear of no agreement.”¹

At the same time that Kirkaldy directed this letter to Percy, with the object of explaining their real intentions, and quieting his fears regarding any hostile designs upon England, Knox addressed the English knight in the name of the whole Congregation. He intreated, that through them a correspondence might be opened betwixt the faithful in both realms. “The troubles of this realm,” says he, “you hear, but the cause to many is not known. Persuade yourself, and assure others, that we mean neither sedition neither yet rebellion against any just and lawful authority, but only the advancement of Christ’s religion, and the liberty of this poor realm. If we can have the one with the other, it will fare better with England; which if we lack, although we mourn and smart, England will not escape without worse trouble.”² Soon after this Kirkaldy had a private meeting with Percy at Norham. The interview took place with the concurrence and under the directions of Cecil, and the Scottish Baron having explained more fully the intentions of the Protestants, returned to them with the grateful intelligence that England was disposed to favour their views, and to enter into a league with

¹ MS. Letter, State P. Off., Sir William Kirkaldy to Sir Henry Percy, backed by Cecil. Edinburgh, 1st July, 1559. Also, Cecil to Throgmorton—Forbes, vol. i. p. 155, and Lingard, vol. vii. p. 311.

² MS. Letter, State P. Off. Knox to Sir Henry Percy, Edinburgh, 1st July, 1559.

them, for the attainment of their designs. The news was received with much exultation, and Grange, in a letter addressed to the English secretary, declares that "all Europe shall know that a league made in the name of God hath another foundation and assurance, than pactions made by man for worldly commodity."¹

There is every reason to believe that these letters contain an honest statement of the views of the Congregation. The establishment of the reformed religion in opposition to the Romish faith, the expulsion of the French troops from Scotland, and the conclusion of a league, offensive and defensive, with Elizabeth, were the great objects which they proposed to themselves. Nor, although they had agreed and acted upon the necessity of pulling down all religious houses which adhered to the ancient faith, were they as deeply inimical to prelacy at this moment as they became not long after. They used the Service-book of King Edward the Sixth,² an extraordinary circumstance when we consider the violent opposition raised by Knox against this same form of Liturgy, only a few years before, at Frankfort. Their hands were clean from any appropriation of ecclesiastical property, and on condition that the Regent gave her consent to a

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Office. Sir William Kirkaldy to Cecil. Edin. 17th July, 1559. Also, St. P. Off. Knox to Cecil, 12th July, 1559. Edin.

² This important fact, which is now set at rest, has been much disputed, and some able writers have come to a contrary conclusion.

general reformation, they were ready to annex the whole of the abbey lands to the Crown, to be employed in the support of the faithful ministers of the Church. Their great fear was the arrival of a new army from France; they knew the warlike levies which in that country were preparing against them; they dreaded the desertion of some amongst themselves, whose poverty exposed them to corruption;¹ and they were so well aware of the extreme caution and parsimony which marked the policy of Elizabeth, that they could not look with much confidence to her assistance, either in men or money.

Still they did not despair. The people were in their favour, the most powerful amongst the barons had espoused their cause, and Cecil's politics, though timid, were decidedly opposed to the establishment of anything like a permanent French influence in Scotland.

The Congregation, however, had a formidable enemy in the Queen Regent. Could she but temporise and procure delay, she reckoned with confidence on the arrival of a large auxiliary force from France, and former experience had shown, that against this the irregular feudal infantry which the Scottish barons brought into the field, was unable to contend for any length of time. She spread reports that her adversaries contemplated not only an alteration of the established religion, but a more daring change: that their great leader, the Lord

¹ MS. Letter, S. P. Off. Sir William Kirkaldy to Cecil, 17th July, 1559. Edin.

James, aspired to the Crown, and that under pretence of religious reformation, they sought to overturn the existing government.¹ A proclamation to this effect was made in the name of Francis and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland:—It arraigned the Protestants of sedition—accused them of having seized the irons of the Mint, and of maintaining a correspondence with England—and commanded all, under pain of treason, to depart from the capital, which they had violently entered. It declared at the same time, that the Regent had already offered to call a parliament, in which, by the advice of the estates of the realm, a universal order in religion should be established, and in the meantime had given a full liberty of conscience to her subjects.

These representations produced a considerable effect. The Duke of Chastelherault fell off from the Congregation—others grew lukewarm in the cause, and the leaders trembled for the overthrow of their party. In a letter to the Queen they repudiated with indignation the charge of rebellion—declared they would, in civil matters, conduct themselves as obedient subjects, and professed their sole object to be the promotion of God's glory, the defence of their preachers, and the destruction of idolatry.²

An attempt was soon after made to compose matters by negotiation, and Commissioners from both sides met at Preston in Midlothian, but the Regent insisted not only that she should have the free exer-

¹Keith, p. 95.

² Ibid. p. 95.

cise of her mass, but that wherever she came, the Protestant preachers should be silent. To the last condition, which they justly contended would leave them without a church at all, it was impossible for the Lords of the Congregation to agree; yet fearful of coming to extremities, they prolonged the conferences, and evinced an earnest desire for peace. This, however, did not prevent them from sending a letter to Queen Elizabeth, and at the same moment a more impassioned epistle to Cecil. This crafty Minister had comforted them by promises of assistance, should they be invaded by any foreign power, and had requested them to explain fully the purposes for which they had taken arms. "Our whole purpose," say they in reply, "is, as knoweth God, to advance the glory of Christ Jesus, and the true preaching of his Evangile within this realm—to remove superstition and all sorts of external idolatry—to bridle to our power the fury of those that have cruelly shed the blood of our brethren, and to our uttermost to maintain the liberty of this our country from the tyranny and thralldom of strangers."¹ The Minister of Elizabeth, however, had pressed them upon a delicate point—the allegation of the Queen Regent that they intended not only a change of religion but of government. Their reply is remarkable. "True it is," they observe, "that as yet we have made no mention

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. in the handwriting of Knox, signed by Argyle, Glencairn, the Lord James, Ruthven, Boyd, and Ochiltree. Edin. 19th July, 1559. Addressed to Sir William Cecil.

of any change in authority, neither yet hath any such thing entered in our hearts, except that extreme necessity compel us thereto. But perceiving that France, the Queen Regent here, together with her priests and Frenchmen, pretend nothing else but the suppressing of Christ's Evangile, the maintenance of idolatry, the ruin of us, and the utter subversion of this poor realm, we are fully purposed to seek the next remedy—to withstand their tyranny, in which matter we unfeignedly require your faithful counsel and furtherance at the Queen and Council's hands, for our assistance."¹ Along with these letters, Knox addressed an apologetic epistle to Elizabeth, in which he declared that her displeasure conceived against him was a burden so grievous and intolerable, that, but for the testimony of a clean conscience, he would have sunk in desperation.

It did not suit the policy of Cecil, in the uncertain state of the contest between the reformers and the Romish party, to grant them immediate assistance, still less did he wish to see them put down, and peace established; and with this object of delay he directed a remarkable letter to the Congregation, in which he incited them to continue the struggle, and to weaken their principal enemies, the Popish clergy, by despoiling them of their riches. "Ye know," said he, "your chief adversaries, the Popish kirkmen, be noted wise in their generation, they be rich also,

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., in the handwriting of Knox, signed by Argyle, Glencairn, the Lord James, Ruthven, Boyd, and Ochiltree. Edin. 19th July, 1559. Addressed to Sir William Cecil.

whereby they make many friends, by their wit with false persuasions, by their riches with corruption. As long as they feel no sharpness, they be bold; but if they be once touched with fear, they be the greatest cowards. In our first reformation here in King Henry the Eighth his time, although in some points there was oversight for the help of the ministry and the poor; yet if the prelacy had been left in their pomp and wealth, the victory had been theirs. I like no spoil, but I allow to have good things put to good uses, as to the enriching of the Crown, the help to the youth and the nobility, the maintenance of ministry in the Church, of learning in schools, and to relieve the poor members of Christ, being in body and limbs impotent. * * But ye may say there is now no season to write of this. The present time requireth defence of yourselves. True it is—and this that I mentioned not impertinent thereto, and to me the more marvel,—that ye omit also such opportunity to help yourselves. Will ye hear of a strange army coming by seas to invade you, and seek help against the same, and yet permit your adversaries, whom ye may expel, to keep the landing and strength for others? Which of these two is easiest, to weaken one neighbour first, or three afterwards? * * What will be the end, when these be the beginnings? Will they favour you in Scotland, that burn their own daily in France? What may the Duke's Grace there look for, when his eldest son was so persecuted, as to save his life he was forced to flee France, and go to Geneva, not without great difficulty; his se-

cond brother, the Lord David, now cruelly imprisoned by Mons. Chevigny, one chosen out to show cruelty to your nation; divers Scots of the Earl's family put to torture, and finally all the Duchy of Chastelherault seised to the crown. And to show you their purposed tragedy, the young Queen so sweareth, so voweth, so threateneth, to destroy all the house of Hamiltons, as it is beyond all marvel to see your old Regent there so enchant the Duke's ears, as to hear nothing hereof. God open his heart according to his knowledge." In the end, Cecil assured them, that although the peace so lately concluded with France made it a matter of difficulty to decide how they were to be assisted, yet that Elizabeth could not but favour their purposes, and would neither neglect them nor see them quail.¹

Before this letter could arrive, conceived in too general terms to afford them any great encouragement, the Regent, animated by the accounts she received of the daily desertions in the army of her opponents, advanced from Dunbar towards Edinburgh; the Lords of the Congregation found themselves too weak to defend the capital, and a truce was concluded between the two parties till the 10th of January. The reformers agreed to evacuate the town, deliver up the Mint, obey the Regent, and

¹ MS. St. P. Off. Original Draft in Cecil's handwriting, much erased and interlineated.—Backed "Copy of my Letter to the Earls of Argile, Glencairn, Prior of St. Andrew's, Lords Boyd and Ochiltree, 28th July, 1559. See also Knox's History, pp. 225, 226, 227, 228.

abstain from all molestation of churchmen, or destruction of religious houses. The Regent, for her part, permitted to the citizens of Edinburgh the free choice of their religion, gave full liberty of speech to the preachers, and promised that no persons should be molested, either in their persons or estate, on account of their faith. It was lastly stipulated, that no men-of-war, either French or Scots, should be placed in garrison within the town.¹

Such were the conditions agreed on and signed by the Duke, the Earl of Huntly, and D'Osell, to whom the negotiation was entrusted by both parties. It is asserted, however, by Knox,² that these were not the articles to which the brethren consented, and before leaving the town they issued a proclamation, in which they craftily omitted every thing which would have been prejudicial to their own party, and added some conditions not to be found in the written appointment.³

On neither side was this convention expected to lead to any permanent pacification. The Regent was now in daily hopes of having speedy succour from France. Her representations of the state of Scotland had produced a strong sensation in that country; and Sir James Melvil, who had been brought up from early youth in the service of the constable Montmorency, was sent from Paris on a secret mis-

¹ Keith, p. 99.

² Knox 166.

³ Keith, p. 99. Knox, p. 156. And MS. Proclamation, St. P. Off. backed by Cecil, 25th July. Proclamation of the Congregation.

sion into that country, to examine the state of parties, and ascertain whether the accusation of the Regent, that the Lord James aimed at the crown had any foundation in fact. Melvil was, probably, from his connexion with the constable, predisposed to favour the cause of the Congregation, and the manner in which he executed his commission argues either extreme simplicity, or a predetermination not to seek the truth. On his arrival repairing to the Lord James he interrogated him whether he meditated any designs against the throne; and being assured by this able leader that nothing could be farther from his intention; his desire, and that of his associates, being only to obtain liberty of conscience, the ambassador returned through England into France perfectly satisfied upon the subject.¹ That Murray at this moment encouraged any such daring project may be doubted, but certainly he was not likely to criminate himself upon so serious an accusation.

The death of Henry the Second of France took place during this mission, and on his return to France Melvil found the Guises triumphant, and nothing but threats of war and vengeance against the party of the Congregation in Scotland. Nor could this change of views remain for any time a secret in that country, or in the Court of Elizabeth. The Protestant faction in France kept up an intimate and constant

¹ Melvil's Memoirs. Bannat. Edin., pp. 81, 82. Melvil arrived when the army was arrayed in order of battle on Cowper Moor. This was on the 12th of June, 1559. See Keith, p. 91.

correspondence with their brethren in Scotland. Cecil, by his secret agents, was fully informed of the intrigues of the French Cabinet, and both were prepared to watch and to resist, when necessary, the meditated designs, not only against the reformed opinions, but against England itself. Previous to their leaving the capital, in conformity to the late convention, the brethren proclaimed by sound of trumpet the conditions which they had accepted, and added, that if any of these should be violated, the leaders of the party would assist their friends as they had already done, with their whole power, and zealously contend for the glory of God, and the relief and defence of every member of the true Congregation¹ (25th July, 1559).

From Edinburgh, the chiefs of the Protestants retired to Stirling, where, dreading the craft of their adversaries, who had endeavoured to sow jealousies amongst them, they entered into a new bond (August 1st, 1559), by which they engaged that none of them should receive any message from the Regent, without imparting it to the rest, and holding a consultation on the proposals it conveyed.² From the same city Knox was despatched to Berwick, where he had a secret interview with Sir James Crofts, the governor. It appears from the original instructions committed to this indefatigable

¹ MS. St. P. Off. Proclamation of the Congregation, Edin. 25th July, 1559. It is backed by Cecil in his own handwriting, dated 31st July, 1559.

² Keith, pp. 100, 101.

Minister, that his mission was almost warlike. He proposed to seize and garrison Stirling, provided the English would send money for the payment of the troops, describing it as "the key and principal place" which might separate the northern part of the kingdom from the south. He represented that some assistance by sea would be required for the safety of Dundee and Perth, and suggested the fortification of Broughty Craig, to which work the barons in its neighbourhood, who were zealous for the Reformation, would give every assistance. He pointed out the necessity of the fort of Aymouth being seized by England, to prevent its occupation by the French, and he required the Queen's Majesty to influence the Kers, Homes, and other borderers, in favour of the reformers. Under the term "comfortable support," which the Congregation looked for from Elizabeth, he explained, that not only soldiers must be sent, and men and ships be ready to assist them if assaulted, but "that some respect must be had to some of the nobility, who were not able to sustain such households as now, in the beginning of these troubles were requisite,—the practice of the Queen Regent being to stir up enemies against every nobleman, even in the parts where he remaineth." In plainer terms, the Scottish nobility who had joined the cause of the Congregation, were anxious, like their predecessors under Henry the Eighth, to receive pensions from England. On such conditions, the reformers, he declared, were ready to enter into a strict and solemn league with Elizabeth, to bind

themselves to be enemies to enemies, and friends to friends, and never to agree with France without the consent of that princess; he lastly observed, that although the league was as yet only proposed to the Privy Council of Scotland, so anxiously was it desired by the whole barons, that they accused the Council of negligence for having so long delayed it.¹

In this mission, Knox, who was accompanied by Alexander Whitelaw, a zealous adherent of the party, incurred considerable personal risk, their little convoy having been furiously attacked by the French garrison of Dunbar. He returned however, to Stirling in safety, but mortified by the cold and dilatory policy of Elizabeth, who, whilst she avoided giving them immediate assistance, did not scruple to throw suspicion upon their motives, and to act with an inconsistency and mystery, which put them at fault. She addressed a letter to the Queen Dowager, full of the most earnest wishes for the preservation of peace between the two countries; yet she accused the leaders of the Congregation of lukewarmness and inactivity in not rising against her authority, expressing her astonishment that they had not more vigo-

¹ MS. Instructions, St. P. Off. 31 July 1559. These Articles and Instructions appear to be a copy from the original left by Knox with Sir James Crofts, to be shown to Sir Henry Percy, whom he had no time to see; and to Cecil, to whom he thought it superfluous to write, having, as he says, opened the whole case to Sir J. Crofts. They have never been printed, and throw much light upon a period which, in Knox's own history, former historians have found perplexed and obscure.

rously exerted themselves for the great objects they had in view. It was her desire, as far as we can discover it, to incite them to revolt against the established government, but herself to incur no expense or risk. In her instructions to Sir Ralph Sadler, whom at this time (8th Aug. 1559) she determined to send on a mission into Scotland, he was directed to "nourish the faction betwixt the Scots and the French, so that the French may be better occupied with them, and less busy with England. Whilst he was to explore the very truth, whether the Lord James did mean any enterprise towards the Crown of Scotland for himself, or not."¹

These strange delays and suspicions irritated the reformers; and their leaders, the Lord James and the Earl of Argyle, addressed letters of remonstrance to Crofts, governor of Berwick, and to Cecil, in which they complained of the treatment they had experienced. To be judged slow, negligent, and cold in their proceedings, gave them, they declared, great distress. "Ye are not ignorant, Sir," said they, addressing Crofts, "how difficult it is to persuade a multitude to the revolt of an authority established. The last time that we were pursued, our enemies were in number thrice more than we, besides that the Castle of Edinburgh declared plain enemy to us at our uttermost necessity, which was one cause of our appointment * *. Our strength, substance, and

¹ MS. Instructions, St. P. Offi. 8th. Aug. 1559. Backed in Cecil's hand, Sir Ralf Sadler.

number being considered, we mean nothing but plain simplicity, and a brotherly conjunction without long delay, for we hate all doubles.”¹ In terms equally strong, Knox, in a letter sent at the same time (6th Aug. 1559) to Sir James Crofts, arraigned the delay and suspicions of the English Privy Council. “I must signify to you,” said he, “that unless the Council be more forward in this common action, ye will utterly discourage the hearts of all here, for they cannot abide the crime of suspicion; they will not trifle, but if they cannot have present support of them, they will seek the next remedy (not that I mean that ever they intend to return to France) to preserve their own bodies, whatsoever become of the country which our enemies may easily occupy, and when they have so done, make your account what may ensue towards yourself.”²

It was the policy of Elizabeth at this time, to distress France, through Scotland. The establishment of the Reformation, according to the model dictated by the stern anti-prelatical opinions of Knox, was not the aim to which she directed her efforts; she hated the man,³ and considered the book which he had written against female government, an audacious and inexpiable offence; no concessions or

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Offi. backed by Cecil, Earl of Argile and Prior of St. Andrew's, to Sir James Crofts, 6th Aug. 1559, Stirling. It is signed by both Argile and Murray, but the body of the letter is in the hand-writing of Knox.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Offi. Knox to Sir J. Crofts. 6th Aug. 1559.

³ Sadler, vol. i. pp. 569, 570. Also *ibid.* 532, 535.

explanations could disarm her resentment; she forbade him to set foot within her dominions; and to his repeated applications, that he might be permitted to preach in the north of England, Cecil, her Minister, was compelled to turn a deaf ear. Nor is this any matter of wonder, when we consider that the individual attachments of this Princess were strongly on the side of Romanism, and that Knox considered the Reformation in England as scarcely one remove from Popery. But although lukewarm in the cause of the Reformation, and desirous of peace with France, she was well aware of the gigantic schemes of ambition, conceived by the House of Guise. Her jealousy had been roused to the last degree by the attack upon her right to the throne and assumption of her arms and title, which had been early made by the Queen of Scots, and she dreaded the effect which the establishment of French influence and the overthrow of the party of the Congregation, must produce upon the great body of her Romish subjects in England and Ireland.

Under these circumstances, without actually breaking with France, she encouraged the Protestants to revolt against the authority of the Queen Dowager, and in reply to their repeated applications for money, Cecil hinted in his letters, as we have already seen, that they ought not to neglect the opportunity now afforded them, to strip the Romish Church of its pomp and wealth, and apply "good things to good uses."¹ It is important to attend

¹ MS. Letter St. P. Offi. quoted above (p. 144) 28 July, 1559.

to the reply made by the Lord James and Argyle, (in name of the rest of the brethren) to such advice. "We are not ignorant" they said "that our enemies, the Popish kirkmen, are crafty, rich, malicious, and bloodthirsty, and most gladly would we have their riches otherwise bestowed. But, consider, Sir, that we have against us the established authority, which did ever favour you and Denmark both, in all your reformations, and therefore, that without support, we cannot bring them to such obedience as we desire. The danger imminent by the army prepared against us in France, moved us first to seek your support, and after to send our other messenger, Maister Knox, with fuller instructions to Sir James Crofts, which we suppose ye have received * * *.¹ We have tempted the Duke by all means possible, but as yet of him have no certainty other than a general promise that he will not be our enemy. * * * We cease not to provoke all men to favour our cause, and of our nobility we have established a Council, but suddenly to discharge this authority till that ye and we be fully accorded, it is not thought expedient."²

From this avowal it is evident that the intentions of the Congregation had undergone a material alteration. Some little time before (19th July, 1559,) they had declared in their letter to Cecil, that any altera-

¹ This alludes to the instructions quoted above in p. 149, dated 31st July, 1559. MS. St. P. Offi.

² MS. St. P. Offi. 13th Aug. 1559, Glasgow. Subscribed your loving and assured friends, in the name of the rest.

tion in authority, by which we must understand a revolt against the Queen Dowager for the purpose of introducing a change in the civil government of the country, had not entered into their hearts, unless extreme necessity compelled them to it, their single purpose being to advance the glory of Christ, to remove superstition and idolatry, and to maintain the liberty of their country against the tyranny of strangers; the remonstrances and encouragement of Elizabeth, had now effected an important change. They had earnestly laboured to seduce the Duke of Chastelherault from his allegiance, with a view, probably, of restoring him to the Regency—they had established a Council, and only waited a full agreement with England to depose the Queen Dowager from her authority, and substitute some more favoured individual of their own party in her stead.

Who this should be was a question which did not fail to present itself to the English Court, and Elizabeth seems to have looked to two noble persons. The first was the Earl of Arran, eldest son to the Duke of Chastelherault, next heir to the Crown after the young Queen, and lately Captain of the Scottish Guard in France. Having embraced the opinions of the reformers, and engaged in intrigues with England, he had become an object of suspicion to the French government, which had stript him of his preferments, and was about to throw him into prison when he escaped to Geneva. It had early occurred to Cecil that the presence of this young nobleman in Scotland would be useful as a check on the influ-

ence of the Queen Dowager. Letters were, therefore, sent to recal him home, and every means taken to persuade his father, to resist the Regent. In Elizabeth's instructions to Sir Ralph Sadler, when she was about to send him into that country (8th August, 1559,) this Minister was directed to exhort the Duke for "preservation of the expectant interest which he hath to the Crown, if God call the young Queen before she have issue, to withstand (resist) the governance of that realm by any other than the blood of Scotland." He was directed to quote the late example of the King of Spain, who, although husband to the Queen of England, committed no charge of any manner of office, spiritual or temporal to a stranger—and of his father Charles the Fifth, who governed his countries of Flanders and Brabant by their own nation, and to warn Arran that the French, under pretence of putting down the Reformation would never be satisfied till they had subjugated the realm, and utterly extirpated his house.¹ Neither the Duke, however, nor his son the Earl of Arran, possessed abilities sufficient for the high and difficult part thus allotted to them. Chastelherault, timid, irresolute, and indolent, was content to be neutral, and coveted repose. On the other hand, Arran, his son, was willing enough to engage in any schemes which promised advantage to himself, and his ambition even aspired so high as to a marriage with the

¹ MS. Instructions. St. P. Off. 8th Aug. 1559. Backed in Cecil's hand, Sir Ralf Sadler. Memorial of things to be imparted to the Queen's Majesty.

English Queen, but the vigour, ability, and self-command, requisite in the leader of a party were completely wanting in this young nobleman; vain, passionate, and capricious, his designs were adopted without consideration, and, upon the first appearance of difficulty, abandoned with precipitation and disgust. All this weakness, however, was not yet discovered, and for the present he was employed and flattered with the hopes of advancement.

But Elizabeth, and still more, her able Minister Cecil, had their eye upon another and a very different person, the Lord James, natural son of James the Fifth, and regarded even at this time, when he had not completed his twenty-sixth year,¹ as the most influential man in the Congregation. There is every reason to believe that his attachment to the principles of the Reformation was sincere, and that at first he proposed no other end in taking so prominent a lead than to procure liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of his religion for himself and his adherents. But personal ambition and the love of power were deeply planted in Murray's character—his mind was one of no ordinary cast, and when he began to busy himself in public life, a very short period sufficed to make him feel his talents, and take pleasure in the eminence they conferred upon him. Educated for the Church, first in his own country, and afterwards at the schools in France, he acquired habits of study, and a cultivation

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Randolph to Killigrew. April, 1560. Backed by Cecil.

of mind superior to the barons by whom he was surrounded. He had early attached to himself some of those able and unscrupulous men, who at this time were to be found in the professions of the law, or in the Church—men who combined the craft and intrigue of civilised life, with the ferocity of a still feudal age; but whilst he used their assistance, his own powers of application were so great, as scarcely to require it; his acquaintance with European politics, superior to most of those with whom he acted, enabled him to transact business, and conduct his correspondence with uncommon clearness, brevity and precision; his knowledge of human nature was profound, he possessed that rapid intuitive insight into the dispositions of those with whom he acted, which taught him to select with readiness, and to employ with success, those best calculated to carry forward his designs, and it was his peculiar art to appear to do nothing, whilst, in truth, he did all. There was a bluntness, openness and honesty about his manner, which disarmed suspicion and disposed men to unbosom themselves to him with equal readiness and sincerity; yet when the conference was ended, they were often surprised to find that the confidence had been altogether on one side—they had revealed their own purposes, and Murray, with all his apparent frankness, had betrayed none of his secrets. There is perhaps no kind of man more dangerous in public life, than he who conceals matured purposes, under a negligent and careless exterior: if to this we add, that his talents in war were of a superior order

—that he was brave, almost to rashness, that his address was dignified, and his countenance noble and kingly, we shall be at no loss to comprehend the extraordinary influence which he had acquired, not only over his own party, but in England and on the continent.

It had begun to be whispered in France, as we have seen, and at the English Court, that Murray aimed secretly at the Crown. When Cecil drew up his instructions for Sir Ralph Sadler, he was directed to investigate whether the Lord James, whose power with the Congregation appeared to be daily on the increase, did really look so high, and it was added, “if he do, and the Duke be found very cold in his own causes, it shall not be amiss to let him follow his own device therein, without dissuading or persuading him anything therein.”¹ A letter written a few days after this by Knox to Sir Wm. Cecil, describes the condition of the reformed party, and their anxiety for assistance from England, in strong terms. “The case of these gentlemen standeth thus, that unless without delay money be furnished to pay their soldiers, who in number are now but five hundred, for their service by past, and to retain another thousand footmen, with three hundred horsemen for a time, they will be compelled every man to seek the next way for his own safety. I am assured (as flesh may be of flesh) that some of them will take a very hard life before that ever they compone either with the Queen

² MS St. P. Off., 8th August 1559. Backed by Cecil, Sir Ralf Saddler.

Regent, or with France, but this I dare not promise of all, unless in you they see greater forwardness to their support. To aid us so liberally as we require, to some of you will appear excessive, and to displease France, to many, will appear dangerous; but, Sir, I hope that ye consider that our destruction were your greatest loss, and that when France shall be our full master (which God avert) they will be but slender friends to you. Lord Bettancourt bragged in his credit after he had delivered his menacing letter to the Prior, that the King and his Council would spend the Crown of France, unless they had our full obedience, I am assured, that unless they had a farther respect, they would not buy our poverty at that price. They labour to corrupt some of our great men with money, and some of our number are so poor, as before I wrote, that without support they cannot serve. Some they threaten, and against others they have raised up a party in their own country. In this meantime, if you ly as manacled, what will be the end you may easily conclude. Some of the Council immediately after the sight of your letters, departed, not well appeased. The Earl of Argile is gone to his country for putting order to the same, and mindeth shortly to return with his force, if assurance be had of your support, and likewise will the gentlemen in these lower parts put themselves in readiness to enterprise the uttermost, if ye will assist with them, and therefore in the bowels of Christ Jesus, I require you, Sir, to make plain answer what they may lippen (trust) to, and at what time their support shall be in readiness.

Some danger is in the drift of time, in such matters ye are not ignorant. It was much marvelled that the Queen's Maj. wrote no manner of answer, considering that her good Father, the most noble and most redoubted of his time, disdained not, lovingly, to write to men fewer in number and far inferior in authority and power, than be those that wrote to her Grace."¹

These strong representations had the desired effect. Sir Ralph Sadler was sent to Berwick for the purpose of managing the correspondence between the reformers and the English Court (20 August, 1559). He assured them of immediate pecuniary assistance, and carried with him three thousand pounds,² which Elizabeth directed to be applied with such secrecy and discretion, as not to impair the treaties of peace lately concluded with Scotland.³ On his arrival, he found a messenger from Knox, by whom he was assured, that if the Queen would furnish them with money to pay a body of fifteen hundred arquebuses, and three hundred horse, they would soon not

¹ Original MS. Letter, St. P. Off., St. Andrew's, 15th August, 1559, backed in Cecil's hand, Mr. Knox. I have gone into greater length in this part of the History, which involves the causes and motives connected with the early annals of the Reformation, because many of the letters which I have given, were unknown to Dr. M'Crie, others have been printed in his *Life of Knox*, but incorrectly, with many passages omitted, (owing to his not having had the originals before him), and the period, one of great importance, has been far too slightly treated by our general historians.

² As to the mode in which the money was to be advanced to the Protestants, see Sadler, vol. i. p. 439.

³ Sadler's St. P. by Scott, vol. i. pp. 392, 399.

only expel the French from Scotland, but achieve their whole purpose.¹ Some little time after this (8th September), Balnevis, a zealous adherent of the Congregation and an intimate friend of Knox, repaired privately to Berwick, where he held a long consultation with Sir Ralph Sadler, and fully explained the views of the Protestants. He assured them that the breach between them and the Queen Regent was now incurable; that having advanced so far in their resistance, they must go forward with the matter or lose their lives; that whatever pretence they made, the principal mark they shot at was to introduce an alteration of the state, and authority, to depose the Regent, place the supreme power in the hands of the Duke or his son, the Earl of Arran, and then enter into open treaty with England according to the exigency of the case. So well satisfied was Sadler with the representations of this zealous partizan, that he paid him two thousand pounds, to be delivered to the leaders of the Congregation for the maintenance of their troops, and assured him that some steps should be taken for the relief of Kirkaldy, Ormeston, Whitelaw, and others. These men, it appears, were in distress, owing to the sums they had already spent in this service, and to their pensions from France having been stopped since they had taken part with the Congregation.²

It happened by a singular coincidence, that whilst

¹ Ibid. p. 400.

² Sadler, vol. i. pp. 434, 435. Arrival of the French—Sadler, vol. i. p. 403—411. Keith, pp. 101, 102.

these schemes for the advancement of Arran formed the subject of a midnight conference in the castle of Berwick, that young Earl himself alighted at the gate, only three hours after the entrance of Balnevis, but all was managed so secretly, that both were for some time under the same roof without being aware of the circumstance. It was judged right, however, that they should meet, and after a brief but joyful interview, Balnevis departed, under cover of night, to Holy Island; from which, carrying the money with him, he arrived at the head-quarters of the Congregation. Arran, having disguised himself, assumed the name of Monsieur de Beaufort, and passed into Teviotdale, from whence he was conducted to his father in the castle of Hamilton.¹ Yet all this was transacted, according to the express directions of Cecil, with such secrecy, that for sometime it was unknown he was in Scotland. (16th September, 1559.)²

This assistance from Elizabeth came very opportunely to enable the Congregation to resist the decided measures of France and the Queen Regent. In the beginning of August, the Sieur de Bettancourt had arrived from the French Court. He assured the Queen that an army, commanded by her brother the Marquess D'Elbeuf, would speedily embark for Scotland. He brought letters from the King and Queen of France to the Lord James, whom they regarded as the chief leader of the Protestants

¹ Sadler, vol. i. pp. 435, 450, 461.

² For Arran's arrival, see Sadler, vol. i. p. 447.

They reminded him of the benefits he had received from France, upbraided him with his ingratitude, and threatened him with absolute ruin if he persisted in his rebellious courses. To these accusations Murray directed a temperate, though an insincere reply. He professed himself to be solely actuated by a zeal for the truth and the glory of God; and he declared for himself and the rest of the Congregation, that, except upon the subject of religion, they would be faithful to their sovereign, and detested the crime of sedition.¹

Preparations for war now rapidly advanced. In the end of August a force of a thousand men, under the command of an Italian officer named Octavian, had disembarked at Leith, and with these the Queen Dowager began to entrench and fortify that port. She despatched their leader back to France, with an earnest request for a larger reinforcement. She warned the French Court that her adversaries were in active correspondence with England, Germany, and Denmark; stated the necessity for immediate activity, before they were allowed to concentrate their strength; and assured them, that with four ships of war to cruise in the Firth, an additional thousand men and a hundred barbed horse, she would undertake to reduce the kingdom to peace.² This, however, was not so easily effected. The people had been long dissatisfied with the French troops, whose stay in Scotland was expensive and troublesome.

¹ Knox, p. 161. Spottiswood, p. 131.

² Keith, p. 102.

The partiality of the Regent to her own nation had excited disgust; the reformed preachers perambulated the country, and in their discourses won the people to their devotion, not only on the great subject of religion, but so eloquently declaimed against the alleged conspiracy of the Regent for the subjugation of the realm under a foreign yoke, that the arrival of a new auxiliary force was viewed with the utmost jealousy and aversion.¹ A more pacific mission, indeed, succeeded this warlike demonstration, consisting of the Bishop of Amiens and two learned doctors of the Sorbonne; but although this foreign prelate came as legate-a-latere from the Pope, and his companions earnestly laboured to reconcile the reformers to the ancient faith, their united efforts to “purge the church and the people from heretical pollutions” were unavailing. Nor was the Legate completely a messenger of peace; for along with him came La Brosse, a French officer, two hundred men,² and a company of eighty horse.³

Both sides now resolved on war; and on the arrival of Arran, a secret consultation having been held at Hamilton with the principal leaders of the Congregation,⁴ the Duke, who had hitherto been neutral,

¹ Calig. B. X. fol. 38. MS. Letter, Henry Balnevis to Sir R. Sadler and Sir J. Crofts.—Stirling, 22nd Sep. 1559.

² Sadler, St. P., vol. i. pp. 417, 464, 470, 475.

³ They arrived in three ships on 24th September, 1559. Caligula, B. x. fol. 39. Sadler and Crofts to Cecil. Berwick, Sep. 27, 1559.

⁴ See an important Letter in Mr. Stevenson's Illustrations of the Reign of Mary, p. 73. Arran to Sir William Cecil, 21st September, 1559.

agreed to join their party, and signed those covenants by which they bound themselves to subvert the Romish faith, to overturn the government of the Regent, and to expel the French from the country.¹ A message was then transmitted to the Queen, requiring her to desist from the fortification of Leith; to which she answered with spirit, that it was as lawful for her daughter to strengthen her own seaport without asking leave of the nobility, as for the Duke to build at Hamilton, nor would she stay her proceedings unless compelled by force. This challenge on the part of the reformers was premature and ill-judged. They could not, at the earliest, assemble their whole force before the 15th of October; they were not certain of a second supply of money from England; the Duke, although now one of their party, was timid and irresolute; Argyle was occupied with Maconnell in his own country; and Huntly, although disposed to favour their proceedings, was not yet separated entirely from the Queen Regent. Instead, therefore, of being able to follow up their warlike message by any hostile attack, they contented themselves with the occupation of Broughty Craig, a strong fortified castle in the mouth of the Tay, and granted a commission to Glencairn and Erskine of Dun to recommence their proceedings against the religious houses, by suppressing and purging of idolatry the abbey of Pasley.²

¹ MS. Letter. Caligula, B. x. fol. 38. Henry Balnevis to Sadler and Crofts, 22nd September, 1559.

² Sadler, vol. i. p. 465. Also pp. 500, 507.

Soon after this their cause gained an important accession. Thomas Randall or Randolph, who had become acquainted with the Earl of Arran, at Geneva, at the earnest request of this young nobleman was sent after him into Scotland. What was the particular tie which attached so able and busy an intriguer as Randolph to the fortunes of Arran, does not appear, but Cecil lost no time in seconding his wishes, and the presence of this English agent, who arrived with much secrecy at Hamilton in the end of September,¹ was of essential service in imparting energy and promptitude to the measures of the reformers. But this was not all, Maitland of Lethington, the Secretary to the Queen Regent, a man whose talents as a statesman were of the highest order, and who had long professed himself a friend to the reformed doctrines, now secretly joined their party, and although he openly adhered to the Queen, betrayed her councils and most private affairs to her enemies.

Matters now proceeded with more decision and rapidity.² On the 15th of October, the Congregation assembled their force, it amounted to twelve thousand men, and next day they advanced to Edinburgh which they occupied without resistance, the Regent having retired within the fortifications of Leith. One Council for civil affairs and another for matters of religion was then appointed.³ In the

¹ Sadler, vol. i. p. 474.

² Ibid. p. 498. MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 383.

³ Orig. St. P. Off. Backed by Cecil, 10th Nov. 1559. Intelligence out of Scotland. Also, Caligula, B. x. f. 44, Randolph to Sadler, 25th Oct. 1559.

first were included, the Duke, his son the Earl of Arran, the Earls of Argyle, and Glencairn, the Lord James, with the Lords Ruthven, Boyd, Maxwell, Down, Henry Balnevis, Kirkaldy of Grange, and the Provost of Dundee. The second for religion embraced Knox, Goodman, and the Bishop of Galloway, who had renounced his Romish errors and embraced the principles of the Protestants. They next addressed a letter to the Queen, requiring her instantly to command all foreigners and men-at-arms to depart from the town of Leith, and leave it free and open to the subjects of the realm. She replied, that their letter appeared from its tone rather to come from a prince to his subjects than from subjects to a prince, that it was ridiculous to talk of foreigners making a conquest of the realm, since Frenchmen were naturalized subjects, and Scotland united to France by marriage, and she concluded by commanding the Duke and his company, under pain of treason, to depart from the capital.

The Lord Lion who brought this message from the Queen was requested to await his answer, and the whole Congregation, consisting of the nobles, barons, and burgesses of their faction, assembled in the Tolbooth of the city on the 21st of October.

At this meeting the question of the deposition of the Regent was debated with great solemnity. It was urged by Lord Ruthven, who was chosen president, that since she, who was not their natural born sovereign, but only a Regent, had contemptuously

refused the requests of those who by birth were councillors of the realm, and since her pretences threatened to bring the Commonwealth into bondage, she ought no longer to be permitted to domineer over them. He proposed, therefore, that she should be deposed, and much diversity of opinion having been expressed, they requested the advice of their preachers.

On this delicate subject much thought and discussion had already taken place. We have seen, indeed, that the deprivation of the Queen, and the alteration of the civil government, had been contemplated some time before. Willock spoke first, and having enlarged on the Divine Ordinance of Magistracy, he stated its limitations by the word of God, and quoted the examples of the depositions of Kings which occurred in the Scriptures; he then adverted to the oppression inflicted on them by the Queen Regent, whom he denominated an open and obstinate idolatress. She had refused them justice, she had invaded their liberties, she had prevented the preaching of God's word, and had not scrupled to declare that their country was no longer a free and independent realm, but an appanage of France. Such being her conduct, he could see no reason why they, the born councillors of the realm, should scruple to divest her of all authority amongst them.¹ This judgment was corroborated, though somewhat more guardedly, by Knox. He approved, he said, of the

¹ Keith, pp. 104, 105.

sentiments of his brother, but warned them that no malversation of the Regent ought to withdraw their hearts from the obedience due to their sovereigns, and protested that they ought deeply to examine their own motives. If, he said, the present grave and momentous proceeding originated not from the desire to preserve their Commonwealth, but was dictated by private malice and envy, they need not expect to escape the wrath of God; and lastly, he observed, that upon her repentance and submission to the nobility, they were undoubtedly bound to restore her to the same honours of which she was now deprived.¹ Such being the decision of their ministers the votes of the assembly were individually taken; it was resolved without a dissenting voice, that the Regent should be suspended from her authority, and the act for this purpose was immediately drawn up, and proclaimed publicly to the people. (22nd Oct.) It remained only to communicate it to the Regent, and for this purpose a letter was addressed to her and delivered to the Lion herald. It informed her that they had received her message, and understood from the terms in which it was conceived her determined opposition to the glory of God, the liberty of the realm, and the welfare of the nobles; for saving of which, it continued, we have in our Sovereign Lord and Lady's name suspended your commission, and all administration of the policy your Grace may pretend thereby, being most assuredly persuaded

¹ MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 386, 387, and Caligula, B. x. fol. 42.

that your proceedings are direct contrary to our Sovereign Lord and Lady's will, whom we ever esteem to be for the weal and not for the hurt of this our Commonweal. And, it proceeded, "as your Grace will not acknowledge us, our Sovereign Lord and Lady's true barons, for your subjects and council, no more will we acknowledge you for any Regent or lawful Magistrate unto us. Seeing if any authority ye have by reason of our Sovereign's commission granted unto your Grace, the same for most weighty reasons is worthily suspended by us, by name and authority of our sovereigns, whose council we are, of native birth, in the affairs of this our Commonweal."¹

It must be admitted, that this violent and unprecedented measure, although attempted to be concealed under the name and authority of the Sovereign, was an act of open rebellion—to attempt to justify their proceedings under the allegation that they were born councillors of the realm, was a specious but unsound pretence. Their birth entitled some of them to sit in Parliament, but could never bestow upon them the power to constitute themselves a self-elected council, without the intervention of the royal authority or any meeting of the three estates. Having, however, thus boldly begun, it was judged right to proceed in the same strain; on the 25th a herald was sent to summon all French and Scottish soldiers to leave the town of Leith, within twelve hours; this being disregarded, preparations were made for the assault, and

¹ Keith, p. 105,

scaling ladders were ordered to be prepared in the aisles of the High Church of St. Giles, much to the annoyance of the preachers, who predicted that an enterprise begun in sacrilege, must end in defeat.¹ Nor was it long before these gloomy anticipations were fulfilled. The money given to Balnevis, and a small additional sum brought by Randolph, was now spent—the soldiers of the Congregation clamoured for pay, and breaking into mutiny offered their services to any Romish or Protestant master who would pay them their wages—the army, lately twelve thousand strong, but composed of inferior vassals, who could not remain long in the field, diminished daily; consternation seized the minds of their leaders, and it was evident that without additional assistance their great enterprise was at an end. To comfort them, Elizabeth, at the earnest entreaties of Cecil, forgot her parsimony, and entrusted four thousand pounds to Cockburn, of Ormeston, a zealous adherent of the cause, who undertook the dangerous commission of carrying it to head quarters, but he was waylaid, wounded, and robbed of the whole by the Earl of Bothwell, and the Congregation thrown into extreme distress.² The action was the more treacherous, as Bothwell, afterwards so notorious for his crimes, was at this moment in secret correspondence with the re-

¹ Knox, p. 200. Caligula, B. x. fol. 47. The Scottish Lords to Sir R. Sadler, 6th Nov. 1559.

² Sadler's St. P. pp. 538, 539. MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 393. MS. St. P. Off., Intelligence out of Scotland, 10th Nov. 1559.

formers, and had professed attachment to their cause. To this succeeded another calamity: Haliburton, provost of Dundee, and reputed one of the best military leaders in the country, commanded a party of his townsmen at the siege of Leith, and had planted some great ordnance on an eminence near Holyrood. During the absence of many of the leaders of the Congregation who had gone to the sermon, which lasted till noon, the French attacked the battery, and defeating his party with great loss, pursued them into the streets of the city, where they had the cruelty to slay not only several aged persons who could make no resistance, but to murder a woman in cold blood, with an infant at her breast.¹ On their return to Leith the Queen Regent sitting on the ramparts welcomed her victorious soldiers, and smiled to see them loaded with the homely and multifarious plunder of the houses of her poor citizens. We cannot wonder that the popularity of this Princess was on the wane, yet her affairs continued to prosper, and her enemies divided in opinion and despairing of support, became weakened by desertion and spiritless in their exertion. On the 5th November the French sallied from Leith, with the purpose of intercepting a convoy carrying provisions into Edinburgh. Arran and the Lord James attacked them at the head of a small company, but pushing into difficult ground, they got entangled between the morass of Restalrig and the moat surrounding the park, and falling into confusion,

¹ MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 394.

were defeated with great loss. Haliburton, to whose exertions it was owing that they were not entirely cut to pieces, fell in this action; and although the Lord James and Arran escaped, its consequences were so fatal, that the Congregation abandoned the town at midnight, and retired precipitately, first to Linlithgow and afterwards to Stirling (6th Nov. 1559). The capital had generally been esteemed peculiarly favourable to the reformers, but the late disasters cooled the ardour of many of their proselytes, and they retreated amidst the shouts and insults of a great proportion of the citizens.¹

At this season of trial and distress, the courage and eloquence of Knox wonderfully supported his party. Whilst yet in Edinburgh he had commenced a sermon, (on the 80th Psalm) in which he demonstrated that the felicity of God's people was not to be measured by external appearances, since in the course of their history it had often happened, that his chosen flock suffered more severely than the ignorant and idolatrous heathen; at Stirling, he continued the subject, warned the congregation of their sin in trusting too much to an arm of flesh—reminded them of their humility and holiness, when at the commencement of this great struggle they had only God for their protector, and bade them beware, lest they had more respect to the power and dignity of their leader, the Duke, than to the favour of heaven, and the equity of

¹ MS. Calderwood, pp. 399, 400. Sadler, vol. i. p. 554. MS. Letter St. P. Off., 10th Nov. 1559, Intelligence out of Scotland. Also, MS. St. P. Off., Randolph to Sir J. Crofts, 11th Nov. 1559.

their cause. Passing from this to a personal exhortation, he reproached Chastelherault with his slowness to join the reformers, and pointed out the sin he had committed in giving assistance to their enemies. "I am uncertain" said he, "if my Lord's grace hath unfeignedly repented of his assistance given to the murderers who unjustly pursued us, I am uncertain if he hath repented of the innocent blood of Christ's martyrs, which was shed through his default. But let it be that so he hath done, (as I hear he hath confessed his offence before the Lords and brethren of the Congregation) yet, sure I am that neither he nor his friends did feel before this time the anguish and grief of heart which we felt when their blind fury pursued us—and, therefore, hath God justly permitted both them and us to fall in this confusion—us, because we put our confidence in man—and them, to make them feel how bitter was that cup which they had made others to drink before them; what then remaineth, said he, but that both they and we turn to the Eternal—our God who beateth down to death, that he may raise up again, to leave behind the remembrance of his wondrous deliverance to the praise of his own name, which, if we do unfeignedly, I no more doubt, that this our dolour, confusion, and fear, shall be turned into joy, honour, and boldness, than I doubt that God gave victory to the Israelites over the Benjamites, after they were twice with ignominy repulsed and driven back. Be assured, he concluded, with that fervor of expression and manner which gave weight and entrance to every syllable—this cause, whatever

becomes of us and our mortal carcasses, shall in despite of Satan, prevail in this realm of Scotland. It is the eternal truth of God, and, however for the time oppressed, must in the end be triumphant.¹

Animated by this address, the leaders met in Council, and after prayer by Knox it was resolved instantly to despatch Maitland, of Lethington, to solicit assistance from Elizabeth; at the same time, being unable to keep the field, they determined, till an answer arrived from England to separate into two parties. The Duke, with the Earl of Glencairn, and the Lords Boyd and Ochiltree, remained at Glasgow with their friends, for the comfort and defence of the brethren—Arran, the Lord James, the Earl of Rothes, the Master of Lindsay, and their adherents, continued in Fife,² and it was resolved, that on the 16th December a Convention should be held at Stirling, with the view of deciding upon more active operations.

On the retreat of the Protestants from the capital, the town was immediately occupied by the Queen Regent, but all her attempts to procure possession of the castle were unavailing. Its Governor, Lord Erskine, declared, that as it had been committed to his charge by the Parliament of Scotland,³ nothing but an order of the same great Council, would induce him to surrender it, and although alternately flattered

¹ Knox's History, p. 210.

² MS. Letters St. P. Off., Balnevis to Cecil, 19th Nov. 1559.

³ MS. Letter St. P. O., 10th December, 1559. Alexander Whitelaw to Cecil.

and threatened by both parties, he appears honestly to have kept his resolution. Yet, it was evident that the Regent had gained important ground—her successes imparted confidence to her soldiers, and the news having been carried to France, great preparations were made to send such a force into Scotland, as should at once crush the Congregation and put an end to the war.

But Elizabeth became at length convinced that such a result would weaken the power and endanger the tranquillity of England, nor could the reformers have selected a more able envoy than Maitland of Lethington to confirm her in this idea.¹ He represented to her, in strong terms, the impossibility of their being able to cope with the veteran troops of France, unless she supported them by an open demonstration in their favour, and sent a naval and military force to their assistance. The great difficulty lay in the circumstance that both countries were at peace, and that any active co-operation with the reformed faction would justly be considered as an open declaration of war. Some time before this (25th October, 1559) Knox had suggested to Sir James Crofts, the Governor of Berwick, a crafty political expedient by which a thousand or more men might, without breach of league with France, be sent to their assistance in Scotland.² It was free, he said, for English subjects to serve any nation or prince in war who paid their wages; and if this was questioned,

¹ Sadler, vol. i. p. 565. ² Caligula, B. x. f. 43, dorso. Knox, under the feigned name of Sinclair to Crofts, 25th Oct. 1559.

he recommended that Elizabeth should first send the auxiliaries into Scotland, and then declare them rebels after they had embraced the service of the Congregation.¹ Crofts either was, or affected to be, shocked by such advice at the time,² but on the arrival of Maitland at the English Court, his representations of the desperate condition of the affairs of the Protestants induced Elizabeth and her Council to adopt a line of policy essentially the same as that recommended by the Reformer. It was resolved to enter into a solemn agreement with the leaders of the Congregation, the terms of which were to be discussed in a secret meeting of commissioners from both countries, to be held at Berwick. Preparations, at the same time, were made for the equipment of a fleet, which was to cruise in the Firth; and orders were given to assemble an army, which might cooperate with the reduced forces of the Protestants. This grateful intelligence was brought to the reformers on the 15th of December, by Robert Melvil, who, along with Randolph, had accompanied Lethington to the English Court, and enjoyed the confidence of Elizabeth.³

It is curious to observe the extraordinary circumspection and care used by the English Queen in the steps which she now took. She transmitted to the reformers exact directions regarding the manner in which they were to apply to her for relief. The

¹ Keith, appendix, pp. 39, 40, 41.

² Sadler, vol. i. pp. 523, 524.

³ Sadler, vol. i. p. 647.

Also, Caligula, B. x. 57 MS. Instructions to Winter.

instructions to Lethington when he took his journey to the English Court, were drawn up in strict accordance to a paper sent by Cecil ; and special pains were taken, that in the application which they made, there was no mention of religion. The single ground upon which they entreated succour from England, was the tyranny of France, the evident intention of that kingdom to make a conquest of Scotland, and ultimately to dispossess Elizabeth of the throne.¹ “ Most true it is,” say they, “ that this practice of the French is not attempted only against this kingdom of Scotland, but also against the Crown and kingdom of England and Ireland, for we know most certainly that the French have devised to spread abroad, though most falsely, that our Queen is right heir to England and Ireland, and to notify the same to the world, have in paintings at public jousts in France and other places, this year caused the arms of England, contrary to all right, to be borne quarterly with the arms of Scotland, meaning nothing less than any augmentation to Scotland, but to annex them both perpetually to the Crown of France.”² We have here a strong presumption that Elizabeth was inimical to what she esteemed the ultra-Protestant reformation established in Scotland, nor can it be denied that this transaction presents us with a somewhat mortifying view of the early reformers in this country, when we find, that after all the solemn

¹ Sadler, vol. i. p. 569.

² This sentence is in great part a transcript of the instructions drawn up by Elizabeth. See Sadler, p. 570.

warnings denounced against trusting too exclusively to an arm of flesh, Knox, who then acted as secretary to the Council of the Congregation in the west, and Balnevis, who filled the same situation in the Council established at Glasgow, consented to purchase the co-operation of mere human power, by omitting all allusion to that great cause of religious reformation which they had so repeatedly represented as the paramount object for which they had taken up arms, and were ready to sacrifice their lives.

During the interval occupied by the mission of Lethington to England, neither party was idle. The Queen Dowager eagerly availed herself of the advantages she had gained. She despatched Monsieur de Rubay to remonstrate with Elizabeth against the support which she had given to her rebellious subjects;¹ she occupied the capital, and afterwards carried the war into Fife, where she exerted herself to disperse and defeat the little band there commanded by Arran and the Lord James. These leaders, however, who had gained in military experience, were able to keep the French in check; and a seasonable supply of money, which they received early in December, communicated fresh spirits to their party, and encouraged them to levy an additional force of one thousand foot and two hundred horse.² At Glasgow, the Duke

¹ MS. Letter, draft by Cecil, St. P. Off. Queen Elizabeth to the Queen Dowager, 28th November, 1559. See also Mr. Stevenson's Illustrations, p. 78. The Lord James to Sir R. Sadler and Sir J. Crofts, November 17th, 1559. Also, Calig. B.x. 53 dorso.

² Sadler, vol. i. pp. 631, 632.

confined his efforts to the "abolition of idolatry." His reformation, however, was one of a very active and violent description; not only did he cause all the images, altars, and relics of superstition within the churches to be pulled down, but he attacked and took possession of the palace of the Archbishop, from which he was with difficulty expelled by the French. Soon after this (30th November, 1559), a proclamation was made at Glasgow. It ran in the name of Francis and Mary, King and Queen of Scots, and informed those misguided subjects who still respected the authority of the Queen Dowager, that her whole power had been devolved upon the Lords of the Privy Council, who were reformed. Their chief aim, they declared, was to advance the glory of God, and to remove idolatry; for which end they commanded all such clergymen as had not yet made open confession of their faith, to appear before the Council at St. Andrew's, and there give full proof of their conversion by a public renunciation of all manner of superstition, under the penalty of losing their benefices and being reputed enemies to God.¹ Nor was this all. In the beginning of the following month, the Council of the Congregation at Dundee, in the name of the King and Queen, directed their denunciations against the Consistory, which they denominated the Court of Antichrist, whose cursings and threatenings, they affirmed, had greatly oppressed and deluded the people. They commanded that no such assembly

¹ Keith, p. 111.

should afterwards be held, and interdicted such wicked persons as had dared to disobey this injunction, from any repetition of their offence under pain of death.¹ It is certain, therefore, that the Congregation, although Elizabeth did not permit them to name the subject of religion, had in no respect departed from their resolution to destroy the Romish creed, and to plant a purer form of doctrine and worship upon its ruins.

The eyes of both parties were now anxiously turned to the sea. The French were aware that the Marquess D'Elbeuf had sailed from Calais with a powerful fleet,² the Protestants knew that Winter, the English admiral, was embarked for Scotland, with a squadron of fourteen ships of war; uncertain, however, of the time they might be detained, it was not judged prudent to risk a defeat,³ and D'Osell, the French commander, encouraged by some trifling successes, concentrated his force at Dysart, and began his march along the coast, with the design of attacking St. Andrew's. At this moment some large vessels were descried bearing up the Firth, and the French soldiers believing them to be their friends, expressed the utmost exultation. In a short time, however, these hopes were turned into dismay. The stranger ships hoisting the English colours, proved to be

¹ Keith, p. 112 (14th December, 1559).

² The exact time of the Marquess sailing for Scotland is uncertain. On the 30th Dec. Cecil writes, he had not sailed. Sadler, vol. i. p. 669.

³ Sadler, vol. i. p. 690. Ibid. p. 697 (January 23, 1559.)

Winter, who having first seized two victuallers which lay in their course, proceeded and cast anchor in the road. Their arrival intimidated D'Osell; but making a forced and circuitous march by Stirling, in which his troops were dreadfully harassed, not only by the snow drifting in their faces, but by the attacks of the Lord James and his cavalry,¹ he at last with difficulty, regained his fortifications of Leith. Meanwhile the Regent having sent on board the Admiral to demand the cause of this visit in a time of peace, was answered, "that his intentions were pacific, and having gone to sea in search of pirates, he had entered the Firth to watch for them there."² A remonstrance which she directed to be made to Elizabeth by the French ambassador, De Sevre, was met by a reply equally evasive. The Queen solemnly assured him she respected the treaties, and thought of nothing less than war, but she added that she saw with uneasiness the increase of the French force in Scotland, and deemed it prudent to strengthen her border garrisons, and observe the progress of their arms. De Sevre then replied, "that what chiefly gave discontentment to his Court was, the aid which the Queen of England had given to the Scottish rebels;" to which she answered, "that she could not consider the nobility and nation of Scotland as rebels; she deemed them, on the contrary, wise and faithful subjects to the Crown of Scotland, since they had

¹ Sadler, vol. i. p. 699. Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 55.

² MS. Calderwood, p. 407, vol. i. Keith, 116. Sadler, vol. i. p. 697.

ventured to offend the French King in defence of the rights of his wife, their sovereign." "And truly," added she, "if these Barons should permit the government of their kingdom to be wrested out of their hands during the absence of their Queen—if they tamely gave up the independence of their native country, whilst she used the counsel, not of the Scots, but solely of the French, her mother and other foreigners being her advisers in Scotland, and the Cardinal and Duke of Guise in France, it were a good cause for the world to speak shame of them—nay, if the young Queen herself should happen to survive her husband, she would in such a case have just occasion to condemn them all as cowards and unnatural subjects."¹

Having returned this answer, in which there was some little truth, and a large proportion of duplicity, Elizabeth proceeded to give still more decided encouragement to the Congregation. In the end of January, (1559-60) the Duke of Norfolk arrived at Berwick, and being afterwards met by Maitland, Balnevis, Pitarrow, and Lord Ruthven, who were sent by the Congregation as Commissioners, a treaty was concluded, by which the English Queen took under her protection the kingdom of Scotland, with the Duke of Chastelherault and his party. She engaged to send them assistance, and continue it till the

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 17 Feb. 1559, backed by Cecil, answer made to the French Ambassador, by Sir W. Cecil and Sir — —.

² Sadler, vol. i. p. 708. Lethington did not leave London to go to Berwick till Feb. 18. See also MS. Calderwood, vol. i. 411.

French should be expelled from the country, and not to abandon the confederated Lords as long as they recognised Mary for their Queen, and maintained inviolate the rights of the Crown. On the other hand, it was agreed by the Duke and his friends, that they would join their forces with the army of England; they promised that no other union of their country with France than that which then existed should ever receive their sanction; they agreed to consider the enemies of England as their own, and if that country should be attacked by France, to furnish the Queen with an auxiliary force of four thousand men; they promised, in the last place, that hostages should immediately be given for the performance of these articles, and protested that they would continue loyal to the Queen of Scotland and the King her husband, in every thing which did not tend to the overthrow of the ancient laws and liberties of their country.¹

This treaty being concluded, and the hostages having arrived at Berwick, the English army, under the command of Lord Grey, entered Scotland on the 2nd of April, 1560. It consisted of two thousand horse and six thousand foot, and was joined at Preston by the army of the Congregation,² led by the Duke, the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Menteith, the Lord James, and other principal officers amongst the reformers, and estimated at nearly eight thousand men.

¹ Keith, pp. 117, 118, 119. Also, MS. Calderwood, vol. i. pp. 410, 414, for Instructions to the Scottish Commissioners, and Ratification of the Treaty, by the Congregation.

² Sadler, vol. i. p. 712. MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 416.

On the advance of the enemy the Queen Regent was received by Lord Erskine within the Castle of Edinburgh, and the united armies having pushed forward from Preston to Restalrig, a sharp skirmish of cavalry took place, in which the French were beat back with the loss of forty men and a hundred prisoners.¹ Having determined to besiege Leith, Lord Grey encamped on the fields to the south and south east of that sea-port; Winter, the English admiral, opened a cannonade from the fleet, whilst a battery of eight pieces of ordnance commenced firing on the land side, by which the French guns placed on St. Antony's steeple, were speedily silenced and dismounted. But this advantage, which produced in the combined armies an over confidence and contempt of discipline, was followed by a more serious action, in which Martiques attacked the English trenches, entered the camp, spiked their cannon, and put two hundred and forty men to the sword, after which he retreated with little loss to Leith. (15th April.)²

The Congregation were discouraged, not only by this defeat, but by the coldness and continued neutrality of some of the principal Barons who had promised to join their party. Of these, the chief was Huntly, whose power in the northern parts of the realm was almost kingly, whilst his attachment to the Romish faith, and to his own interest, rendered him difficult to be dealt with. He had at length se-

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Office, 6 April 1560. Randolph to Cecil. MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 416. Lesly, Hist. Bannat. Edin. p. 282.

² Ibid. p. 285. Keith, p. 124.

cretly engaged to make common cause with the reformed party, but he delayed from day to day, watching the progress of events, and calculating the probabilities of success, before he declared himself, and he took the precaution of entering into a separate treaty with the Duke and the Lords, by which he stipulated for the preservation of his authority, and the security of his great possessions in the north.¹ The original papers drawn up on this occasion disclose an interesting fact, not formerly stated by any historian; the French, it appears, had gained so much influence in the northern parts of the country, that they procured a league to be made amongst the northern nobles and certain clans and islemen, by which they engaged to defend with their whole power, the ancient Romish faith, and to maintain the French authority within the kingdom. Huntly asserted, and probably with some foundation, that as soon as he joined the Congregation, he would be attacked as a common enemy by the members of this league; and he was answered by the reformed Lords, that as their agreement bound them to mutual defence, as soon as he joined the party, he would participate in this obligation, and enjoy its benefits.²

On the 25th of April Huntly entered the camp, accompanied by sixty horse, and soon after arrived the Bishop of Valence, a Commissioner from the

¹ MS. State Paper Off., My Lord, Earl of Huntly's desires and council. Backed by Randolph. Also MS. St. P. Off., The Lords' answer to the Earl of Huntly, 18th April, 1560.

² Ibid.

Court of France, instructed to attempt a mediation between the Queen Dowager and the Lords of the Congregation. As Elizabeth had requested he should be heard, the reformers, although indisposed to the negotiation, could not refuse to give him audience; but they insisted that the only basis upon which they could consent to treat should be, the demolition of the fortifications of Leith, and the expulsion of the French from Scotland. These terms were rejected by the Prelate, who upon his part demanded an express renunciation of the league with England: this, it was said, could not be done without the consent of Elizabeth, but they offered to produce the contract to the estates of Parliament, and if they found the league prejudicial to the liberty of Scotland, or against their allegiance as true subjects, to use every means to have it dissolved.¹ Under such circumstances, the conference having broken off, a second covenant was drawn up by the Congregation, (27th April) in which they obliged themselves, not only to support the reformation of religion, the freedom of preaching, and the due administration of the sacraments, according to the word of God, but to resist the tyranny of the French, and to unite for the expulsion of strangers, and the recovery of their ancient liberty.²

After many delays, Huntly at last consented to sign this agreement, and a reinforcement having

¹ MS. Letter St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil, 25th April 1560. Also, MS. Letter *ibid.*, Randolph to the Duke of Norfolk, 25th April 1560, from the Camp. Also, Caligula, B. x. 88. Memorial to the Queen Dowager, by Chaperon, 11th April, 1560.

² Keith, p. 125.

arrived from England, Lord Grey determined to concentrate his whole efforts upon the siege of Leith, which began to suffer dreadfully from famine. Early in May a general assault was made, but treachery had entered the English camp : Sir James Crofts, to whom the attack upon the quarter towards the sea had been committed, failed to bring forward his division in time ; the scaling ladders on being applied to the wall were found too short, and the English, after their utmost efforts, were driven back with severe loss.¹ The Queen Regent availing herself of this success, expressed her deep commiseration for the afflicted state of the country, and requested an interview with the Earls of Huntly and Glencairn, with whom she was ready to enter into a negotiation. Instead however of these two noblemen, the Lord James, with Lethington, Lord Ruthven and the Master of Maxwell waited upon her ; they offered to dismiss their troops, to return to their allegiance, and acknowledge her authority, under the single condition that the French soldiers should depart the realm, and if these terms were accepted, they were ready, they said, to refer all other subjects in dispute to the decision of a Parliament. There seems every reason to believe that the Regent, if permitted to follow her own opinion, would have closed with these proposals, but her hands were tied by her French advisers : she requested time to consult La Brosse, D'Osell, and the

¹ Keith, p. 126. See Mr. Stevenson's Illustrations of the reign of Mary, p. 80. Letter of the Dowager to D'Osell.

Bishop of Amiens ; this was refused—apparently unreasonably refused, and the conference came abruptly to an end.¹

The anxiety of the Queen Dowager for peace was dictated by her own precarious health. Her constitution, worn out by fatigue and anxiety, was now completely broken : since her retreat within the Castle of Edinburgh, she had been repeatedly attacked by severe fits of sickness, and feeling that her period of life would be brief, she laboured to compose the troubles of the kingdom. This charitable design it was not permitted her to accomplish, but finding herself reduced to such a state of weakness, that death was rapidly approaching, she requested an interview with the leaders of the Congregation.² The Duke, the Earls of Argile, Marshall, and Glencairn, with the Lord James, immediately repaired to the castle, and entering her bed-chamber were welcomed by the dying Queen, with a kindness and cordiality which deeply moved them. She expressed her grief for the distracted state of the nation, and advised them to send both the French and English forces out of the kingdom—she declared her unfeigned concern that matters had been pushed to such extremities—ascribed it to the perverse councils of the French Cabinet, which she found herself obliged to obey, and denounced the crafty and interested advice of Huntly, who had interrupted the conference at Preston, when

¹ MS. Letter St. P. Off., 14th May, 1560, Lethington to Cecil.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 7th June, 1560. Randolph to Cecil.

she was herself ready to have agreed to their proposals. She recommended to them a faithful adherence to their league with France, which was in no degree inconsistent with, but rather necessarily arose out of the obedience they owed to their lawful Sovereign and the maintenance of their national liberty : to these advices she added many endearing expressions, and with tears asked pardon of all whom she had in any way offended, declaring that she herself freely forgave the injuries she might have received, and trusted that they should all meet with the same forgiveness at the bar of God. She then, with a countenance full of sweetness, though pallid and emaciated, embraced and kissed the nobles one by one, extending her hand to those of inferior rank who stood by, as a token of dying charity. It was impossible that so much love, so gently and unaffectedly expressed, should fail to move those to whom it was addressed. The hardy barons who had lately opposed her with the bitterest rancour, were dissolved in tears ; they earnestly requested her to send for some godly and learned man from whom she might receive, not only consolation, but instruction, and on the succeeding day she willingly admitted a visit from Willock ;¹ mild in his manner, but faithful to his belief, the minister spoke to the dying Princess of the efficacy of the death of Christ, and the abomination of the mass as a relic of idolatry. To the first point, she assured

¹ Keith, p. 128. Also, MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 7th June, 1560. Randolph to Cecil.

him, that she looked for salvation in no other way than in and through the death of her Saviour—to the second, she quietly declined to give an answer, and on the succeeding day, expired full of faith and hope.¹

Had she been permitted to follow her own excellent understanding, there seems little doubt that the Queen Regent would have succeeded in composing the differences which so grievously distracted the kingdom, and threw so deep a gloom over the concluding years of her Government. Possessed, according to the testimony of writers whose opposite principles render their evidence unsuspected, of a sound and clear intellect, a kind heart, and a generous and forgiving temper, she had gained the affections of the people, and the confidence of the nobility, by the wisdom, liberality, and prudence with which she conducted the affairs of the country during the first years of her Regency. These were eminently popular and successful, nor did the tide turn against her, till surrounded by the perils and difficulties of the Reformation, she was compelled to adopt the violent principles of the House of Guise, and to forsake the system of conciliation which she at first adopted. It is sad to find that intolerance and persecution pursued her even after death. "Question," says Calderwood, "being moved afterwards about her burial, the preachers boldly gainstood to the use of any su-

¹ Keith, p. 128. She died on the 10th of June, 1560.

perstitious rites in that realm, which, God of his mercy had begun to purge. Her burial was deferred till further advisement, her corpse was lapped in a coffin of lead, and kept in the Castle from the 10th of June till the 29th of October, at which time it was carried by some pioneers to a ship,¹ and transported to France.

¹ MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 421.