

## CHAP. V.

1561 - 1565.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

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

ON her arrival in her dominions, Mary was received with great joy by all classes of her subjects, and for a while those unhappy feelings which exasperated the various factions of the state against each other, were softened down and forgotten in the general enthusiasm.<sup>1</sup> She was conducted by her nobility with rude state from Leith to her palace of Holyrood. The pomp of the procession, if we may believe Brantome, an eye-witness, was far inferior to the brilliant pageants to which she had been accustomed; she could not repress a sigh when she beheld the sorry palfreys prepared for herself and her ladies, and when awakened on the morning after her arrival,

<sup>1</sup> Instructions to Lethington, sent Ambassador to England. Keith, p. 185.

by the citizens singing psalms under her window, the unwonted strains seemed dissonant to courtly ears; but the welcome, though singular, was sincere, the people were delighted with their young Queen; her extreme beauty, and the gracefulness of her manners, created a strong prepossession in her favour; her subjects crowded round her with expressions of unfeigned devotedness, and for a time she believed that her forebodings of difficulties and distresses were unfounded.<sup>1</sup>

Within a few days after her return, however, the celebration of mass in her private chapel occasioned a tumult, which was with difficulty appeased; Mary had stipulated for the free exercise of her own form of worship, and the Lord James previous to his departure for France, maintained, in opposition to Knox and the strictest reformers, that this liberty could not possibly be denied to their Sovereign. Here the matter rested till the Queen's arrival, but the more intolerant of the Protestants had early made up their minds to resist by force every attempt to raise the "Idol" once more in the land. They drew no distinction between the idolatry of the Jews, which was punished by death, and the idolatry of the Romanists; both were in their eyes maintainers of the accursed thing which was hateful to God. It was even

<sup>1</sup> Brantome, vol. ii. pp. 123, 124. Mary arrived unexpectedly early in the morning of the 19th August, and the weather was so dark and stormy, that the ships were not seen for the fog. This circumstance must have interrupted the preparations.

argued by Knox, that the Jews were more tolerable in their tenets than the Romish Church ; he would rather see, he said, ten thousand French soldiers landed in Scotland, than suffer a single mass. And when the master of Lindsay, a furious zealot, heard that it was about to be celebrated, he buckled on his harness, assembled his followers, and rushing into the court of the palace, shouted aloud that the priests should die the death. The Lord James, however, opposed this violence, placed himself at the door of the chapel, overawed the multitude, and preserved the lives of the chaplains who officiated, for which he was bitterly and ironically attacked by Knox.<sup>1</sup>

The Queen, although she claimed for herself the toleration which she extended to her subjects, was anxious to prevent any misconception of her intentions with regard to religion. It had been declared in council, that no alterations should be made, and she now published a Proclamation, in which she assured her subjects of her determination to maintain the Protestant form of worship, which she found established at her arrival, and added, that no one should be permitted, under pain of death, to attempt, either publicly or privately, any innovation upon the national faith.<sup>2</sup> Nor was this all : although Knox's sincere, but ill-advised zeal, had done much to excite her opposition, the Queen, to the astonishment of the Romish party, desired to have an interview with the reformer, who has himself left us

<sup>1</sup> Knox's Hist. of Reformation, p. 306.

<sup>2</sup> Knox, p. 307. Corroborated by a Letter of Randolph's to Cecil, 3d June, 1563.—Keith, p. 239.

an account of their conversation. She blamed him for the violence of his book against female government, and with a clearness and vigour of argument, for which he was probably not prepared, pointed out its evil consequences, in exciting subjects against their rulers. She then advised him to treat with greater charity those who differed from him in opinion. "If, madam," said he, "to rebuke idolatry and to persuade the people to worship God according to his word, be to raise subjects against their Princes, I cannot stand excused, for so have I acted; but if the true knowledge of God and his right worshipping lead all good subjects (as they assuredly do) to obey the Prince from their heart, then who can reprehend me." As for his book, he allowed it was directed against female government, but excused its principles, as being more matters of opinion than of conscience, and professed his willingness to live in all contentment under her Majesty's Government, as long as she kept her hands undefiled by the blood of the saints of God. He contended, that in religion subjects were bound to follow, not the will of their Prince, but the commands of their Creator. "If," said he, "all men in the days of the Apostles, should have been compelled to follow the religion of the Roman Emperors, where would have been the Christian faith. Daniel and his fellows were subjects to Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, and yet they refused to be of their religion." "But," interrupted the Queen, "these men did not resist." "And yet," replied Knox, "they who obey not the commandment,

may virtually be said to resist." "Nay," rejoined Mary, "they did not resist with the sword." "That," said Knox, "was simply because they had not the power." "What," cried the Queen, starting and speaking with great energy, "do you maintain that subjects having power may resist their Princes?" "Most assuredly," continued the Reformer, "if Princes exceed their bounds. God hath nowhere commanded higher reverence to be given to Kings by their subjects, than to parents by their children; and yet, if a father or mother be struck with madness, and attempt to slay his children, they may lawfully bind and disarm him till the phrenzy be overpast. It is even so, madam," continued this stern champion of resistance, fixing his eyes upon the young Queen, and raising his voice to a tone, which almost amounted to a menace, "it is even so with Princes that would murder the children of God, who may be their subjects. Their blind zeal is nothing but a mad phrenzy, and therefore, to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison, till they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against Princes, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the word of God." At these words Mary stood for some time silent and amazed—she was terrified by the violence with which they were uttered. She thought of her own youth and weakness; of the fierce zealots by whom she was surrounded; her mind pictured to itself, in gloomy anticipation, the struggles which awaited her, and she burst into tears. On being comforted and soothed

by Murray, who alone was present at the interview, she at length collected herself, and said, turning to Knox, "Well then, I perceive that my subjects shall only obey you, and not me; they must do what they list, not what I command; whilst I must learn to be subject unto them, and not they to me." "God forbid," said the Reformer, "that it should ever be so; far be it from me to command any, or to absolve subjects from their lawful obedience. My only desire is, that both Princes and subjects should obey God, who has in his word enjoined Kings to be nursing fathers, and Queens nursing mothers to his Church" "Yea," quoth Mary, "this is indeed true, but your's is not the Church that I will nourish. I will defend the Church of Rome, for I think it the true Church of God." At this strong assertion of her belief, the indignation of Knox flamed fierce and high. "Your will," said he, "madam, is no reason; neither doth your thought make that Roman Harlot to be the immaculate spouse of Christ. And wonder not, madam, that I call Rome an Harlot, for that Church is altogether polluted with every kind of spiritual abomination, as well in doctrine as in manners. Yea, madam, I offer myself to prove, that the Church of the Jews who crucified Jesus Christ, when they manifestly denied the Son of God, was not so far degenerated from the ordinances and statutes which God gave by Moses and Aaron unto his people, as the Church of Rome is declined, and for more than five hundred years hath declined, from that purity of religion which

the apostles taught, and planted." "My conscience," said Mary, "is not so—" "Conscience," said Knox, "requires knowledge, and I fear of right knowledge you have but little." After some farther exhortations, the Reformer exposed the idolatry of the mass, and threw down his defiance to the most learned Papists in Europe, declaring his earnest wish that he might have an opportunity of engaging with them in controversy before the Queen herself. "In that wish," said Mary, "you might, perhaps, be indulged sooner than you expect." She was then called to dinner, and Knox, on taking his leave, prayed that she might be blessed in the commonwealth of Scotland, as richly as ever was Deborah in the commonwealth of Israel.<sup>1</sup>

I have given this interview at some length, and almost in the words of the Reformer, because in the mistaken but sincere resolution of the Queen, that she would support the ancient faith and church of her fathers, and in the equally honest and still more violent declaration of Knox, that all such efforts would be met by open resistance (as far as he had influence), the causes of the collision which was about to take place are clearly brought out. Alluding to the conferences between Mary and Knox, Lethington, in a letter to Cecil, did justice to the gentleness of the Queen, and contrasted it with the harshness of her opponent. "You know," said he, "the vehemency of Mr. Knox's spirit, which cannot be bridled, and yet doth sometimes utter such sentences as cannot

<sup>1</sup> Knox, Hist. pp. 311, 315, inclusive.

easily be digested by a weak stomach. I could wish he would deal with her more gently, being a young Princess unpersuaded. For this I am accounted too politic, but surely in her comporting with him, she doth declare a wisdom far exceeding her age. God grant her the assistance of his spirit: surely I see in her a good towardness, and think that the Queen, your sovereign, shall be able to do much with her in religion, if they once enter into a good familiarity."<sup>1</sup> That they might enter into this familiarity, was now the great object of Mary and her ministers. Elizabeth had congratulated her on her happy return to her dominions, and she soon after (Sept. 1st 1561) despatched Lethington, her chief secretary, on a mission to England, to express her earnest wishes for the continuance of peace.<sup>2</sup>

Not long after, she took a triumphant progress from her palace to the castle of Edinburgh. Fifty black slaves, magnificently apparelled, received her at the west gate of the city,<sup>3</sup> sixteen of the chief citizens bore a canopy, under which she rode in state, and a public banquet was given to the Queen and the noble strangers by whom she was accompanied. The pageants exhibited on this occasion, marked, indeed, the character of the times. An interlude was performed, in which Korah, Dathan, and Abiram were destroyed as they offered strange fire upon the

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil. 25th October, 1561.

<sup>2</sup> Keith, p. 185. Stevenson's Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary, p. 90, Mary to Elizabeth Sept. 1561.

<sup>3</sup> Herries' Memoirs, p. 56.—Keith, p. 189.



altar, and it required the interference of Huntly to prevent an indecent parody of the mass, in which the effigy of a priest was to have been burnt as he elevated the host. To the zealous burghers, these dramas contained a wholesome signification of God's vengeance against idolators; to others, as sincere but less fanatical, they appeared unwise incitements to persecution. By those against whom they were directed, although not unnoticed, they were passed over in silence.<sup>1</sup>

It was the anxious desire of the Queen to give her kingdom time to recover the effects of the war and anarchy to which it had been so long exposed. She had determined, before leaving France, to make every sacrifice to conciliate Elizabeth; nor was this resolution adopted without a great end in view. Her title to the throne of England was still present to her mind. Her claim to the Crown, and her assumption of the arms of this kingdom, had, as we have seen, been injudiciously published by her uncles, when she was still Queen of France. Mary had, indeed, apologised for such conduct, and transferred the blame of so strange and premature a measure to her advisers, the Guises, but it was still her earnest desire to have her title to the Crown of England recognised by that Princess, should she persevere in her vows of celibacy, and as the surest means to obtain this object, she committed the chief management of her affairs to Murray and Lethington, the great leaders of the

<sup>1</sup> Keith, p. 189.

Protestant party. Lethington had proposed this scheme to Cecil soon after the death of the French King, and when anticipating the return of Mary to her dominions, he felt all the peril of his own situation; should he be able to carry this point for the Scottish Queen, he knew he was safe; if he failed—if she broke with Elizabeth, and threw herself into the interest of France—he looked upon it as certain ruin. “I made you,” says he, in a letter to Cecil (6th February, 1560-1), “some overture at London, how to salve all matters. I wrote to you more amply in it from Sir R. Sadler’s house. I would be glad to understand what you think in it, or how the Queen’s Majesty can like of it, and how it shall be followed. I know the Queen, my sovereign, is so informed against me, that unless I be able to do her some service, I cannot long be suffered to live in her realm, and I will never press to continue in service longer than the amity betwixt both realms shall continue.” Lethington was no doubt perfectly sincere in his desire to carry this point in favour of his mistress; and it is remarkable, that about six months after he had written to Cecil, and shortly previous to Mary’s arrival in Scotland, the Lord James had addressed a letter to the Queen of England on the same delicate subject. In this epistle, which is ably and powerfully written, he congratulated this Princess that the ancient enmity between the two nations had been miraculously converted into recipro-

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil, 6th Feb., 1560-1.

cal attachment, and expressed his earnest desire, that the members being thus amicably disposed, the heads (meaning Elizabeth and Mary) should be as heartily joined in love. "You are tender cousins," said he, "both Queens, in the flower of your ages, much resembling each other in excellent and goodly qualities, on whom God hath bestowed most liberally the gifts of nature and of fortune, whose sex will not permit that you should advance your glory by wars and bloodshed, but that the chief glory of both should stand in a peaceable reign." The only point which had occasioned dissention between them was, he goes on to observe, the premature discussion of his mistress's title. "I wish to God," said he, "my sovereign lady had never, by any advice, taken in head to pretend interest or claim any title to your Majesty's realm, for then I am fully persuaded you should have been and continued as dear friends as you be tender cousins; but now since on her part something hath been thought of it, and first motioned when the two realms were in war together, your Majesty knoweth, I fear, that unless that root may be removed, it shall ever breed unkindness between you. Your Majesty cannot yield, and she may on the other part think it hard, being so nigh of the blood of England, so to be made a stranger from it." The Lord James then ventures on the dangerous ground of the succession. "If," says he, "any midway could be picked out to remove this difference to both your contentments, then it is like we should have a perpetual quietness. I have long thought of it, and

never durst communicate it to the Queen, my sovereign, nor many of my countrymen, nor yet will hereafter follow it farther than shall seem good to your Majesty. The matter is higher than my capacity is able to compass, yet upon my simple overture your Highness can lay a larger foundation. What inconvenience were it, if your Majesty's title did remain untouched, as well for yourself as the issue of your body, to provide that to the Queen, my sovereign, her own place were reserved in the succession to the Crown of England, which your Majesty will pardon me if I take to be next, by the law of all nations, as she that is next in lawful descent of the right line of King Henry the Seventh, your grandfather; and in the mean time this isle to be united in a perpetual friendship? The succession of realms cometh by God's appointment, according to his good pleasure, and no provision of man can alter that which he hath determined, but it must needs come to pass; yet is there appearance, that without injury of any party, this accord might breed us great quietness. Every thing must have some beginning. If I may receive answer from your Majesty, that you will allow of any such agreement, I will travel with the Queen, my sovereign, to do what I can to bring her to some conformity. If your Majesty dislike it, I will not farther meddle therewith."<sup>1</sup>

This sensible letter its author inclosed to Cecil,

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Edin., 6th August, 1561. The Lord James to Queen Elizabeth.

directing him to advise on it, and present it, or withdraw it, as he judged best. Whether it ever reached the Queen's eye is uncertain ; and as the Scottish Baron had fearlessly ventured on ground which the more wary Cecil scarcely dared to tread, it is probable he did not risk its delivery, but it proves that the Lord James was sincerely attached on this subject to the interests of his sister, the Queen. It is worthy of remark, also, that in this grand design, we are furnished with the key to the policy adopted by Mary during the first years of her government. Thus, the same reasons which induced her to favour the Protestants, led her to depress the Romanist party, at the head of whom was Huntly, one of the most powerful, crafty, and unscrupulous men in the country, against whom the Lord James placed himself in mortal opposition.<sup>1</sup>

It was not to be expected that the bishops and the Romish peers should bear this with equanimity. They had suffered severely in the cause of the Queen ; they naturally looked to her return, as the season when their fidelity was to be rewarded, and their feelings were proportionally bitter when they found themselves treated with neg-

<sup>1</sup> Soon after the Queen's arrival, Randolph informed Cecil that Huntly and this potent Baron greatly discorded. Some alleged, that the cause of the quarrel was a boast of Huntly, that if the Queen commanded him, he could set up the mass in three shires ; to which the other answered, that it was past his power to do so, and so he should find the first moment he attempted it.—Keith, p. 190.

lect, and saw those who had been lately stigmatised as traitors, advanced to the chief offices in the state.<sup>1</sup> They accordingly recommenced their intrigues with the Guises, but these crafty diplomatists would not commit themselves too deeply. It was their present policy to temporize. In an overture to Throckmorton, the English ambassador, the Duke of Guise, repeated the proposal of the Lord James, that Elizabeth should declare Mary her successor.<sup>2</sup> It was their object at the same time to procure the renewal of the league with France, and the co-operation of the Queen, their niece, in their vast and unprincipled schemes; and if they failed—if Mary declined their great offers, and refused to “hang her keys at their girdle,” they had resolved to form a faction against her, at the head of which should be Chastelherault, Arran, Huntly, and Hume.<sup>3</sup>

Without appearing to notice the plots of the Romanists with France, Mary steadily followed out her design of conciliating the Protestants, and obtaining the friendship of England. She appointed a coun-

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil. 15th Jan., 1561-2. “I thank you for your good advice towards our Papists, which hath been as yet mostly followed, and I trust since the Queen’s arrival they have obtained no great advantage, but, to be plain with you, be in worse case a great deal than before.”

<sup>2</sup> MS. Letter. St. P. Off., Throckmorton to Elizabeth. 8th Oct., 1561.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 13th Dec. 1561. Ibid. same to Cecil, 5th Dec. 1561.

cil of twelve, of whom seven were reformers,<sup>1</sup> and she continued to follow the advice of her brother, the Lord James, on all important subjects, and sent him at the head of a large force, and armed with almost absolute power, to reduce the borders to obedience.<sup>2</sup> To Randolph, whom Elizabeth appointed her resident at the Scottish Court, she behaved with the utmost courtesy; and a correspondence by letters was begun between the princesses, in which all was peace, amity, and playful affection. In his mission to the English Court, Lethington urged upon Elizabeth the necessity of declaring Mary her successor. His public instructions, indeed, did not authorise him to enter upon this delicate subject, which has led Keith to question, whether it was now broached at all; but we know from Throckmorton's letters, not only that the proposal was made, but that Cecil was much embarrassed by it. "For the matter," says he, "lately proposed to her Majesty by the Laird of Ledington, in which to deal one way or other, you find difficulties, even so do I think, that not to deal in it at all, no manner of way, is more dangerous; as well for the Queen's Majesty, as for the realm, and specially if God should deal so unmercifully with us, as to take the Queen from us without issue; which God forbid, considering the terms the State standeth in presently."<sup>3</sup> For the moment, Elizabeth evaded

<sup>1</sup> Spottiswood, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> 8th Nov. 1561. MS. Letter, Lord James to Cecil, St. P. Off., Scots Corr.

<sup>3</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 9th Oct. 1561.

the point by despatching Sir Peter Mewtas to Scotland, with a request, that Mary should confirm the treaty of Edinburgh, a proposal which she well knew the Scottish Queen must decline.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, the Lord James exhibited an example of prompt and severe justice upon the borders. Proceeding to Jedburgh and Dumfries, with an army which rendered opposition useless, he pursued the thieves into their strong holds, rased their towers to the ground, hanged twenty of the most notorious offenders, sent fifty more in chains to Edinburgh, and in a meeting with the English Wardens, Lord Gray and Sir John Foster, restored order and good government to the marches.<sup>2</sup>

During his absence, the Romish Clergy resorted to court, but found a colder reception than they anticipated, and although Mons. de Moret, who had been sent from the Duke of Savoy, endeavoured to influence the Queen in favour of the Romanists, his power was either very slight,<sup>3</sup> or it suited the tortuous politics of the Guises, to encourage at this moment the amity between Mary and Elizabeth. In speaking of an intended interview between the princesses, the proposal of which had come from Mary, Lethington assured Cecil, that France earnestly

<sup>1</sup> Treasurer's Accounts, 19th Oct. 1561. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 935.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Scots Corr., Lord James to Cecil, 8th Nov. 1561. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 936; also Randolph to Cecil, 7th Dec. 1561. Keith, p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> Randolph to Cecil, 17th Dec., 1561. Keith, p. 209.



desired it,<sup>1</sup> and so far did they carry this real or pretended feeling, that it was affirmed by the Lord St. Colm, lately arrived from that country, that the Cardinal of Lorraine, in his anxiety to promote the amity between the kingdoms, and to secure to his niece the succession to the English throne, had persuaded her to become a Protestant.<sup>2</sup> To these feelings it is probable we are to ascribe the severe measures against the Romish Clergy, which were adopted at this time in the General Assembly of the Church, held in the capital ; as the subject is important, it is necessary to treat it with some detail.

Notwithstanding the full establishment of the Reformation, the Protestant ministers were in a state of extreme poverty, and dependant upon the precarious assistance of their flock ; whilst the revenues of the Church were divided between the nobles, who had appropriated them to themselves, and the Romish prelates, who still retained part of their ancient wealth. On the meeting of the General Assembly, the ministers determined to use their most strenuous efforts to procure some support out of the ecclesiastical revenues, yet the attempt was resisted by many of the barons, who had been zealous supporters of the Reformation, but loved its plunder better than its principles. The rulers of the court began, as Knox says, to draw themselves apart from the society of their brethren ; and to strive and grudge.<sup>3</sup> Lething-

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil, 29th Jan. 1561.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 30th Jan. 1561.

<sup>3</sup> Knox, p. 318.

ton, learned, acute, and wordly, openly scoffed, and Knox, who dreaded his powers of argument, as much as he suspected his sincerity, attacked him with bitterness—Wood, too, the Secretary of the Lord James, the chief adviser of the Queen, joined the opponents of the ministers; it was even debated, whether the General Assembly, being held without the presence or authority of the Queen, was a lawful or constitutional convention. The barons, who had been accustomed to take a part in its proceedings, separated from their brethren, and although after a violent discussion they reluctantly concurred in its legality, yet they steadily refused to pass the Book of Discipline, and thwarted, though they did not openly oppose, the measures for the provision of the clergy. After some consultation, however, an Act was passed ordaining the annual revenues of the whole benefices in the realm to be produced, and out of this gross sum, the Romish Clergy consented to give a third to the Queen, being permitted to retain two-thirds for themselves. This third was to be appropriated to the maintenance of preachers, the endowment of schools, the support of the poor, and the increase of the revenue of the Crown.<sup>1</sup>

Before this proposal was made, the funds of the Romish Church, previously immense, had been greatly dilapidated. On the overthrow of Popery, the Bishops and other dignified clergy had entered into transactions with their friends or kinsmen, by which large portions of ecclesiastical property

<sup>1</sup> Knox, pp. 321, 324, inclusive.

passed into private hands; in some cases, sales had been made by the ancient incumbents, or leases had been purchased by strangers, which the Pope, zealous to protect his persecuted children, had confirmed. The Crown, too, had appointed laymen to be factors or administrators of bishopricks and livings, so that by these various methods, the property of the Church was so much diffused and curtailed, that the third of all the money collected fell far below the sum necessary to give an adequate support to the clergy. There was much fraud also practised in making up the returns. Many of the Romish Clergy evaded the production of their rentals, some gave in false estimates, and although the persons appointed to fix the rate of provision had been the firm supporters of the Reformation, though the Lord James, and Maitland of Lethington, with Argyle and Morton, superintended every step, the result disappointed the expectations of the ministers. It was asserted, that the only effect of the change was, to secure a large share for the lay proprietors of church lands, to transfer a considerable portion to the Crown, and to leave a wretched pittance for the ministers. Yet, when fairly viewed, the change was certainly creditable to the Queen, and involved a concession which ought to have been considered valuable and important. It was a legal recognition of the right of the Presbyterian ministers, to be supported by the state, and ought to have convinced all gainsayers that Mary, though she insisted on her private mass, considered the reformed religion as the established faith of the

country. This was no little matter, yet no party was pleased. Knox and the ministers were discontented, not only that they received so little, but because in the same assembly the Mass was permitted, and the Book of Discipline refused : the Romish faction, were still louder in their complaints, and declared, that nothing now was wanting but an interview between Mary and Elizabeth, to the utter overthrow of the ancient faith. Cecil, whilst he rejoiced that the Bishops were spoiled, lamented that their riches should, even in part have fallen to the Crown, and the satirical vein of Randolph ascribed all to the worst motives. “Where your honour,” says he, addressing Cecil, “liketh better the diminution of the Bishops and other livings, than the augmentation of the Crown therewith, what can I better say than that which I find written “*Merx meretricis, et ad meretrices reversa est.*” I find it neither done for zeal to Christ’s religion, nor hatred to the viciousness of their lives that had it. If she did it for need, they themselves, to have enjoyed the whole, offered much more ; I find not also, that all other men, besides the Queen, are pleased with this : the Duke beginneth now to grieve—he must depart from seven parts of Arbroath ; the Bishop of St. Andrew’s from as much of his livings, the Lord Claud, the Duke’s son, in England, future successor to Paisley, also the seventh : the Abbot of Kilwinning, as much, besides divers others of that race ; so that many a Hamilton shall shortly be turned a begging.

\* \* I know not whether this be able to make the

Duke a Papist again; for now "Conferunt consilia; the Bishop and he."<sup>1</sup>

Cecil had earnestly advised Lethington to encourage a meeting between the two Queens,<sup>2</sup> and although the Scottish secretary felt the danger of negotiating in such a case, observing, that if anything should frame amiss, it would be his utter ruin,<sup>3</sup> the ardent feelings of Mary relieved him of the difficulty, by herself proposing the interview in a letter which she addressed to Elizabeth.<sup>4</sup> France, also, and the Cardinal, her uncle, encouraged the overture, and even Randolph, whose judgment when in favour of Mary, none can suspect of bias, expressed his opinion of the sincerity, upright dealing, and affection of that princess.<sup>5</sup> Early in the spring (23rd May 1562) her anxiety upon this subject induced her to despatch Secretary Lethington to the English Court, that he might arrange the preliminaries, and the Lord James, her chief minister, who had lately, upon the occasion of his marriage, received from the Queen the Earldom of Mar, requested leave, when the meeting took place, to bring Christopher Goodman along with him, as the minister of the Protestants. He described him as the most temperate and modest of the learned,<sup>6</sup> and Ran-

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 15 January 1561-2.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 15th Jan. 1561-2.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil, 29th Jan. 1561-2.

<sup>5</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, Scots Corr. 30th Jan. 1561-2.

<sup>6</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Scots' Corr., Randolph to Cecil, 26th May, 1562.

dolph in a letter to Elizabeth, alluded in emphatic terms to the anxiety for the interview, expressed by the more wise and moderate amongst the Protestants, and the happy effects they anticipated from it. "The hope," said he, "which they have, that your Majesty shall be the instrument to convert their Sovereign to Christ, and the knowledge of his true word, causeth them to wish above measure, that your Majesties may see the one the other."<sup>1</sup>

It is mortifying to find that Knox, and the more violent portion of the reformers, to whom the truth already owed so much, opposed the meeting with bitterness, and attacked it in the pulpit. They regarded the prelacy of England as little better than the Popery of Rome, and preferred that their Queen should remain an obstinate Papist, rather than take refuge in a religion which had as little ground in the word of God. "Our Papists," said Randolph, addressing Cecil, "greatly mistrust the meeting, our Protestants as greatly desire it, our preachers, to be plain with your honour, at one word, be more vehement than discreet or learned, which I heartily lament. The little bruit that hath been here of late, that this Queen is advised by the Cardinal to embrace the religion of England, maketh them now almost wild, of the which they both say and preach, that it is little better than when it was at the worst: I have not so amply conferred with Mr. Knox in these matters as shortly I must, who upon Sunday

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Scots Corr., Randolph to the Queen, 26th May, 1562.

last gave the cross and the candle such a wipe, that as wise and learned as himself wished him to have held his peace. He recompensed the same with a marvellous vehement and piercing prayer, in the end of his sermon, for the continuance of amity and hearty love with England."<sup>1</sup>

In the midst of these negotiations and heartburnings the Earl of Arran, eldest son to the Duke of Chastelherault went suddenly mad, and in his frenzy accused himself, his father, and the Earl of Bothwell, of a conspiracy to seize the person of the Queen, murder the Lord James (Earl of Mar), and possess themselves of the Government.<sup>2</sup> The violence of this unhappy nobleman, and the deep mortification with which he beheld the chief power entrusted to the Lord James, had already occasioned much disquiet to the Queen, and it was reported shortly after her arrival from France, that he meant to attack the palace, and carry her off. This disposed people to give some credit to the present conspiracy. It was observed that Arran, showed no symptoms of insanity when he first discovered the enterprise; and the profligate character of Bothwell confirmed their belief. It was he, as Arran insisted, that had invented the whole plot; which

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Scots Corr. Randolph to Cecil, 12th Feb. 1561-2. It was matter of great regret to the more rigid Protestants in England, that Elizabeth (whose predilection for the ceremonial part of the Romish religion, was well known) always kept candles burning on the altar, in her private chapel; Knox's attack was against these.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 31st March, 1562.

being imparted to him secretly, he agreed to join in the enterprise, and revealed it to his father, the Duke, trusting to have him for an accomplice. At first he explained the intention of the conspirators with great clearness, but soon after, his disclosures exhibited signs of derangement; he began to talk of devils and enchantments, affirmed that he had been bewitched by the mother of the Lord James, whom he spoke of as a noted sorceress, retracted much of his former story, and became so incoherent, that for security, rather than punishment, he was committed to ward in the castle.<sup>1</sup>

His alleged accomplices, Bothwell and the Abbot of Kilwinning were imprisoned, some things appearing suspicious in their conduct, but to the aged Duke, who protested his innocence, and with tears bewailed the ruin of his house, Mary behaved with great tenderness. A passage from a letter of Randolph to Elizabeth is important in the picture it gives of her gentleness, justice, and impartiality, upon this trying occasion. The English Queen and Cecil, who knew well the violence with which Arran had opposed himself to the Queen, imagined that Mary, in her resentment might be ready to believe any thing against him. Randolph, however, completely refutes this unworthy notion. "For the likelihood," says he, "that the Queen is not moved with any evil mind towards the Duke or his, besides that which I have heard her Grace say, I will only declare unto your Majesty that

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 7th April, 1562. Same to same, 9th April 1562.



which I myself (having many times had suspicion thereof) have observed and marked. I never saw yet, since her Grace's arrival, but she sought more means to win the Duke of Chastelherault's good will, and my Lord of Arran's, than ever they had will to acknowledge their duties as subjects unto their Sovereign. She knoweth herself in what place God hath appointed them, and that he is the revenger of all injustice. To separate them from her, being her subjects, there is no cause but disobedience and transgression of her laws. She is not ignorant also of the affection of many in this realm towards that house, how many they are, and how they are allied, wherein to attempt any thing against them unjustly, or that should not be manifest unto the world what their fault were, it should be her own ruin. These things an't like your Majesty, are no small stays to the appetite of man's will, and much more unto her's, being a woman, lately returned into a country where never yet such obedience hath been given unto the Prince or Princess, as is due unto them. In token also that no such thing was meant of her part, it appeared in nothing more than in the usage of his father, of himself, and their friends, with all gentleness, the more to let them know and the world judge that she did love them as her kinsmen, esteemed them as her successors, (if God gave her no issue) and favoured them as her subjects, if their doings do not merit the contrary. Unto the one, not long since, she promised a reasonable support towards his living, for the time of his father's life; and re-

mitted unto the other many things, that both by law and conscience, he was in danger for both body and goods. After the detection of this crime, the Queen's grace so well conceived of my Lord of Arran, and judged so well of his sincere meaning towards her, that she devised with her Council what yearly sum, either of money or other thing, she might bestow upon him. What grief this is unto her heart, it hath appeared in many ways, and she hath wished that it could be known unto your Majesty, without whose advice I believe she will not hastily determine any thing against either the one or the other. Of these things," concludes Randolph, "because the whole country doth bear witness, my testimony needeth the less."<sup>1</sup>

Every thing, indeed, at this time, in the conduct of the Scottish Queen, evinced her sincere attachment to England, and her desire not only to suppress every intrigue which might disturb the tranquillity of her own kingdom, but where these plots originated as they sometimes did, with the English Papists, to assist Elizabeth in their detection and punishment. This was clearly shown at the present moment; for the English Queen having discovered some suspicious intercourse between the Earl of Lennox and the Romish faction believed it to be a plot for the marriage of the Scottish Queen with Lord Darnley, and suddenly committed Lennox, and his Countess, Lady Margaret, the niece of Henry the

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter St. P. Off. Randolph to Elizabeth, 9th April, 1562.

Eighth, to the Tower. On being informed of it, Mary approved of the severity, derided the practices of Lennox, and declared her resolution never to unite herself with any of that race.<sup>1</sup> About the same time, the Bishop of St. Andrew's and the Earl of Eglinton, having disobeyed the laws regarding the re-establishment of the mass ; a royal proclamation was set forth, denouncing death against all who bore a part in this idolatrous solemnity, or countenanced it by their presence,<sup>2</sup> reserving only the Queen's mass in her palace.

To the Lord James, her brother, of whose warm attachment to the English interest we have already met with many proofs,—the Scottish Queen extended so much favour, that his influence became the chief channel to success at court. On his marriage to the daughter of the Earl Marshall, she created him Earl of Mar, and gave a banquet, the splendour of which, with the pageants and masking, called forth the reproof of the more zealous part of the ministers.<sup>3</sup> “At this notable marriage,” says Randolph to Cecil, “one thing there was which I must testify with my own hand, which is, that upon Shrove Tuesday, at night, sitting among the Lords at supper, in sight of the Queen, and placed for that purpose, she drank unto the Queen's Majesty, and sent me the cup of gold, which weigheth eighteen or twenty ounces. After supper, in giving her Majesty thanks,

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 31st March, 1562.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Randolph to Cecil, 3d June, 1562.

<sup>3</sup> Knox, p. 327.

she uttered in many affectionate words, her desire of amity and perpetual kindness with the Queen, and returned and talked long with me thereof, in the hearing of the Duke and the Earl of Huntly.”<sup>1</sup>

During the absence of Lethington at the English Court, the tumults upon the borders again demanded the prompt interference of the Government. Murder, robbery, and offences of all kinds prevailed to an intolerable degree, and men who had been publicly outlawed, walked abroad, deriding the terrors of justice. Of these crimes, the great centre was Hawick, and the Queen, who was determined to make an example, armed the Earl of Mar with full powers against the offenders. Nor was his success less than on his former expedition. Making a sudden and rapid march, he encompassed the town with his soldiers, entered the market-place, and by proclamation forbad any citizen, on pain of death, to receive or shelter a thief. Fifty-three of the most noted outlaws were apprehended, of these eighteen were instantly drowned “for lack of trees and halters.” Six were hanged at Edinburgh, and the rest either acquitted or imprisoned in the Castle. By this memorable example of severity, the disturbed districts were reduced to sudden and extraordinary quietness, whilst the courage and success of Mar contributed to raise him still higher than before in the favour of his Sovereign.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 12th Feb. 1561-2.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 8th July, 1562.

Mary had already declined many royal offers of marriage, and aware that any alliance which she made, must be an object of deep and jealous interest to Elizabeth, she was anxious to have the approval and advice of that Princess. It was this feeling, probably, which induced her to receive with caution, though with her accustomed courtesy, the ambassador of the King of Sweden, who, about this time (June 3rd, 1562) arrived on a matrimonial mission in Scotland. He brought with him a whole length portrait of his master, which he delivered to one of the Marys,<sup>1</sup> to be presented to the Queen, who hung it up in her private cabinet, and dismissed him with letters and a safe-conduct for the Swedish monarch and his navy to land within any port of her realm which they might find most convenient.<sup>2</sup> This Prince had already made proposals to Elizabeth, which were coldly received; but Mary was aware of the jealousy of her nature, and the danger of appearing to interfere with her admirers, and she now looked anxiously for the return of Lethington.

At length this Minister arrived with the welcome intelligence that the English Queen had consented to the interview. She sent her picture, with many expressions of affection to the Queen, and zeal for the continued amity between the kingdoms. Mary instantly commenced preparations for her journey. "This present day," says Randolph, "she hath directed her letters

<sup>1</sup> See *Supra*, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 3rd June, 1562.

again to all the noblemen of her realm, to be with all convenient speed with her at Edinburgh, and for this cause departeth herself hitherward to-morrow, as the most convenient place to take resolution in all things she hath to do. It pleased her Grace immediately after she had conferred with the Lord of Ledington, and had received my Sovereign's picture, to send for me. After she had rehearsed many such purposes, as by the Lord of Ledington's report unto her Grace had been spoken of her, by my Sovereign, touching her sisterly affection towards her, her good will and earnest desire to continue in peace and amity, and, in special, that they might see each other, she sheweth unto me my said Sovereign's picture, and asketh me how like that was unto her lively face? I answered unto her, that I trusted that her Grace should shortly be judge thereof herself, and find much more perfection than could be set forth by the art of man. "That," saith she, "is the thing that I have most desired, ever since I was in hope thereof, and she shall well assure herself there shall be no stay in me, though it were to take any pains, or to do more than I may well say; and I trust by that time that we have spoken together, our hearts will be so eased, that the greatest grief that ever after shall be between us, will be when we shall take leave the one of the other. And let God be my witness, I honour her in my heart, and love her as my dear and natural sister. Let me be believed of you, that I do not fain." \* \* "Since, therefore," concludes Randolph, "the Princesses' hearts are so wedded together, as divers ways it is

manifest that they are ; seeing the purpose is so godly, without other respect but to live in love, I doubt not but, how much soever the world rage thereat, the greater will be the glory unto them both, and the success of the enterprize the happier. To resolve, therefore, with your Honour herein, I find in this Queen so much good will as can be possible ; in many of her subjects no less desire than in herself ; the rest not such that any such account is to be made of, that either they can hinder the purpose, or do great good, whatsoever they become.”<sup>1</sup>

All things being thus in readiness for the interview, and Mary looking forward to it with the ardent and sanguine feelings which belonged to her character, an unexpected obstacle arose from the quarter of France. In that country, the religious and political struggle between the Romish party and the Protestants suddenly assumed a more fierce and sanguinary aspect ; and the Queen of England, who steadily supported Coligni and the Protestants, resolved to remain for the whole summer at home, to watch the proceedings of the league which France, Spain, Savoy, and Rome had organized against the common cause of the Reformation. It may, indeed, be doubted, whether Elizabeth was ever sincere in her wish to have a meeting with Mary. It is at least certain, that she readily seized this cause of delay, and in July despatched Sir Henry Sidney into

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter. St. P. Off. Randolph to Cecil. 15th July, 1562.

Scotland to defer the interview of the two Queens till the ensuing summer. Mary received Sidney with expressions of unfeigned disappointment and sorrow. She listened to his embassy, as he himself reports, "with watery eyes;" and Mar and Lethington assured him, that had she not already found a vent for her passionate grief in her private chamber, the expression of it would have been still more violent.<sup>1</sup> It is evident that her heart was intent upon this object, and the delay may have caused a painful suspicion of the sincerity of the English Queen, for whose sake she had already made no inconsiderable sacrifices. Yet the message of Elizabeth was warm and cordial. She assured Mary, that to have seen her dear sister that summer was her earnest desire; that she now delayed the meeting with the utmost reluctance, and had so fully determined to enjoy her company in the spring, that she had sent by Sidney her confirmation of the treaty for the interview, leaving it to her to fix upon any days between the 20th of May and the last of August.<sup>2</sup> Mary was re-assured, and would instantly have accepted the treaty and named the day of meeting, but most of her Council being absent, Lethington thought it prudent to delay, and promised within a month to send her final resolution.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Sidney to Cecil. 25th July, 1562. Edin.

<sup>2</sup> Instructions to Sir H. Sidney.—Haynes, p. 392.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil. 29th July 1562.



The Queen, relieved from this anxiety, now resolved to visit the northern parts of her dominions; and, following her own inclination rather than the advice of her Council,<sup>1</sup> made preparations for her progress as far as Inverness; but before she set out a Jesuit arrived in Scotland with a secret message from the Pope. So violent at this time was the feeling of the common people against any intercourse with Rome, that Mary did not dare to receive him openly; but whilst the Protestant nobles were at the sermon, Lethington conveyed him by stealth into the Queen's closet. The preacher, however, was more brief than usual in his discourse, and the Earl of Mar coming suddenly into the antichamber, had nearly discovered the interview; so that the Papal envoy was smuggled away by the Mary's with much speed and alarm, yet not before Randolph had caught a glimpse of "a strange visage," which filled him full of suspicion. "The effect of his legation," says this ambassador, "was to know whether she could send unto the General Council (he means the Council of Trent, then sitting), and he was directed to use his influence to keep her steadfast in her religion; so at least the secretary assured him, but he believed there was more under this commission than he or Lethington were permitted to see.<sup>2</sup> The messenger, who was a Bishop, narrowly escaped; for

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil. 10th August, 1562.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 1st August, 1562. Randolph to Cecil.

no sooner was it known that a Papal emissary had dared to set his foot in Scotland, than his death was resolved on; and nothing saved him but the peremptory remonstrance of Mar.<sup>1</sup>

Mary now set out on her progress northward, accompanied by most of her principal nobles. At Aberdeen she was met by the Earl of Huntly, the head of the Romish party, and the great rival of Mar. This nobleman was nearly allied to the Duke of Chastelherault, by the marriage of his eldest son, Lord Gordon, to the daughter of Hamilton; and both Huntly and the Duke, although separated by difference of religious faith, were jealous of the power of Mar, and enemies to the strict amity with England. Huntly, indeed, had felt keenly the neglect and want of confidence with which he had been treated by the Queen. She had received with coldness the advances made by him and his party immediately after the death of her husband; his offer to re-establish the ancient religion on her arrival in her dominions had been repelled; although he held the high office of Chancellor, and sat in the Privy Council, his influence was merely nominal, and, which cut deeper than all, he discovered that Mar intended to possess himself of the Earldom of Murray, an extensive and opulent appanage, of which he, for many years back, had enjoyed the revenues and wielded the power. Shortly before this, one of his sons, Sir John Gordon, having a private feud with Lord Ogilvy, had attacked

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil. 1st Aug., 1562.

and desperately wounded this nobleman in the streets of the capital. The assailant being seized and imprisoned, broke from his confinement and fled to his estates. Mary was exasperated; but the eloquence of the Countess, his mother, assuaged her resentment, and brought her son to reason. The offender appeared before his Sovereign, and was ordered to ward in the castle of Stirling. When on his road thither, he again repented of his submission,—escaped from his guards, and gathering a thousand horsemen, bid defiance to the royal power. Such was the state of things when Huntly heard of the Queen's resolution to visit his country, accompanied by Mar and her principal nobility. He had long envied the influence of that Earl with the Queen; and being strong in friends and possessed of almost sovereign authority in those northern districts, he seems to have had the temerity to believe that the moment had arrived when a revolution might be accomplished, which would rid him of his rival, and place in his hands the chief power of the Government. But Mary suspected his practices, and dreaded his ambition. On being pressed by him to visit his house at Strathbogy, of which the magnificence rivalled her own palaces, she declined paying that honour to the father of a rebel; and pushing forward to the castle of Inverness, where it was her intention to remain for some time, she found its gates insolently shut against her. On the place being summoned, it was answered by the captain, a retainer of Huntly's, that without the orders of Lord Gordon, for whom he held it, the castle should not

be given up. This was open rebellion ; and Mary, having raised the force of the country, prepared to carry the place by assault. On this occasion the Queen evinced something of the warlike spirit of her ancestors. Instead of lamenting that she had engaged in a journey so full of peril, "she repented she was not a man, to know what life it was to lie all night in the fields, or walk the rounds with a jack and knapsull."<sup>1</sup> Her military aspirations, however, were not gratified by an actual siege ; the captain having surrendered, was hanged ; and Mary, although informed that Huntly watched to intercept her in the woods on the banks of the Spey, advanced against him ; crossed the river without seeing an enemy, and returned at the head of three thousand men to Aberdeen. There was a romance and danger about the expedition which pleased the Queen, and awakened some knightly enthusiasm in Randolph, the English envoy, who accompanied her. "What desperate blows," says he, in his letter to Cecil, "would that day have been given, when every man should have fought in sight of so noble a Queen, and so many fair ladies, our enemies to have taken them from us, and we to save our honours and not to be bereft of them, your Honour may easily imagine."<sup>2</sup>

Huntly seems to have overrated his strength, but it was now too late to recede ; and his animosity was

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil. 18th Sept. 1562.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 24th Sept. 1562. Randolph to Cecil.

stimulated to the highest pitch, by Mary rewarding Mar, on her return to Aberdeen, with the prize he had long coveted, the Earldom of Murray. He persuaded himself that nothing short of his ruin was contemplated, and having made a last and ineffectual attempt to mollify the royal resentment, he fortified his castles of Finleter, Achendown, and Strathbogy, assembled his vassals, and pushed rapidly to Aberdeen, in the hope of seizing the Queen. But the result was disastrous; as he marched forward, his force melted away, and with scarce five hundred men, he found himself attacked by the Earls of Murray, Morton and Athol at the head of two thousand men. The position where he made his last stand, was a hill, about twelve miles from the city. From this, being driven by the fire of the arquebuses into a low marshy level, he was set upon by the spearmen of Murray, and completely defeated, himself slain, whether by the sword, or suffocation from the weight of his armour, was uncertain, his two sons made prisoners, and the rest of his company either killed, dispersed, or taken.<sup>1</sup>

Sir John Gordon, the second son, who was reported to have been the chief contriver of this rebellion, and whose ambition aspired to the hand of the Queen, was immediately executed; and the body of Huntly, according to a savage feudal practice, after having been embowelled, was kept unburied till Parliament

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 2nd Nov. 1562. Also, same to same, 2nd Nov. 1562.

should pronounce upon it the sentence of treason (2nd Nov. 1562). His third son, Adam Gordon, a youth of eighteen, received a pardon; but the eldest, Lord Gordon, was found guilty of treason and imprisoned;—the immense estates of the family were seized by the crown, the title forfeited, and this all-potent house reduced in a moment to insignificance and beggary.

Some authors, guided by their prejudices, rather than their research, have imagined that the fate of this great baron may be traced to a premeditated conspiracy of Murray, who carried the Queen north, and prevailed on her to provoke Huntly into rebellion by her suspicions and neglect. This is mere conjecture: it is certain that the northern progress was planned by the Queen herself, and that her council, of whom Murray was the chief, so far from exciting Mary against Huntly, urged her to visit him at Strathbogy.<sup>1</sup> Sir John Gordon confessed his treasonable designs, and laid the burden of them on his father; two confidential servants of Huntly, Thomas Ker and his brother, acknowledged that their master, on three several occasions, had plotted to cut off Murray and Lethington; and the Queen herself, in a conversation with Randolph, thanked God for having delivered her enemy into her hand. "She declared," says this minister, who was an eye-witness and companion of the northern progress, "many a shameful

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Office, Randolph to Cecil, Edin. 10th Aug. 1562. Ibid. same to same, 31st Aug. 1562.

and detestable part that he thought to have used against her, as to have married her where he would, to have slain her brother, and whom other he liked; the places, the times, where it should have been done; and how easy a matter it was, if God had not preserved her.<sup>1</sup> It was natural that Murray should rejoice in the fall of so potent an enemy to the Protestant party, as Huntly. It is true that he availed himself of his offences to strengthen his own power, but that, prior to the rebellion, he had laid a base design to entrap him into treason, is an opinion founded on conjecture, and contradicted by fact.

Mary now returned to her capital (21st Nov. 1562) and devoted herself to the cares of Government; but the difficulties of her situation increased. War had begun (to use the words of Secretary Maitland) between the two countries of the earth which, next to her own, were most dear to her,<sup>2</sup> France and England, being descended of the blood of both of them by her father, and one of them by her mother. France was ready to urge her by the love she bore her relatives there, by the recollections of her early education in that country, and by the ties of a common faith, not to desert her friends when her assistance might be of essential benefit. Elizabeth, on the other hand, explained by her ambassador, the causes which

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 23rd Oct. 1562. Ibid., same to same, 28th Oct. 1562. Ibid., same to same, 2nd Nov. 1562.

<sup>2</sup> Keith, p. 232.

compelled her to send an army into France. The French King's subjects in Normandy, had urged her, she said, to relieve them from the unjust tyranny of the House of Guise, and as that Monarch was unable to give them assistance, she had entered into a treaty with the Prince of Condé, by which it was agreed he should receive support both in forces and money.<sup>1</sup>

When Randolph communicated this information to Mary, she did not dissemble her sorrow, nor conceal her affection for her uncles. "This" said she "I must say in their defence:—I believe them to be true subjects to their Prince, and that they do no more than execute his orders; but" she added, "that she was not so unreasonable as to condemn those who differed from her in opinion, still less was she inclined, on their account, to abate anything of the friendship she felt for his mistress, the Queen of England (2nd Nov. 1562). It was, in truth, scarcely possible for Elizabeth to entertain at this moment any serious fears of Mary's intrigues in France, when we find Randolph assuring Cecil, that she heard almost as seldom from that country as the King of Muscovy."<sup>2</sup>

Every thing, indeed, seemed to favour the growing strength of the party of the Congregation in Scotland: the fall of Huntly, the amity with England, the Queen's partiality to Murray, the decided favour

<sup>1</sup> MS. St. P. Off., Sir J. Williamson's Collection, 2nd series, vol. ii. pp. 169, 179.

<sup>2</sup> St. P. Off., MS. Letter, Randolph to Cecil, 30th Dec., 1562.



shown to the Protestants, and the gentleness with which she pleaded for her uncles, all evinced a determination in the Queen, not to allow her personal convictions on the subject of religion to interfere with her duties as a Sovereign. It was only to be regretted that the conduct of Knox and the more violent of his brethren, occasionally excited feelings of resentment, when there was a predisposition to peace, and that his endeavours to secure the triumph of his party, (honest and disinterested as they undoubtedly were) were not always accompanied by sound discretion, or christian love. Even Randolph, their partial friend, was shocked by the manner in which the preachers prayed for the Queen. "They pray," says he, in his letter to Cecil, "that God will keep us from the bondage of strangers, and for herself, as much in effect as, that God will either turn her heart, or send her short life." He adds, sarcastically, "of what charity or spirit this proceedeth, I leave to be discussed by the great divines."<sup>1</sup> Although the Queen, as we learn from Lethington's letters, behaved towards the Reformer with much forbearance, it seems to have created no impression in her favour. As long as she retained her own faith, and permitted the celebration of mass in her private chapel, nothing could disarm his suspicions, appease his wrath, or check the personality of his attacks. His natural disposition was sarcastic, he had a strong sense of the ludicrous, and when provoked, his invectives were so minute, coarse, and

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P., Off., Randolph to Cecil, 28th Feb. 1562-3.

humorous, that they alternately excited ridicule or indignation. Lethington scoffed, Morton commanded him to hold his peace, and Randolph, as we have seen, regretted that his proceedings had more zeal than charity.

News having arrived about this time of the restoration of peace to France, the Queen, who took a deep interest in her uncles, was disposed to be merry; and the Court, reflecting the countenance of the Prince, was much occupied in masques and dancing; but to the news of peace were added suspicions of an intended persecution of the Protestants, by the Guises, and Knox, grieving for his brethren, and scandalized at the prevailing gaieties, fulminated a complaint in the pulpit against the ignorance, tyranny and malevolence of Princes. His words were meant chiefly to apply to the Guises, but he was reported to have spoken irreverently of his Sovereign, and brought before her to answer for his attack. His defence, which he has himself preserved in his history, was calculated rather to aggravate than extenuate the provocation. "Madam," said he, "this is oftentimes the just recompense which God gives the stubborn of the world, that because they will not hear God speaking to the comfort of the penitent, and for amendment of the wicked, they are oft compelled to hear the false report of others, to their great displeasure. I doubt not that it came to the ears of Herod, that our master Jesus Christ called him a fox, but they told him not how odious a thing it was before God, to murder an innocent, as he had

lately done before, causing to behead John the Baptist, to reward the dancing of a harlot's daughter. If the reporters of my words had been honest men, they would have repeated my words, and the circumstances of the same; but because they would have credit in court, and wanting virtue worthy thereof, they needs must have somewhat to please your Majesty, if it were but flatteries and lies; but such pleasure, if any your Majesty take in such persons, will turn to your everlasting displeasure; for, Madam, if your own ears had heard the whole matter that I treated, if there be in you any spark of the spirit of God, yea of honesty and wisdom, you would not justly have been offended with any thing that I spake. And because you have heard their report, please your Majesty to hear myself rehearse the same, so near as memory will serve (it was even next day after that the sermon was made). My text, Madam, was this 'and now, oh Kings, understand, be learned, ye judges of the earth.' After I had declared the dignity of Kings and Rulers, the honour wherein God has placed them, the obedience that is due unto them, being God's lieutenants, I demanded this question. But oh, alas, what account shall the most part of princes make before that supreme judge, whose throne and authority so manifestly and shamefully they abuse? The complaint of Solomon is this day most true, that violence and oppression do occupy the throne of God here on this earth, for whilst that murderers, bloodthirsty men, oppressors and malefactors dare be bold to present themselves before

kings and princes, and that the poor saints of God are banished and exiled, what shall we say, but that the devil hath taken possession in the throne of God, which ought to be a dread to all wicked doers, and a refuge to the innocent and oppressed? And how can it be otherwise, for princes will not understand, they will not be learned as God commands them, but they despise God's law, his statutes and holy ordinances they will not understand? For in fiddling and flinging they are more exercised, than in reading or hearing God's most blessed word; and fiddlers and flatterers (which commonly corrupt youth) are more precious in their eyes, than men of wisdom and gravity, who by wholesome admonitions may beat down in them some part of that vanity and pride, wherein we are all born; but which in princes takes deep root and strength by evil education. And of dancing, Madam, I said, that albeit in Scripture I found no praise of it, and in profane writers, that it is termed the gesture rather of those that are mad and in frenzy, than of sober men; yet I do not utterly condemn it, providing that two vices be avoided—the former, that the principal vocation of those that use that exercise, be not neglected for the pleasure of dancing, secondly, that they dance not as the Philistines, their fathers, for the pleasure that they take in the displeasure of God's people; for if they do these, or either of them, they shall receive the reward of dancers, and that will be, to drink in hell, unless they repent." "Your words are sharp enough even now," said Mary; "and yet, they were told me in another

manner. You and my uncles are not of one religion, and I do not blame you for conceiving so ill an opinion of them ; but for myself, if you disapprove of aught, come to myself, speak openly, and I shall hear you.” “ Madam,” answered Knox, “ I am assured that your uncles are enemies to God, and unto his Son Jesus Christ, and for the maintenance of their own pomp and worldly glory, that they spare not to spill the blood of many innocents, and, therefore, I am assured, their enterprises shall have no better success than others have had, who before them have done as they do now.”<sup>1</sup>

A melancholy story soon after occurred, which in some measure justified Knox in his censure of the licentious manners of the Court. Mary, who was passionately fond of music, had shown much favour to Chartellet, a French gentleman of good family, highly skilled in that science, and in other respects, a handsome and accomplished person. Such encouragement<sup>2</sup> from a beautiful woman, and a Queen, turned the unfortunate man's head ; he aspired to her love, and in a fit of amorous frenzy, hid himself in the royal bed-chamber,

<sup>1</sup> Knox, pp. 334, 335. The time of this conversation between the Reformer and the Queen, is fixed by a passage in a MS. Letter from Randolph to Cecil, dated 16th Dec. 1562, St. P. Off. “ Upon Sunday last, he (Knox) inveighed sore against the Queen's dancing, and little exercise of herself in virtue and godliness. The report hereof being brought unto her ears, *yesterday*, she sent for him, she talked long time with him, little liking there was between them, of the one or the other, yet did they so depart, as no offence or slander did rise thereon.”

<sup>2</sup> Keith, p. 231.

where some minutes before she entered it, he was discovered by her female attendants. The circumstance was not disclosed to the Queen till the succeeding morning, when with an ill-judged lenity she contented herself with commanding him to leave the Court. Desperate in his attachment, however, he secretly followed her to Burnt Island, and at night, when the Queen was stepping into bed, and none beside her but her ladies, Chartellet again started from a recess, where he had concealed himself. The shrieks of the women soon roused the Court, and when seized by those who rushed in, on hearing the uproar in the royal apartment, he audaciously acknowledged that he had meditated an attempt on the honour of the Queen. Mary, glowing with indignation at the insult, commanded Murray, who first ran to her succour, to stab him with his dagger; but he preferred securing him to this summary vengeance: a formal trial followed, and the miserable man was condemned and executed within two days after his offence.<sup>1</sup> On the scaffold, instead of having recourse to his missal or breviary, he drew from his pocket a volume of Ronsard, and reading the poet's hymn to death, resigned himself to his fate with gaiety and indifference.<sup>2</sup> It was a lamentable spectacle; men blamed, but at the same time pitied him; they had not forgotten the recent flight of Captain Hepburn, who

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil. 28th Feb. 1562-3.

<sup>2</sup> Brantome, vol. ii. p. 332. Randolph, says, he died with repentance.

had behaved with brutal indelicacy to Mary; it seemed strange that within a short time, two such outrageous insults should have been offered, and some did not scruple to blame the indiscriminate condescension of the Queen, whose love of admiration made her sometimes forget the dignity and reserve, which is so sure a protection of female purity.<sup>1</sup>

Shortly after this, the Scottish Queen became disturbed by a rumour, that some measures prejudicial to her right of succession, were contemplated in the English Parliament, and she dispatched Lethington to England, that he might watch over her interests (12th Feb. 1562-3).<sup>1</sup> He was enjoined not only to attend to the affair of the succession, but to endeavour to promote a reconciliation between Elizabeth and the party of the Guises, and after he had concluded his transactions, to pass over to France with the same object. The Secretary undertook the mission with reluctance,<sup>2</sup> yet, with his usual ability, he succeeded in accomplishing the most important of his objects. No discussion of Mary's title took place, and the good understanding between the two Queens continued, apparently at least, as firm as before.

It was beyond his power, however, to heal the wounds of France, and although Mary in pathetic and earnest terms, offered herself as a mediatrix

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Murray to Cecil, 12th. Feb. 1562-3. Keith, p. 235, complains that the date of Maitland's Mission is *irrecoverably* lost. It is *fixed* by the above letter.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 6th Feb. 1562-3.

between her good sister, Elizabeth, and that country, the recent course of events there, had assumed an aspect which precluded all hopes of success, and were viewed by her, with the deepest emotions. A zealous Romanist, and warmly attached to her uncles, she watched with interest, the progress of events, and rejoiced in the successes, which at Bruges, Rouen, and Dreux, attended the arms of the Duke of Guise; but, she was shocked with the ferocious character which the war had assumed; it was melancholy to see the country which was so dear to her, the land of her infancy, where she had passed her happiest years, flooded with the blood of its citizens; its towns stormed and razed, and its brave nobility opposed in mortal strife to each other; even the news of their successes raised such conflicting feelings, that she heard them with tears,<sup>1</sup> and on receiving accounts of the assassination of the Duke of Guise, her grief was poignant;<sup>2</sup> yet she continued to make every effort for the restoration of concord in that country, and the preservation of amity with England. The insincerity and caprice of Elizabeth; the intrigues of Randolph, who secretly encouraged Scottish volunteers to assist the Huguenots;<sup>3</sup> the violence and suspicion of Knox, which even Randolph pronounced

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 5th Jan. 1562-3.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 18th March, 1562-3.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 10th March, 1562-3. Randolph to Cecil.



unreasonable,<sup>1</sup> and the intrigues of Cecil, could not deter her from that upright policy, which persuaded her, that many sacrifices should be made, rather than break with England. She was cast down, indeed, when she beheld the increasing difficulties which were gathering around her, and the letters of the English Minister present us with many painful pictures of her grief and embarrassment. Yet, when Cecil was disposed to doubt her sincerity, the same acute observer derides the vain fears of this statesman, and bears testimony to the friendly disposition of the Queen, her councillors, and her people, towards England.

The two great objects which now filled Mary's mind, and employed the earnest deliberations of her Ministers were her right of succession to the English throne, and her marriage. On both points she was anxious, as indeed, it was her interest, to consult the wishes of Elizabeth.<sup>2</sup> She had now remained in a widowed state for three years: she was convinced that a speedy marriage was the best measure for herself and her kingdom; her opinion was fortified by that of Murray and Lethington, and her hand had been already sought by the King of Sweden, the infant of Spain, and the Archduke Charles, second son of the Emperor; yet Elizabeth, although ever ready to

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 16th. Dec. 1562.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 15th May, 1563.—Keith, p. 239, printed in Robertson's Appendix, No. vii.

oppose every foreign match, continued to preserve much mystery in stating her own wishes on the subject. It was evident it could not long suit the dignity of an independent Princess to listen to ingenious objections, and repress every royal suitor in submission to the wishes of a sister Queen. About this time, a report having reached the English Court, that the successful candidate was one of the Emperor's lineage, Cecil wrote in much alarm to Murray, who replied with firmness, and good sense, that nothing serious had been yet concluded. But he added, that neither was it for her honour, nor could he advise her, to repress the suit of Princes, however deeply interested in the continuance of the friendship between the two Queens, and the mutual love and quietness of their subjects.<sup>1</sup>

Mary's difficulties, however, arose not merely from the interference and jealousy of the English Queen, and the mysterious diplomacy of Cecil. The violence of the party which was headed by Knox and the reformed preachers, occasioned her infinite disquiet, and was at length carried to such a height as to occasion a schism amongst the Protestants themselves. We have seen that this party disapproved entirely of the lenity with which Mary had been permitted the private exercise of her religion. The laxity with which the enactments against the mass were carried into execution excited their constant suspicion, and they persuaded themselves it was in

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Earl of Murray to Cecil, 23d Sep. 1563.

vain to look for the favour of God till Presbyterianism, in its most rigid form, was established throughout the country. In this view, some whispers which began to float about, regarding the marriage of Mary to a noble person recommended by Elizabeth, and as a basis of this union, the restoration of complete amity between the two Queens, gave them no little alarm. They knew the aversion of the English Queen, as well as of Mary, to the form of worship which they believed the only system founded on Scripture, and it was really more tolerable for them to see their royal mistress a confirmed Papist and the enemy of England, than the friend and (as had been anticipated, more than once by Randolph and Lethington) the convert of Elizabeth, to the Church of England.

To excite suspicions and interrupt the good understanding between the two Queens, became, therefore, a favourite object with Knox, and the more violent of the Reformers. They did not hesitate to blame Murray and Lethington for their anxiety to accomplish an interview, and traversed their praiseworthy efforts, by representing all the friendship professed by Mary, as hollow and insidious. And yet, even from Knox himself, we learn some facts, which might have convinced him of the contrary.

During the absence of Lethington in England, the Papists encouraged by the Bishop of St. Andrew's, and the Prior of Whithorn, had disregarded the Queen's proclamation. Mass was celebrated secretly

in many private houses, and when this was found dangerous, the votaries of the Romish faith fled into the woods and mountains, where amidst their silent solitudes, they adhered to the worship of their fathers.<sup>1</sup> Upon this, the Presbyterians, despairing, as they alleged, of any redress of such abuse, from the Queen, took the law into their own hands, pursued and seized some Priests and sent word to the Romish Clergy, that henceforth they would neither complain to the Queen or Council, but with their own hands, execute upon Idolaters, the punishment contained in God's word.<sup>2</sup> Mary, justly alarmed at this, called for Knox, and remonstrated in earnest terms. She recommended toleration, and argued with him upon the cruelty of religious persecution. The Reformer pleaded the laws in force against Idolatry; these, he said, it was the duty of princes to execute; if they failed so to do, others must do it for them; nor would God be offended if men, who feared Him, albeit, neither Kings nor magistrates, took it upon them to inflict judgment. "Samuel," said he, "spared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate King of Amalek, whom Saul had saved, nor did Elias spare Jezabel's prophets, and Baal's Priests, although King Achab stood by. Phinehas was no magistrate, but he feared not to strike Zimri and Cozbi." These examples proved," he contended, "that subjects might lawfully punish, although they

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, 1st May, 1563.—Keith, 239.

<sup>2</sup> Knox, p 352.

were not clothed with the authority of the magistrate ; but he besought the Queen not to compel any one to this last resource, but herself administer the laws. Think, madam," he concluded, " think of the mutual contract, and the mutual duties between yourself and your subjects. They are bound to obey you. Ye are bound to keep the laws unto them. You crave of them service—they demand of you protection and defence against wicked doers." <sup>1</sup>

This bold exposition produced a favourable effect, Mary, for the moment, seemed offended, but soon after she sent for Knox, who met her next day as she pursued her pastime of hawking. Their interview was amicable—almost confidential. The Queen alluding to the intended election of a superintendant for Dumfries and the adjacent country, warned the Reformer against the Bishop of Caithness, who was a candidate for that preferment, and she informed him with great frankness, that his reasoning of yesterday had convinced her, that the offenders should be summoned, and justice duly administered.<sup>2</sup>

Nor was this promise forgotten. On the 19th of May, a few days before the meeting of Parliament, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, the Prior of Whithorn, the Parson of Sanquhar, and other Papists, were arraigned before Argyle, the Justice General, for the crime of celebrating mass ; and, having pleaded

<sup>1</sup> Knox, p. 353.

<sup>2</sup> Knox, p. 354, 19th May, 1553.

guilty, were subjected to a temporary imprisonment.<sup>1</sup>

The Parliament now met, and was held with unusual pomp. Mary, surrounded by a brilliant cavalcade, rode in procession to the Tolbooth, where the Estates assembled; the hall was crowded, not only by the members, but glittered with the splendid dresses of the royal household and the ladies of the court, who surrounded the throne and filled the galleries. The extreme beauty of the Queen, and the grace with which she delivered the address, in which she opened the proceedings, surprised and delighted her people; many exclaimed, "May God save that sweet face! she speaks as properly as the best orator among them!"<sup>2</sup>

Amidst this general enthusiasm, the preachers took great offence at the liberty of the French manners, and the extravagance of the foreign dresses. "They spake boldly," says Knox, "against the superfluities of their clothes, and affirmed, that the vengeance of God would fall, not only on the foolish women, but on the whole realm. To check the growing licentiousness, an attempt was made to introduce a sumptuary law; articles against apparel were drawn up, and it was proposed to take order with other abuses; but, to the extreme mortification of the Reformer, he

<sup>1</sup> Knox, p. 356.—Keith, p. 239. MS. Letter, St.P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 28th Feb., 1562-3. Also Keith, p. 239. From the shattered MS. Randolph to Cecil, 20th May, 1563.

<sup>2</sup> Knox, p. 357.—Randolph to Cecil, 3d June, 1563.—Keith, p. 239. The address had been written in French, but she translated it, and spoke it in English.

was arrested in his career of legislation by the hand of the Lord James. This powerful minister, deemed it impolitic at this moment to introduce these enactments. "The Queen," he said, "had kept her promises, the religion was established, the mass-mongers were punished, if they carried things too high, she would hold no Parliament at all." Knox smiled significantly—Mar, he hinted, trembled for his new Earldom of Murray, and all must be postponed to have his grant confirmed, lest Mary should repent of her munificence; he denounced in strong terms, such selfish motives, reminded him of his solemn engagements to the Church, and accused him of sacrificing truth to convenience, and the service of his God to the interests of his ambition." The proud spirit of Murray could not brook such an attack, and he replied with asperity; the two friends parted in anger, and the Reformer increased the estrangement by addressing a letter in which, in his usual plain and vehement style of reproof, he exonerated himself of all further care in his lordship's affairs, committing him to the guidance of his own understanding, whose dictates he preferred to the advancement of the truth. "I praise my God," said he, "I leave you victor over your enemies, promoted to great honour, and in authority with your Sovereign. Should this continue, none will be more glad than I; but if you decay, (as I fear ye shall) then call to mind by what means the Most High exalted you. It was neither by trifling with impiety, nor maintaining pestilent Papists." So incensed was Murray with this remon-

strance, that for a year and a half, he and Knox scarcely exchanged words together.<sup>1</sup>

Far from being intimidated by this desertion, the Reformer seized the opportunity of the Parliament to address the nobility upon the subject of God's mercies to them as a commonwealth, and their own ingratitude. He had been with them, he declared, in their most desperate temptations; he was now with them in the days of their success and forgetfulness, and it was some relief to pour forth the sorrows of his heart, to remind them of the perils they had survived—to warn them of the duties they had neglected. “I see” said he, getting animated in his subject, and suddenly stretching out his arms, as if he would leap from the pulpit and arrest the vision passing before him,<sup>2</sup> “I see before me the beleaguered camp at St. Johnston. I see your meeting on Couper Muir; I hear the tramp of the horsemen as they charged you in the streets of Edinburgh; and, most of all, is that dark and dolorous night now present to my eyes, in which all of you, my Lords, in shame and fear left this town—and God forbid I should ever forget it; what was then I say, my exhortation unto you? And what is fallen in vain of all that God ever promised you by my mouth. Speak, I say, for ye yourselves live to testify. There is not one of you against whom death and destruction was threatened, who hath perished in that danger; and how many of your enemies hath God plagued before your eyes? And

<sup>1</sup> Knox, p. 357.

<sup>2</sup> Melvil's Diary, p. 26. “He was like to ding the pulpit in blads (tatters) and flie out of it.”



is this to be the thankfulness ye shall render unto your God, to betray his cause, when you have it in your hands to establish it as you please? The Queen says, 'ye will not agree with her.' Ask of her that which by God's word ye may justly require, and if she will not agree with you in God, ye are not bound to agree with her faction in the devil. Let her plainly understand so far of your minds; forsake not your former courage in God's cause, and be assured, he will prosper you in your enterprises. And now, my Lords," he concluded, "to put an end to all, I hear of the Queen's marriage—Dukes, brethren to Emperors and Kings, strive all for the best gain. But this, my Lords, will I say, note the day, and bear witness hereafter. Whenever the nobility of Scotland, who profess the Lord Jesus, consent that an infidel (and all Papists are infidels) shall be head to our Sovereign, ye do as far as in you lieth to banish Christ Jesus from this realm, and to bring God's vengeance on the country."<sup>1</sup>

This extraordinary licence, and the boldness with which the Reformer availed himself of his sacred character to attack the Sovereign, and dictate to the Council, called forth the indignation, both of Papists and Protestants.<sup>2</sup> He was summoned to answer before the Queen, and coming to court after dinner was brought into her cabinet by Erskine of Dun, the

<sup>1</sup> Knox, p. 359.

<sup>2</sup> Knox, p. 359. "These words," says he, "and this manner of speaking was judged intolerable. Papists and Protestants were both offended."

superintendent of Lothian, Mary, whose feelings were keen, upbraided him with his ingratitude—she had borne, she said, with all his severest censures; she had sought his friendship, had offered him audience and preferment, but all in vain; nothing would mollify, nothing would silence him; as she said this, she began to weep, and lament aloud, exclaiming, that he had nothing to do with her marriage, and warning him with broken words and passionate gestures, to beware of her revenge. As soon as he could be heard, Knox attempted to defend himself, affirming, that in the pulpit, he was not master of himself, but must obey His commands who had bade him speak plain, and flatter no flesh; as for the favours which had been offered to him, his vocation, he said, was neither to wait in the courts of princes, nor in the chambers of ladies, but to preach the gospel.” “I grant it so,” reiterated the Queen, “but what have you to do with my marriage, or, what are you within the commonwealth?” “A subject born within the same,” said the Reformer, “and albeit, Madam, neither Baron, Lord, nor belted Earl, yet hath God made me, how abject soever in your eyes, a useful and profitable member. As such, it is my duty, as much as that of any one of the nobility, to forewarn the people of danger, and, therefore, what I have said in public, I here repeat to your own face. Whenever the nobility of this realm shall so far forget themselves, as to consent that you shall be subject to an unlawful husband, they do as much as

in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish the truth, betray the freedom of the realm, and, perchance, may be but cold friends to yourself.”<sup>1</sup>

This new attack brought on a still more passionate burst of tears, and Mary, who could scarcely be appeased by the soothing speeches of the Laird of Dun, commanded Knox to quit the apartment. In obeying this, a scene occurred which was strikingly characteristic. The Reformer passing into the outer chamber found himself shunned and avoided by the nobles of the court, who looked strangely on him, as if they had never known him before. His temper was not however of the kind to be cast down by the desertion of these summer friends, and observing a circle of the ladies of the Queen’s household sitting near, in their gorgeous apparel, he could not depart without a word of admonition. “Ah, fair ladies,” said he, between jest and earnest, “how pleasant were this life of yours, if it should ever abide, and then in the end we might pass to heaven with this gear! But fie on that knave, Death—that will come whether ye will or not, and when he hath laid on the arrest, then foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and tender, and the silly soul, I fear, shall be so feeble, that it can neither carry with it, gold; garnishing, targating, pearl, nor precious stones.”<sup>2</sup> In the midst of these speeches, the Laird

<sup>1</sup> This must have been in May, 1563. Knox, p. 361.

<sup>2</sup> Knox, p. 361. “He *merrily* said.” The speech is in the very vein of Hamlet. “Get ye to my lady’s chamber, and tell her, let her paint an inch thick, to this favour she must come—Make her laugh at that.”

of Dun came out of the Queen's cabinet, and requested him to go home, nor does it appear that Mary took any further notice of his officious and uncalled-for interference with her marriage.

When Lethington returned from his prolonged embassy to England and France, he expressed much indignation against the violence of Knox and his party; he affirmed that the reports which they had raised, regarding a match with Spain, tended directly to excite the jealousy of Elizabeth, and to create unworthy suspicions between the Scottish Queen and her Protestant subjects. To discredit the Reformer, who had already quarrelled with Murray, became his great object, and this added bitterness to the schism which divided the more moderate, from the more violent, of the Protestants. We cannot wonder, indeed, that the fearless and declared opposition of this extraordinary man, who possessed great power, not only over his own friends, but over the people, provoked and thwarted so refined and crafty a politician as Lethington; and as Knox corresponded with Cecil, and was indefatigable in procuring secret information both from England and the continent, the secretary found him no easy enemy to deal with.

Not long after the return of Lethington, and when every proceeding on the part of Mary and her ministers was dictated by an anxious desire to conciliate Elizabeth, the Reformer, instead of seconding these efforts, addressed to Cecil a letter full of suspicion and alarm. He assured him that out of

the twelve who formed the Queen's Council, nine had been gained over to that, which, in the end, would prove their destruction.<sup>1</sup> Every thing, he added, depended on the firmness of Murray; if he failed, or faltered, all was lost. As for himself, he declared, he was prepared for the worst, and had little to fear on his own account, but it was lamentable to see the dark cloud of calamities, which were preparing to burst upon his country, and all because men must follow the inordinate affections of her, who was born to be the plague of her realm. The key to part of this despondency is to be found in a sentence of the same letter, which alluding to a late progress of the Queen, informed Cecil, that "the conveying of the mass through these quarters, which longest had been best reformed, had dejected the hearts of many and caused him to disclose the plainness of a troubled heart."<sup>2</sup> Yet, although, probably he was over excited, and too much alarmed, it is certain that Knox had good ground to believe that intrigues for the marriage of the Queen with some foreign potentate of her own religion, were then secretly agitated both in Scotland and on the continent.

It was probably her conviction of the truth of this, which at the last drove Elizabeth from all her delays and excuses, and compelled her to point out plainly to Mary, some prince or noble person, whom she judged worthy of her hand. To the astonishment of her council, she proposed her favourite

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Knox to Cecil, 5th Oct. 1563.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Knox to Cecil, 5th Oct. 1563.

Leicester, then the Lord Robert Dudley, and sent instructions to Randolph to sound the inclinations of the Scottish Queen, and confer with Murray and Lethington upon the subject. As however, he was not yet authorized to give the name,<sup>1</sup> these wary ministers, although they saw to whom he pointed hesitated to meddle in so delicate a matter. They suspected, and not without good ground, the sincerity of the English Queen, and hinted, that considering the affection which bound her to Dudley, and him to his royal mistress, it could not be believed that she would part with her lover, or he be so base as to forsake her, even for a crown.<sup>2</sup> Randolph's perplexity in conducting these nice and difficult negotiations, was strongly expressed in a letter, which at this time he addressed to Cecil. "To persuade the Queen of Scotland," he observed, "to marry any man under the rank of a prince, would be a dangerous and dishonourable task for any subject to adventure, and even, if Mary was ready to forget her royal dignity, and listen for a moment to the proposal of Elizabeth, there remained, he said, a greater difficulty behind. In offering the noblest in England, none could be at a loss to divine who was meant. But how unwilling (he continued) the Queen's Majesty herself would be to depart from him, and how hardly his

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 21st Feb. 1563-4, Randolph to Cecil. "For whom the Queen's Majesty's Instructions licenseth me not to name, of him it shall not almost become me to have one word."

<sup>2</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 21st Feb., 1563-4.

mind could be divorced or drawn from that worthy room where it is placed, let any man see, where it cannot be thought, but it is so fixed for ever, that the world would judge worse of him, than of any living man, if he should not rather yield his life, than alter his thoughts. Wherefore, this they (he alludes to Murray and Lethington) conclude, as well for her Majesty's part, as for him who is so happy to be so far in her Grace's favour, that if this Queen would wholly put herself into Elizabeth's will, as to receive a husband of her selecting," either she should not have the best, or at least match herself with him, that hath his mind placed already elsewhere, or if it can be withdrawn from thence, she shall take a man, unworthy from his disloyalty and inconstancy to marry with any, much less with a Queen. Whereupon, they knowing both their affections, and judging them inseparable, think, rather that no such thing is meant on my Sovereign's part, and that all these offers bear a greater show of goodwill, than any good meaning."<sup>1</sup>

Hitherto Randolph had not been permitted to name any one; but shortly after, Elizabeth having caught alarm at the continued intrigues for the marriage of Mary with some foreign prince, sent him a more distinct commission on the subject; and, choosing a moment when Murray and Lethington were at the Council, and Mary slenderly attended,

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil, 21st. Feb. 1563-4.

he informed her of the wishes of his mistress, and named Lord Robert Dudley. She complained that, after long delay, he was now needlessly precipitate, and had taken her by surprise. She looked, she said, to have heard of peace between France and England, and of no such difficult matter as he had abruptly introduced. The English minister urged the necessity of a speedy decision on so important a point as her marriage, and the fair and honourable offer which was now made her. "Your own mistress," replied Mary, "has been somewhat longer of deciding than I have been, and you know she hath counselled me to have regard to three points, whereof the special one was honour. Now, think you, Master Randolph, that it will be honourable in me to imbase my state, and marry one of her subjects. Is this conformable to her promise to use me as her sister or daughter, to advise me to marry my Lord Robert; to ally myself with her own subject?"<sup>1</sup>

To this Randolph, waving the point most difficult to answer, urged the advantage which might result to the tranquillity and happiness of both kingdoms, and intimated that the Queen of England, by the honour and preferments with which she intended to endow Dudley, would render him not unworthy of so exalted an alliance. Mary perceived he wished her to believe that his mistress might acknowledge her right of succession, and settle the kingdom upon

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 30th March, 1563-4, Randolph to Cecil.



her and Dudley ; but even this did not tempt her. "Where is my assurance," said she, "in this ? What if the Queen, your mistress, should marry herself, and have children ? What have I then gotten ; who will say I have acted wisely to take this step, which requires long consideration, on so sudden a proposal as this ? I have conferred with no one, and although willing not to mistrust your mistress, the adventure is too great." In reply, Randolph begged the Queen to speak on the subject to Murray, Lethington, and Argile. She agreed ; and communicated Elizabeth's proposal to them the same day after supper ; but Lethington informed the English envoy, that although his mistress was pleased that, after so much obscure dealing, the Queen of England at last began to speak plainly, she deemed it prudent, when all was yet so vague, to give no more definite answer than that sent to her last letter.<sup>1</sup>

If the English Queen had been sincere in this proposal ; had she consented, as the basis of Mary's marriage with Dudley, to acknowledge her right of succession, and agreed to confirm it by an act of the legislature, settling the Crown upon their children, Murray and Lethington were ready to use all their influence to promote the union, and it is very probable that the Scottish Queen would have embraced the offer.<sup>2</sup> Upon no other supposition can we account for her conduct during this trying and tantalizing

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil. 30th March, 1564.

<sup>2</sup> On the 18th March, 1563-4, the Queen issued a Proclamation, declaring her determination to support the "Religion" as she found it on her arrival.—MS. Book of Privy Council, f. 127.

negotiation. She exhibited no indignation when the overture was first made by Randolph; she bore every delay with patience, and evinced every disposition to oblige Elizabeth. At her request and earnest recommendation, the Earl of Lennox, who had for many years been banished from Scotland, and whose proceedings against his native country had been hostile and treasonable, obtained permission to return, and was allowed to hope that his royal mistress would receive him with favour. For some time nothing had been said of the intended interview between the two Queens, and it had broken off on the part of Elizabeth; but when this Princess now suddenly renewed her proposal for a meeting, although Mary's ministers, aware that it was merely a colour for delay, declined the overture, the Scottish Queen herself was grieved that they did so, and earnestly desired it.<sup>2</sup>

On her part, therefore, and in the conduct of Murray and Lethington, everything at this moment was open and friendly. On the side of Elizabeth and Cecil, on the other hand, there had been pursued, for the last three years, such a complicated system of delay, mystery, and caprice, as to create a suspicion in the minds of the Scottish ministers that the English Queen was really hostile to the marriage, that she

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Elizabeth to Mary. Draft by Cecil. 16th June, 1563. Also, MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lennox to Cecil, 10th March, 1563-4.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Randolph to Cecil. 5th June, 1564. Also Same to Lord Robert Dudley. Same date.

had not the slightest intention of giving up Leicester, and still less of settling the succession upon Mary. "If," said Lethington, addressing Cecil, "a conjunction be really meant, and you will prosecute the means to draw it on, which were opened up by the Queen my mistress's last answer, I doubt not but you will find conformity enough on this part; but if time be always driven without farther effect than hath yet followed upon any message which hath passed between them these three years, I am of opinion he shall in the end think himself most happy who hath least meddled in the matter. Gentle letters, good words, and pleasant messages be good means to begin friendship amongst princes; but I take them to be too slender bands to hold it fast."<sup>1</sup> He then adds a remark which is strikingly descriptive of Cecil's mysterious diplomacy. "In these great causes between our Sovereigns, I have ever found that fault with you, that as in your letters you always wrote obscurely, so in private communications you seldom uttered your own judgment. You might well *academicò more* dispute *in utramque partem*, leaving me in suspense to collect what I would. So, I fear, in giving advice you will walk so warily, rather (being intent) to speak nothing that may any time thereafter hurt yourself, than to speak all things that might further the matter; and I will confess I have of late enforced my natural (disposition) to learn this same lesson of you, for the

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil. 6th June, 1564.

reverence I bear you, that your manner of doing serves me for instruction to direct my proceeding. Marry, I fear the common affairs do not fare a whit the better for our too great wariness.”<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth was at last driven by the conduct of Mary and her ministers, to that perplexity which is the general fate of duplicity when opposed to plain and direct dealing. As a last pretext for delay, she availed herself of some secret information transmitted by Knox to Randolph, regarding the alleged intrigues of Lennox in Scotland.

This highly-allied noble had, as we have seen, obtained permission to return to that country a short time before this,<sup>2</sup> and at the earnest entreaty of Elizabeth, Mary promised to lend a favourable ear to his suits. Strictly speaking, Lennox was still an outlaw, for the sentence of his forfeiture could only be removed by an act of the legislature; yet the entreaty of the English Queen, the recommendation of Cecil, and the powerful interest of Murray and the secretary Lethington, were successfully exerted

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil. 6th June, 1564.

<sup>2</sup> The return of Lennox to Scotland is stated by Keith, p. 254, to have been on the 27th September; and the same accurate author corrects the error of Buchanan and Spottiswood, who place his return in September, 1563. The Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 77, states that Lennox came to Edinburgh on the 24th September. From a letter of Bedford to Cecil, MS. St. P. Off., dated 25th September, 1564, compared with another letter from the Same to he same, dated 19th September, MS. St. P. Off., B.C., I believe this authority to be correct.

in his behalf. Randolph also had instructions from Elizabeth to promote his views ; and when about to leave the English Court, he not only received Mary's permission, under her great seal, to re-visit his native country, but was flattered with the hope that his forfeiture would be removed, and himself replaced in the high station which belonged to his birth.

This anticipated restoration caused immediate alarm to Knox and his party. It was more than suspected that both Lennox and his son were Papists ; and the Reformer, in a gloomy letter to Randolph, strongly deprecated their return.<sup>1</sup> His fears were instantly communicated to Elizabeth, and this Princess, who was watching for a pretext to delay any negotiation on the subject of the marriage with Dudley, eagerly availed herself of this circumstance to commence a fresh system of duplicity and delay. She instantly took steps to detain the Earl in England ; and, although it was to gratify her own wishes, most earnestly expressed to Lethington that Mary had consented to receive him into favour ; yet, with extraordinary inconsistency, she now commanded Cecil to address letters to Murray and Lethington, requiring them to persuade the Scottish Queen to revoke her promise, and countermand his return into her kingdom. These able men, however, at once detected her object, and met her with a peremptory refusal. The correspondence which passed upon the subject is extremely

<sup>1</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., ——— 3rd, 1564. The date, I suspect, (from internal evidence, and a comparison with other letters) must be 3rd of September.

important, in reference to the events which soon after occurred; and their reply to Cecil was so sarcastic and severe, that it gave offence both to the English Queen and her pliant minister.<sup>1</sup> Alluding to the secret information which the English secretary had stated he had received from some of his best friends in Scotland, "I cannot tell," said Lethington, "whom you take to be your best friends; but I think you ought to judge those to be best, who most earnestly go about to maintain quietness between the two realms, and intelligence between the Princesses, wherein I am well assured my Lord of Murray and myself have done as good offices as any other, and for us I am bold to say, neither of us have any misliking in the matter; but rather have been instruments to further than to hinder his coming, and if any other report of our meaning be made from hence, the author thereof (he here probably alludes to Knox) hath followed his own passion, being nothing privy to our intents, abusing our names on a purpose which we do not allow."<sup>2</sup>

He next adverted to the sudden change in the Queen's mind upon the subject of Lennox's return. That Elizabeth should now oppose it, was "not a little marvellous," he observed, "seeing how earnestly her Majesty did recommend unto me my Lord of Lennox's cause and my Lady's, at my last being in

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth's Instructions to Randolph, 4th October, 1564. Keith, p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil, 13th July, 1564.

that Court; nay," he continues, "suddenly after I had taken my leave, you yourself, at her Majesty's commandment, did send after me by post her letters to the Queen's Majesty, my mistress, very affectionate in their favour, willing me to present the same with recommendation from the Queen." He next remarks, that the sole cause which had moved him to exert his influence for Lennox, was the request of the English Queen, which he believes also to have been his chief recommendation to Mary. "And now," says he, "having once, under her great seal, permitted him liberally to come, it will be a hard matter to persuade her Majesty to revoke it; and I dare little presume to enter into any such communication with her Majesty, knowing how much she doth respect her honour where promise is once passed, and how unwilling she is to change her deliberations, being once resolved; which," he adds, "as she will not do herself, so doth she altogether mislike in all others."

He then alludes to Knox's apprehensions regarding the effects which Lennox's return might produce upon the state of the reformed religion. "The religion here," says he, "doth not depend upon my Lord of Lennox's coming, neither do those of the religion hang upon the sleeves of any one or two that may mislike his coming. For us, whether he come or not come, I take to be no great matter, up or down. Marry, that the stay should grow upon the Queen's Majesty's side here, it should somewhat touch her Majesty in honour, having once permitted his license so freely; unless she might shadow the change of her mind by

the Queen, her good sister's request, and forbid it for her pleasure, which I perceive is not your Sovereign's meaning; who wishes<sup>1</sup> she would take the matter upon herself, which she thinketh too hard."<sup>2</sup> Murray, in a letter of the same date as the above, which he addressed to Cecil, expressed himself in terms more brief, but still more emphatic. "As to the faction," says he, "that his coming might make for the matters of religion, thanks to God, our foundation is not so weak that we have cause to fear if he had the greatest subject of this realm joined to him, seeing we have the favour of our Prince and liberty of our conscience in such abundance as our hearts can wish. It will neither be he, nor I, praised be God, can hinder or alter religion hereaway, and his coming or remaining in that cause will be to small purpose."<sup>3</sup> The English Queen had addressed to Mary a letter at the same time, and to the same effect; but she replied with so much spirit, and used so little care to conceal her opinion of such inconsistent conduct, that Elizabeth was deeply offended.<sup>4</sup>

Thus foiled in this secret intrigue against Lennox, Elizabeth withdrew her opposition. She had been careful to have all evidence of it destroyed,<sup>5</sup> and to

<sup>1</sup> In the Original, "who would."

<sup>2</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off., Lethington to Cecil, 13th July, 1564.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Letter, St. P. Off, Earl of Murray to Cecil, 13th July, 1564.

<sup>4</sup> Melvil's Memoirs, p. 116. Bannat. Edin.

<sup>5</sup> Lethington says to Cecil, "I have used the best means I could to recover the Queen's letter, that I might have returned it again