

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

FROM

M A N U S C R I P T S ;

CHIEFLY IN

HIS MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE,

HITHERTO UNPRINTED.

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

I.

FIERY CROSS SENT THROUGH SCOTLAND.

History, p. 23.

“He sent the Fiery Cross throughout the Country.”

ON this subject there is the following interesting entry in the MS. Books of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland—under the date, 28 August, 1547.

Item—My Lord Governor’s grace being surely advertised, that the Army of England was at hand ; to Mungo Strathern Messenger, letters of Proclamation, *with the Fire Cross*, to Kincardine, Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Forres, Cromarty, Nairn, Inverness, and Bills again, to the Earls of Huntly, Errol, and the Master of Forbes. iii. lb.

Item—To Normand, Pursuivant, same letters, with the *Fire Cross*, to Linlithgow, Stirling, Clackmannan, Kinross, Perth—and all other quarters.

II.

STATE OF SCOTLAND,

After the Battle of Pinky.

1st. History, p. 44. “The land was shamefully deserted by the greater part of its nobility.”

This is a severe charge ; but the following letters, selected from many others which I have transcribed from the State Paper Office,

will prove that it is not unmerited. The leading nobles in Scotland at this time were the Earls of Angus, Huntley, Argile, and Sir George Douglas, brother to Angus. All of them deserted the Governor, and entered into secret and treasonable transactions with England. I proceed to prove this by the evidence of original letters :—

On the 10th of September, the Battle of Pinky was fought, and on the 18th of the same month, the Protector Somerset commenced his retreat. On the 20th of October, Lord Gray, of Wilton, addressed a letter to the Protector,¹ in which he gives the substance of an interview which passed between him and Sir George Douglas. He (Douglas) says Gray, liked well all the Articles, (alluding to the Secret Articles of Agreement mentioned in the text, p. 44), except that by which, in the event of the young Queen's marriage to any other than Edward the VI, they bind themselves to serve the King's Majesty against their own country" He began, (I use the words of Gray's letter) "He began to allege what it was to forsake his native country, and living there, he showed me also that he had yearly of *the Queen, a stipend of one thousand crowns, and of the French King as much,* and now, since his being with me, the Governor sent for him, to speak to him, and] *offered him an Abbey of another thousand crowns by year,* but he came not at him, nor will not do, but if I would mitigate that article, he was contented with the rest. I showed him, that if he refused part, he must refuse the whole. * * And then at the last he granted thereunto, *and hath both made his othe upon the testament to observe them,* and subscribed the same for a witness thereof, in sort as all others have done." Douglas entreated Gray to induce the Lord Protector to erase this Article, which Gray assured him he was not likely to do. He then communicated his "*device,*" which, with certain requests on his own behalf, Gray inclosed to Somerset. Douglas declared that he intended to go with them (the English army) himself and be their guide, but enjoined secrecy of this private transaction, as if it transpired, he should not be able to win his friends. I subjoin a brief abstract of the paper, given in by Douglas, entitled, "The order of an Invasion into Scotland, devised by Sir George Douglas, to be at-

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Lord Gray to the Protector, 20th Oct. 1547.

tempted within a month after the date hereof, or six weeks at the farthest." He states that the number ought to be six thousand men—two thousand five hundred to be horse—and victuals in carriages sufficient for four days, for the whole. They should direct their march, *first*, to Jedburgh—to meet the lairds of Fernherst and Cessford, and the rest of the gentlemen of Teviotdale, who must be sent for—no manner of spoil or hurt to be done.

2nd. Journey to Selkirk—where they will meet Buccleugh and the rest of the gentlemen.

3rd. To Pebles—to meet Lord Hay, of Yester. (Sister's son to Douglas.)

4th. To Lanerk. Where the Governor is Sheriff. Here he would that the Earls of Angus, Cassillis, Glencairn, and the Lord Boyd, should come in.

5th. To Glasgow, and 6th. To Stirling.¹

This crafty Baron next handed in a paper, which he probably considered not the least important part of the transaction. It is entitled,

THE REQUESTS OF GEORGE DOUGLAS

For his own part: and consists of four stipulations. 1st, To have one thousand pounds sterling, within eleven days, to support himself, friends, and strengths, against the authority, and to have a yearly stipend of five hundred pounds sterling. 2d, His friends not to be opprest. 3d, That he may have his goods, silver, money, plate, and apparel, that he left in his hostess' house in Berwick, delivered to him. 4th, to have from the English King, the keeping of the Fort at Aymouth. ——— The Lord Gray addressing Somerset, adds this emphatic sentence, "Your Grace,

¹ From a curious paper, published for the first time by Mr. Stevenson, in his "Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary," p. 99, from the Harleian MS. 289, fol. 73, we learn that this intended Invasion was stopt by the advice of Thomas Bishop, an adherent of Lennox, who on good grounds suspected that Douglas was acting treacherously.

"My device to him (the Protector), says Bishop and the Duke of Northumberland, at Shene, stopt my Lord Gray from entering Scotland with six thousand men, whereof the greatest force horsemen, being then the flower of England—his journey being devised by George Douglas, to have brought them to the butchery, as well was known after. The article (communication) to him in that matter at good length will declare."

I doubt not, considereth that this *man would not be won without money*, and albeit he demandeth a *thousand pounds* in hand, I doubt not but he will be satisfied with a *thousand marks*. These extracts sufficiently prove the venality and desertion of his country by Sir George Douglas. The following letter from Angus, his brother, to Sir Andrew Dudley, the English Governor of the Fort of Broughty (see text, p. 40), establishes the same fact against that nobleman.

THE EARL OF ANGUS TO SIR ANDREW DUDLEY.

“ Trusty cousin and hearty friend. After most hearty commendations, may it please you I have received your writing the 16th day of December, at Douglas, and understand the same, thanking you greatly of your kind offers. And as anent my assurance, in this manner I have assured my kind friends and servants, because my lands is sae meikle, wheos names could not be specified. * * * * * praying you heartily as my special trust is in you, to be good and friendfull to my servants and friends as Patie Lynn, James Anderson, and my servants of Arbroath, which no more I cannot specify unto you shortly. And as for my servants and friends, I shall use them as ye do. And as anent the siege of the King’s Craig-house of Broughty, I was warned to the same by the Queen’s Grace and the Governor. I had business I showed them, that I might not come. They sent special of the Council to me, and offered me great rewards to come to the same. *I cause all my friends and servants to stop and remain.* * * * he could not make any more on this side the Frith but sixty of honest men. And as long as he was at the siege, I had posts running daily forth of my lands of Hermitage, to see how you fared in all causes, and have my answers, the which I shall show you at our meeting. And as anent the coming in the country, I should have been with you ere now, were not the coming of the Earl of Lennox in Scotland * *. And I have appointed friends to convene the 18th day of this instant month, towards that matter, to set him forward in his affairs, the which shall be shortly, will God. And I (mean to) advertise my Lord of Lennox, with two of my honest friends, Glencairn, Cassillis, or

Lord Boyd, or Creichton, of all purposes three days afore. This is the principal stop that holds me from you longer. There after I shall be at you with diligence. Anything that you would advertise me of, shortly send it to Arbroath, and they will haste it to me. Thus, fare ye well, most heartily. At Douglas, the 18th of December.

Your cousin, Lord Earl of Anguish."¹

I have mentioned two other powerful noblemen, as deserting the Governor, and embracing the English interest. The Earls of Huntly and Argile. Huntly was a Roman Catholic; his possessions and power in the north, were almost kingly; he had been taken prisoner at Pinky, and was anxious to be permitted to return to Scotland on his parole. Argile, on the other hand, was the great rival of Huntly in the north, he had escaped at Pinky, he was a supporter of the Reformation, and one of the most able and ambitious men in Scotland. The Protector Somerset played the one against the other. Argile, on the 25th December, 1547, had come to St. Johnston, with an army of Highlandmen, thinking to annoy Dudley, the English Governor of Broughty, and ravage the country, which had taken assurance of the English. Some time after this, he threatened to join the French in besieging Broughty,² and continued these hostile denunciations till the 5th of February, 1547-8, when Sir Andrew Dudley addressed a letter to the Protector in which he informed him, that at the suit of Lord Gray, (of Scotland) and other gentlemen of Angus, he had granted Argile an assurance for twenty days for the whole country of Angus.—There then follows this sentence:—"There were two assurances made between the Earl of Argile and me (Dudley), the one *open* to the Bishops and Council, the other *secret* between Argile, Gray and me, to be a favourer of the King's godly purpose, and to take the King's Majesty's part in the same, on which communing the Lord Gray *borrowed one thousand crowns of me to give the Earl of Argile, to make him the more earnest*

¹ MS. Letters, St. P. Off. December, 18, 1547.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off. B. C. Dudley to the Protector, 22nd Jan. 1547-8.

*in the same, as appeareth by a bill sent your Grace . . . it shall please your Grace . . . to send some man shortly with a commission, and authority to^oommune with the Earl of Argile. The Lord Gray putteth no doubt but that for a pension and a certain sum of money, your Grace shall win him to the King's Majesty's godly purpose, and to be an earnest setter forth of the same."*¹

On the 7th February, 1547-8, Lord Gray of Scotland addressed a letter to the Protector, in which he informed him, that he had borrowed five hundred ryals (one thousand crowns) and had given them to Argile, "for the good causes he had done to his Grace's affairs." He adds, that a Commissioner must be sent from England to treat with Argile, who is, "wonderfully given to favour the King's (Edward's) godly purpose."²

The Commissioner sent to treat with Argile, was John Brende, muster master of Berwick. On the 6th March, 1547-8, Dudley informed the Protector, that the Scottish Earl had come to Cowper, and that Lord Gray (of Scotland) had ridden with Mr. Brenne that morning to communicate with him there [MS. Letter, State Paper Office, 6th March, 1547-8. Sir Andrew Dudley to the Protector]. The result of this communication appears from a letter of Brende to the Protector [MS. Letter, State Paper Office, 9th March, 1547-8.] It states, that on the 6th of that month, he with Lord Gray, met Argile, near St. Johnston's. Brende thanked him for the good disposition which he had shown to the purpose of the marriage. Argile regretted the damage done by the war, and professed his willingness to work some mean for the redress thereof. Brende then wished to draw him on to make some proposal or some promise. This he warily declined, requesting him to show what the Protector required; Brende then proceeds thus, "And when I was about to declare, he bad stay; 'I am held,' quoth he, 'in a marvellous jealousy, and there be,' he said, 'certain of the Council mortal enemies to your part. I would therefore,' quoth he, 'to colour the matter, ye should devise to speak somewhat openly to me, before them of such matter as ye think good, which shall be a mean that, without sus-

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. 5th Feb. 1547-8. Sir Andrew Dudley to the Protector.

² MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Lord Gray to the Protector, 7th Feb. 1547-8.

picion, ye may treat *secretly* with me of such things as be of moment.' Then called he before him the Abbot of Cowper, the Lord called Stuard, Sir John Cammel, and divers others. This gentleman, quoth he, hath commission to me, and because it partly toucheth you, ye shall hear what he will say,' Brende then proceeded to declare the purpose of the marriage, the opposition of evil men, and the cause of the war. 'And thereupon,' says he, 'I plucked forth, and presented to the Earl a parcel of my instructions, which I had drawn forth for that purpose (nothing mentioning the Earl (Argile) nor any proffer made unto him) but only purporting a present contract of marriage, &c., the delivering the Castles of Edinburgh and Dunbar, as pledges for the Queen's entry into England, and the conditions of peace. When this was done, the Earl somewhat spoke, 'how greatly fair means might prevail in this matter, and how much violence made against the purpose,' which words confirmed with a churme (murmur) of those that stood about; somewhat I did speak again to the purpose, when violence should be used, and in what cases it was lawful for Princes to use the sword. Then *did he draw me aside*, and allowed my device. 'Hereupon,' quoth he, '*we shall colour our treaty, and blind these wolves eyes,*' and *willed me to proceed in my secret commission.*

Brende then thanked him for his good disposition, and told him, they knew he had the power, wherefore if good will were joined in him with power there would be no further doubt of success. He (Brende) showed the great advantages which would ensue, besides the honour to himself, 'and so declared his reward for bringing it to pass,'—that is, for accomplishing the first point of his instructions, viz:—the delivery of the Queen. 'If all things' said he, (Argile) 'had chanced well she had been in my hands ere this, for if after the battle (Pinkey) pursuit had been made, she had come into my country; and she wrote to me for the same purpose at the last entry of the Lord Gray. But now,' quoth he, 'she is in Dumbarton,—and you may easily come by her,' quoth I, 'or else devise how she may be had.' 'No,' said he, 'it is impossible the castle is stark (strong) and if force could prevail, it were unfitting for me to enforce my natural lady.' * * * After great persuasion, he agreed with me upon that point like as it

may appear unto your Grace by the paper of articles subscribed with his hand, and sealed with his seal, sent herewith unto your Grace. And because his resolution therein was not to the full effect of my instructions, I took advantage of his promise therein, and passed to the

“2nd point, which he liked well (except the authority of the Priests, not provided for in the articles) saying, ‘he would pass to the Court, and persuade the Governor and the Queen immediately to send Ambassadors for the accomplishment of of it. ‘And if,’ quoth I, ‘they will not agree to your request, what will ye do then?’ ‘What would you I should do?’ quoth he, then I plucked forth a paper of the third degree, as I had them all four severally written, touching the *taking of open part* with the King’s Majesty, and showed it him—he required to have it, that he might read it, and examine it with himself.”

“When he had put the same in his bosom, we fell in the rehearsal of divers things, and knowing of a certain envy between the Earl of Huntly and him, I took occasion to talk of the said Earl. When he heard him named, he started, and beating his fist upon the board, said, ‘If ye let him home, ye mar all.’ Whereupon I took occasion. ‘My Lord,’ quoth I, ‘therefore it behoveth you to take this matter on hand, for if you will not, he may perchance be so persuaded, that he himself will enterprize this thing,’ which words ——— moved him marvellous much, and he said, ‘Marry! I will do it indeed.’—Then proceeded I, ‘If the Governor will still see the ruin of the country, and still stand on the contrary part, what shall become of him?’ ‘No Governor,’ quoth he. ‘Who then,’ quoth I, ‘is so meet as your Lordship?’ ‘I think,’ quoth he, ‘I have most friends and power. If then,’ quoth I, ‘we have the favour and power of England joined thereunto, who shall withstand you.’ ‘It is true,’ quoth he. Finally he condescended to the third article in this effect.’ That if the Queen and the Governor would not agree to these covenants, then would he straitway repair to Argyle, there call all his friends about him, declare to them his mind, and require them to take his part in this purpose, and then to send one unto your Grace, to conclude upon certain points of his proceeding before he do further. * * I perceive he would covenant to have aid against his enemies in the

North by sea, and require that the Earl of Lennox should have no power on his lands in the West parts. When I saw he had thus condescended, I did not touch the fourth degree, otherwise than that he should lett (hinder) the conveyance away of the Queen."

Brende then promised him an assurance for his country for fifteen days. At first Argile would not subscribe, or set his seal to the agreements which Brende had drawn. The English Envoy then broke off; but late in the night, when all were in bed, he sent Lord Gray to urge Argile, 'and finally after four or five times going and coming betwixt us in the dead time of night, he at last was brought to such case, that in the morning he signed.' Argile's character, as given by Brende, is this. "I have heard him reported to be much constant. I found him humane, wise and grave, in whom I could have believed all things that he said if I had not determined in them to trust nothing at all. I judge him greedy of gere, desirous of authority, * * * and therefore moved unto this by the envy he beareth to the Governor, and the emulation he hath with the Earl of Huntly, which will be ever of the contrary part to him, therefore the matter, in my opinion, consisteth in this point, whether your Grace's purpose may take better effect in letting the Earl of Huntly home, so to raise factions betwixt them, or else by detaining him to have the Earl of Argile wholly in that part, if so be he will stand unto his promise."—The Letter which contains the above interesting details, is dated Warkworth, 9th March. 1547-8.—and signed, JOHN BRENDE.

Notwithstanding the promise to Argile, the Protector entered into a secret agreement with the Earl of Huntly, who engaged if allowed to return home, to embrace the English faction, and further the King's (Edward the VI.) Majesty's affairs. This appears from the following letter of Huntly, to the Protector, dated Newcastle, 20th March, 1547-8.¹

THE EARL OF HUNTLY TO THE PROTECTOR.

"My Lord,—After most humble commendations of service unto your Grace, it pleases you to witt We arrived at Newcastle 18th, and has heard no word of Scotland yet, except a man of mine who came with my Lord Gray, Lieutenant, and met me by the way.

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off.

My said Lord Gray has informed you how all passes in Scotland, better nor I can presently. My Lord, I am credibly advertised that our Governor repents that our Mistress is past to Dumbarton, and is labouring to bring her Grace again to . . . (Stirling), which is promised to him, how soon her Grace bees whole in person. She has been very sick in the small pox, and not yet whole. My Lord Governor, as I am advertised, will be brought I lyppenyt (trust) to get hasty word by his Grace of the same, and if commissioners shall come to the borders for end of all these affairs, may it please your Grace to show my Lord Gray who shall meet with them, and of your Grace's mind in that behalf; your Grace shall be sure of such service as I may do, to the furthering of the King's Majesty's affairs, in all sorts as your Grace will command, as my duty is shall shortly know indeed, and shall to him, as I can get intelligence, not doubting the best part, and favour the peace better nor and your Grace's purpose, which I pray God send to the weal and union of both the realms, that have so long been at discord. And further your Grace may command me, and in what place I may do best service, shall be ay ready at your Grace's charge. My Lord, I am not able to give your good Grace most humble thanks for the great goodness and humanity shown to me, who have ever yet deserved the contrar, albeit, gif it be in me possible, I shall make such amends, as my wit or power may serve. My Lord, I pray the living God have ever your Grace in his tuition—at the New Castle, the 20th day of March.

Your Grace's humble Servant at Power.

The signature of this letter, some words of which are illegible, is gone, but there is a Cotemporary Docquet on the back, "xx March. Th' Erle of Huntley to my L. P."

It is stated in this volume, p. 45, that in the enterprise or invasion of the Lord Wharton, on 18th Februrary, 1547-8, the Earl of Lennox commanded the Scottish Borderers in the service of Edward VI. The result of this disastrous expedition is given in the text, but the following letter of Lennox, addressed to the Protector Somerset, after his return, will convince the reader of the calm

treachery with which this Scottish nobleman could talk of the *King's Majesty's* (Edward the VI.) *possessions in the west* parts of Scotland.

EARL OF LENNOX TO THE LORD PROTECTOR.¹

“Pleased your most noble Grace to be advertised, that whereupon my suit, it pleased your Grace to be so much my good Lord, to grant my entry into Scotland, for the service of the King’s Majesty, with such Scottishmen as be lately come to his Highness’ devotion, for the which I most humbly thank your Grace, according to the same, and at command of your Grace’s several letters to my Lord Wharton for that purpose, I entered, and by his Lordship’s advice, proceeded, as your Grace hath been here before advertised. And of entent your Grace should know more at large the order thereof, and also my repair again to Carlisle at your Grace’s pleasure, for the full accomplishment of such service, as for divers occasions at this time could not have been done, my friend, Thomas Bishop, the King’s Majesty’s servant, is instructed to declare the same at length, to whom it will please your Grace give firm credence. And by him would be most glad to know your Grace’s further pleasure and commandments, which I shall obediently, God willing, to the uttermost of my poor power accomplish.

“It will also please your Grace to be advertised, that there is a little Abbacy, called Holywood, of a hundred pounds a year, now vacant, and within the precincts of *the King’s Majesty’s possessions of the West parts of Scotland*, which the Governor has given to the Sheriff of Air, as will appear by a letter, with other writs, sent to me of late forth of Scotland, which I send unto your Grace herewith. I would most humbly beseech your Grace, at my poor suit, to grant your Grace’s gift of the same to my cousin, the *Laird of Closeburn*, who serves the King’s Majesty very well, and is a man of power, for whose constancy and honesty in his Highness’s service, I will be bounden, and to my friend Thomas Bishop, whom with him he would were And God willing, with your Grace’s aid and favor, the same shall be defended Contrar the

¹ Border Corr., St. P. Off. Orig., 26th Dec. 1547, Castle of Wrissel.

Sheriff of Ayr, or any others enemies to the King's Majesty in that realm. And thus prays Almighty God to preserve your Grace in most long and prosperous life, with much increase of honor. At the King's Majesty's Castle of Wrissel, 16th Dec. 1547.

"Your Grace's most humbly, with his Service,

"MATTHEW LENNOX."

III.

ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH.

As some obscurity hangs over the arrival of the French auxiliaries in Scotland, it will be useful to fix precisely the dates, which are not very clearly given either by Keith or by Robertson. The following abstract of a letter from Sir R. Bulmer to the Protector, marks the arrival of the first band of French, chiefly officers, to have been on the 25th December, 1547.

SIR RALPH BULMER TO THE PROTECTOR.

He sends his Grace these news, which had been brought by the Lord of Cessford. "Christmas-day last past, two French ships came to Dumbarton—there landed with fifty French captains—bringing money to wage ten thousand Scots for a year, which money is sent by the Bishop of Rome. There came *three* of the chief captains to Stirling, to the Queen and the Lords, on St. Stephen's day at night—apparelled all in white satin, and told the Queen and the Council the cause of their coming. They showed her there was six thousand Frenchmen on the sea for Scotland, waiting a wind. As soon as the ten thousand Scots are mustered, and these six thousand are landed, *then* a post is to be sent to the French King, who had an army in readiness to land in England, and a fleet of ships is also promised by Denmark, but this not so certain." The letter concludes by advising his Grace to grant power to the Lord of Cessford, to collect the rents Mernis, for two reasons. 1st. It will be most for the King's benefit. 2nd. It will set Buccleugh

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 30th Dec. 1547. Sir Ralph Bulmer to the Protector.

and Cessford at variance, which were a good policy, for *altho' Buccleugh had taken assurance, yet he was playing a double part, assuring the Queen and Governor that he is yet a true Scotsman.*"¹

We learn by a letter from Lord Wharton to Somerset, MS. State Paper Office, 1st January, 1547-8, that Monsieur de la Chapelle, was the leader of these Frenchmen, which proves the accuracy of De Thou, Book v. c. 15.—Vol. 1st. p. 189. Bulkely edit.

By another letter from Lord Grey to the Protector, dated at Berwick, June 17, 1548 [MS. State Paper Office], it appears that the second arrival of auxiliaries, conducted by Monsieur D'Essé, must have been June 15th or 16th, 1548. This was the great force, including Suisses and Almain, as well as French. Lord Grey diminishes their number to twelve hundred men at arms, and eight hundred light-horse-men; but they were at the least six thousand strong, as is proved by a letter, State Paper Office, Lord Wharton to the Protector, dated 14th July, 1548.

IV.

EMBARKATION OF THE YOUNG QUEEN FOR FRANCE.

History, p. 53.

Neither Keith, p. 55, nor Chalmers, p. 10, are able to fix the exact time of the young Queen's sailing for France. A letter, in the State Paper Office, from Lord Grey to the Protector, which is dated August 7th, 1548, mentions, that he is informed the young Queen is not yet transported, but lieth in a galley accompanied with other galleys, and four or five ships, a little from Dumbarton, where he adds, she undoubtedly was *yesterday*, at twelve of the clock at noon. And he continues "the Lady Fleming, her mistress, making request to the captain of the galley, whose name is *Wallegagno* (*Villegaignon*), to have her on land to repose her, because she hath been long on the sea: *He answered, she should not come on land, but rather go into France, or else drown by the way.*" Grey advises the Protector to fit out some ships that way, with the hope of meeting her.

In the Egerton collection of MSS. No. 2, preserved in the British Museum, the contents of which are inaccessible to the public, from the want of catalogues, there is a volume of tran-

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off., 30th Dec. 1547. Sir R. Bulmer to the Protector.

scripts, from original letters, during the reign of Henry the 2nd, of France. My attention was directed to it by my learned friend, Mr. Holmes, of the British Museum, who pointed out the following passages. In the first of them, Henry the II. writing to Monsieur de Humyeres, the governor of his children, who were then brought up at the Palace of St. Germain en Laye—informs him (on the 27th July, 1548) that the little Queen of Scotland may soon be expected there, to be educated with the Dauphin and his other children.

“ Mais pour cela je ne veulx que vous bougez avec mes enfans, attendu maintenant que ma fille la petite Royne d’Escosse y pourra lors ou plustot arriver pour y estre nourrie avec eulx.

“ 27th July, 1548.”

In another letter from the King to Monsieur de Humyeres, he sends the Dauphin and the young Queen of Scots, a dancing master, Paul de Rege, to whom he gives a high character. The letter is dated 10th January, 1549.

Mon Cousin. Pour ce que Paule de Rege present porteur est fort bien balladin, et à ce que j’en y peu coagnoistre honneste et bien conditionnée, j’ay advisé de le donner à mons filz le Dauphin pour luy monster à baller, et pareillment à ma fille la Royne d’Escosse et aux jeunes gentilhommes et damoiselles estant à leur service, et de mes autres enfans; “ à ceste cause vous le presenterez à mon filz, et le ferez loger et manger avec ses autres officiers.”

V.

FEROCITY OF THE WAR.

The War assumed a character of more than common ferocity.

History p. 55.

In addition to what is mentioned in the text, this fact is strikingly illustrated by a paper [MS. State Paper Office, 19th May, 1549] entitled Memorial (it should rather be scroll of a memorial) for Edward Atkinson, alias Bluemantle, sent by the Protector to the Governor of Scotland. This document states, that after having obtained audience, the said Bluemantle, putting on his coat of arms, and making reverence unto him, (the Governor) without any other saluta-

tion, shall boldly say as ensueth. The substance is, that understanding that sundry the King's Majesty's, *his Grace's Sovereign Lord's subjects and servants, born within the realm of Scotland*, have now a good while, and yet do, according to their bounden duty, serve his Majesty in these wars; the Governor had published a proclamation, commanding, that if any Scotsmen so serving, shall be taken in the field bearing arms against him, they shall not be used as prisoners, but immediately put to death as rebels. Bluemantle is enjoined to demand this proclamation to be immediately recalled, otherwise all Scottish prisoners, of whatever rank they be, shall be put to death as soon as they are taken." This paper is followed by a "Minute of a Proclamation for not taking of Scottishmen—dated 22nd May, 1549." It commences thus—"Whereas the Earl of Arran, *pretending himself to be Governor of Scotland*," and goes on to speak of the people of Scotland not acknowledging, or giving obedience to "their *superior and Sovereign Lord, the King's Majesty of England*, in consequence of which the countrys are at war, and Scotland grievously afflicted with slaughter and devastation, as with a just plague of God." It then proceeds thus—"Not content with all this, the Governor hath devised a most cruel, unnatural, and deadly proclamation, that every Scotsman serving the King of England, should be slain as soon as taken, by means of which some of his Majesty's subjects, Scotsmen born, have been put to open and cruel death." Therefore it continues, "that cruelty may be punished, and repelled with cruelty," he, the Protector, straightly commands all his Highness's wardens, deputy-wardens, officers, &c., that they do not from henceforth take any Scotsman serving against *his Highness in the field, but do kill the same out of hand without ransoming them*, until the Governor Arran have revoked his proclamation, under penalty of death, if this is disobeyed.

VI.

ARRIVAL OF THE QUEEN DOWAGER IN FRANCE.

History, pp. 60, 61.

The exact date of this Princess's arrival in France, has not been given by any of our Historians.

In an original letter of Anne de Montmorency, constable of

France, to Mr. de Bassefontaine, Ambassador to the Queen of Hungary, (for the knowledge of which I am indebted to Mr. Holmes, of the British Museum,) there is the following notice of the arrival of the Queen Dowager in France. The letter is in the British Museum. Additional MSS. 10,012, and is dated 27th September, 1550.

“Je vous advise que la Royne d’Escosse est puis trois ou quatre jours arrivée au Havre de Grace en bonne sante et tresbonne compagnie; elle fit hier son entrée à Rouen. En dimanche prochain viendra trouver le Roy à l’Abbaye de bonnes nouvelles, où il va demain coucher poure faire sa Feste St. Michael; apres que les seigneurs l’aura venu et parlé à elle, on vous fera entendre (ce que) sera requis sur les propos qui ont este entamez touchant la fait d’Escosse.”

VII.

SIR JOHN MASON’S CORRESPONDENCE.

Some interesting particulars, illustrating the intrigues of the Queen Dowager, in France, a subject hitherto slightly passed over by our Historians, may be derived from a volume in the State Paper Office, containing the correspondence of Sir John Mason, the English Ambassador at the Court of France. Its authenticity is unquestionable, as it is Sir John’s own Letter Book.

“We learn, by a letter from Mason to the Privy Council, dated Rouen, 6th October [Correspondence, p. 118], that he had that day visited the Queen Dowager of Scotland, who arrived there on the 25th of September, accompanied by a numerous train of Scottish gentlemen, and was received with much honour.”

On the 19th of the same month and year, (1550) Mason has this passage in a letter to the Privy Council, dated Dieppe.

“Since their coming the principal of the Scots have visited me except the Earl of Huntly and George Douglas. They lamented, their estate, and showed why we (the English) had not our desire, (the King’s marriage to Queen Mary) which was ‘the rude handling of them at all times, and especially in the notable slaughter made upon them at the great battle (Pinky).’ I gave ear unto them as unto Scots, told them they had refused a good offer, and must drink as

they had brewed. That they had lively plaid the part of the horse in Aesop, who sought the help of man against the hart. The Earl of Glencairn much complaineth of the detaining of his two sons, his father being dead, for whom they were pledges, but specially of the ill-handling of them by the Archbishop, who, he saith, kept them two years in his kitchen."

I shall subjoin a few brief abstracts of some important letters, addressed by the same Ambassador to the Privy Council. They throw considerable light on the relative politics of France, England, and Scotland, at this period.

In a letter dated Blois, 4th December, 1550, he remarks that "the Scots bear a fell rout in this Court, and be much made of, of all estates. They say we shall not have one foot of ground in Scotland peaceably, more than we had before the wars, but they will have the thanks for it all together, if we like, and not forego it by piece meal. *Ireland* is ready to revolt and deliver themselves to a new master on a moment's warning.

In a subsequent letter, dated Blois, 8th Feb. 1550-1, he states, that the blind Scot, named the Bishop of Armagh, who had lately been in Ireland with commission to make a stir among the people, passed five or six days ago by this Court, and has been much made of. He is departed to Rome.

Again on the 23rd Feb. 1550-1, writing to the Council, he informs them, that there were rumours of war secretly intended by France against England. England had refused a passport to the Master of Maxwell, at which the French King, was much incensed. Exclaiming, "Vraiment voyez ci une pauvre vengeance." "There is in these men no love." The Queen of Scots and her house beareth in this Court the whole swing. * * * The Queen Dowager desireth the subversion of England "whose service in Scotland is so highly taken here, as she is in this Court made a Goddess." These men the French, are in great readiness for the wars.²

In a letter of the Lords of the Privy Council to Mason, dated at

¹ Mason to the Privy Council, 4th Dec. 1550. Blois.

² Ibid. p. 250. Lords of P. C. to Mason, 28th. Jan. 1550, Greenwich. Ibid. p. 251.

³ Sir J. M. to P. C. Blois, 26th Feb. 1550-1.

Greenwich, the 28th of Jan. 1550, it appears that a spy had been sent, whom Balnevis, the Scot, recommended as proper to be trusted, and who would take care to bring the English Ambassador as much intelligence as the Scots have. In Sir John Mason's answer to the Privy Council, dated Blois, 26th Feb. 1550-1, he informs them that this bearer arrived on the 24th Feb., but dared not tarry, as he found himself likely to be waylaid. He, however, had one who would fill his place, viz. the lord Grange. "I talked with him," says Mason, "of the Queen's departing, and of the men-of-war she was said to have with her." He said, "this would not take any effect this year. He (Grange) promised to communicate every thing he could learn to the English Ambassador, who when he speaks of him, is to call him Corax." By a letter of Mason to the Privy Council, 23rd March, 1550-1, dated at Blois, it appears, that the Vidame of Chartres was at that time in Edinburgh, on a mission from France. In another letter of the 18th April, 1551, from the same to the same, it is stated, that one George Paris had arrived from Ireland. "He brags much," says Mason, "associates with the Scots, and has offers from the Irish to league with France, and throw off England. He hopes to have the Dauphin shortly proclaimed King of Scotland and Ireland. It is said they are to have no open assistance from France, but that the Queen of Scotland laboureth to have them holpen underhand by means of the Earl of Argile and James Kennalt (Maconnell). He goes on to observe, that John a Barton had arrived from Scotland at the French Court, and brought word that the Governor (Arran) had a great party in his favour to keep him in his place till they should have a King. This, he adds, was ill-taken by the Queen Dowager, who was determined either to have the government herself, or to set a Frenchman of her House in it. Corax (Grange) thinks if the meeting of the Commissioners for the borders goes on smoothly; all things will be quiet for this year.

The Earl of Huntly had obtained one part of his suit from the Queen of Scots, which was, that when she came of age, he should have the Earldom of Murray. This King (the King of France) hath bound himself by writing thereunto, but the custody of the bond is to be in the hands of the Dowager. All the Scots are against him in this, especially Sutherland and Cassillis. It

will breed a great stab amongst them. "The Queen is all for herself and for a few other friends, whose partiality showed more to some than others maketh a great heartburning." Lord Maxwell at his departing, had a chain of five hundred crowns; Drumlaurich had nothing, and used rude speech to the Queen.

"The Scottish Queen's shipping is hasted very much. It is thought she shall embark a month sooner than she intended. The Lady Fleming departed hence, with child by this King.¹ And it is thought that immediately upon the arrival of the Dowager in Scotland, she will come again to fetch another. If she so do, here is like to be a combat, being the heartburning already very great. The old worn pelf,² fearing thereby to lose some part of her credit, who presently reigneth alone, and governeth without empeesche."

We learn something of the French intrigues in Ireland, by a letter of Mason to the Privy Council, dated at Amboise, 22nd April, 1551.

He states, that a gentleman who had come from Ireland with George Paris, was named Cormac Ochoron, eldest of nine brothers who are alive. He braggeth his father hath been the great worker of all this rebellion; he never would submit to England, although he hath a house within a stone's cast of the English pale. Last Saturday he exhibited to the constable a paper, showing what force both horse and foot his father could bring into the field; asked for prompt assistance, as it was by the French intrigues this rebellion had wholly been stirred up. He begged for five thousand men at the French King's charges. He was paid with fair words. "*The Dowager of Scotland would fain have them holpen, and I am assuredly informed the Vidame is nothing behind them, who, since his coming hither hath been very highly and friendly entertained by the King.*" He hath had many secret conferences with the King, the Dowager, and the Constable. "The Vidame had come from a mission into Scotland." By another letter, dated

¹ This was, I suspect, the Dowager Lady Fleming, a daughter of James IV. by the Countess of Bothwell.—Douglas Peerage, p. 698.

² The "old pelf was the King's mistress Diana of Poitiers," a woman at this time of fifty-three years.—Mezeray, p. 623.

26th April, 1551, it appears "that the Scottish Queen's departure * * * was again delayed, and some thought the occasion thereof was some fancy the French King hath to some of her train." ¹

In his next letter, 29th April, 1551, at Amboise, Sir John Mason informed the English Privy Council, that he had made diligent search as to the news brought by a post from Scotland. "I have learned," says he, "that there is come to light a practice (or at the least a great suspicion thereof) for the poisoning of the young Queen. He that took the matter upon him is an archer of the guard, who is escaped into Ireland. There is as much diligence made as can be devised for the getting of him from thence, and as they say here, he is already stayed to be sent back again to Scotland, and so into France. The old Queen is fallen suddenly sick upon the opening of this news unto her. By whose means this thing should principally be moved, I cannot yet understand, but it is thought that it was devised by some discontented Scots. This is told me for a great secrecy, whether it be true or not, your Ladyship may know farther with time. * * The said post hath brought word, that the Lady Fleming is brought to bed of a man child, wherat our women do not much rejoice."²

On the 10th of May, 1551, Sir John Mason writing from Court to the English Privy Council, observes, "There hath been lately a great consultation touching the marriage of the Dolphin to the Scottish Queen, which the Constable and the Chancellor would in any case to be deferred." "The Dowager of Scotland maketh all at this Court weary from the high to the low, such an importunate beggar is she for herself. The King would fain be rid of her, and she as she pretendeth would fain be gone. Marry, the hucking is about many matters, the King being desirous she should depart, upon promise of the sending thereof to her, and she desiring to have the same with her. The sums are two hundred thousand franks of old debts, which is in a manner all paid; and besides that, fifty thousand franks more, partly for the payment of other pensions accorded among the Scots, and partly to remain at

¹ Mason to the Privy Council, 26th April, 1551.—Amboise.

² Same to same, p. 309, May 10th 1551.—From Court.

her disposition as she shall see cause, and fifty thousand for her own pension for that year. Talking yesterday with the Receiver General of Bretagne, of Scottish matters, he told me, wishing that Scotland were in a fish-pool, that out of his receipt and of the receipt of Guienne, there had been sent thither since the beginning of the wars, nineteen hundred thousand franks, how much had passed otherwise he knew not." p. 312. On the 19th May Mason alludes to the French intrigues in Ireland. * * "I saw," says he, "yesterday, a letter sent from Rome to an Italian in this Court, wherein was written, that the Bishop of Armachan, as he calleth himself, which is the blind Scot that lately passed this way, is thoroughly and very well despatched, touching the matters of Ireland." It appears by a subsequent letter of June 11th, that the "blind Scot," the Bishop of Armagh, had departed with his dispatch towards Ireland. The last letter in this valuable volume of Sir John Mason's Correspondence, is dated July 29, 1551.

Sir William Pickering, and soon after him Sir Nicholas Wotton, succeeded Mason as Ambassadors at the French Court, and their letters which are preserved in the French Correspondence of the State Paper Office, vol. vi., contain many interesting illustrations, not only of the politics of France and England, but of the condition of Scotland and of Ireland during the last years of Edward and the commencement of the reign of Mary. Indeed, I might rather say, they illustrate the history of Europe; for it was the business of the English Ambassador at the Court of France, to have his agents or spies in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands, and to transmit to the Sovereign, the Prime Minister, and the Privy Council of England, reports of all the information which he received.

Mary of Guise's interview with Edward the Sixth took place on the 4th of Nov. 1551, and she appears to have returned to Scotland about the 24th of the same month, as in the books of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, under the date 21st Nov. 1551, we find an order directed to Sir Andrew Ker, of Littledean, causing him to send letters of Proclamation to Jedburgh, Selkirk, Dunse, &c., charging the Lords, Lairds, and other Gentlemen to meet the Queen at our Lady Kirk, of Steil, in their most honest manner, on the 24th November.

In a letter dated Sept. 19th, 1552, preserved in the French Cor-

respondence, we find a paper, entitled Secret Information of Thomas Stukely, which details "a plan of the French King for the conquest of England."—First, he would order that the Scots should enter into Northumberland with all their power; then he himself would come to Falmouth, and the Duke of Guise with another army to land at Dartmouth. He would proclaim and restore the old mass, putting the people to their full liberty as he doth in Scotland.

In a letter from Sir N. Wotton to the Privy Council, dated at Melun, 28th Dec. 1553, he informs them, that the report of the Queen of England's marriage with the Prince of Spain, made the French begin to speak of war with England, and he adds, that the French King had already despatched Monsieur D'Oysel with the same Commission that he had on his former mission, and that he meant to send after him the Vidame of Chartres with a certain number of soldiers.

We find by a letter of Wotton's to the Council, Melun, Jan. 9, 1553-4, that the Queen of Scots now kept her table and lodging apart, to show that she had come to her years to have the whole rule in her own hands. I shall conclude these short notices of the valuable matter which may be found in the French Correspondence of the State Paper Office, by the following letter of Wotton to the Lord Paget, Privy Seal, and Sir William Petre, Knight, Principal Secretary. It is dated 1st March, 1556-7, and is written wholly in cipher, but fortunately the contemporary decipher accompanies it.

"My duty remembered to your Honours. I have heretofore certified the Queen's Majesty, what good will this bearer Kirkaudrie (Kircaldy) seemed to bear to her Majesty, and to the realm of England, and how little he is contented with the present state of Scotland, and how desirous he is to see it delivered from the yoke of the Frenchmen, and restored to their former liberty; and also what offers he hath divers times made to serve the Queen's Majesty, the best he could. Whereupon, altho' I have had no answer, yet forasmuch as he returneth now into Scotland, and thereby hath occasion to pass thro' England, I advised him to do that thing which I perceived he was before of himself minded to do, that is to say, to visit you by the way, thereby you may, by communication with him, the

better understand his mind * * and in case you like him, appoint him how he is to serve. Marry, this he earnestly requireth, that in case the Queen's Highness shall think him mete to do her Majesty's service, that yet, nevertheless, his matters may pass only thro' your hands, for he feareth greatly, that all the Council being privy to it, it were not easy to be kept secret, thereby he should stand in danger of his life.

"Now in case you should ask me what I think of him, first I must say that I have had no acquaintance with him, but sith my coming hither. Marry, by the communication I have had with him now and then here, either he must be a very great and crafty dissembler, or else he beareth no good will at all to the Frenchmen, and next unto his own country he beareth a good mind to England.

"Marry, what service he shall be able to do now, he intending to continue in Scotland, your wisdoms can better consider than I. For because, I trust he will declare at length unto you of the return of his father, and of Balnevis into Scotland, and for what purpose it is thought they are revoked, and also that Melvin, who accused the Bishop of Durham, is come hither, recommended to the French King by the Dowager of Scotland's letters, and of th' arrival of the four Scottish bands of horsemen, and of a plott (plan) of Berwick, which the French King hath, howsoever he came by it—and how these men are nothing sorry for the Earl of Douglas's death, and of a Scottish physitian married in London, named Durham, as I remember, who is a spy for the French King and the Dowager of Scotland, and hath a pension of her, three hundred crowns by the year, therefore, and how ill the Bishop of St. Andrew's can away with the rule of the Frenchmen in Scotland, and also of th' arrival of one of the Landgrave of Hesse's sons into the court here, and how he is made of, and how sorry they were here for Marquis Albert's death, and generally of such news as are spoken of here in the court. I shall therefore the less need to unite them at this time, but making here an end, &c. &c.

"Paris 1st March, 1556 7."

In the following passage, which occurs in a letter of Wotton to the Queen, I find the first notice of the afterwards active and intriguing Randolph.

"Postscripta. I have received," says he "a letter from a scholar of

Paris, named Thomas Randall, who writeth thus: 'Thomas Stafford took his ship on Easter-day, at night. There are gone with him more French than of our nation. He went in the Flower de Luce, whereof is captain John Rybande, and another ship with him laden with artillery.' Thus far writeth the said Randall. * * The voice is at Dieppe, that they go into Scotland, which I believe not well."

We see here how soon Randolph began to show his talents as a diplomatic spy.

VIII.

CARDAN AND THE BISHOP OF ST. ANDREW'S.

History, p. 66.

This celebrated and eccentric physician, who was brought to Scotland to cure the Scottish primate, gives us a few particulars of his journey, in his amusing work—"De Vita Propria." Unfortunately he is very brief, and more communicative on the extent of his fees, than the state of the country. He calls the primate Amulthon (Hamilton), and declares that after his case (a kind of periodic asthma) had defied the skill of the physicians of the Emperor, and the French King, he made the Bishop smack whole in twenty-four hours. "Intra xxiv. horas nullo vel plane levi remedio liberabatur." He came to Edinburgh on the 3rd of June, and remained till the 13th of September. He returned to Italy January, 1523.

His mode of cure, as described by Randolph in the following extract from one of his letters to Cecil [15th January, 1561-2, MS. State Paper Office], was not quite so simple as Cardan himself would have us believe. He sinks the "young whelps, and hanging the poor prelate by the heels."

"I will be bold," says Randolph, "to trouble your Honour a little with a merry tale. Cardanus, the Italian, took upon him the cure of the Bishop of St. Andrew's, in a disease that to all other men was judged desperate and incurable. He practised upon him divers foreign inventions: he hung him certain hours in the day by the heels, to cause him to avoid at the mouth that the other ways nature could not expel: he fed him many days with young whelps: he used him sometimes with extreme heats, and as many days with extreme colds. Before his departure, he roundeth for the space of six days, every

day certain unknown words in his ears, and never used other medicine after. It is said that at that time he did put a devil within him, for that since that he hath been ever the better, and that this devil was given him on credit but for nine years, so that now the time is near expired, that either he must go to hell with his devil, or fall again into his old mischief, to poison the whole country with his false practices."

IX.

POWER AND LICENSE OF THE NOBLES IN SCOTLAND.

History, p. 78.

In England, during the reigns of Henry the VIII, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, the power of the Sovereign over the nobles, and the influence of the wishes of the Crown, was infinitely greater than in Scotland during the same period. In Scotland the nobles lived in what Sir Ralph Sadder denominates in his despatches, "a beastly liberty." They reasoned and acted for themselves, they looked to the course which they thought promised best for the country, or for their own interest; and the idea of following this, in opposition to the commands of the Crown, was familiar to them; nay, not only this, but they often contemplated the idea of compelling the Sovereign to follow their wishes. The different feelings of the nobles in the two countries are strongly marked in the following letter of Mr. Thomas Martyn to Mary, Queen of England, dated at Carlisle, 11th June. 1557. [MS. State Paper Office.]

After alluding to their conferences on the borders, he goes on to state a conversation between the Earls of Westmoreland and Cassillis, in these terms:—"My Lord of W. sayeth to th' Erle of Cassillis in this wise: My Lord, I think it but folly for us to treat *now* together, we having broken with France, and ye being French for your lives: Nay, by the messe, quoth the Earl of Cassillis, I am no more French than you are a Spaniard: Marry, quoth my Lord of Westmoreland, as long as God shall preserve my master and mistress together, I am, and shall be a Spaniard, to the utmost of my power: By God, quoth the Earl of Cassillis, so shall not I be French: And I told ye once in my Lord, your father's, house, in King Henry the VIII. his time, that we would dye, every mother's

son of us, rather than be subjects until England; even the like will ye find us to keep with France; and I may tell you there are seven hundred Gascons arrived at Dumbryton, more than we will be known to you of; which were sent to serve in the borders here, but we would not let them pass the river, and they being allowed but threepence a day, have so scattered abroad, that three hundred of them be licked up by the way, sic (such) is the favor that our men beareth unto the Frenchmen here. My Lord of Durham telleth me that the Bishop of Orkney ministered talk unto him to this effect, wishing in any wise restitution to be made of both parties equally, whereby the amity might be preserved betwixt us, notwithstanding the French. Mr. Makgill told Mr. Henmar there was no cause why they should break with us, though we broke with France, for the Emperor's wars with the French empeacheth not our legal amity with the Emperor. Likewise Mr. Carnegy gave me his faith as a christian man, and honour of a Scottish knight, that his mistress meant the like, marry, for saving his oath, he added at th' end, as far as we yet ken."

X.

COALITION BETWEEN THE LORD JAMES AND THE QUEEN
DOWAGER.

Some new particulars regarding this coalition mentioned in the text (History, p. 79), may be gathered from a letter of Lord Wharton to the Lords of the Council, [MS. State Paper Office, 13th November, 1557]. It gives an account of a secret meeting which he had with William Kirkaldy, of Grange.

He, (says Lord Wharton alluding to Kirkaldy,) saith, "that the Prior of St. Andrew's, who is accounted the wisest of the late King's base sons, and one of the Council of Scotland, the Earl of Glencairn, and the Bishop of Caithness, did agree to write the letters in the Pacquet, and that the Dowager is of Council, and consenting therewith, and that she wrote her letters to Mr. Dosell, to cause Kirkaldy make devise to send the letters to me, that they might pass in haste—and that the Dowager's letter did meet Dosell beside Dunbar, towards Edinburgh, the 13th of this month. Dosell returned (sent back) Kirkaldy upon the sight of the Dowager's letter, with the pacquet forthwith, who saith to

me, it is the Queen and Dosell's device, and Dosell very earnest therewith, with many words that he hath given to Kirkaldy of the great displeasure that the Queen and Dosell beareth, especially against the Duke Chattelherault and the Earl of Huntly, and against others whom Dosell nameth, the feeble and false noblemen of Scotland. Amongst others, he said, when their army retired, and their ordnance was to be carried on the water, Dosell sent word to the Duke that he would see the ordnance returned over the water again, and that it might be put in safety. The messengers said to the Duke that Dosell was angry with their retire, and breach of their promise, and also not regarding the safety of their ordnance. The Duke's answer was, let Monsieur Dosell gang by his mind, an he will, for as we, the noblemen of Scotland, have determined and written to the Queen, so will we do, and let him look to his own charge, and so was Dosell left. Upon which words, and their manner of dealing, Dosell will seek their displeasure by all the ways and means he can, and so will the Dowager do also as Kirkaldy saith.

“In talk with him, I said it was a great matter to enterprise, to bring into that realm my Lady Margaret Lennox, and my Lord, her husband—that it required power of noblemen, with others, and houses of strength. He said, the coming of my Lady to the Dowager with their friends there, would order that matter; and said, they might first have the Castel of Tantallon, which is in the keeping of the Laird of Craigmillar, and at the Dowager's order. He speaketh liberally that they would have many friends, and also have on their side the authority that now is. This matter, as I think in my poor opinion, may be wrought for my Lady Margaret and my Lord of Lennox, and to continue the displeasure, notwithstanding amongst the greatest of that realm.”

Kirkaldy goes on to propose a truce, as introductory to a peace, Wharton answered the Scots only pretended an anxiety for a truce when it suited themselves, and broke it when they pleased; but should it be entertained, whom would he propose to send? Kirkaldy said, the Lord Seaton, Captain Sarlabarosse, who had been one before, the Laird of Craigmillar, and the young Laird of Lethington, or two of them. These are the Dowager's, and great with her. He said Scotland would agree to an abstinence for twenty days or for two months, but they must have a licence for an especial man to pass

through England, and communicate with the French King. Whar-ton asked the news. He said on Sunday last, 7th November, arrived a ship at Leith, with letters and money from the French King. He had seen a letter from the French King to Dosell, in which it was said he should have all his desires of men and money. That four ensignes, twelve hundred foot, and two hundred horse, were dispatched to come into Scotland by the West Seas, and daily looked for.

It is not unimportant to notice (on account of the light it throws on the character of the Lord James, afterwards the Regent Murray) that we here find him, Kirkaldy of Grange, Glencairn, and the Bishop of Caithness, acting with the Queen Dowager against Huntly, Chastelherault, and Argile. We find them receiving money from the French King, and stipulating for the presence of a French army in Scotland. Kirkaldy has generally been represented as a mirror of chivalry. Consistency certainly was not his fort. In a letter of Wotton (see *Supra*, p. 442), dated 1st March, 1556-7, he is determined on putting down all French influence in Scotland, here we find him, nine months after, inviting a French army into that country, and subsequently, in 1559, he returned to his first opinion. [See this Vol. p. 129.]

XI.

LETTERS AND PAPERS OF KNOX.

Not a few original letters of Knox are preserved in the State Paper Office, besides various public papers in his hand-writing, and evidently his composition. Of these, some appear in his history, but often very incorrectly printed, many words being altered, and parts entirely omitted. Others are to be found in the MS. Calderwood, in the British Museum. The letter quoted p. 137, and addressed to Percy, dated 1st July, 1559, which has not been printed commences thus:—

“The mighty comfort of the Holy Ghost for salutation. Right Honourable, having the opportunity of this bearer unsuspect, I thought good to require of you such friendship, as that from time to time conference and knowledge might be betwixt us; I mean not myself and you, but betwixt the faithful of both these realms,

to the end that inconveniences pretended against both, may by God's grace and mighty power be avoided. Your faithful friend, Mr. Kirkaldy, hath reported to me your gentle behaviour and faithful fidelity in all things lawful, honest, and godly. Continue this, and God by you, shall work more than now appeareth." Then follows the sentence quoted in this volume, p. 137, after which he concludes in these words—"but all this had I rather communicate face to face, than commit to paper and ink. This other letter I have direct to Mr. Secretary, which, if your honour will cause to be delivered, I suppose you shall not offend him. Other things I have, which now I cannot write for continual trouble hanging on my wicked carcase, by reason of this tumult raised against Christ Jesus in his (infancy). I pray you seek to know the mind of the Queen, and of the Council, touching our support if we be pursued by an army of Frenchmen, and let me be assured by advertisement reasonably. And thus committing you to the protection of the Omnipotent, I most heartily desire you to approve my love—enterprise—and enterprise not altogether without deliberation, as the troubles of these times do suffer.

"From Edinburgh, the 1st of July, 1559,

"Y^{our}s to command in Godliness,

"JOHN KNOX."

Knox's letter to Cecil, dated 12th July, 1559, is preserved in the State Paper Office in the original. It enclosed his celebrated apology to Elizabeth, and has been printed incorrectly and in a garbled state in his History p. 224. The postscript of the same letter, which has not been printed, is as follows:—

"After the scribbling of these former lines, came Mr. Whitlaw, of whom, after conference, I understood the match in which I have laboured ever since the death of King Edward, now to be opened unto you—God grant you and others wisdom with humility. Immediately after Mr. Whitlaw, came a servant from Sir Harry Percy to Mr. Kirkaldy, who, departing from us at Edinburgh to speak, the said Sir Harry brought news to the hearts of all joyful, whensoever they shall be divulgat. It was thought expedient to communicate the matter only with those that are strongest, till farther knowledge of the Queen's Majesty's good mind towards this

action. We doubt not the good mind of the whole congregation, which is great, as I doubt not but by others you will understand, but it is not thought expedient that so weighty a matter be untimeously disclosed. True and faithful preachers in the north parts cannot but greatly advance this cause. If a learned and godly man might be appointed to Berwick, with license also to preach within Scotland, I doubt not, but to obtain unto him the hands of the most part of the gentlemen of the east borders. Advert one thing, sir, that if the hearts of the Borderers of both parts can be united together in God's fear, our victory shall be easy. The fear of no man, I trust, this day to cause any of those that have professed themselves enemies to superstition within Scotland, to lift their hand against England, so long as it will abide in the purity of Christ's doctrine. Continual labours oppressing me, (most unable for the same) I am compelled to end with imperfection. The source of all wisdom rule your heart to the end.

“So much I reverence your judgment, that I will ye first see my letter, or ye deliver it, and therefore I send it open. Read and present it if ye think meet.”

At the same time that the Lords of the Congregation addressed to Cecil the letter mentioned in the text, p. 142, as written and composed by Knox, the same indefatigable man prepared for them a letter to the Queen. It is dated Edinburgh, 19th July, 1559, and as it has never been printed, I subjoin it here from the original, in the State Paper Office, and in Knox's hand writing, and signed by the principal leaders of the Congregation.

LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION TO QUEEN ELIZABETH:

“Right mighty, right high, and right excellent Princess, with our most humill commendations unto your Majesty. Albeit that heretofore divers men have wished, and as occasion hath offered, prudent men have devised, a perpetual amity betwixt the inhabitants of these our two realms, and yet that no good success hath to this day ensued of such travel and labours taken, yet cannot we, the professors of Christ Jesus in this realm of Scotland, cease to be suitors unto your Grace, and unto your Grace's well advised Council, to have eye to this our present estate. We have enterprised to enter

in battle against the devil, against idolatry, and against that sort of men, who, before abusing, as well us as our Princes, made us enemies to our friends, and the maintainers of strangers, of whom we now look (for) nothing but utter subversion of our commonwealth. If in this battle we shall be overthrown, (as that we stand in great danger as well by domestical enemies, as by the great preparation which we hear to be sent against us by France) we fear that our ruin shall be but an increase to a greater cruelty. And therefore we are compelled to seek remedy against such tyranny, by all such lawful means as God shall offer. And knowing your Grace to have enterprised like reformation of religion, we could not cease to require and crave of your Grace, of your Council, subjects, and realm, such support in this our present danger, as may to us be comfortable, and may declare your Grace and Council unfeignedly to thrust (thirst) the advancement of Christ Jesus, (and) of his glorious gospel : and whatsoever your Grace and Council can prudently devise, and reasonably require of us again for a perpetual amity to stand betwixt the two realms, shall, upon our parts, neither be denied, neither (God willing) in any point be violated, as at more length we have declared in a letter written to your Majesty's secretary, Mr. Cecill.

“ Right mighty, right high, and right excellent Princess, we pray Almighty God to have your Grace in his eternal tuition, and to grant you prosperous success in all your godly proceedings, to the glory of his name, and to the comfort of all those which earnestly thrust the increase of the kingdom of Christ Jesus.

“ From Edinburgh, the 19th of July,

“ By your Grace's most humble and faithful Friends,

“ ARCHD. ERGYLL.

“ ALEXANDER GLENCAIRN.

“ JAMES SANCTANDROS.

“ PATRICK RUTHVEN.

“ ROBERT BOYD.

“ ANDRO OCHILTRE.”

The Proclamation, published by the Congregation on the 25th July, 1559, alluded to in this volume, p. 145, is an important document, and has never been printed. It is as follows:—

“ Apud Edinburgh, 25th July, Anno 1559.

“ Forasmuch as the Lords of Congregation and Secret Council

that has remained in this town (this sum time) bigane, are now to depart forth of the same, upon compromitt made betwixt them, and the Lords sent from the Queen's Grace Regent, containing these heads. That no idolatry shall be erected where it is already suppressed. And that no member of the Congregation shall be troubled for religion, or any other cause dependant thereupon in body, lands, or goods, and that their ministers shall have full liberty not only to preach, but also to ministrare the sacraments, publickly and privately at they think good, without trouble or impediment to be made to them by the Queen, or any other, openly or quietly. And also that no band or bands of men of war, French, Scots, or others, shall be laid, nor remain within the town of Edinburgh. Therefore the said Lords of Congregation has thought good to notify the said, by this present proclamation, to all whom effeirs, and especially to their brethren of the Congregation now within this town, certifiand them, and promising faithfully if any of the forsaid points be violated or broken, that the said Lords of the Congregation will in that case fortify, concur, and assist with their whole power and substance, as they have done in times bygane, to the reformation thereof, supporting of their brethren, relieving of every member of the true Congregation that shall be open to be invaded or molested. And to the furthering of God's glory upon their honours, and as they will answer therefore in presence of Eternal God.

“Proclaimed by voice of trumpet at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, the day aforesaid.”¹

Not only did the Lords of the Congregation, as stated in this volume, (p. 153) address their remonstrances to Cecil, but Knox directed to the same minister a vigorous letter, dated at St. Andrew's, 15th August, 1559. It is garbled, and changed in his History, but the passages I have given in this volume, pp. 158, 159, 160, are taken from the original in the State Paper Office. On the 23rd of August, 1559, he addressed the following letter to Sir James Crofts, under the fictitious name of John Sinclear. It is preserved in the State Paper Office, and endorsed in Cecil's hand writing “Mr. Knox.”

“Immediately upon the receipt of your letters right worshipful,

¹ This Paper which is in the St. P. Off. is endorsed in Cecil's hand, 25th July, apud Edinburgh. Proclamation of the Congregation.

I despatched one to the Lords, from whom I doubt not ye shall receive answer according to your desire, with convenient expedition. The Queen Regent here, as before I have written unto you, is marvellous busy in assembling all that she can. She hath addressed ordinance, and other munition to Stirling. She hath corrupted as is suspected, the Lord Erskine, Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, and hopeth to receive it, but that will not so much hurt us as our enemies suppose, if all other things be prudently foreseen. She (breatheth) nothing but treason and revolt from her daughter's authority, but men begin to forsee somewhat more than they did not long ago. I wrote unto you before in favors of my (wife), beseeching you yet eftsones, to grant her free and ready passage, for my wicked carcase, now presently labouring in the fevers, needeth her service. I beseech you to grant unto the other man that cometh for my wife, passport to repair towards her for her better conducting. The spirit of all wisdom rule your heart, in the true fear of God to the end. From Londye, in Fife, the 23rd of August, 1559.

“Your's to power,

“JOHN SINCLEAR.

“Read, write, and interpret,
all to the best.

“In the midst of the exess
(exies).

Jamieson, in his Supplement to his Scottish Dictionary, explains this word *exies*, as meaning hysterics. But John Knox, in a hysteric, is scarcely conceivable—the trembling exies—which means the ague, seems to have been the malady which attacked the reformer.

XII.

SIR RALPH SADLER'S INSTRUCTIONS.

These Instructions, mentioned in this volume, p. 150, are preserved in the State Paper Office, and are endorsed in Cecil's hand, 8th August, 1559, Sir Ralff Saddler. They are important in the strong light they throw upon Elizabeth's policy towards Scotland, and as they have not been printed, I subjoin them here.

“*Memorial of things to be imparted to the Queen's Majesty—The matter of Mr. Sadler.*

“First.—That he understand how the proceedings there differ

from our intelligences here, and thereafter to proceed either the quickyer or the slower.

“Item.—The principal scope shall be to nourish the faction betwixt the Scots and the French, so that the French may be better occupied with them, and less busy with England. The means whereby may be those as follow, beside such as Mr. Sadler of himself shall think meet. First, to provoke all such as have stirred in the last assembly, to require the Queen Regent to perform her promise, both for restoring of religion, and sending away the Frenchmen, and to persuade them, that altho’ they may be reconciled with promises or rewards, yet shall they never be trusted by the Frenchmen.

“Item.—To procure that the Duke may for preservation of the expectant interest which he hath to the crown, if God call the young Queen before she have issue, instantly withstand the governance of that realm by any other than by the blood of Scotland. Like as the King of Spain, being husband to the Queen of England, committed no charge of any manner of office, spiritual or temporal, to any stranger, neither doth he otherwise, nor his father before him, in his countries of Flanders, Brabant, or any other, but suffereth them to be governed wholly by their own nation. In this point, if the Duke mean to preserve his title, ought he to be earnest; for otherwise he may be assured that the French under pretence of subduing of religion, will also subdue the realm, and extirpe his house.

“Item.—If this may be compassed, then may the nobility of Scotland also require of their Queen, that to avoid such mortal wars and bloodshed as hath been betwixt England and Scotland, there might be a perpetual peace made betwixt both these realms, so as no invasions should be made by either of them by their frontiers, and for the answer of an objection which may be made to disturb this purpose, it may be well said, that altho’ the Scottish Queen do falsely pretend title to the crown of England, yet doth she it, but as descended from the blood of England, that is to say, of the body of King Henry the VII, whereunto none of Scotland either doth or can make pretence, and therefore none ought to be abused by any of such persuasion.

“Item. The Duke may pretend as good cause to arrest Monsieur D’Oysell or some other of the French, as for answering for his two

sons, the Earl, and the L. David, as the French have done, in driving away the one and imprisoning the other, being neither of them his subjects nor offenders against him.

“Item. It shall do well to explore the very truth whether the Lord James do mean any enterprize towards the crown of Scotland for himself or no, and if he do, and the Duke be found very cold in his own causes, it shall not be amiss to let the Lord James follow his own device therein, without dissuading or persuading him any thing therein.

“Item. Finally, if he shall find any disposition in any of them to rid away the French there, he may well accelerate the same, with this persuasion, that if they tarry until the aid come out of France, they shall find these to abide longer than they would.”

XIII.

INTELLIGENCE FROM SCOTLAND.

The paper quoted in this volume, p. 173, under the title “Intelligence out of Scotland,” contains the Journal of one of Cecil’s numerous spies.—It is dated and marked with his own hand, and although its information is not implicitly to be relied on, it furnishes us with some curious details.

Intelligence out of Scotland, the 10th Nov. 1559.

First, the Earl Bothwell, the Lord Borthwick, and the Lord Seaton, are with the Queen Dowager, of Scotland, and taketh a plain part with her, and no other noblemen of Scotland. All the rest of the noblemen of Scotland taketh part with the Governor of Scotland.

“The Governor’s eldest son, the Earls of Argile, Huntly, Glencairn, the Lord Revoll (Ruthven), the Prior of St. Andrew’s, the Mr. of Maxwell, the Lord of Livingston (Lethington), are made Regents of the realm of Scotland by the congregation, to have the governance of the same realm until they have a righteous Prince amongst them; the which Regents with their trains came to Edinburgh *the 23d day of October* last with twelve thousand men with them, and sat in Council, and there deprived the said Queen Dowager of all rule in Scotland, for that she did not keep promises with them, nor follow the counsel of the nobility of Scotland, for the weal of the realm and the liberty of the same.

“At the coming of the said Lords to Edinburgh, the Queen, with her party, being three thousand French and four hundred Scots, removed to Leith.

“The last of October last past, in the night, the Earl Bothwell, accompanied with twenty-four men, met the Lord of Ormeston accompanied with six men, about Haddington, and there took from him six thousand crowns sterling, which the said Lord was carrying to the Governor, and hurt the same Lord upon the face with a sword sore; that he lieth upon the same at his house of Ormeston.

“The advertisements of the taking of the same money came to the Governor, who sent his eldest son, the Mr. of Maxwell, the Prior of St. Andrew’s and others, being seven hundred men or thereabout, to the Castle of Crichton, the Earl Bothwell’s chief house, distant from Edinburgh eight miles, who entered into the same, and put garrison into it upon Allhallows-day, and lay that night there, and came to Edinburgh on the morrow.

“Upon Allhallows-day, after the riding forth of the said Governor, his son, and the others, the same was declared to the Queen by a servant of the Bishop of Dumblain, and immediately after the same declaration, about one thousand five hundred French and Scotsmen, issued out of Leith, and skirmished with about 11 c. (eleven hundred) Scotsmen that had laid two pieces of great ordnance upon a little hill beside Holyrood House, to shoot at Leith, and the Frenchmen won the one piece, and the other was bursted. And the same Frenchmen entered into Canon-gate, and spoiled the same to the port of the town, and slew twenty-one Scotsmen and three women, and six Frenchmen were slain at the same skirmish. And forty men of arms of France rode in at the Port, and went almost to the tron, where they were put back by the Governor and his party. The Castle of Edinburgh shot two canons at the French party at the said skirmish, for the which the Queen reproved the Lord Erskine, who made answer, that he would shoot at any person that went about to annoy the town of Edinburgh.

“The 3d of November present, the Governor sent his son and the Mr. of Maxwell with three hundred horsemen to Crichton Castle, who, at their arrival there, sent to the Earl Bothwell, being

at the Castle of Borthwick, and willed him to come and take part with the Lords, which he refused to do, and then the Governor's son spoiled the Castle of Crichton, and had the spoil, and all his evidents to the Governor.

“ The 4th November aforesaid, the Queen sent to the Lords, and moved them to quietness, saying, she would keep all promises with them, if they would do the like, whereunto they would not agree, saying, they had found her so false and unnatural, that they would never trust her, nor have to do with her nor France, but by the sword.

“ The 6th November instant, the Congregation and the French skirmished together, at which was slain Alexander Halyburton, brother to the tutor of Pitcur, one of the best Captains of Scotland, and thirty footmen of Scotland, and divers taken, and of the French six or seven slain and six taken. The Lords of Scotland perceiving that their skirmishes chanced not well with them, and that they were not in a perfect readiness for the wars; put all the ordnance in Edinburgh Castle upon band of the Lord Erskine, to have the same safely delivered to them again, and the said 6th of November about midnight removed to Lithgow, where they remained in consultation and preparing for the wars, and will set up a coin, saying they shall coyne a good part of their plate for maintenance of the word of God, and the wealth of Scotland.

“The morrow next after, being the 7th of Nov., the Queen removed to Edinburgh about ten of the clock before noon, where she remaineth, having all things there at her will; the most part of the inhabitants of Edinburgh fled out of the town with bag and baggage before her coming hither, and put a great part of their best stuff in Edinburgh Castle for the safety thereof.

The Bishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow are with the Queen, and the Bishops of the Out Isles and Galloway with the Lords and Congregation.

XIV.

TREATY OF BERWICK.

At the time of the Treaty of Berwick, described in this volume pp. 183, 184, Cecil sent queries to the Scottish Lords, to which he required them to make definite answers.—The following paper preserved in the State Paper Office, contains these questions and

the replies.—It is endorsed in Cecil's hand, 20th Feb. 1559, and is in the hand-writing of Sir R. Sadler.

Certain Questions proponed to the Lords of Scotland, answered and resolved by them.

1. Whether they be able of themselves to resist the French power, and expel them out of Scotland.

Answer.—In respect of the fortresses which the French occupied in the time the Queen Dowager bare rule, and yet do possess, we are not able without the Queen's Majesty's support to expel them, seeing the whole body of the realm is not as yet united.

Question.—What aid then is required?

Answer.—They require England to join with Scotland in league to expel these their enemies, and promise on their part to unite with England at all times against her enemies, and refer the specialty of the aid to herself.

Question.—What power, horse and foot can they levy, and how soon?

Answer.—We would be able to bring five thousand men into the field, of which two thousand should watch and ward in company with the English soldiers according to the rate of their number, and with the other three thousand we shall keep the country in obedience, and make them be sure on all sides, night and day; that they shall need to attend upon nothing, saving the French within the fort, and we shall meet their army at Acheson's Haven, the 25th day of March next coming.

Question.—How long they be able to abide and continue in the field?

Answer.—The whole nobility and landed men, with their households, shall remain continually, so long as the Queen's Majesty's power shall remain, how long soever it be, and the remanent number the space of twenty days after the meeting and joining of both the armies, upon their own charges, and at the end of the said twenty days, shall have in readiness two thousand footmen, or thereby to receive wages of the Queen's Majesty, and continue so

long as need shall be, and three or four hundred light horsemen, if it be thought convenient in like manner to receive wages. And as to the number of the nobility, landed men, and their households, which shall remain after the said twenty days, it shall be declared unto you before the end of the said twenty days, that you may be assured what you shall trust to.

Question.—What ordnance for battery, and what munition can they bring?

Answer.—It is not unknown to you that all the artillery and munition of Scotland, is in the hands of the Queen, and the French, and (in) the strengths that are not in our hands.

Question.—What carriages can they furnish for the transport of great ordnance?

Answer.—The artillery and draught gear being brought to Acheson's Haven by sea, the lack of carriage horses supplied from thence to Leith.

Question.—What number of pioneers they can help us with?

Answer.—We believe assuredly, that on the Queen's Majesty's charges, we shall levy three or four hundred, or more if need be.

Question.—What necessaries they have for scaling and assaulting of forts?

Answer.—They have none in store, but whatsoever is in the country will be at their command; and there is wood and broom enough within four miles of Leith.

Question.—How they can furnish the army with victuals for horse and men?

Answer.—Plenty of oats for horses; as to forage, they cannot say much till they see how far the country is destroyed; as to men, Commissaries with a convenient sum of money should be sent into Scotland, to buy up victuals, of which there will be plenty. There is arrested in merchants' hands in Dundee, two hundred tuns of wine, which will be delivered into the Commissaries' hands for thirty-four pounds Scottish the tun, viz. eight pounds ten shillings sterling.

Question.—Where and when their power and ours shall join together?

Answer.—It shall be the greatest ease for us to meet you in some

part of Lothian where ye think good, but always we reserve that to your discretion.

Question.—Are they able to take and occupy Edinburgh? What as to the Lord Erskine?

Answer.—It is too great a hazard to attempt Edinburgh before the joining of the armies, because we doubt the French as desperate men will enterprise a battle. As to Lord Erskine, they will promise nothing assuredly, but hope he will be no enemy.

Question.—How the borderers in Scotland may be reduced to take part with the said Lords in this cause?

Answer.—They are labouring presently, and are in good hope to reduce the most part of them thereto, for the obstinate they will take order as you may advise.

Question.—What number of ships for the warrs?

Answer.—No great number at their command, but there are some which will make forth against the French at their own adventure.

Question.—Where they shall be able to lodge in towns together, six hundred demi lances and six-hundred light horsemen?

Answer.—They shall be placed in Edinburgh, if it may be had, failing thereof in [towns thereabouts, the most commodious to be left to them in all sorts.

Question.—Where we may best land our artillery and munition?

Answer.—At Acheson's Haven, there is good hard ground from thence to Leith.

XV.

LETTERS OF THE LORD JAMES, AFTERWARDS REGENT MURRAY.¹

The Lord James St. Andrew's, to Sir William Cecil.

“Right Honourable Sir,—After all loving commendation. Albeit I have in a general letter with my brethren presently written unto you, and as the present bearer, my good friend, may sufficiently instruct you of all things needful, yet have I thought neces-

¹ Preserved in St. P. Off.

sary to gratify in one part, your good mind at all times shown not only towards our common cause, but also in particular towards me, which, as it is in all sorts undeserved on my side, so am I the more affected unto you therefore, which, God willing, you shall apperceive, indeed, if ever the goodness of God shall grant the good opinion and expectation that causeless ye have conceived of me, shall come to good maturity and fruit—God of his mercy grant it may, and as I have found this your good mind unrequired, having found it, I am bold to desire you most earnestly to continue in the same, as well towards the weal of our common cause as of myself, as I persuade myself ye will, and to that effect, I have, my good friend, the young Laird of Lethington, bearer hereof, and his proceedings towards the premises, most heartily recommended unto your honor's wisdom and good council, whom God mot prosper to his glory.—At Sanct Andrew's, the 15th day of November, 1559.

“ By your assured Friend,

“ JAMES SANCTAND.”

THE LORD JAMES TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

“ Please your Grace, after my departing from Berwick, I safely arrived in Fife, and found my Lord of Arran in St. Andrew's ready to depart towards my Lord of Huntly, in St. Johnston, with whom I departed towards him, and after mutual conference, has found him to see throughout their present matters, and willing to show himself to the furtherance of the same at this present, which I suppose he testifies by his writings to the Queen's Majesty, and also to Mr. Cecil with his own servant, who is also instructed with credit, and if it shall please your Grace, in my opinion these writings should be kept in store for all adventures. Since my returning from my Lord of Huntly, which was the 1st of this instant, I have been continually travelling in the towns here upon the sea coast for preparation of victuals against the arrival of the commissaries, and also upon the preparation of our folks, assuring ourselves of meeting

¹ MS. Lettter, St. P. Off. endorsed by Cecil, Lord James, St. Andrew's, 15th Nov. 1559.

upon the day appointed. And in case any let come on your side, (as God forbid) it will please your Grace to make us an advertisement, because we look for none, and so commits your Grace to the protection of the Eternal. At Pittenweem, the 8th March, 1559.

“ By your Grace to command,

“ JAMES STEWART.”

LORD JAMES TO SECRETARY CECIL.

“ After most hartly commendation ; as travelling with my Lord Duke’s Grace of Norfolk, and all times before, I have found the favour of God prospering his work in the hands of his servants, even so perceive I still and sensyne his blessing always to continue therewith. My Lord of Huntly, with a great part of the North, as I look for, will keep the affixed (time) betwixt my Lord Duke and us, whereof I trust you shall be certified by his own writing, which I would wish were kept in store. And further, I hope in God there shall be very few of the nobility that shall not join them at this time, and if God shall grant us good luck and success in this journey, I am persuaded the matter that all godly men so long have desired, and wise men travelled to bring to pass, shall be by the tender mercy of God most happily atchieved, to the great comfort of us, and the great felicity of the ages to come, and seeing it cometh near the birth, let no earnest labourer (as you are) faint in the Lord’s work. Who mot prosper the same in your hands. From Pittenweem, the 8th of March, 1559.

“ By your assured good Friend,

“ JAMES STEWART.”

XVI.

CHARACTER OF THE EARL OF HUNTLY.

History, pp. 186, 187.

This nobleman, perhaps the most powerful Baron in Scotland, has been somewhat undeservedly lauded. Like his brethren, he

was crafty, selfish, and ambitious. The following letter from his brother, the Bishop of Caithness, and the interesting paper which follows it, disclose his secret transactions with the Lords of the Congregation, and throw light on the severity with which he was afterwards treated by Mary.

LETTER FROM A. GORDON TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

“After hearty commendations to your Grace, it will please you to wit, that in consideration of the relation made by the Queen Dowager to divers of your Grace’s countrymen, quha spak her in the Castle of Edinburgh, that my Lord my brother, the Earl of Huntly, would by no way assist or concur with us in defence of this our common and godly action, I will be so bold, with your Grace’s pardon, to assure you of the contrary. Notwithstanding the great policy and craft used by the said Queen Dowager to empesche the same, who has done utter diligence to break the whole nobility of his country against him, which was the principal and chiefest occasion of his tarry. Who *beis* unfailand in our camp, the 20th or 21st of this present April, to assist and set forward these our proceedings and godly union, at the uttermost of his power.¹

“18th April, 1560, Edinburgh.”

The second paper to which I allude is endorsed by Randall, THE REQUESTS OF THE EARL OF HUNTLY TO THE LORDS, and dated in Cecil’s handwriting, part of which is torn away,—18th April, 1560.

“Forsomuch as by the labour, persuasions, and suborning of the French part, and others, their favorers, and part takers within this realm, there is a con (tract) and league maid by their means among a great number of the nobles of the north parts of this realm, certain clans, and Islemen of the same, that they shall maintain, and with their power extreme, defend the auld manner of religion, and French authority within this realm. Nothingless to the resistance of my Lord Duke’s Grace, and others, his part-takers, nor for invading of me, my friends, and part takers, and

¹ Endorsed by Cecil, Bishop of Athens, to the Duke of Norfolk.

destroying of our *rowmes* that shall assist with his Grace, of the which they have begun one part already. Wherefore the said Earl of Huntly, since he adventures his body, life, rents, and lands, with his whole friends that will do for him, desires that my Lord Duke and others, the noblemen assisters to his Grace's proceedings, make him, his friends and partakers, an assured promise under their hand writs to their maintenance in their lifes, rents, lands, and possessions. And that by his Grace and them, the said Earl and his assisters might have the Queen's Majesty of England's aid and support when he shall (require) the same, as well for to defend their incursions and pursuits, as to pursue them and their rowmes, that will not concur with him to the Duke's Grace's effect, and the maintaining the liberty of this realm, and common weal thereof, so far as we are within the north parts of the mount.

“ Item.—Desires in like manner that where he understands the Duke's Grace with his Council, is already disposing to sundry men, certain rowmes in these north parts, and to them in special, which shall be found of the said confederacy. That in that respect, his Grace, nor his Council and partakers, shall dispoine nothing of the lands and duties of the Kirk Escheats, and casualties of thir parts, but to such as shall be his concurrents, and join themselves with him to the forthsetting of the action of the commonweal, or at the least, without his (Lordship's) consent and advice, and that within the shires of Aberdeen, Banff, Murray, Nairn, and Inverness.

“ Item.—Because it is not unknown his Lordship, and his predecessors to have been under his Sovereign the man to have had the supreme authority in the north in time by past, and power given to them by their Sovereigns for the time, desires to have suchlike power and authority as before times, with assistance and maintenance of his Grace and his assisters both of Scotland and England, so that not only shall any of his own pretend to disobey or ly aback in this action, but by the said power, assistance, and authority, he may inbring them with the rest of their adherents, so that the liberty and commonweal of this poor realm, might be more easily preserved, and he and his partakers may thro' such authority and help, the more hartily concur and wear their lives, and hazard their heritages in the said action; and who shall be required by

the Duke and the Lords, his Grace's assisters, to concur in the forth setting of the said action, and refuses the same, and the rest at his Grace's command, shall be pursued by the said Earl of Huntly in that case; their escheats and *rowmes* to be disposed to him and such other gentlemen and Barons that serves with him."

THE LORDS' ANSWER TO THE EARL OF HUNTLY.¹

To the 1st. The answer made is, "That by the band entered into by the Congregation, they are bound mutually to defend each other, and if Huntly joins them, he will participate in this obligation and enjoy the benefit."

To the 2nd. "Huntly has seen the copy of the Contract between them and the Queen's Majesty, by which she obliges herself to support and defend them, and if Huntly joins them, he will be included in the benefit of this Contract as one of themselves."

Where in the second article it is alleged that the said Earl understands they are already disposing certain rowmes to sundry men in the north parts * * it is answered "that the Lords have made no disposition of any thing to any persons, but only constitute factours, * * * * and no factours made of any rowmes in these parts—and his Lordship coming and adjoining him to the said Lords, no disposition of factorie shall be made by (contrary to) his advice."

To the 3rd. That he have the same authority as his predecessors have had before him in the north parts, it is answered—"That the Lords as yet have never taken upon them the disposition of *escheats or office if lieutenandrie, fearing if they would pretend any such matter, it would be sinisterly interpreted, and the adversaries would calumniate them as usurpers of our Sovereign's authority.* Nevertheless, perceiving my Lord of Huntly's good affection to haste a moyen, whereby all men may be adjoined to this cause, they are content to grant to my Lord at his coming hither to them, all and whatsoever things may so further the cause that he himself will think that they may do, remaining obedient subjects, and reserving their obedience to their Sovereign—and for that they may see, he

¹ Scots Corr., dated in Cecil's hand, 18th April, 1560.

requires this only for furtherance of the common cause, and not for any commodity, they will in this article follow his good advice and counsell after his coming. At which time, in this as in all others, he shall be satisfied."

XVII.

AN IRISH AMBASSADOR IN 1560.

The following extract from a letter, addressed by Randolph to Cecil, is amusing, in the vivid portrait it gives us of O'Neil's Ambassador—and in showing also that the Irish language was written and understood by the inhabitants of the North of Scotland, as late at least as August 25, 1560, the date of this letter. It is preserved in the State Paper Office.

"May it please you to understand, that the 16th of this present, there came to the Earl of Argile, out of Ireland, an Ambassador from O'Neil. What was his message, and effect of his embassy, your Honour may perceive by these letters which the Earl of Argile hath sent, beside also some other matter that he requireth to be advertised of from your Honour as you see time. The letter that he received from O'Neill, he caused to be translated into English, and hath, notwithstanding, sent you the original, ad faciendam majorem fidem, and also for you to see the strangeness of their orthography. This he desireth to be sent unto him again.

"The manner and behaviour of him from whom the letter came, is not so strange as it was wonderful to see the presence of his Ambassador. A man that exceedeth many in stature. He walked a foot out of Erland hither alone, his diet, by reason of the length of his journey, so failed him, that he was fain to leave his safron shirt in gage. The rest of his apparel such, that the Earl before he would give him audience, arrayed him new from the neck downwards; for razor he would none—his lodging was in the chimney, his drink chiefly aquavitæ and milk. Tho' the message that he came of was such as the Earl of Argile by no means will consent unto for divers respects, as chiefly the ungodliness of the person, and the worthiness of his sister, of whom I hear great commendation, yet

will he not utterly shake him off, or give him any resolute answer, but intendeth awhile to entertain him, to see what good may be done upon him, either to bring him to God, or more civility."

XVIII.

MARY'S AVERSION TO KNOX.

The following extract from a letter of Throckmorton's to Queen Elizabeth, dated 13th July, 1561, Paris, and preserved in the French Correspondence of the State Paper Office, evinces the strong aversion which the young Queen of Scots had conceived against this reformer, previous to her arrival in her dominions.

"The said Queen's (Scotland) determination to go home continues still; she goeth shortly from the Court to Fescamp, in Normandy, there to make her mother's funerals and burial, and from thence to Calais, there to embark. * * The late unquietness in Scotland hath disquieted her very much, and yet stayeth not her journey. The 5th of this present, the Earl of Bothwell arrived here in post. * * I understand that the Queen of Scotland, is thoroughly persuaded that the most dangerous man in all her realm of Scotland, both to her entent there, and the dissolving of the league between your Maj: and that realm is Knoles. And therefore is fully determined to use all the means she can devise, to banish him thence, or else to assure them that she will never dwell in that country as long as he is there, and to make him the more odious to your Maj: and that at your hands he receive neither courage nor comfort; she mindeth to send very shortly to your Maj: (if she have not already done it) to lay before you the book that he hath written against the Government of women, (which your Maj: hath seen already) thinking thereby to animate your Maj: against him, but whatsoever the said Queen shall insinuate your Maj: of him, I take him to be as much for your Maj: purpose, and that he hath done, and doth daily, as good service for the advancement of your Maj: desire in that country, and to establish a mutual benevolence, and common quiet between the two

realms, as any man of that nation, his doings wherein, together with his zeal well known, have sufficiently recompensed his faults in writing that book, and therefore (he) is not to be driven out of that realm."

XIX.

MARY AND LETHINGTON.

It has been stated in this volume, p. 243, that previous to her setting out from France, Mary addressed letters of forgiveness and kindness, to nearly all her subjects who filled offices of trust. The following letter she sent to Secretary Lethington, it is printed from a copy endorsed by Cecil, "Queen of Scots letter to the L. of Lethington, 29th June, 1561, preserved in the State Paper Office."

"Lethington. Jay receu vostre lettre du X^{me}. de ce moys. Et vous employant en mon service et faisant bien suynant la bonne volonté q m'asseurez en avoir; il ne fault point que vous craignez les calomniateurs ny rapporteurs, car ils n'auront jamais bonne part auprès de moy. Je prend garde aux effects devant q'adjouster foy en tout à ce que l'on me dit. Et quant au scrupule que pourroit proceder de l'accointance qu'avez en Angleterre il cessera avec l'intelligence que vous y pouvez avoir. A quoy il vous est ayse remedier si vous voulez. Et pour ce vous avez este l'instrument, et principal negociateur de toutes les pratiques que ma noblesse a eu en Angleterre, si vous desirez que oultre ce que J'ay déjà oublyé toutes offences passées comme Je vous ay escript cy devant, Je me fye à bon (effient) et me serve de vous, faictes que les ostages qui sont au dict pays en soyent retirez, et vous employez à dissouldre ce que vous avez moyenne et sollicite en c'est endroit, avec tel effect, Je me puisse assurer de vostre bonne affection. Vous avez l'entendement et dextérité de faire plus que cela, et ne se passe rien entre ma noblesse dont vous n'avez cognoissance, et que vostre advice n'y soit receu. *Aussi Je ne veulx vous celer, que s'il se faict quelque chose qui n'aille droit par cy apres me fiant de vous* vous estes celluy à qui je m'en prendray le premier. Je veulx vivre doresnavant en toute amytié et bonne voisinance avec la Royne d'angleterre, et suis sur mon partement pour passer

en mon Royaume où j'espere estre danz le tems que J'ay mande par le prier de St. André—A mon arrivée par dela jauray besoing trouver quelques deniers pour subvenir à ma maison, et autres necessitez. Il en est sort y depuis ung an une bonne somme du proffict de ma monnoye e y a aussi dautres casualitez. Vous me ferez plaisir de tener la main que de coste ou dautre J'en puisse trouver de prestz pour men ayder promptement. Et cependant vous me scrivez et donnerez advis de tout. Jay veu par vostre lettre comme vous avez fait publier et executer celles que n'aguieres je vous avez envoyées touchant les alienations des terres ecclesiastiques—Et quant à la declaration de mon intention plus avant, estant sur mon dict parlement Je lay remyse apres mon arrivée. Je feray bien ayse de voir et intendre comme les choses sont passés en cest endroit tant auparavant les troubles que depuis le commencement d'iceulx, priant Dieu, Lethington vous avoir en sa saincte garde. Escript à Paris, le xxix^{me} Jour de Jung, 1561.

XX.

ELIZABETH'S VIOLENT REFUSAL OF A PASSPORT TO MARY.

It appears from the following letter of Lethington to Cecil, dated at Edinburgh, 15th August, 1561, that the English Queen had so far suffered herself to be overcome by passion, as openly to declare to D'Oysell that she would not suffer his mistress to come into her own dominions.

“ Sir,—Hither came yesternight from France a Scottish gentleman called Capt. Anstruther, sent by the Queen, our Sovereign, who left her Maj: (as he saith) at Morin, six leagues from the Court at St. Germain's, where she had left the King, and was coming towards Calais there to embarque. He hath letters to the most part of the noblemen, whereby she doth complain that the Queen's Majesty not only hath refused passage to Monsieur Doy-sell and the safe conduct which she did courteously require for herself, but also doth make open declaration that she will not suffer her to come home to her own realm, yet is her affection such towards her country, and so great desire she hath to see us, that

she meaneth not for that threatening to stay, but taketh her journey with two galleys only without any forces, accompanied with her three uncles, the Duke D'Aumall, the Marquis d'Elboef, and the Great Prior, one of the constable's sons, Monsieur Damville, and their trains, and so trust her person in our hands. In the meantime thinking that the Queen's Maj: will by some means practise the subjects of this realm, she hath written to divers, and specially those whom she knoweth most affectioned, to continue the intelligence, willing them in anywise that they receive no Ambassador from her Majesty, nor renew any league with her Highness unto such time as she be present with us, the bearer sayth that she will arrive before the 26th day of this instant. What this message meaneth I cannot judge, I marvel that she will utter any thing to us, which she would have kept close for you, and if two galleys may quietly pass, I wish the passport had been liberally granted. To what purpose should you open your pack and sell none of your wares, or declare you enemies to those whom you cannot offend. It passeth my dull capacity to imagine what this sudden enterprise should mean. We have determined to trust no more than we shall see, yet can I not but fear the issue for lack of charges and sufficient power. If any thing chance amiss, we shall feel the first dint, but I am sure you see the consequence. It shall be well done that the Q. Maj: keep some ordinary power at Berwick, of good force, so long as we stand in doubtful terms, as well for safety of the peace as our comfort. The neighbourhood of your men will discourage our enemies and make us the bolder. My wit is not sufficient to give advice in so dangerous a cast, but I mean well. God maintain his cause, and those that mean uprightly. I pray you send me your advice what is best to be done, as well in the common cause, as in my particular, who am taken to be a chief meddler and principal negociator of all the practiques with that Realm, tho' I be not in greatest place, yet is not my danger least, specially when she shall come home, having so late received at the Q. Maj: hands (as she will think) so great a discourtesy. This Capt. Anstruther hath also a commission to receive from the French Captains the Castle of Dunbar, and the Fort of Inchkeith, and to send home all the soldiers. I have heard that the Queen meaneth to draw home the Earl of Lennox, furth

of England, and to make him an instrument of division in this Realm, setting him up against the Duke of Chastelherault. I trust the Queen's Maj: will have good regard thereto, In anywise let me hear I pray you, often from you. If I may receive every four or five days a line or two from you, it shall be my greatest comfort—and because I must now be jealous of my letters, I pray you make some mention in your's of the receipt of so many as I have sent you this month. (this is the third), * * * Edinburgh, the 15th day of August, 1561.

“Your's at commandment,

“W. MAITLAND.”

XXI.

LETHINGTON AND CECIL.

As an example of Lethington's lighter epistolary style, the Reader may be interested in the following letter, written to Cecil when the Scottish Secretary was in love with Mary Fleming, one of the Queen's Marys, whom he afterwards married. It is amusing to find that he had chosen so grave a confidant as Cecil. There is preserved in the British Museum, a pathetic letter of this Mary Fleming, written to Lord Burleigh, intreating him to use his influence with Morton, that the body of Lethington, her husband, might suffer no shame. It has been printed by Chalmers, from the original in the Cotton collection—Life of Mary, vol. ii. p. 502.

*Ledington to Cecil.*¹

•Sir—I have of late been somewhat perplexed, understanding that you were sick, the rather that I could not have certain knowledge whether it was the cough which universally did reign, or other more dangerous disease, which did trouble you. I am glad to hear by the report of such as come from hence that you have recovered your health, and yet will not be fully assured thereof, until such time as I shall see the same testified by some letter, written with your own hand. I am not *tam cupidus rerum novarum*, that I desire any change, and if my fortune should be at any time to come

¹ MS. Letter, St. P. Off. Edin., 28th Feb., 1564-5.

in that realm, I wish not to have occasion to make any new acquaintance. I confess I have found in you some lacks, and points which I have wished to be reformed, and shall still find so long as you do not fully satisfy my affections (such is the nature of man and phylantye (*φιλαντία*) which maketh us fancy too much our own conceptions.) Yet, I do not look for any full reformation of you in that behalf, and not the less when I do indifferently and without passion behold your proceedings, and even such as I appear most to mislike, I am constrained to think, that if any other occupied the same place, I might, perhaps, have matter ministered unto me of more misliking. Therefore, how far soever I mislike you, I wish you to do well to yourself, and suffer neither the evil weather, nor evil world kill you. As there are in you many good parts, which I require in myself, so I find in me one great virtue, whereof for your commodity I wish you a portion, to wit, the common affairs do never so much trouble me, but that at least I have one merry hour of the four and twenty, and you labour continually without intermission, nothing considering that the body, yea, and the mind also, must sometime have recreation, or else they cannot long last. Such physic as I do minister unto myself, I appoint for you. Marry, you may, perhaps, reply, that as now the world doth go with me, my body is better disposed to digest such than yours is, (for those that be in love, are ever set upon a merry pin) yet I take this to be a most singular remedy for all diseases in all persons. You see how I abuse my leisure, and do trouble your occupations with matters of so light moment. It is not for lack of a more grave subject, but that I purposely forbear it, not knowing in what sort, I may touch it, and avoid offence. I will, with better devotion, look for other matter in your next letter, than for any answer to this foolish letter of mine, and yet, rather to be advertised of your convalescence. You can impart those news to none that will be more glad of them. Like as if you will command any thing that lieth in my power conveniently to do, you will find none next your son, over whom you have more authority. And so, after my most hearty commendations, I take my leave.—From Edinburgh, the last of February, 1564,

Yours, at command,

W. MAITLAND.

XXII.

CHARACTERISTIC LETTER OF KNOX.

The following letter of this Reformer (alluded to in this volume, p. 343) is addressed to Randolph, and dated at Edinburg 3d ——— 1564. Some few words are unreadable, but as a whole, it is very characteristic.

“ Both your’s are come to my hands, with your _____ for the which I heartily thank you. Rollets tidings are as yet buried in breasts of two within this realm, but (Maddye) telleth us many news. The mess shall up; the Bishop of Glasgow and Abbot of Dumfermling come as Ambassadors from the general council. My Lord Bothwell shall follow with power to put in execution whasoever is demanded, and our Sovereign will have done, and then shall Knox and his preaching be pulled by the ears. Thus, with us raves Maddye every day, but hereupon I greatly pause not. The Earl of Lennox servant is familiarly in court; and it is supposed that it is not without knowledge yea and labour of yuor court. Some in this country look for the Lady and the young Earl, or it be long; it is whispered to me that license is already procured for their hithercoming. God’s providence is inscrutable to man, before the issue of such things as are kept close for a season in his council, *but to be plain with you that journey and progress I like not.* The Q. Maj: remains at St. Johnston, as I hear yet eight days, yea, and perchance longer, as for Edinburgh, it likes the ladies nothing. In these last ships from France and Flanders, I have received some news, and some are coming; certain of the salt maker’s labourers are arrived with mattocks, schooles, and certain other instruments; more are looked for, I fear their traffic shall be to make salt upon salt. Divine what I mean? I hear of credible report, and that of such as are privy in the court of France, that the journey of Loraine goes forward, Letters I received dated in * * * in Champagne, assuring that the King was so far in journey, if other impediments occurred not. The Papists of France (of Paris especially) threaten destruction to all Protestants. The Germans almost in every city and province are (agg. sec) men of war, and no man can tell at whose devotion. If ye know I

am content, if not, my counsellis, you look to it. Two barges, in form and fashion like hoys, came in our Firth, abone (above) the Inch, and viewed all places, Sunday and Monday last. They sailed from land to land, round about the Inch, but would suffer no man to enter in them; and so are departed. Our Solan geese use to veseey (inspect) the bass, before the great company tak possession. I say yet again, take heed; I hear (but not of certainty) that Sweden will yet visit us with an Ambassador. I pray you yet again salute my Lord of Bedford, of whose good mind towards me I never doubted, and say to his Lordship, that I think I shall have as great need of comfort ere it be long, as that I had when his L. and I last parted in London, if God put not end to my battle shortly. For here, wanton and wicked will empires, as it were, above wisdom and virtue. God send remedy, and thus ye know a part of my mind, and yet, if I were not I would trouble you longer. My purpose is, if God permit, to be in Langton the 3 Sunday of May. You may appoint the place, and I will meet you. Whom the Eternal preserve. Of Edinburgh, the 3d of this present (or instant) 1564.

“ Salute in my name Mr. —— and the Italian, to whom great business suffers me not to write.

Your's, to his power,

JOHN KNOX.