

CHAP. IV.

1560 - 1561.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

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

PREVIOUS to the death of the Queen Regent all parties had become averse to the continuance of the war. From the first, Elizabeth had expressed to her Ministers, her earnest wish to remain at peace, if it could be accomplished with security and honour; and although she at length consented to send an army into Scotland, during its march and even after the opening of hostilities, her negotiations for an amicable settlement with France were earnest and uninterrupted—nor were the ministers of that kingdom less anxious to bring matters to an adjustment. They were convinced that the sagacity and penetration of Cecil and Throckmorton had fully detected their ambitious designs upon England, they agreed, that the vast and impracticable project of the House of Guise for the destruction of the reformed religion, and the union of the kingdoms of England, Scotland

and France under one head, must be for the present abandoned ; the extraordinary expense of the Scottish war could no longer be borne, and in the present state of France itself, torn by religious persecution, and weakened by frequent conspiracies and popular commotions, peace appeared the only remedy for the country. Nor were the Lords of the Congregation prepared to prolong the struggle ; experience had shown them, that even with the assistance of England, France was a more formidable enemy, than they had imagined. The fortifications of Leith were so strong, that Lethington acknowledged in one of his letters, it might defy, if well victualled, an army of twenty thousand men.¹ It was impossible for them to keep the great body of their forces composed of the feudal militia for any long time under arms, and without money, which was exceedingly scarce amongst them, their hired soldiers were ready to mutiny and sell themselves to the enemy. They were as willing therefore to negotiate, as the other belligerents, and under these circumstances, after some time spent in correspondence and preliminary arrangements, Cecil, the able minister of Elizabeth, and Sir Nicholas Wotton, repaired to Edinburgh, in the middle of June. Here they met the French Commissioners, the Bishops of Valence, and Amiens, La Brosse, D'Osell, and the Sieur de Randan, who being the bearer of a letter from his master, the French King, to Elizabeth, had

¹ MS. Letter State Paper Off., Lethington to Norfolk, 9th April 1560.

in his passage through England been admitted to an interview with that princess.¹

The treaty which was now about to be concluded embraced two great objects; it was necessary to settle, first, the differences between France and England, and secondly, to secure the interests of the Lords of the Congregation. They had taken up arms against their natural Sovereign for the expulsion of strangers from their country, and to restore the kingdom to its ancient liberty; with this end in view they had entered into a separate treaty with Elizabeth; who had afforded them assistance both in money and by the presence of an army. It was necessary therefore to protect them from the probable vengeance of their own Sovereign, and this could only be done by including in the agreement between England and France, a recognition of the treaty between Elizabeth and the reformed Lords. The complaint that the arms and title of the Monarchs of England had been unjustly assumed by the King and Queen of France, was easily adjusted. The French Commissioners, with little difficulty, agreed to renounce it, and even to consider the claim of compensation made by Elizabeth for the injury which she had sustained. But serious debates arose upon the second point. The negotiations here included that large portion of the nobles and commons of Scotland, which had embraced the Reformation. They had taken arms in the beginning of the war to protect themselves

¹ Forbes, vol. i. p. 432. St. P. Off., MS. Letter, Cecil to Elizabeth, Edin. 19th June, 1560.

from persecution, and to secure liberty of conscience. As it proceeded they had boldly announced their determination to overthrow the established religion, they had carried this resolution into effect by an attack upon the religious houses, whose revenues had been seized, their lands placed in the hands of agents or factors, and the ecclesiastical proprietors reduced to poverty. Nor was this all; this same party had suspended the Queen Regent from the exercise of her authority, and had assumed the supreme power, not only without any commission from their Sovereign, but contrary to her express injunctions. It was not without reason, therefore, that they were regarded in France as guilty of rebellion, and with justice it was pleaded by the French Commissioners, that the treaty of Berwick, between the Queen of England and the Lords of the Congregation could never be recognised as binding by their Sovereign, without compromising her dignity in the most serious manner.

But if the French Lords were thus anxious to dissolve this obnoxious league, Cecil, who saw its advantages, was as resolute that it should be maintained. He declared it to be the fixed intention of his mistress that the treaty of Berwick should be not only recognised, but confirmed. The Commissioners of Mary and Francis remonstrated. "They had received no authority," they said "on this point; it was even part of their instructions, that any allusion to it, should be carefully avoided." The superior diplomatic craft of Cecil was successfully

exerted to meet the difficulty. He affected to be indignant and inflexible, "all conference," he said "must be broken off. The Duke of Norfolk should receive orders to advance with his army into Scotland, and the matter must once more be committed to the arbitrement of the sword." Nay, so vigorously did he exert himself, that on some question raised by the French regarding Elizabeth's right to the kingdoms of England and Ireland, the Minister threw his defiance in the teeth of the French Commissioners, and offered in that quarrel to spend his blood upon any of them that would deny it.¹ How this bravado was received does not appear, but in the end the dexterity of Cecil was triumphant. By his directions, an article was framed which flattered the vanity of the French, and preserved the dignity of their Sovereign, whilst it secured the real interests of the Congregation, without including any formal declaration that the concessions made to them by France proceeded from the alliance they had made with England. The sentence of the letter in which the Minister communicates this result to his Royal Mistress, is characteristic. "To make a cover for all this, those Ambassadors were forced by us to take a few good words in a preface to the same article, and we, content with the kernel, yielded to them the shell to play withal."²

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Cecil and Wotton to Elizabeth, 2d July, 1560.

² Haynes, St. Papers, vol. i. pp. 352, 353.

The treaty now concluded was in every way advantageous to the English Queen. The claims of France, and the pretensions of this power, had been a source of great annoyance to her from the commencement of her reign. They were now finally renounced ; it was agreed that the French army should leave Scotland ; all anxiety regarding an attack upon her kingdom, through this country was removed, and her influence over the Lords of the Congregation was confirmed by the gratitude they felt for the assistance she had given them, as well as by the anxiety she had manifested in the negotiations to protect their interests and interpose her power between them and their offended Sovereign. In a letter to his mistress, Cecil justly observes, “ that the treaty would be no small augmentation to her honour in this beginning of her reign, that it would finally procure that conquest of Scotland which none of her progenitors with all their battles ever obtained, namely, the whole hearts and goodwills of the nobility and people, which surely was better for England than the revenue of the Crown.”¹

That portion of the treaty which embraced the affairs of the Congregation is particularly worthy of notice, as it led to the full establishment of the Reformation, and is intimately connected with the subsequent course of events. It provided, that an Act

¹ Orig. Draft, St. P. Off. Cecil and Wotton to the Queen, 8th July, 1560. Also Titus, B. ii. fol. 451. MS. Letter, Lord Clinton to the Earl of Sussex.—“ This peace is greatly to the Queen’s honour and of these realms.”

of oblivion should be passed for all wrongs or injuries committed, from the 6th of March, 1558, to the 1st of August 1560, and that a general peace and reconciliation of all differences should take place amongst the nobility and subjects of the land, including the members of the Congregation and those who still adhered to the Romish faith. The Duke of Chastelherault, and other Scottish nobles or barons, who possessed lands in France, were to be restored to their possessions ; redress was to be given by Parliament to the bishops, and other churchmen who had received injury, and no man was to molest them in the collection of their revenues. For the better government of the realm, a council of twelve was to be constituted, of which the Queen was to appoint seven, and the estates five. It was to be their duty to take cognizance of every thing during the absence of their Sovereign, the Queen of France. No fewer than six were to assemble on any occasion, and the whole, or at least a majority were to meet upon all matters of moment. Peace and war were never to be declared without the concurrence of the Estates. It was anxiously provided, that in all time coming the Realm should be governed by its native subjects ; no foreign troops were to be brought within the kingdom ; no strangers to administer justice ; none but Scotsmen to be placed in the high offices of Chancellor, Treasurer, or Comptroller, and all Ecclesiastics, although Scotsmen, were excluded from these two last dignities. The nobility

were interdicted from assembling soldiers or making any warlike convocations, except in such cases as were sanctioned by the established usage, and it was determined that the army of England should return home immediately after the embarkation of the French troops.¹ It was lastly agreed, that a Parliament should be held in the succeeding month of August, for which a commission was to be sent by the King and Queen of France, and it was added, that this meeting of the Estates should in all respects be as lawful as if the same had been convoked by command of those royal persons, provided only that all who ought to be present, resorted without fear to the Parliament, and that its proceedings were free and unfettered.²

The conclusion of this treaty by the French commissioners, Randan and the Bishop of Valence, was a great triumph to Elizabeth and the Lords of the Congregation. The French Cabinet had instructed their commissioners to beware of alluding, in the most distant manner, to the treaty of Berwick, which had been entered into between the reformers and England; and if they could not procure the consent of the Queen to the dissolution of this league, to be on their guard, at least, that no clause should be

¹ Spottiswood, p. 147. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 926. MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 26th June, 1560. Cecil to ——. Also MS. Calderwood, vol. i. pp. 422, 427.

² Forbes, vol. i. p. 432, St. P. Off. MS. Letter, Cecil to Elizabeth, Edin. 19th June, 1560.

introduced which should have the effect of including the leaders of the Protestants within the protection of the treaty. Baffled, however, in their diplomacy by the superior tactics of Cecil (whose cold, equable temper seems to have been seized with a fit of unusual exultation in alluding to the result), Randan and Monluc, contrary to their instructions, agreed to the insertion of a sentence which virtually protected the reformers, and preserved their treaty with Elizabeth. Nay, so wary had been the conduct of Wotton and Cecil, that, to use their own words, "even if the said treaty shall not remain in force, the special points tending to keep Frenchmen out of Scotland be well and assuredly provided for."¹ The reformed Lords were not tardy to acknowledge the great obligations conferred upon them by the issue to which Elizabeth had brought the negotiations. They addressed a letter to the Queen, containing the warmest expressions of gratitude, and acknowledged, that in providing for the security and liberty of Scotland, the realm was more bounden to her Majesty than to their own Sovereign.² Nor was this excess of gratitude at all unnatural. By the various provisions above detailed, it is evident that the Protestants had amply secured their own interests. One only objection existed to this part of the treaty, but it was a fatal one. The Commissioners of Mary

¹ Haynes, vol. i. p. 352.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 17th July, 1560. Haynes, vol. i, pp. 349, 351.

and Francis, had no authority from their Sovereign to enter into any negotiation with the Congregation, and the Queen of Scotland refused to be bound by an agreement to which she was no party.

It is remarkable that the treaty included no express provision on the subject of the reformed religion, whilst the bishops and ministers of the ancient faith were treated with uncommon lenity; their property restored, their persons protected, their right of sitting in Parliament acknowledged. The cause of all this is not difficult to discover. The assistance given by Elizabeth had no reference to religion. She had agreed to support the Protestants with her army, on the sole ground that they had taken arms to preserve the liberty of their country, and to expel the French, who, through Scotland, threatened her own dominions, and questioned her title to the throne. Individually, the Queen was not disposed to favor the religious views of the Congregation, whose ultra-Protestantism she regarded with aversion. Cecil, therefore, was instructed not to meddle with the subject, and the point was left open to be afterwards settled between the Reformers and their own Sovereign. Yet, in gaining the power to assemble a parliament, for which their Queen was to send over a Commission, and whose proceedings were to be esteemed as valid if called by her own writ, they obtained their utmost wishes. The great body of the people, the cities, burghs, and middle classes, were, they knew,

favorable to the Reformation ; and they reckoned with confidence on a majority amongst the nobles, many of whom had already tasted the sweets of ecclesiastical plunder, and were little disposed to give up what they had won. For these reasons, although certain articles concerning religion were presented to the Commissioners on the part of the nobles and people of Scotland, their refusal to enter into discussion upon them does not appear to have occasioned either fear or disappointment. They looked to the Convention of Estates, which was so soon to meet, and felt confident that all would be there settled to their satisfaction.¹

The treaty having been concluded and signed by the Commissioners, peace was proclaimed at Edinburgh (8th of July, 1560). Soon after the French army, consisting of four thousand men, were embarked in English ships for France ; the English forces at the same time began their march homeward, and on reaching Dunbar, demolished the fortifications, according to the agreement. A solemn public thanksgiving was held by the reformed nobles and the greatest part of the Congregation in St. Giles's church, where the preacher, who was probably Knox, in a prayer preserved in his history, described the miseries of their country, lately groaning under the oppression of a foreign yoke and an abominable idolatrous worship. He acknowledged the mercy of God in sending, through the instrumentality of England, a deliverance which

¹ Keith, p. 142, Art. 17.

their own policy or strength could never have accomplished, called upon them all to maintain that godly league entered into with Elizabeth, and implored God to confound the counsels of those who endeavoured to dissolve it.¹ Ministers were then appointed to some of the chief towns in the kingdom, Knox being directed to continue his charge at Edinburgh, whilst Goodman was sent to St. Andrew's, Heriot to Aberdeen, Row to Perth, and others to Jedburgh, Dundee, Dumfermling, and Leith. Superintendents were next chosen for the districts of Lothian, Glasgow, Fife, Angus, and Mearns, and lastly for Argyle and the Isles.²

On the 10th of July the Parliament assembled, to adjourn, as had been determined, to the 1st of August, on which day the proceedings were opened with great solemnity. So grave and important a meeting of this great Council of the nation had not taken place for many years, and the attendance of all ranks was, we know from Lethington, more numerous than had ever been seen in his time.³ One cause of this crowded attendance was a proceeding adopted by the lesser Barons. Many of these persons, notwithstanding their right to sit and vote in the Assembly of the Three Estates, had ceased to claim their privilege. Indifference to public affairs, occupation upon their own demesnes

¹ Knox, pp. 251, 252. MS. Calderwood, p. 428, vol. i.

² Keith, p. 145.

³ Original Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil, 15th August, 1560.

and the expense attendant on a journey to the capital, had occasioned their absence. But it was amongst these persons that the reformed doctrines had made the greatest progress, and aware that the subjects to be debated must involve the great religious principles in dispute between the Congregation and the Romanists, they attended in their places, and presented a petition, in which they prayed to be restored to their privilege, and to be allowed to give their counsel and vote in the Parliament. After some trifling opposition, they were permitted to take their seats, although a final decision on their claims does not appear to have been given. The accession, however, of so many votes (their number being a hundred), was of no small consequence to the Protestants, who were anxious that they should immediately proceed to the business of the Parliament. On this, however, there arose a serious difference of opinion. It was pleaded by many, that no Parliament could be held till the Commission arrived from their Sovereign, or at least till some reply was received to the message which had been sent to France, informing her of their proceedings.¹ Others alleged, that by one of the articles of the peace, it had been deter-

¹ It does not appear who were despatched on this mission to inform their sovereign. As late as the 9th of August 1560, the French King expressed to Throckmorton, the English ambassador, his surprise that he had heard nothing from his Commissioners, and affirmed that he had not yet seen the treaty of Edinburgh. The Bishop of Glasgow and the Lord Seton had arrived at Paris on the 3rd of August.—MS. Letter, St. P. Off. French Corr. Sir N. Throckmorton, 9th August, 1560.

mined that a meeting of the Three Estates should be held in August, which should be as lawful as if it were summoned by express command of their Queen, and the question having been put to the vote, it was decided that the Parliament should continue its sittings.¹ A week, however, was spent in the debate. Many, on learning the result, departed from the capital, and of the Spiritual Estate very few attended.

These preliminary questions having been settled, the crown, the mace and the sword were laid upon the seat or throne, usually occupied by the Queen;² and Maitland, who possessed great influence with the Congregation, being chosen Speaker (it was then termed "harangue maker,") opened the proceedings in an oration of which Randolph has given us the principal heads. He excused his insufficiency to occupy that place, made a brief discourse of things past, showed what necessity men were forced into for defence of their country; what remedy and support it had pleased God to send them, and how much they were bound heartily to acknowledge and requite it. He took away the persuasion which had then entered into many men's minds, that other things were intended than those which had been attempted; he advised all estates to renounce their individual feelings, and to bend themselves wholly to the true

¹ Spottiswood, p. 149.

² Keith, p. 149, erroneously states that the Royal Ensigns of the Kingdom were omitted to be carried into the Parliament.

service of God and their country, describing the miserable condition to which it had been long reduced for lack of good government and exercise of justice. He exhorted them to mutual amity and hearty friendship—one to live with another as members all of one body ; using the example of the fable, “ when the mouth, having quarrelled with the members, refused to receive sustenance for so long a time that the whole body perished.” In conclusion, he prayed God long to maintain amity and peace with all princes, and especially betwixt the realms of England and Scotland, in the love and fear of God.¹ The Clerk of the Register now rose, and having inquired of the Three Estates, to what matter they would proceed ; it was judged proper that the articles of the peace should be read over, which having been done, they received the unanimous approbation of the Assembly, and were directed to be sent over to France to receive the ratification of their Sovereign. The Lords of the Articles were next chosen, the order of which, says Randolph, “ is, that the Lords Spiritual choose the Temporal, and the Temporal the Spiritual—the Burgesses their own.”¹ Great complaint was here made by the Prelates, that in the selection of the Lords Spiritual, none were chosen but such as were known to be well affected to the new religion, nor was it unnoticed that some upon

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Randolph to Cecil, 9th and 10th Aug. 1560.

whom the choice had fallen, were mere laymen. So great was the majority, however, of the friends of the Congregation, that it was impossible to have redress. "This being done," says Randolph, in an interesting letter to Cecil, where he describes the proceedings of the parliament, "the Lords departed, and accompanied the Duke as far as the Bow, which is the gate going out of the high street, and many down unto the palace where he lieth; the town all in armour, the trumpets sounding, and all other kinds of music, such as they have. Other solemnities have not been used, saving in times long past the Lords have had parliament robes, which are now with them wholly out of use; the Lords of the Articles sat from henceforth in Holyrood-house, except that at such times as upon any matter of importance, the whole Lords assembled themselves again as they did this day in the Parliament House."¹

Having proceeded thus far, a petition was presented to the Parliament by some of the most zealous of the reformers. It prayed, that the doctrines professed by the Romish Church, and tyrannically maintained by the clergy, should be condemned and abolished, and amongst the errors it particularly enumerated; transubstantiation, adoration of Christ's body under the form of bread, the merit of works, purgatory, pilgrimages, and prayers to departed saints.

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Randolph to Cecil, 9th and 10th Aug. 1560.

It declared, that God of his great mercy, by the light of his word, had demonstrated to no small number within the realm, the pestiferous errors of the Roman Church; errors which the ministers of that Church had maintained by fire and sword, bringing damnation upon the souls that embraced them. It stated, that the sacraments of our Lord were shamefully abused by that Roman harlot by whom the true discipline of the Church was extinguished; and proceeded to give an appalling picture, in strong and somewhat coarse language, of the corrupt lives of those who called themselves the clergy. Embracing the whole Papal Church in one sweeping anathema, the petitioners offered to prove, that "in all the rabble of the Clergy," there was not one lawful minister, if the word of God, and the practices of the Apostles and primitive Church, were to be taken as authority upon this point; it denominated them, thieves and murderers, rebels, traitors, and adulterers; living in all manner of abominations, and unworthy to be suffered in any reformed commonwealth. Lastly, using that blessed name, which ought to be the bond of love and charity, as an incitement to railing and persecution, it called upon the Parliament, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to employ the victory which they had obtained, with wholesome vigour; to compel the body of the Romish clergy to answer these accusations now brought against them, to pronounce them unworthy of authority in the Church of God, and expel them for ever from having a voice or vote in the great Council of

the nation, which, it continued, if ye do not, we forewarn you, in the fear of God, and by assurance of his word, that as ye leave a grievous yoke and a burden intolerable upon the Church of God within this realm, so shall they be thorns in your eyes, and pricks in your sides, whom afterwards when ye would ye shall have no power to remove. In conclusion, it virtually declared that this extraordinary petition was not their's but God's, who craved this by his servants, and it prayed Him to give them an upright heart and a right understanding of the requests made through them.¹

The names of those who signed this violent production, which it is difficult to read without emotions of sorrow and pity, do not appear. Knox, whose fiery zeal flamed high at this period, seized the sitting of the Parliament as a proper season for a course of sermons on the prophecies of Haggai, in which he tells us, he was peculiarly "special and vehement," the doctrine being proper to the times.² Many of the nobles, however, who had prospered upon the plunder of the Church, demurred to the sentiments of the preacher, when he exhorted them to restore their lands for the support of the ministers; and Lethington, exclaimed in mockery, "We must now forget ourselves, and bear the barrow to build the house of God."³ Yet, although some were thus

¹ MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 430. Knox, p. 254.

² Knox, p. 254.

³ Ibid. The name is suppressed in the printed Knox.

foolish, others of the barons and burgesses assembled, and we are informed by Knox, that the petition emanated from them. There can be no doubt that it received the sanction, if it was not the composition of the Reformer.

On being read in Parliament, this petition occasioned a great diversity of sentiment: to the sincere Romanist it appeared an impious denouncement of all that he esteemed sacred, and even the more moderate of those who had embraced the tenets of the Reformation might well doubt whether it was not calculated to inflame rather than to heal the wounds it proposed to cure; still there can be little doubt, that as the great majority in the parliament supported the changes proposed, it would have been favourably received, but for one circumstance which touched some of the highest and most influential of the Protestant leaders. It called upon them to restore the patrimony of the Church, of which they had unjustly possessed themselves, to the uses for which it was originally destined; the support of the ministers, the restoration of godly learning, and the assistance of the poor. This, according to Knox, was unpalatable doctrine to the nobles, who for worldly respects abhorred a perfect reformation.¹ Waving therefore the practical part of the question, and retaining for the present the wealth they had won, the majority of the parliament commanded the ministers to draw up a Confession of their faith, or a

¹ Knox, p. 252.

brief summary of those doctrines which they conceived wholesome, true, and necessary to be believed,¹ and received within the realm. This solemn and arduous task was achieved apparently with extraordinary rapidity; but although only four days were employed in its preparation, it is evident that the Confession of Faith embodied the results of much previous study and consultation. It is a clear and admirable summary of christian doctrine, grounded on the word of God. On most essential points, it approximates indefinitely near, and in many instances, uses the very words of the Apostles Creed and the Articles of the Church of England, as established by Edward the Sixth. Thus, in the section on Baptism, the Scottish Confession of Faith declares, “We assuredly believe, that by baptism *we are ingrafted into Jesus Christ*, to be made partakers of his justice, by the which our sins are covered and remitted.” Compare this with the article of Edward the Sixth and of Elizabeth “of Baptism.” It is there said to be a sign, not only of profession, but of regeneration, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly, “*are grafted into the Church.*” Again, of the Lord’s Supper, the Scottish Confession of Faith declares, “We most assuredly believe, that the bread that we break is the Communion of Christ’s Body, and the cup which we bless is the Communion of his Blood, so that we do confess and believe that the faithful, in the right use of the Lord’s

¹ Spottiswood, p. 150.

table, so do eat the body, and drink the blood of the Lord Jesus, that he remaineth in them and they in him." In the articles of Edward the Sixth, the same precise words are used. Indeed it is worthy of remark, that in these holy mysteries of our faith, this Confession, drawn up by the primitive Scottish reformers, keeps in some points at a greater distance from the rationalizing of ultra Protestantism than the Articles of Edward. But to return, before the authors of the Confession agreed finally on every point it should embrace, the treatise was submitted to the revisal of the Secretary Lethington, and the Sub-Prior of St. Andrew's, who mitigated the austerity of many words and sentences, and expunged a chapter on the limits of the obedience due by subjects to their magistrates, which they considered improper to be then discussed. So at least, says Randolph, but it is certain that a chapter "Of the Civil Magistrate," forms a portion of the Confession of Faith as it is printed by Knox,¹ and that it not only prescribes in clear and strong terms, the obedience due by subjects to princes, governors, and magistrates, as powers ordained by God, but pronounces all who attempt to abolish the "Holy State of Civil Policies," as enemies alike to God and man.

When thus finished, this important paper was laid before Parliament; but all disputation upon its doctrines appears to have been waved by a mutual understanding, that on the one side it was unnecessary,

¹ Knox's Hist. p. 270. MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 7th Sept. 1560; Randolph to Cecil.

and on the other it would be unavailing. The Romanists knew that against them was arrayed a violent and overwhelming majority; so keen were the feelings of some of their leaders, that the Duke of Chastelherault had threatened his brother, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, with death if he dared to exert himself against it,¹ nor is it by any means improbable, that similar arguments had been used with other dignitaries. Of the Temporal Peers present, the Earls of Cassillis and Caithness alone dissented; of the Spiritual, the Primate, with the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dumblane. Time, they said, had not been given them to examine the book: they were ready to give their consent to all things which were sanctioned by the word of God, and to abolish the abuses which had crept into the Church, but they requested some delay that the debate upon a question which branched into so many intricate, profound, and important subjects, might be carried on with due study and deliberation.² To these sensible and moderate representations, no attention appears to have been paid, the treatise was laid upon the table, the Bishops were called upon to oppugn it upon the instant, and having declined the contest,

¹ Keith, pp. 150, 487.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 18th August, 1560. Lethington to Cecil. In the letter of Randolph to Cecil, quoted below (Note 1), he says, "of the Temporal Lords, the Earl of Cassillis, and the Earl of Caithness, said "Nae"; the rest of the Lords with common consent allowed the same." Yet Spottiswood (p. 150) mentions Athol, Borthwick, and Somerville, as dissentient.

the consent of the Parliament was given almost by acclamation ; some of the Lords, in the enthusiasm of the moment, declared they would sooner end their lives than think contrary to these doctrines ; many offered to shed their blood in the cause. The Earl Marshall, with indignant sarcasm, called upon the Bishops, as the pillars of the Papal Church, to defend the tenets of their master, and the venerable Lord Lindsay, rising up in his place, and alluding to his extreme age, declared that since God had spared him to see that day, and the accomplishment of so worthy a work, he was ready with Simeon to say, " nunc dimittis. " ³

This Confession having been sanctioned by parliament, as the standard of the Protestant faith in Scotland, it was thought proper to complete the work by passing three Acts. The first abolished for ever in that country the power and jurisdiction of the Pope ; the second repealed all former statutes passed in favour of the Romish Church ; the third ordained that all who said mass, or who dared to hear mass, should, for the first transgression, be punished with confiscation of goods ; for the second, incur the penalty of banishment from the kingdom ; and if guilty of a third offence, be put to death. Few blessings have been of slower growth in Europe than religious toleration. The same men who had groaned so lately under persecution, who upbraided their Romish brethren, and with perfect justice, for the

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Randolph to Cecil 19th. Aug. 1560.

tyranny of maintaining their errors by fire and sword, now injured the cause they advocated by similar severities, and compelled the reception of what they pronounced the truth, under the penalty of death.

In these transactions, Randolph, who was now resident in Edinburgh, in the character of Elizabeth's envoy at the Scottish Court, took a prominent part. The spirit in which he carried on his intrigues will be understood from a passage in one of his letters relating to a subject about to be brought before the parliament—the signing the contract made between Elizabeth and the Congregation at Berwick. “The Bishop of Dumblane,” says he, “is also now come; it is not to reason upon religion, but to do, as I hear, whatsoever the Earl of Argyle will command him. If God have prepared him and his Metropolitan to die obstinate Papists, yet I would wish that before they go to the devil, they would show some token that once in their lives they loved their country, and set their hands to the contract, as hardly I believe they will.”¹ These uncharitable and intolerant feelings, however, were not cherished against the Romish prelates alone. It was the opinion of many of the leaders of the Reformation now in progress in Scotland, that the hierarchy of England, as established under Elizabeth, was nearly as corrupt as Rome itself. In a letter addressed by Goodman, originally a minister of the English Church, but now one of the

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to ———, Cecil I believe, but the name does not certainly appear. 15th August, 1560.

most active preachers of the Congregation, to Cecil, he exhorted that powerful statesman to "abolish all the relics of superstition and idolatry which, to the grief and scandal of the godly, were still retained in England, and (alluding probably to Bonner and Gardiner) not to suffer the bloody Bishops and known murderers of God's people and your dear brethren to live, upon whom God hath expressly pronounced the sentence of death, for the execution of which he hath committed the sword into your hands, who are now placed in authority." It was this delay, he declared, this leniency in Cecil (who was happily not animated by the same fiery spirit of persecution which guided the proceedings of Goodman), that sticketh most in the hearts of many.¹

The "Confession of Faith" having been passed in Parliament, the clergy next proceeded to compose a "Book of Discipline," for the future government of the Church. Into the contents of this celebrated form of church polity, it is of course impossible to enter at any length; but it is important to remark, that it committed the election of ministers solely to the people, using the precaution that the person so chosen, before he was admitted to the holy office, should be examined by the ministers and elders openly upon all points then in controversy between the Church of Rome and the Congregation, and generally upon the whole extent of sound Christian

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Goodman to Cecil, 26th October, 1559.

doctrine. Such having been done, the person elected and approved of, was to be considered an ordained minister, and to be publicly introduced by his brethren to his congregation in the church to which he was appointed, it being expressly declared, “that any other ceremonies than the approbation of the people, and the declaration of the chief minister, that the person presented is appointed to serve,” are not approved of by the Congregation; for albeit, they add, the Apostles used the imposition of hands, yet, seeing the miracle is ceased, the using the ceremony we judge not to be necessary. The same form appointed “Readers” to such churches as, owing to the rarity of learned and godly men, could not immediately be provided with ministers. It was their office simply to read the Common Prayers and the Scriptures, not to administer the sacraments. Lastly, the country was divided into ten diocesses, and over them were appointed ten ministers, who were named Superintendents. These were not to be “suffered to live idle, as the bishops had done heretofore,” neither were they to be stationary, but to be ambulatory preachers, continuing about three or four months in one place, after which they were to enter into a visitation of their whole bounds, preaching thrice a week at the least, and not intermitting their labours until the churches were wholly planted. They were directed to inquire into the life and behaviour of the ministers, the manners of the people, the provision for the poor, and the instruction of the youth; and under this last head may be noticed, as first appearing

in this "Book of Discipline," that wise and admirable institution of Parish Schools, to which Scotland has owed so much of her prosperity. "It was necessary," such are nearly the words of the Congregation, "that care should be had of the virtuous and godly education of the youth, wherefore it was judged in every parish to have a proper Schoolmaster, able to teach at least the Grammar and Latin tongue, where the town was of any reputation." But it adds, "in landwart (that is country parishes), where the people convened to doctrine only once in the week, there must either the reader or the minister take care of the youth of the parish, to instruct them in their rudiments, and especially in the Catechism of Geneva."¹

This Book of Discipline was almost as bitterly opposed as the Confession had been warmly and unanimously supported. Some of the nobles and barons positively refused to subscribe it; others signed it, but eluded its injunctions; others, who dreaded the punishment of their vices or the curtailing of their revenues, mocked at its provisions and pronounced them devout imaginations. "The cause," says Knox, "we have before declared. Some were licentious, some had greedily griped the possessions of the Church, and others thought that they would not lack their part of Christ's coat. * * The chief great man" he continues "that professed Christ and refused to subscribe the Book of Discipline, was the Lord Erskine. And no wonder, for besides that he

¹ Spottiswood, p. 154—160 inclusive.

had a very evil woman to his wife, if the poor, the schools, and the ministry of the Church had their own, his kitchen would lack two parts and more of that which he now unjustly possesseth. Assuredly some of us have wondered how men that profess godliness could of so long continuance hear the threatenings of God against thieves and against their houses, and knowing themselves guilty in such things as were openly rebuked, that they never had remorse of conscience, neither yet intended to restore anything of that which long they had stolen and reft. There were none within the realm more unmerciful to the poor ministers than those which had the greatest rents of the churches.”¹

But if severe to the Protestant clergy, the parliament was still more decisive against the Romish prelates. Of these, many who considered the meeting illegal absented themselves. Others took their seats, and having protested against the injustice of excluding them from being chosen Lords of the Articles, declined all interference with the proceedings. A bill of complaint was then presented by the Barons against them, “containing,” says Randolph, “rather a general accusation of all living bishops, than any special crime that they were burdened with.” To this apparently no answer was returned: the Bishops of Dumblane, St. Andrew’s, and Dunkeld, were specially called upon to pursue their complaint, and as they neglected to appear, a decree was passed

¹ Knox, p. 276.

for the "stay of their livings."¹ But this was not all. The Romish prelates, in their anxiety to preserve their estates from the grasp of the Barons of the Congregation, had adopted the expedient of granting conveyances, or leases of their lands, to those who agreed to pay them the rents, and to reconvey them to their original proprietors in more prosperous times. Against these alleged alienations of the estates of the Church, which had been sanctioned by the Pope, the Parliament directed its censure, ordaining that all such leases should be void without further process of law.²

One of the last subjects which occupied the attention of the parliament, was the selection of the twenty-four members, out of which number the Council of Twelve was to be chosen. It was scarcely to be expected that the choice should be impartial. Yet, although care was taken to include all the principal leaders of the Congregation, it embraced some of the opposite party. It consisted of the Duke, the Earl of Arran, the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, Glencairn, Morton, Athole, Menteith, Marshall, and Rothes. The Lords James, Erskine, Ruthven, Lindesay, Boyd, Ogilvy, St. John, and the Master of Maxwell; the Lairds of Lundy, Pitarrow, Doun, Cunninghamhead, Drumlanrig, and young Lethington;³ and it was appointed that until the Commission from the

¹ Orig. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 27th August, 1560. Keith, p. 151.

² Keith, pp. 151, 152.

³ Keith, from a work entitled "Memoirs of Scotland," vol. i. fol. 168, preserved in the Scots College at Paris, now unfortunately lost amongst the MSS. of that ancient house.

King and Queen's Majesty had been sent from France, and the part which they had chosen was openly declared, six of the former Council should sit continually in Edinburgh, for the administration of justice. If, however, any measure of importance involving the general interests of the kingdom was brought before them, no fewer than sixteen of the above number were bound to attend. The treaty of Berwick, which had been entered into between Elizabeth and the Lords of the Congregation was next confirmed,¹ and it was proposed that, as the surest basis of a perpetual amity between the two realms, an overture for a marriage between the Earl of Arran, eldest son to the Duke of Chastelherault, heir apparent to the throne, and Queen Elizabeth should be sent to England. It was earnestly recommended by Lethington, that until they understood in what manner Cecil was affected towards this measure, no hasty proceedings should take place, but although much disunion existed on other subjects, a singular unanimity appears to have here pervaded the assembly; and it was resolved, "that suit should be made to the Queen of England, in the best manner, that it may please her Majesty, for the establishing of a perpetual friendship, to join in marriage with the Earl of Arran."² It was, last of all, determined that Sir James

¹ The Lord James, for himself and the contractors, protested that they might have an instrument that this their act was allowed to be good, lawful, and not prejudicial to the Crown of Scotland. MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 27th August, 1560.

² Original MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil, 18th August, 1560. Also, Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 605.

Sandilands of Calder, Grand Prior of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, within Scotland, should carry an account of their proceedings to France, whilst Lethington, with the Earls of Morton and Glencairn, should be sent on the same errand to Elizabeth. Having brought these important matters to a conclusion, the Parliament was dissolved on the 27th of August.¹

On his arrival at the French Court, Sir James Sandilands² was received with the utmost coldness. Nor could the Congregation have expected it to be otherwise. He brought intelligence to the Queen of Scotland, that without waiting for her ratification of the treaty concluded by her Commissioners, or giving her time to send her Commission for the calling a Parliament, the Three Estates had assembled of their own authority, and by a series of acts more sweeping than any that had ever passed in the preceding history of the country, had introduced innovations which it was impossible could be regarded without alarm—they had overturned the established religion, and let loose against all who ventured to adhere to the belief of their fathers, the fury of religious persecution, they had entered into a league with another kingdom, and, as if conscious of the illegal nature of

¹ Keith is at a loss to know how long they sat after the 24th. The point is settled by a letter of Lethington to Cecil, MS. St. P. Off., Orig. 27th August 1560.—“Although our Parliament be not ended, it is for the present on good respects dissolved.”

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 7th Sep. 1560. “The Lord St. John departeth, as it is said, the 12th of this present.”

their proceedings, had attempted to protect themselves against the punishment of the laws, by giving a pretended parliamentary sanction to the most violent of their measures. The truth of these assertions could not be denied, and when the young Queen and her advisers, the Guises, contrasted the conduct of the Parliament towards Elizabeth, with the manner in which they treated their Sovereign, to whom they pretended all loyalty and affection, they could not fail to be mortified with the difference. So completely were English interests predominant in the assembly of the Estates, that Lethington and Murray in all important measures received the advice of Elizabeth and her Ministers; and so far was this carried, that Cecil drew up and transmitted to them the scroll of the act, which was to be passed in their assembly.¹ In an interview which took place soon after Sandiland's arrival, between Throckmorton, the English Ambassador, and the Cardinal Lorraine, the feelings of this proud minister upon the subject were strongly intimated: "I will tell you frankly," said the Cardinal, "the Scots, the King's subjects, do perform no part of their duties; the King and the Queen have the name of their Sovereigns, and your mistress hath the effect and the obedience. They would bring the realm to a republic, and say, in their words, they are

¹ MS. Letter. St. P. Off., 29th Aug. 1560. Lethington to Cecil. It appears by this letter, that Cecil had framed the draft of an act for the Scottish Parliament, confirming the treaty of Berwick, but it came too late. Their own act, however, was the same in substance, and almost in words.

the King's subjects—to tell you of the particular disorders, were too long, every man doth what he lists. All this is too far out of order, and when fault is found with them, they threaten the King with the aid of the Queen, your mistress. Let your mistress either make them obedient subjects, or let her rid her hands of them, for rather than they shall be at this point, the King will quit all. They have made a league with the Queen, your mistress, without us—what manner of dealing is this of subjects. There-upon it is they bear themselves so proudly.* * They have sent hither a mean man, in post to the King and Queen, their sovereigns, and to the Queen, your mistress, a great and solemn legation.* * This great legation, quoth he, goeth for the marriage of the Queen, your mistress, with the Earl of Arran. What shall she have with him? I think her heart too great to marry with such a one as he is; and one of the Queen's subjects.”¹ Immediately after this, the English Ambassador was admitted to an audience of the young Queen of France. It is interesting to observe Mary's first appearance: Throckmorton entreated her to ratify the treaty, and complained that this had been too long deferred.—“Such answer,” said the young Queen, “as the King, my lord and husband and his Council hath made you in that matter, might suffice; but, because you shall know I have reason to do as I do, I will tell you what moveth me

¹ MS. Letter, original, St. P. Off.; Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 17th Nov. 1560.

to refuse to ratify the treaty : my subjects in Scotland do their duty in nothing, nor have they performed one point that belongeth unto them. I am their Queen, and so they call me, but they use me not so. They have done what pleaseth them, and though I have not many faithful subjects there, yet those few that be there on my party, were not present when these matters were done, nor at this assembly. I will have them assemble by my authority, and proceed in their doings, after the laws of the realm, which they so much boast of, and keep none of them. They have sent hither a poor gentleman to me, whom I disdain to have come in the name of them all, to the King and me, in such a legation. They have sent great personages to your mistress—I am their Sovereign, but they take me not so. They must be taught to know their duties.” “In this speech,” continues Throckmorton, “the Queen uttered some choler and stomach against them. I said, as to the Lord of St. John, I know him not; but he is Great Prior of Scotland, and you know by others what rank that estate hath, equal to any Earl within your realm.—The Queen answered, I do not take him for Great Prior, for he is married; I marvel how it happeneth they could send other manner of men to your mistress.—I said, madame, I have heard that if your Majesty do proceed graciously with the Lord St. John, in observation of all that which was by the Bishop of Valence and Mons. de Randan promised in the King’s and your name, the nobles and states of Scotland do mind to send unto the King and you, a

greater legation. — Then the King and I, quoth she, must begin with them. — Madam, quoth I, I am sorry the ratification of the treaty is refused for that matter, together with other injuries offered to the Queen, my mistress (as, contrary to the express articles of the treaty, the King and you do bear openly the arms of England,) will give the Queen, my mistress, occasion, greatly to suspect your well meaning unto her. — Mine Uncles, quoth she, have sufficiently answered you in this matter; and for your part I pray you, do the office of a good Minister betwixt us, and so shall you do well. And so," concludes Throckmorton, "the Queen dismissed me, and Mons. de Lansac brought me to my horse."¹

When it is recollected that the young Queen was now only sixteen, it must be admitted, that in this conversation with one of the ablest ministers of Elizabeth, she acquitted herself with uncommon spirit and good sense. Nor can we blame either her or the Guises, for their steady refusal to ratify the treaty. Her Commissioners, Monluc and Randan had received positive instructions from Mary to treat with England, but not to include her Scottish subjects, or recognise their league with Elizabeth; yet they suffered themselves to be overreached by the crafty diplomacy of Cecil, and not only included them, but virtually recognised their whole proceedings. En-

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr. Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, 17th Nov. 1560. The letter, which has never been printed, is a most interesting one.

couraged by this, the Protestants had assembled a Parliament, had adjourned for so short a period that it was impossible for the ratification and commission of their Sovereign to arrive, had hurried forward its proceedings—formed a council of regency, composed chiefly of those who were opposed to France—entered anew into the league with England, and lastly, had directed to that country an embassy, the object of which was to place themselves under the guidance and protection of Elizabeth. When the Lord St. John arrived, therefore, and in the name of the Congregation requested the Queen to confirm these proceedings, we need not be surprised that he met with a positive and somewhat peremptory refusal. But although Mary complained of his inferior rank, as compared with Glencairn, Morton and Lethington, the Ambassadors to England, St. John was received with courtesy. He was admitted to an audience with the young Queen and the Cardinal of Lorraine, exhorted with earnestness to act the part of an upright minister between his Sovereign and her subjects, and dismissed with a letter addressed by the King and Queen to the Estates of Scotland.¹ Before his

¹ Letter, MS. St. P. Off., French Corr. 17th Nov. 1560, and 28th Nov. 1560. I am the more careful to note the manner of his reception and dismissal—which I take from Throckmorton, who was on the spot, and in daily intercourse with him—because it has been erroneously stated, that “the Cardinal of Lorraine loaded him with reproaches, accused him of perjury, denominated his friends execrable heretics, and dismissed him without an answer.” This is the account of Dr. Cook, (Reform. vol. ii. pp. 341, 342.) who was misled

departure, however, Sandilands, alarmed at the prospects of the Congregation, had a private interview with the English Ambassador, in which he entreated him to recommend "the ordering of their affairs in Scotland" to the English Queen, observing, that unless she undertook the management, he foresaw that they would inevitably fall out amongst themselves, and be undone.¹

The secret policy of France at this period towards Scotland, was watched and detected by Throckmorton with much ability. The Guises had resolved at present to remain at peace, and wait till they discovered in what manner Elizabeth received the embassy, proposing to her a marriage with Arran. If she declined the match, and treated the overtures of the Protestants with coldness, they determined to sow jealousies between the Reformers and their patroness—to persuade the Scots, that she had acted solely from a desire to aggrandize herself, and induce them to continue the old amity with France. With this

by Keith, whilst Keith was himself misled by Buchanan. Contrast this with the following passage from Throckmorton's Letter of 28th Nov. 1560, to Queen Elizabeth. "The Lord St. John had his *dépesche* here the 26th of this month. He took not his leave of the King, by reason of his indisposition, but of the Queen, and the Cardinal Lorraine; he had very good words, and was required to use the part and office of a good Minister towards the Estates of Scotland, and of a good subject towards his Sovereigns. He hath a letter from the King and Queen to the said Estates, the copy whereof, I send your Majesty herewith."

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 28th Nov. 1560.

view, they proposed to detach Arran from the Congregation by high offers : he was to marry a daughter of France, to be made lieutenant for the King and Queen in Scotland, to have the whole revenue of that realm for his entertainment, and to want nothing but the name of a king.¹ If, on the other hand, they found the Queen disposed to follow the advice of Cecil, and entertain the league of mutual friendship and defence with Scotland, they had projected to weaken the Congregation, by creating jealousies amongst its leaders, to sow dissension between Arran and the Lord James, and to bestow the whole of the benefices and offices of the kingdom in raising a party against England. To traverse these schemes, the English Ambassador advised Elizabeth to employ Clark, one of the archers of the French Guard, a subtle and intriguing agent of his, who had been bred up as a spy in France ; he accordingly left that country with letters of recommendation to the Queen, and being sent into Scotland, pursued his treacherous vocation with great activity and success.²

Although the policy of the Guisian faction was for the moment watchful and pacific, their motive was merely to gain time, their main purpose continued the same as before, the destruction of the party of the Reformation in Europe. To put down the Huguenots in France, to encourage the Romanists

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr. 10th Oct. 1560, Throckmorton to the Lords of the Council.

² MS. Letter. French Corr. St. P. Off., Throckmorton to the Queen, 28th Nov. 1560.

in England and Scotland, to sow dissensions amongst the Protestant princes of Germany, to support the Council of Trent, now sitting, and in a word to concentrate the whole strength of France, Spain, Italy, and the Empire against that great moral and religious revolution, by which light and truth were struggling to break in upon a system of long established error, was the main object to which they directed their efforts.

Under the Regency of the Queen Dowager, the affairs of Scotland had been entrusted principally to D'Osell, a man of talent and a good officer, but rash, and overbearing. On the return, however, of Monluc, Bishop of Valence, with Martignes to the French Court, after their negotiations, D'Osell, who it was generally supposed would have the chief voice in Scottish affairs, lost the royal favour, and found himself entirely passed over. The cause of his disgrace, as stated by Throckmorton, in a letter to Elizabeth, presents us with an appalling picture of the dark policy of the Guises. At the commencement of the religious troubles in Scotland, the Bishop of Amiens, De la Brosse, and Martignes advised the Queen Dowager to dissemble with the Congregation, to call a Parliament at Leith or Edinburgh, and having got the chief leaders under one roof, to seize and put to death the most violent.¹ The Queen Regent revolted from so base a proposal, and D'Osell compelled his less scrupulous associates to abandon it. But he now reaped the consequences; the Prelate arraigned him as the origin of all the ill

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to the Queen, 10th October, 1560.

success in Scotland, and he found himself deprived of the favour of his Sovereign.¹

At this interesting crisis, when the Congregation regarded with anxiety the designs which were meditating against them, when Elizabeth hesitated upon the expediency of continuing to give them her active support, and the Guises waited only "till they had got money in their purses to follow their enterprises,"² an event took place which drew after it important changes. The young French King, Francis the Second, who had for some time laboured under a languishing state of health, expired at Orleans on the 6th of December.³ His youthful consort, the Scottish Queen, by whom he was ardently beloved, had watched over him with devoted care and affection, and for some time appeared inconsolable; but the energy of her character soon recovered its ascendancy, and recalled her to the duties she had to perform, and the difficulties by which she was surrounded. Throckmorton, an eye-witness of her behaviour, soon after the event, addressed the following letter to the Council, which contains an interesting view, not only of the character of the young Queen, but a sketch, by the hand of a master, of the position of parties, and the

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. French Corr. Throckmorton to the Queen, 10th Oct. 1560. Poissy.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Office, French Corr., 10th Oct. 1560. Throckmorton to the Council.

³ I note the day, as it is differently stated by our general historians. MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr. 6th Dec. 1560. Throckmorton to Elizabeth. "The 6th of this present, at 11 o'Clock of the night, he departed to God."

projected policy of England. “ My very good Lords, now that God hath thus disposed of the late French King, whereby the Scottish Queen is left a widow, in my simple judgment, one of the special things your Lordships have to consider, and to have an eye to, is the marriage of that Queen. During her husband’s life there was no great account made of her, for that being under band of marriage, and subjection of her husband, who carried the burden and care of all her matters, there was offered no great occasion to know what was in her. But since her husband’s death, she hath showed, and so continueth, that she is both of great wisdom for her years, modesty, and also of great judgment, in the wise handling herself and her matters ; which increasing in her with her years, cannot but turn to her commendation, reputation, honour, and great benefit of her and her country. And already it appeareth that some such as made no great account of her, do now, seeing her wisdom, both honour and pity her.

“ Immediately upon her husband’s death, she changed her lodging, withdrew herself from all company, became so solitary and exempt of all worldliness, that she doth not to this day see daylight, and thus will continue out forty days. For the space of fifteen days after the death of her said husband, she admitted no man to come unto her chamber, but the King, his brethren, the King of Navarre, the Constable, and her uncles. About four or five days after that, she was content to admit some bishops, and the ancient knights of the order, and none of the younger,

saving Martignes, who having done her good service, and married the chief gentlewoman of her chamber, had so much favour showed him among the rest. The Ambassadors also were lastly admitted, as they came, who have been all with her to condole, saving I, which I have forborn to do, knowing not the Queen's Majesty's pleasure in that behalf.

“Amongst others, the Ambassador of Spain hath been with her above an hour together, which is thought to be for more than the ceremony of condoling required. He hath also since that time dined, and had great conference with the Cardinal of Lorraine, and though I cannot yet think that it be about any matter of marriage for her with the Prince of Spain—for I think the Council of Spain too wise to think upon it without other commodity—yet, it is not amiss to hearken to the matter, for she, using herself as she beginneth, will make herself to be beloved, and to lack no good means of offers. But to conclude herein, as long as the matter shall be well handled in England, and that now, in time, good occasions be not let pass, the King of Spain will have little mind that way. As for my part, I see her behaviour to be such, and her wisdom and queenly modesty so great, in that she thinketh herself not too wise, but is content to be ruled by good counsel and wise men, (which is a great virtue in a Prince or Princess, and which argueth a great judgment and wisdom in her) that by these means she cannot do amiss. And I cannot but fear her proceedings with the time, if any means be left, and offered her to take advantage by.

“ I understand very credibly, that the said Scottish Queen is desirous to return into Scotland ; marry, she would so handle the matter as that the desire should not seem nor appear to come of herself, nor of her seeking, but by the request and suit of the subjects of Scotland. To compass which device she hath sent one Robert Lesly (who pretendeth title to the Earldom of Rothes) into Scotland, to work by such as are hers ; and besides them, doubteth nothing to procure to her a good many of those that were lately against her ; and among others, she holdeth herself sure of the Lord James, and of all the Stewards, wholly to be at her devotion. She mistrusteth none but the Duke of Chastelherault and his party, and besides these, she nothing doubteth to assure to her, with easy persuasions, the whole, or the most part of those that carried themselves indifferently as neuters all this while, who are thought to be many besides the common people. And now to have their Queen home, will altogether, she thinketh, lean and incline to her. Upon request, thus to be made to her by these nobles, requiring to have her return ; she will demand that the principal forts and holds of the realm be delivered into her hands, or to such for her as she will appoint, to the end that she may be more assured against the evil meaning of the hollow hearted, or such as fear the worst towards themselves. She doth also work that those that shall thus request her to come into Scotland, shall offer and promise all obedience and duty belonging to loving and obedient subjects, whom she will, for her part, recompense, by all the favour, assurance, and bene-

volence, that a Prince can promise and owe to good subjects. This matter, my Lords, being worth good consideration, I leave to your Lordships' grave wisdoms to consider of it." ¹

The news of the young King's death was received by the party of the Congregation in Scotland with extraordinary exultation. The Ministers not only justly considered the event as a great deliverance, but in the intolerant spirit of the times, represented it as a special judgment inflicted upon an infidel and stubborn Prince. ² Throckmorton, with greater charity, called upon his royal mistress to thank God, who by these incomprehensible means had provided for her surety and quietness. ³ Lethington, with the quick prospective glance of a statesman, pronounced that the King's death must have the effect of changing materially the line of their policy; ⁴ whilst the leaders of the opposite parties, which had so long separated the state, transmitted assurances of fidelity, and offers of service, to their youthful Sovereign.

¹ Letter, MS. St. P. Off. French Corr. Throckmorton to the Council, 31st, Dec, 1560.

² When all things, says Knox, were in readiness to shed the blood of innocents; the Eternal, our God, who ever watcheth for the preservation of his own, began to work, and suddenly did put his own work in execution, for as the King sat at mass, he was suddenly struck with an apothume in that deaf ear which would never hear the truth of God. * * * When his glory perished, and the pride of his stubborn heart vanished in smoke.—Knox, p. 280.

³ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. French Corresp. Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 6th Dec. 1560.

⁴ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Lethington to Cecil, 6th Feb. 1560-1, Scots' Corr.

In the meantime, all agreed that a Parliament must be summoned, and the Three Estates having assembled at Edinburgh on the 16th of January, Lord St. John, who had been overtaken on his journey by the news of the King's death, laid before them the letter with which he had been entrusted by their Sovereign and her late husband. It informed them that their envoy had assured her of their earnest wish to remain faithful and obedient subjects, but in the account which she had received of the proceedings of their late assembly, (so she termed the Parliament in which they had established the reformed faith) she lamented to observe, how far their conduct had deviated from their professions. Yet so anxious was she for their return to their duty, that she had resolved to despatch two noble persons as her envoys into Scotland, bearing her commission to convene a legal Parliament, in which their requests should be fully considered, and their faults buried and forgotten.¹

It was evident to the Lords of the Congregation, that the King's death, which happened three weeks after this letter was written, must have the effect of altering, in a great degree, the mutual relations between them and their Sovereign; they saw, at the same time, that much would depend upon the policy of England, and they therefore turned with anxiety to receive the reply of Elizabeth to their late em-

¹ MS. Letter, Copy, St. P. Off., Orleans, 16th Nov. 1560.

bassy.¹ It was favourable, so far as she assured them that their thankful acceptance of her assistance, and the good fruits which had resulted from it, would encourage her to proffer the same aid, should they ever require it in their defence. She declined the offer of marriage with the Earl of Arran, but in terms sufficiently flattering to the Estates, and to himself, acknowledging their goodwill in offering to her the choicest person whom they had, and pronouncing him a noble gentleman of great worthiness : she concluded by earnestly recommending unanimity amongst themselves, warning them of the practices which might still be attempted against them, and (with a glance towards France) declared her readiness to enter into a common defence against any common enemy.²

Having weighed these answers, it was determined by the Parliament that their Sovereign, who was now unfettered by any ties to France, should be invited to return to her own dominions, and that her brother, the Lord James, the chief leader of the Congregation, should instantly proceed as an Ambassador to that kingdom, to declare their wishes upon this point. It might have been imagined that this potent person who had made himself so obnoxious to the Guisian

¹ The Ambassadors returned 3d January. MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 3d Jan. 1560-1.

² Calig. B. x. fol. 133. A Copy from the original in Lord Burghley's hand. 8th Dec. 1560. Printed in Keith, p. 156.

faction would have declined this dangerous mission. But although sufficiently delicate, and difficult, there were circumstances which convinced him, that if he was to retain the power he now possessed, he must embrace it. The Earl of Huntly, the head of the Romish party, his principal rival, and the only man whose strength and abilities he dreaded, had already assembled his friends, and he was anxious to anticipate any message they might send to France;¹ Even before the King's death, the Lord James had entered into a correspondence with the young Queen, in which he solicited the renewal of his French pension, and in reply Mary had assured him, that if he would return to his duty, not only the pension awaited him, but the highest favours that could be conferred, whether he disposed himself to be ecclesiastical or temporal.²

But whilst he thus prepared the way for a reconciliation with his own Sovereign, and hoped to be entrusted with the principal management of her affairs, the Lord James had no intention of deserting the lucrative service of England. At the same moment he applied, through Throckmorton, to Cecil, requesting a recompense out of some Abbey or

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Scots' Corr. Randolph to Cecil, Edinburgh 23d Dec. 1560. Also, orig. MS. St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 7th Sep. 1560. Also, MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Orig. Randolph to Cecil, 23d. Sept. 1560.

² MS. Letter. French Corr. St. P. Off., 29th Nov. 1560. Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth.

pension in his own country, for the losses he had sustained.¹ He resolved also to take his passage by London, and in an interview with Elizabeth, to acquaint that Princess with the purport of his message, and the course of conduct which he and his party had determined to follow; if the Congregation found, that their Sovereign, listening to the counsel of the House of Guise, which had already occasioned a civil war, meant to renew its horrors, by bringing with her a foreign force, they had resolved not to receive her, but to communicate the matter to the Queen of England, who, says Lethington, will have power to command what she thinketh rathest (earliest) to be followed, without whose advice, he adds, "we dare not enterprise any great thing."² If, on the contrary, Mary was content to come home, unaccompanied by any foreign force, and to repose her confidence in her own subjects, he was to assure her of their loyalty and affection, and to advise her to take her journey through England, where she might have an interview with Elizabeth, and from which her subjects would accompany her honourably to her own country.

One difficulty remained on the subject of religion. The young Queen rigidly adhered to the Romish faith, yet it had been pronounced death by Parlia-

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. French Cor. Throckmorton to Cecil, 29th. Nov., 1560. "If," says Throckmorton, "the allotment of his recompence could be so used as the Earl of Arran might be seen to be the principal doer thereof, it would, in my opinion, do no harm."

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Lethington to Cecil, 6th Feb. 1560-1.

liament for any one to hear mass; and the ministers admonished him, that if he consented that she should have that service performed either publicly or privately, they would consider him as betraying the cause of God, and exposing religion to the utmost peril. He answered that he should never consent to the establishment of this idolatrous worship in public, but that he could not consent to the violent advice of those who would stop her from the private exercise of her own form of worship.¹ Having thus received his instructions, the Parliament was prorogued till the 21st of May.

At the same time that the Three Estates committed this important mission to the Lord James, a secret convention was held by the Romish faction, which was attended by the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, the Bishops of Aberdeen, Murray and Ross; the Earls of Huntly, Athole, Crawford, Sutherland, Marshall, Caithness, and many other barons, who entrusted Lesly, then Official of Aberdeen, and afterwards Bishop of Ross, with a Commission to repair to the French Court, and present to their Sovereign their offers of service and expressions of devoted attachment.

The departure of both envoys, however, was delayed by the arrival of four Commissioners from the Queen (20th February, 1560). These were Preston of Craigmillar, Ogilvy of Findlater, Lumsden of Blanern, and Lesly of Auchtermuchty. The mes-

¹ MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 458.

sage which they brought from their royal mistress was full of affection and conciliation. She assured them that she meant shortly to return home; that all offences should be forgiven, and that the few French soldiers who still remained in garrison within Dunbar and the Inch should be sent out of the country. She informed them that offers of marriage had been already made to her on the part of the Prince of Spain and the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, but that she had resolved to entertain none of these proposals till she could in person consult her nobles and receive the assent of her people. To them she looked, and to their support, as the only sure foundation of her greatness.¹ They presented at the same time a commission directed to seven leading men in Scotland, the Duke of Chastelherault, Argile, Athole, Huntly, Bothwell, the Lord James, and the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, directing them to summon a Parliament, and notifying that the French King had resolved to despatch Monsieur de Noailles to propose to the Three Estates the renewal of the ancient league between France and Scotland, a proposal which met with her hearty concurrence. Mary, seized this moment, earnestly to recommend to her subjects of all parties the duty of mutual forbearance and forgiveness. She addressed letters to almost every leading man in Scotland, assuring those who had most offended against her, that she was determined to forget all in-

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 26th February, 1560-1.

juries, and to continue them in their offices of trust if they would but faithfully serve her.¹

At the time when these messengers arrived from the Queen, Scotland was divided, as we are informed by the secretary Lethington, into three parties.² The first he denominates the neutrals, who, as they were before this, careless of the commonweal, were now ready to receive whatever was propounded to them under the shadow of the Prince's command, without examination either of its justice or its consequences. The second faction consisted of the Duke of Chastelherault and the friends of his house. He considered his only security to be a marriage, between Arran, his eldest son, and Mary. In advising this, the sole councillor and confidant of Arran, was Knox: to promote it, Forbes, a confidential friend of the Hamiltons, had already proceeded on a secret mission to France, and although the Queen was too cautious to commit herself, the messenger was received with favour, and an answer returned which at least did not extinguish his hopes.³ The third party is described by the same acute statesman, himself an eye-witness and principal leader amongst them, as important alike in numbers, rank, and power. It was their opinion that every method should be

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 23rd January, 1560-1. MS. Instructions to the four Commissioners, St. P. Off., without date.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 26th February, 1560.

³ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil. 3rd January, 1560-1.

adopted to persuade their Sovereign to return into her own realm, where they were ready to secure for her a favorable reception, under the single condition that she came without a foreign force, and was content to govern by her own subjects. If she consented to this, it was his belief that ways would easily be found to induce her to favor the religion, confirm the treaty with England, and reform all abuses. Lethington concluded the letter which gives us this information, by pointing out to Cecil the dangers which must follow the renewal of the league with France, and anticipated his own certain ruin if the amity with England were dissolved. "I pray you," says he, "consider what danger it is for me to write. Many men's eyes look upon me; my familiarity with that realm is known, and so far disliked, that I learn it shall be my undoing, unless the Queen may be made favorable to England, which I fear shall be hard to do."¹ Nor was he singular in this opinion, the whole party of the Congregation looking to Elizabeth as their surest protection against the designs of France and the anticipated resentment of their Sovereign.

On the first intelligence of the death of Francis, this Princess prepared to pursue that cautious and double policy which should preserve her interest in Scotland, at the least possible expense to herself. She despatched the Earl of Bedford to present her condolences to Mary, and to assure her of her warmest wishes for

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil, 26th February, 1560.

the continuance of peace between her own kingdom and Scotland, but to require at the same time the confirmation of the treaty of Edinburgh, concluded by her Commissioners, and of which the ratification, she contended, had been delayed on frivolous pretences.¹ It was to be a main part of Bedford's duty, to persuade the Queen to give the same freedom to her country that it had enjoyed during the reign of her father, James the Fifth, which consisted chiefly in its being governed by its own laws, and ruled by means of its "natural or borne" people. He was to remind her how quiet the kingdom had remained since the removal of the French troops—to declare that for the last hundred years the borders had not enjoyed so much peace as at present; and if he discovered any disposition in the House of Guise to promote her marriage with Spain or Austria, he was to incite the King of Navarre, and the Protestant party in France, to oppose it, as contrary to his own greatness and the best interests of Christendom.² Soon after this, Elizabeth instructed Randolph, then resident as her envoy at the Scottish capital, in the policy which he ought to pursue. He was directed to inform the leaders of the Protestants of the league lately renewed amongst the princes of Germany for their mutual defence against the Pope and his adherents, and to show them how earnestly they had exhorted her to continue firm in

¹ MS. Instructions, St. P. Off., Sir J. Williamson's Collection, 1st series, vol. xix. p. 547, 20th January, 1560-1.

² Ibid.

her religion. He was to express her determination to adhere to the great principles of the Reformation, to exhort the Scottish reformers to labour for the continuance of the peace with England, and to persuade them against the renewal of the ancient unprofitable alliance with France.¹

Bedford arrived at Paris on the 3rd of February, and on the 15th of that month proceeded to the Court at Fontainbleau, where he delivered his message to the Scottish Queen.² He was received by Mary with the courteous and winning manners for which she was so remarkable: she expressed her kindly feelings towards Elizabeth, and her desire to remain in amity with England, but steadily declined to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, till she had returned to her kingdom and consulted the wishes of her parliament. The interview is minutely described in an original letter of Bedford and Throckmorton, to the privy council. They were conducted to the presence of the Queen of Scotland by D'Osell, her knight of honour, and on being pressed to show her desire of peace with Elizabeth, by confirming the treaty of Edinburgh, without more delay, Mary replied, "that there were more reasons to persuade to amity, between Elizabeth, her good sister, and herself, than between any two princes in all christendom; we are both, (said she,) in one isle,

¹ Haynes St. P., p. 366, 17th March, 1560-1.

² St. P. Off., French Corr., 12th February, 1560-1; also St. P. Off., Sir J. Williamson's Collection, 1st series, vol. xix. p. 585. Report of Bedford and Throckmorton, to the Privy Council.

both of one language, both the nearest kinswomen that each other hath, and both Queens. As to the treaty of Edinburgh I am here, (she continued) as you see, without all counsel ; my uncle (the Cardinal of Lorraine), who hath the ordering of all my affairs, and by whom (as reason is) I ought to be advised, is not here presently, and, Mons. l'Ambassadeur, it is also the Queen, my good sister's advice, that I should take the counsel of the nobles and wise men of mine own realm, as hath been declared by you unto me. You know well enough, (quoth she) here are none of them, but I look to have some of them here shortly, and then will I make the Queen such an answer as she shall be pleased with." The Earl of Bedford again insisted, that she was bound in honour immediately to grant a ratification which had been already too long delayed. "Helas, my Lord, (interrupted Mary) what would you have me do, I have no council here ; the matter is great to ratify a treaty ; and especially for one of my years (she was then eighteen)." The sagacious Throckmorton then attempted to reply to these reasonable scruples, "Madam," said he, "Mons. de Guise, your uncle, is here present, by whom I think, as reason is, you will be advised. I see others here also, of whom you have been pleased to take counsel ; the matter is not such but that you may proceed without any great delay, seeing it hath been promised so often that it should be ratified." "Helas, Mons. l'Ambassadeur, (quoth she) for those things that were done in my late husband's time, I am not to be charged, for then

I was under his obedience; and now I would be loath to do any thing unadvisedly; but because it is a great matter, I pray you give me respite, till I speak with you again;" with which answer the Ambassadors were contented for the time, but when taking their leave, Mary recalled Throckmorton; "Mons. l'Ambassadeur," said she pleasantly, "I have to challenge you with breach of promise; you can remember that you promised me, in case I would send to the Queen, my good sister, my picture, that I should have hers in recompense thereof, and because I made no small account of the same, I was very glad that that condition was offered me to have it; you know I have sent mine to the Queen, my good sister, according to my promise, but have not received hers. I pray you, therefore, procure, that I may have it, whereof I am so desirous, and now, more than before, that I shall think the time long till I have it."

On the morrow, Bedford and Throckmorton having obtained a second audience, reminded Mary of her promise to give them her final answer: "My Lord," quoth the Queen, "inasmuch as I have none of the nobles of my realm of Scotland here, to take advice of, by whom the Queen, my good sister, doth advise me to be counselled, I dare not, nor think not good, to ratify this said treaty, and, as you know, if I should do any act that might concern the realm, without their advice and counsel, it were like (likely) I should have them such subjects unto me, as I have had them. But for all such matters as be past, I have forgotten

them; and at the Queen, my good sister's desire, I have pardoned them, trusting that I shall find them hereafter by her good means, better and more loving subjects than they have been. Whether I have cause to think amiss of them, or no, I durst put it to her judgment. This, my Lord, I pray you think concerning the ratification of the treaty: I do not refuse to ratify it, because I do not mind to do it; nor I use not these delays as excuses to shift off the matter; for if my council were here, I would give you such an answer as should satisfy you; and I pray you to tell the Queen, my good sister, I trust, ere it be long, some of the nobility and council of Scotland will be here, for I do hear they mean to send some, shortly, unto me; *peradventure you know it as well as I*. And when I shall have communed with them, I mind to send my good sister, the Queen, your mistress, such an answer, as I trust she shall be pleased with it; for I mean to send one of mine own unto her ere it be long. In the mean time, I pray you, declare unto her from me, that I would we might speak together, and then I trust we should satisfy each other, much better than we can do by messages and ministers. This the Queen, my sister, may assure herself of, that she shall find none more willing to embrace her friendship and amity, than I; and there is none that ought to take more place with her, than me. She can consider in what state I am in, and what need I have to have the amity of such a one as she is. Tell her, I pray you, how much I am desirous to see her, and also that I am in good hope it will come to pass."

“And thus, (concluded the ambassadors in their letter to the privy council), after many good words to and fro we took our leave of her, marry she forgot not to pray us both once again, to remember to procure that she might have the Queen’s Majesty’s picture.”¹

Not long after the return of Bedford, the Lord James having consulted with Lethington and his party, on the policy which they should pursue, repaired to the English court: there, in an interview with Elizabeth, who pressed him to procure the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, he assured that princess, that in his present visit to the Queen, his Sister, he bore no public commission, it was dictated, he said, solely by his own private feelings; and the only message he conveyed from the nobility and council, was a general declaration of their duty and devotion to their Sovereign.² But although Murray declined to press Mary on this subject of the treaty, he did not fail to inform Elizabeth minutely regarding the intended proceedings of himself and his friends. “The Lord James,” said Lethington, addressing Cecil and alluding to the journey, “mindeth to sue to the Queen’s Majesty (Elizabeth) for a passport, and in his passage to make

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. The Earl of Bedford and Sir N. Throckmorton, to the Privy Council, 26th Feb. 1560-1. Sir J. Williamson’s Collection, vol. xix. p. 54.

² MS. Letter, Elizabeth to Sir N. Throckmorton, St. P. Off. Draft by Cecil, 29th March 1561. MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Scots’ Cor. 7th Feb. 1560. The Lord James to Cecil.

her Highness participant as well of that he hath in charge, as what he mindeth to do. You know somewhat of his nature, and I dare undertake that he is no dissembler.”¹ With Cecil also the same ambitious and able man held a private consultation, and it is curious to observe, that between two such consummate politicians as Cecil and Throckmorton there existed a difference of opinion as to the propriety of permitting him to take his journey into France. Throckmorton, then minister at the French Court, a witness to the skilfulness of Guisian diplomacy, and not insensible to the fascination of the manners of the young Queen, dreaded that he would be gained over by the bribes which were preparing for him; or should his integrity or his self-interest resist these temptations, that some means would be found to detain him in France. “I understand,” says this ambassador, in a letter to Queen Elizabeth, “that the Lord James of Scotland is appointed to come hither to the Queen of Scotland. I am very sorry for it, and so shall be still, till I see the contrary of that fall out, which I yet fear by his coming. I learn that this King, by means of the Queen of Scotland, deviseth all the means he can to win him to his devotion; and for that purpose hath both procured the red hat for him if he will accept it, and also mindeth to endow him with good abbeys and benefices in this realm. If advancement or fair words shall win him, he shall not want the one or the other. If he so much esteem

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil. February 6th, 1560-1.

the religion he professeth, and the honour of his country and himself that none of these things shall win him to this devotion, then it is to be feared that they will work ways to keep him still by fair or foul means. * * On the other side, if he will be won, then your Majesty knoweth he may be, and it is like he will be, the most perilous man to your Majesty and your realm, of all the realm of Scotland, and most able to stand this King in his best stead for the matters there, so that his coming cannot but prejudice every way; and I believe verily if he come, he will not return into Scotland so soon as he thinketh."¹

Cecil, however, knew that the Lord James was devotedly attached to England. From the correspondence with Lethington he was aware that both Maitland and he considered their own safety as inseparably connected with the maintenance of their fidelity to Elizabeth, and having concerted their measures together, the English secretary felt little disposition to distrust the Scottish envoy, but treating him with the highest courtesy, dismissed him with earnest injunctions to attend to his personal safety.²

Having arrived at Paris, Murray found that the Queen, his Sovereign, was then at Rheims, to which place he proceeded, after having consulted with Throckmorton, and delivered to that minister the

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to the Queen. Paris, March 31st, 1561.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Cecil to Throckmorton. April 4th, 1561.

letters he had received from Cecil.¹ He found himself anticipated by Lesly, the envoy of Huntly and the Romish faction, who, the very day before her brother was admitted, had solicited and obtained an interview with the Queen. It seems, however, to have produced little effect upon the mind of Mary. She had been impressed with an unfavorable opinion of Huntly from his late wavering and crafty conduct. Although he professed an unshaken attachment to the Romish faith, and made the warmest professions of loyalty to his Sovereign, this powerful noble had scarcely a year before, joined the party of the Congregation, upon an understanding that he should be supported in his power in the north, and share in the ecclesiastical prizes which the leaders were then dividing amongst them.² When, therefore, Lesly brought from him his assurances of fidelity, warned his mistress to beware of the intrigues and ambition of her brother, the Lord James, and hinted that he had designs against the Crown, it is not surprising that Mary listened to his communication with incredulity.³ She, however, received the envoy with kindness, and commanded him to remain near her person.⁴

To Murray her behaviour was more warm and

¹ He arrived sometime before the 9th of April, and did not see his Sovereign, the queen, till the 14th of the same month. MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to Cecil. 9th April 1561.

² MS., St. P. Off., "My Lord of Huntley's desires and counsel. 18th April, 1560.

³ Keith, p. 160.

⁴ Lesly, Bannat. Edin., p. 294.

confidential. He came to her, as he stated, not with any public commission, but impelled by his affection, and anxious to offer her his services, as one who knew the state of parties in her dominions; and so completely did his blunt and open deportment impress her with an opinion of his integrity, that in a few days he had gained a decided influence over the mind of his Sovereign. He appears in his manner of managing this difficult mission, to have acted with great address and duplicity. His object, according to the expressive phrase of Lethington, was to "grope the mind of the young Queen," and, having discovered her intentions, to shape his counsels and his conduct so as best to secure the interests of the Congregation, the friendship of Elizabeth, and the preservation of his own power. Had Mary been aware that the man in whom she was about to confide, had already made Elizabeth and Cecil participant in his intentions, and that nothing was to be done in Scottish matters without consulting the English Queen, she would have hesitated before she gave entire credit to one so likely to abuse it; but of this she was ignorant; and the Romish party, who had attempted to put her on her guard, were not themselves above suspicion. D'Osell, in whom she placed much confidence, was untrue to her; and acting in the interest of Elizabeth,¹ advised her to confide implicitly in the Lord James. Her temper was open and unsuspecting, and one of the most fatal faults in her character was the facility with

¹ This is quite apparent from the secret correspondence of Throckmorton and Cecil, in the State Paper Office.

which her affections were engaged, and the dangerous and rapid reliance she was disposed to place in all whom she trusted. She listened therefore to her brother with a generous forgetfulness of the part which, as she believed, his conscientious adherence to the reformed faith had compelled him to take against her; and when he pressed her to return to her dominions, and assured her of a cordial welcome from himself and her subjects,¹ she flattered herself his protestations were sincere, and disclosed to him her intentions with an imprudent precipitation. She declared that she would never ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, till she came into Scotland and took the advice of her Parliament. She did not scruple to admit, that the amity between England and Scotland was little agreeable to her, and that, considering the terms of the league lately made betwixt the two realms, she was anxious to have it dissolved. It was evident also to the Lord James, from the expressions of the Queen, that she would never marry the Earl of Arran; but was anxious to procure the consent of her subjects to a union with some foreign prince. She had sent her commands that no Parliament should be assembled, and no business of importance concluded, till she had personally met with her people; and she confessed that her present intention was to return to Scotland, not through England, but by sea.²

Notwithstanding all this, there is reason to believe

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to Cecil, 26th July, 1561. Paris.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 29th April, 1561

that an immediate return to her kingdom was not at this moment very anxiously desired by Mary. To leave France, where, as the Queen of one of the first monarchies in Europe, she was accustomed to all the splendour and adulation attendant upon so high a rank, where she had been the attractive centre of a refined court, to repair to an inferior kingdom, inhabited by a ruder people, who spoke of her as an idolatress and an enemy, was sufficiently appalling. But other reasons weighed with her, and produced delay. Her hand was now solicited by some of the greatest princes on the continent, and the same suitors who had courted Elizabeth, and whom that Queen felt a pride in keeping in her train, now offered an unpardonable affront to her vanity by transferring their admiration to her beautiful rival. The King of Denmark, reputed to be by sea the strongest prince in Christendom, had offered to enter into a strict league with France, should he succeed in his addresses to Mary.¹ The King of Sweden had despatched an Embassy proposing himself in marriage; and at this very time the jealous and busy eye of Throckmorton had detected a secret overture for a matrimonial alliance with the Prince of Spain, which created alarm to the English ambassador, and did not escape the watchful observation of the Lord James.² To

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to Elizabeth. March 31st, 1561.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to Cecil. April 23rd, 1561.

gain time to conclude this negotiation was one great object of the Scottish Queen, and with this view she was inclined to delay her immediate journey home, and entrust her affairs in the mean season to the management of the Lord James. But, prior to her final resolution, both the Queen and the Guises, endeavoured with great earnestness to induce him to embrace the Romish faith. He was offered a Cardinal's hat, and the highest advancement, should he prefer an ecclesiastical to a civil career, but he resisted every bribe, remaining true to the reformed faith and his engagements with England. This firmness in his purpose rather raised than lowered him in the esteem of the Queen, his sister. She imagined, but erroneously, that he who was thus guided by a conscientious adherence to the party of which he formed the head, would be equally true to her. She confided to him her intended measures regarding Scotland, and when he parted from her, she had promised him, her Commission to assume the government of the country, till her arrival in her dominions, and engaged to send it to him by a gentleman whom he left behind for this purpose.¹

On taking leave of his Sovereign, the Lord James returned to Paris, and having secretly met the English ambassador, insidiously betrayed to him everything that had passed between Mary and himself. These particulars Throckmorton immediately communicated

¹ St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to the Queen (Elizabeth). 1st May, 1561.

to Elizabeth,¹ observing that the Scottish Lord would himself detail the circumstances more particularly to her Majesty when he came to her presence. It is of importance, at this moment, to the full understanding of the secret history of this period, to attend to some of the passages of the letter addressed by the ambassador to that Princess. "At this present (29th April, 1561)" says he, "thanks be to God, your Majesty hath peace with all the world, and I see no occasion to move unto your Majesty or your realm, any war from any place or person, but by the Queen of Scotland and her means; neither do I see any danger that may grow to your realm but by Scotland. Then, wisdom doth advise your Majesty to buy your surety, quietness, and felicity, though it cost you dear. The means to assure this is in time before any other put in his feet, his hire, and practices, to win unto your Majesty devotion and party, the mightiest, the wisest, and the most honest of the

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to the Queen. 29th April, 1561. It is to the preservation of this letter in the Correspondence of the State Paper Office, that I owe the detection of Murray's intrigues with Elizabeth, and the disclosure of the deep duplicity with which he acted. I subjoin the passage, which proves the assertion in the text, as it is of importance. "When the Lord James, being the same day (22nd April), arrived at this town, came to my lodging *secretly unto me*, and declared to me at good length, all that had passed between the Queen, his sister, and him, and between the Cardinal Lorraine and him. The circumstances whereof he will declare unto your Majesty particularly when he cometh to your presence. I suppose he will be in England about the 10th or 12th of May."

realm of Scotland. And though it be to your Majesty great charge, as twenty thousand pounds yearly, yet it is in no wise to be omitted or spared. And in sorting your entertainment to every person, there should be some special consideration had of the Earl of Arran, because he is the second person of that realm, whose quality and credit your Majesty knoweth better than I, and in like manner of the Lord James, whose credit, love, and honesty is comparable, in my judgment, to any man of that realm. It is now your Majesty's time, and never shall you have a better opportunity, to work the Scottish affection to your devotion." Another passage from the same letter, eulogising the Lord James, proves that Elizabeth had already by some substantial consideration, or as Throckmorton expresses it, "some good turn," engaged him in her service; and demonstrates in strong language the system of corruption by which Throckmorton advised that the assistance of the leading lay reformers of Scotland should be secured. "Lastly," said he, "I do well perceive the Lord James to be a very honorable, sincere, and godly gentleman, and very much affected to your Majesty, upon whom you never bestowed good turn better than on him, in my opinion. He is a man, in my simple judgment, for many respects much worthy to be cherished, and his amity to be well embraced and entertained. For besides his own well deserving, he is as well able to serve your Majesty by himself and his friends, as any man there in Scotland. Though the Queen, his sister,

will seek to bring in thither some puissant foreign power, to subject all upside down, or though she would seek to serve her turn and affection by some others of her nation that be inclined to greater legerity, inconstancy, and corruption. * * For if I be not greatly deceived, no man can tell yet, nor is able to ground a certain judgment, what shall become of the realm of Scotland. And therefore it shall be good for your Majesty upon all events to retain and win as many friends there as you can, that if one will not serve your turn another may. There be attending here on the Lord James, two men amongst others that are to be cherished by your Majesty. The one is the Lord of Patarro, a grave wise man, and such a one as the Queen of Scotland, for God's cause and yours, doth much mislike. The other is Mr. John Wood, secretary to the Lord James, a man in whom there is much virtue and sufficiency. There be two others which are well known to your Majesty, which are in like case to be well cherished. The one is Alexander Clark, the other is Robert Melvyne."¹ These passages sufficiently explain the extraordinary difficulties of Mary's situation, the venality of the times, and the lamentable want of principle in that class from which she was compelled to choose her counsellors.

The Queen on taking leave of her brother, had

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 29th April, 1561. Paris.

earnestly dissuaded him from visiting the French Court or passing through England. She naturally dreaded the influence of the Protestant party in France, and of Elizabeth in England; and when she found that her wishes were not obeyed, she dismissed the gentleman by whom he expected to receive the commission appointing him Governor, with a brief intimation that she meant to entrust that authority to no person till her own arrival in her dominions. "The special cause," says Throckmorton in writing to the Queen of England, "why she hath changed her opinion for the Lord James, as I hear, is that she could by no means dissuade him from his devotion and good opinion towards your Majesty, and the observation of the league between your Majesty and the realm of Scotland, and also that neither she nor the Cardinal Lorraine could win nor divert him from his religion, wherein they used very great means and persuasions. For which respects the said Lord James deserveth to be the more esteemed; and seeing he hath dealt so plainly with the Queen, his sovereign, on your behalf, and showed himself so constant in religion, that neither the fear of his Sovereign's indignation could waver him, nor great promises win him, your Majesty may, in my opinion, make good account of his constancy towards you, and so he deserveth to be well entertained and made of, as one that may stand you in no small stead for the advancement of your desire. And in case your Majesty would now in time liberally and honorably consider him with some good means, to make him to be the more

beholden to you, it would, in my simple judgment, serve your Majesty to great purpose."¹

Murray having left Paris, passed over to Dover, and from thence to the English Court. The step taken by the Scottish Queen in withholding his promised commission as Governor, convinced him that, since their interview her policy had changed; his measures, therefore, experienced a similar alteration. He was suspected—the Queen had resolved to return to her dominions sooner than he had contemplated, and it became necessary for him to provide against it. He knew from Throckmorton, whose sagacity penetrated into the whole system of the French intrigues in Scotland, that a strong Romish party was forming against him—love-days had been made amongst the papists² by Mary's advice; Lethington in a letter to Throckmorton informed that Minister, that French gold which had before this worked so much mischief in the country, might have the same effect again, if England grew lukewarm, and hinted at the necessity of bribing the leading men in Scotland. "I remember, said he, one old verse of Chaucer, 'With empty hand, men should no hawkis lure,' *sapienti pauca*."³

Meantime Murray, who remained at the English

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr. Throckmorton to the Queen. 1st May, 1561. Paris.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr. Throckmorton to Cecil, 21st May, Paris.

³ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr. Copy, Lethington to Throckmorton, 10th June, 1561, Edinburgh.

Court, consulted with Elizabeth on the adoption of every method by which Mary might be detained in France : if this failed, and she set out on her journey, it was devised that means, should be taken to intercept her on her passage to her dominions.¹ Having acted this disingenuous part, he repaired to Scotland fully instructed by Cecil in the policy which they thought proper to adopt. He found there Noailles, the French Ambassador, who during his absence, had been sent by Mary to communicate her wishes and intention, and soon after his arrival, in the end of May,² a convention of the nobility was held in which the Protestant party carried some violent resolutions against renewing the league with France.³ At this assembly Noailles, the French Ambassador, received his audience, and having urged them to break with England, met with a decided refusal. They reminded him of the late cruel war which the French had carried on in Scotland, of the seasonable assistance of Elizabeth, and of the tyranny of the Romish clergy, whom, instead of pastors, they had found to be wolves, thieves, and murderers of the flock. To dissolve a righteous league which had been cemented in the name of

¹ Copy sent at the time to Elizabeth. St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to the Lord James, 26th June, 1561, Camden, apud Kennet, vol. i. p. 387. Keith, p. 179.

² Neither Keith nor Knox fix the precise date of Murray's arrival at Edinburgh. By a Letter of Throckmorton to the Lord James, it appears, that he was in London on the 20th May, and at Edinburgh, on the 3rd June.

³ Keith, p. 161.

God, and to enter again into alliance with those who were the sworn vassals of that Papal tyranny, which they had cast off, was, they declared, a proceeding to which they never would give their consent.

With this reply, Noailles returned to France, and Elizabeth judging this a proper conjuncture to make a last effort to procure from Mary the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, instructed Throckmorton, her Ambassador at Paris, to visit her for this purpose. His request was temperately, but decidedly denied. The Scottish Queen informed him, that she had now finally resolved to return to her dominions in Scotland, where she would have an opportunity of consulting the Estates of her Realm, without whose advice it would be improper for her to act in this matter; she added, that she had resolved to withdraw all Frenchmen from Scotland; that she regretted their presence had given discontent to her subjects, and excited jealousy in her good sister, but that nothing should be left undone to satisfy the Queen of England, from whom she expected the like good offices in return. Throckmorton observed in reply, that it seemed superfluous to delay the ratification of the treaty, till she had obtained the advice of her nobles and the Estates of the Realm, of whose opinion there could be no doubt as the treaty was made by their consent; "Yea," said Mary, "by some of them, but not by all. It will

¹ Keith, p. 166.

appear when I come amongst them, whether they be of the same mind that you say they were then of. But of this I assure you, Mons. l'Ambassadeur, I for my part am very desirous to have the perfect and the assured amity of the Queen, my good sister, and I will use all the means I can to give her occasion to think that I mean it indeed." "I answered (says Throckmorton), Madam, the Queen, my mistress, you may be assured will use the like towards you, to move you to be of the same opinion towards her. "Then," said she, "I trust the Queen, your mistress, will not support nor encourage any of my subjects to continue in their disobedience, nor take upon them things which appertaineth not to subjects. You know," quoth she, "there is much ado in my realm, about the matters of religion, and though there be a greater number of a contrary religion to me than I would there were, yet there is no reason that subjects should give a law to their sovereign, and specially in matters of religion, which I fear, quoth she, my subjects will take in hand." In reply to this the Ambassador adverted to the great changes in religion which had taken place in Scotland, and to the fact that the majority in that kingdom were Protestants. Mary admitted this, and allowed that there was much room for reformation in the Romish Church, but observed at the same time, that she was none of those who could change their religion every year. "I mean," said she, "to constrain none of my subjects, but would wish that they were all as I am, and I trust they shall have no support to constrain

me.”¹ Mary, as we see from this interview, had resolved to visit her dominions, but although she could thus ably reply to so experienced a diplomatist as Throckmorton, it was her peculiar misfortune, that she gave her confidence to those who betrayed it to her adversaries; she despatched D’Osell, who enjoyed much credit with her, to solicit a passport from the English Queen; he was accompanied by a gentleman,² who was to bring it to France, whilst he pursued his journey into Scotland to prepare for his mistress’s reception. But D’Osell was altogether unworthy of the trust reposed in him; he communicated to Throckmorton, previous to setting out, the intended movements of the Queen, and on being admitted to an audience disclosed them to Elizabeth, and advised with her how she ought to proceed. She accordingly refused the passport, with much acrimony and violence gave secret orders for the preparation of some ships of war, which, under pretence of scouring the seas for pirates, were to watch for the Scottish Queen, and instead of permitting D’Osell to continue his journey to Scotland, sent him back to Paris, to inform Mary of her resolution, and secretly to communicate her intentions to Throckmorton. This Ambassador, in a letter to Cecil, expresses surprise and regret at this change of measures. “I do somewhat marvel,” says he, “at this resolution on the Queen of Scotland’s demand for a passage, and the

¹ Keith, p. 167.

² Orig., St. P. Off., French Corr., Throckmorton to Cecil, June 30th 1561.

rather that by all former writings and messages it seemed to me that her Majesty was of the mind to have the said Queen enticed to go from hence, and to be advised by the councillors of her own realm, where as I take it, many occasions of unquietness and practice might be taken away, that her being here might work both by the heads of such as here she is ruled by, and also by the solicitation of such princes as like to entertain cumber, and be desirous of her. Which to do, neither the one nor the other, cannot have such commodity, if she were in Scotland. I think also upon that you write, that your friends in Scotland will most allow that resolution; whereat I somewhat muse, seeing the Lord James at his late being here wrought what he could, and in the same mind hath continued to persuade the said Queen, his sister, to come home, *and if he be now of another mind, I know not what he meaneth.* But if he persist in his former opinion, then it may be feared, that you shall offend more than the Queen of Scotland." Throckmorton next alluded to the idea of intercepting Mary. * * * Because, said he, I hear nothing of such as come from thence (England) of any equipage or force by sea in readiness to empesche the Queen of Scotland's passage, or to make that good that Monsieur D'Osell hath reported here her Majesty said unto him; which was, that her Majesty would provide to keep the Queen of Scotland from passing home, I have thought good to say thus much to you, that better it had been if no such thing had been said, but passage

granted, if no provision or show be made to em-
pesche her indeed. * * * And yet I will not advise
you to counsel the Queen to be at any great cost, in-
asmuch as the truth and certainty of the Queen of
Scotland's journey is not known, nor the certain
place of her embarking." To this letter this emphatic
postscript is added. "If you mind to catch the
Queen of Scots, your ships must search and see all,
for she meaneth rather to steal away than to pass
with force."¹ There is another passage in a letter
from Cecil to the Earl of Sussex, which throws a clear
light on this refusal of the passport, and establishes
the point that Murray and the Protestant party in
Scotland were anxious that she should not be per-
mitted to return to her kingdom. "Monsieur D'Osell,"
says he, "came from the Scots Queen, with the request
that the Queen his mistress, might have a safe-con-
duct to pass along our sea-coasts, and himself to
pass into Scotland to provide for her coming. Many
reasons moved us to mislike her passage, but this
only served us for answer, that where she had pro-
mised to send the Queen's Majesty a good answer
for the ratification of the last league of peace, made
at Edinburgh, and now had sent none, her Majesty
would not disguise with her, but plainly would for-
bear to show her such pleasure until she should ratify
it, and that done, she should not only have free
passage, but all helps and gratuities. Monsieur
D'Osell was also gently required to return with this

¹ MS. Letter, French Corr. St. P. Off. Throckmorton to Cecil, Paris, 26th July, 1561.

answer; what will follow we shall shortly see. *This proceeding will like the Scots well.*"¹

At this moment the seas were much infested by pirates, and the English Queen who dreaded the expense and the obloquy to which she would be exposed if she openly prepared a fleet to intercept Mary, took advantage of this circumstance to put out to sea some ships of war, with the avowed object of protecting her merchants, but with secret instructions to be on the watch for the Scottish Queen, and not to suffer her to pass.²

The refusal of a passport by Elizabeth deeply wounded Mary, but although she dreaded the hostile intentions of that Queen, her preparations were now so far advanced, that she determined they should not be countermanded. On the 26th July, she gave a final audience to the English Ambassador, and of this interview we have fortunately a minute and interesting account transmitted by Throckmorton to his royal mistress. It is impossible to read it with-

¹ MS. Letter, Cecil to Sussex. Titus, B. x. iii. 42. dorso. Dated Newhall, 25th July, 1561.

² This important fact seems to me to be established by a letter which he addressed to Sussex. "The Scottish Queen," says he, "was the 10th of this month at Bulloign, and meaneth to take shipping at Calais. Neither they in Scotland, nor we here, do like her going home. The Queen's Majesty hath three ships in the North Seas, to preserve the fishers from pirates. *I think they will be sorry to see her pass.*" MS. Letter, Cecil to Sussex, Smallbridge, Mr. Smalldegrave's House, the 12th of August, 1561. Titus, B. xiii. 44. dorso. Keith, p. 178.

out forming a favourable idea of the prudence, dignity, and spirit, of the young Queen of Scotland. When the Ambassador was introduced, she commanded all the audience to retire. "I know not well," said she, "my own infirmity, nor how far I may with my passion be transported, but I like not to have so many witnesses of my passions as the Queen, your mistress, was content to have when she talked with Monsieur D'Osell." She then continued, "There is nothing Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, doth more grieve me, than that I did so forget myself, as to require of the Queen, your mistress, that favour which I had no need to ask. I needed no more to have made her privy to my journey than she doth me of hers. I may pass well enough home into mine own realm, I think, without her passport or license; for though the late King, your master, used all the impeachment he could, both to stay me and catch me when I came hither, yet you know, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, I came hither, safely, and I may have as good means to help me home again, as I had to come hither, if I would employ my friends. Truly, I was so far from evil meaning to the Queen, your mistress, that at this time I was more willing to employ her amity to stand me in stead than all the friends I have, and yet you know, both in this realm and elsewhere, I have both friends and allies, and such as would be glad and willing to employ their forces and aid to stand me in stead. You have oftentimes told me, that the amity between the Queen, your mistress, and me,

was very necessary and profitable for us both ; and now I have some reason to think, that the Queen, your mistress, is not of that mind, for I am sure, if she were, she would not have refused me thus unkindly. It seemeth she maketh more account of the amity of my disobedient subjects, than she doth of me their Sovereign, who am her equal in degree, though inferior in wisdom and experience, her nighest kinswoman and her next neighbour * * *. Indeed, continued the Queen, with great animation, your mistress doth give me cause to seek friendship where I did not mind to ask it. But Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, let your mistress think that it will be deemed very strange amongst all princes and countries, that she should first animate my subjects against me, and now, being a widow, impeach my going into my own country. I ask of her nothing but friendship ; I do not trouble her state, nor practise with her subjects. And yet, I know there be in her realm some that be inclined enough to hear offers. I know also, they be not of the same mind she is of, neither in religion, nor in other things. The Queen, your mistress, doth say that I am young, and do lack experience. But, I have age enough and experience to behave myself towards my friends and kinsfolks, friendly and uprightly, and I trust, my discretion shall not so fail me that my passion shall move me to use other language of her than is due to a Queen and my next kinswoman." Nothing could be more dignified, yet nothing more severe than this remonstrance of Mary, and the

manner in which she glanced at the violence into which Elizabeth had been betrayed in her interview with D'Osell, could not fail to touch this proud Princess to the quick. Throckmorton, in reply, excused the conduct of the English Queen, and fell back upon the old topics of complaint, the assumption of the arms and title of England, and the delay to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. On both points Mary was prepared to answer him. "You know," said she, "that when I assumed the style and arms of England, I was under the commandment of King Henry, my father, and of the King, my lord and husband; whatsoever was then done, was their act, not mine, and since their death, I have neither borne the arms, nor used the title of England." With regard to the treaty, upon which so much has been said, she contended that without the advice of the Council of her realm, it was impossible she could come to a decision on so grave a matter, which required the mature deliberation of the wisest amongst them. "This," said she, "I cannot have, until I return to my dominions; I am about to haste me home, as fast as I may, to the intent the matters may be answered: and now the Queen, your mistress, will in no wise suffer me neither to pass home, nor him that I sent into my realm, so as, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, it seemeth the Queen, your mistress, will be the cause why in this matter she is not satisfied, or else she will not be satisfied, but liketh to make this matter a quarrel still betwixt us, whereof she is the author."¹

¹ Keith, pp. 174, 175.

On the 21st of July, Throckmorton took leave of Mary, regretting that the terms upon which she then stood with regard to the English Queen, did not permit him to wait upon her at her embarkation. Her reply was affecting, and seemed almost to shadow forth her future fate. "If," said she, "my preparations were not so much advanced as they are, peradventure the Queen, your mistress's unkindness might stay my voyage, but now I am determined to adventure the matter, whatsoever come of it. I trust the wind will be so favourable, as I shall not need to come on the coast of England, and if I do, then, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, the Queen, your mistress, shall have me in her hands to do her will of me, and if she be so hard hearted as to desire my end, she may then do her pleasure, and make sacrifice of me, peradventure, that casualty might be better for me than to live: in this matter God's will be fulfilled."¹

These melancholy forebodings were not, however, at this moment destined to be realised; Mary, having left Paris on the 21st of July, was accompanied as far as St. Germain by the King of France, the Queen Mother, the King of Navarre, and other persons of the first rank. Here, after a few days' stay, she bad adieu to the Royal Family, and attended by the Duke of Guise, the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, the Grand Prior, who was general of the French galleys, and other noble

¹ Keith, p. 176.

persons, she proceeded to Calais, where, after waiting some time for a fair wind, she embarked on the 14th of August.¹ All that day she ceased not to direct her eyes toward the shore of France, until her view was intercepted by night. She then commanded a couch to be spread for her on deck, and gave injunctions that she should be awakened at sunrise if the land were still in view. It happened that there was a calm during the night, the ships made little way, and in the morning, the French coast was still discernible.² The Queen sat up in bed, and straining her eyes till the shore faded from her sight, pathetically had adieu to the beautiful country where she had passed her happiest years. "Farewell France," said she, "beloved France, I shall never see thee more!" Soon after this, a favourable wind sprung up, accompanied by a fog, under cover of which the Queen's galleys escaped the English ships, and arrived in the Port of Leith on the 19th of August, 1561; one vessel, however, in which was the Earl of Eglinton, was captured by Elizabeth's cruisers, and carried into port, but as soon as it was discovered that the young Queen was not on board, the prize was released, and pursued her voyage into Scotland. The incident, however, demonstrated clearly the sinister intentions of the English Queen.

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., French Corr. Paris, 19th Aug. 1561. Throckmorton to the Council.

² Brantome, vol. ii. p. 326.