

THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

THE THIRD BOOK.

THE lords of the congregation soon found, that their 1559.
zeal had engaged them in an undertaking, which it was The con-
gregation
involved in
difficulties.
beyond their utmost ability to accomplish. The French
garrison, despising their numerous but irregular forces,
refused to surrender Leith, and to depart out of the
kingdom; nor were they sufficiently skilful in the art
of war to reduce the place by force, or possessed of the
artillery, or magazines, requisite for that purpose; and
their followers, though of undaunted courage, yet, be-
ing accustomed to decide every quarrel by a battle,
were strangers to the fatigues of a long campaign, and
soon became impatient of the severe and constant duty
which a siege requires. The queen's emissaries, who
found it easy to mingle with their countrymen, were at
the utmost pains to heighten their disgust, which dis-
covered itself at first in murmurs and complaints, but,
on occasion of the want of money for paying the army,
broke out into open mutiny. The most eminent leaders
were hardly secure from the unbridled insolence of the
soldiers; while some of inferior rank, interposing too
rashly in order to quell them, fell victims to their rage.
Discord, consternation, and perplexity, reigned in the
camp of the reformers. The duke, their general, sunk,
with his usual timidity, under the terrour of approach-
ing danger, and discovered manifest symptoms of re-
pentance for his rashness in espousing such a desperate
cause.

In this situation of their affairs, the congregation Apply to
Elizabeth

1559.
for assist-
ance.

had recourse to Elizabeth, from whose protection they could derive their only reasonable hope of success. Some of their more sagacious leaders, having foreseen that the party might probably be involved in great difficulties, had early endeavoured to secure a resource in any such exigency, by entering into a secret correspondence with the court of England^a. Elizabeth, aware of the dangerous designs which the princes of Lorrain had formed against her crown, was early sensible of how much importance it would be, not only to check the progress of the French in Scotland, but to extend her own influence in that kingdom^b; and, perceiving how effectually the present insurrections would contribute to retard or defeat the schemes formed against England, she listened with pleasure to these applications of the malecontents, and gave them private assurances of powerful support to their cause. Randolph^c, an agent extremely proper for conducting any dark intrigue, was despatched into Scotland, and residing secretly among the lords of the congregation, observed and quickened their motions. Money seemed to be the only thing they wanted, at that time; and it was owing to a seasonable remittance from England^d, that the Scottish nobles had been enabled to take the field, and to advance towards Leith. But, as Elizabeth was distrustful of the Scots, and studious to preserve appearances with France, her subsidies were bestowed at first with extreme frugality. The subsistence of an army, and the expenses of a siege, soon exhausted this penurious supply, to which the lords of the congregation could make little addition from their own funds; and the ruin and dispersion of the party must have instantly followed.

She sends
them a

In order to prevent this, Cockburn of Ormiston was sent, with the utmost expedition, to the governors of

^a Burn. Hist. Ref. 3. Append. 278. Keith, Append. 21.

^b See Append. No. I.

^c Keith, Append. 29.

^d Knox, 214. Keith, Append. 44.

the town and castle of Berwick. As Berwick was, at 1559. that time, the town of greatest importance on the Scottish frontier, sir Ralph Sadler and sir James Crofts, ^{small sum} of money, persons of considerable figure, were employed to command there, and were intrusted with a discretionary power of supplying the Scottish malecontents, according to the exigency of their affairs. From them Cockburn received four thousand crowns, but little to the advantage of his associates. The earl of Bothwell, by ^{which is intercepted.} the queen's instigation, lay in wait for him on his return, dispersed his followers, wounded him, and carried off the money.

This unexpected disappointment proved fatal to the party. In mere despair, some of the more zealous attempted to assault Leith; but the French beat them back with disgrace, seized their cannon, and, pursuing them to the gates of Edinburgh, were on the point of entering along with them. All the terrour and confusion, which the prospect of pillage or of massacre can excite in a place taken by storm, filled the city on this occasion. The inhabitants fled from the enemy by the opposite gate; the forces of the congregation were irresolute and dismayed; and the queen's partisans in the town openly insulted both. At last, a few of the nobles ventured to face the enemy, who, after plundering some houses in the suburbs, retired with their booty, and delivered the city from this dreadful alarm.

A second skirmish, which happened a few days after, was no less unfortunate. The French sent out a detachment to intercept a convoy of provisions which was designed for Edinburgh. The lords of the congregation, having intelligence of this, marched, in all haste, with a considerable body of their troops, and, falling upon the enemy between Restalrig and Leith, with more gallantry than good conduct, were almost surrounded by a second party of French, who advanced in order to support their own men. In this situation a

1669. retreat was the only thing which could save the Scots ; but a retreat over marshy ground, and in the face of an enemy superior in number, could not long be conducted with order. A body of the enemy hung upon their rear, horse and foot fell into the utmost confusion, and it was entirely owing to the over-caution of the French, that any of the party escaped being cut in pieces.

They retire
from Leith
in confu-
sion.

On this second blow, the hopes and spirits of the congregation sunk altogether. They did not think themselves secure even within the walls of Edinburgh, but instantly determined to retire to some place, at a greater distance from the enemy. In vain did the prior of St. Andrew's, and a few others, oppose this cowardly and ignominious flight. The dread of the present danger prevailed over both the sense of honour and zeal for the cause. At midnight they set out from Edinburgh in great confusion, and marched, without halting, till they arrived at Stirling^e.

Novemb. 6.

During this last insurrection, the great body of the Scottish nobility joined the congregation. The lords Seton and Borthwick were the only persons of rank who took arms for the queen, and assisted her in defending Leith^f. Bothwell openly favoured her cause, but resided at his own house. The earl of Huntly, conformable to the crafty policy which distinguishes his character, amused the leaders of the congregation, whom he had engaged to assist, with many fair promises, but never joined them with a single man^g. The earl of Morton, a member of the congregation, fluctuated in a state of irresolution, and did not act heartily for the common cause. Lord Erskine, governor of Edinburgh castle, though a protestant, maintained a neutrality, which he deemed becoming the dignity of his office ; and, having been intrusted by parliament

^e Keith, Append. 21—45.

^f Keith, Append. 31.

^g Keith, Append. 33. Knox, 222.

with the command of the principal fortress in the kingdom, he resolved that neither faction should get it into their hands. 1559.

A few days before the retreat of the congregation, the queen suffered an irreparable loss by the defection of her principal secretary, William Maitland of Lethington. His zeal for the reformed religion, together with his warm remonstrances against the violent measures which the queen was carrying on, exposed him so much to her resentment, and to that of her French counselors, that he, suspecting his life to be in danger, withdrew secretly from Leith, and fled to the lords of the congregation^b; and they, with open arms, received a convert, whose abilities added both strength and reputation to their cause. Maitland had early applied to public business admirable natural talents, improved by an acquaintance with the liberal arts; and, at a time of life when his countrymen of the same quality were following the pleasures of the chase, or serving as adventurers in the armies of France, he was admitted into all the secrets of the cabinet, and put upon a level with persons of the most consummate experience in the management of affairs. He possessed, in an eminent degree, that intrepid spirit which delights in pursuing bold designs, and was no less master of that political dexterity which is necessary for carrying them on with success. But these qualities were deeply tinged with the neighbouring vices. His address sometimes degenerated into cunning; his acuteness bordered upon excess; his invention, over-fertile, suggested to him, on some occasions, chimerical systems of policy, too refined for the genius of his age or country; and his enterprising spirit engaged him in projects vast and splendid, but beyond his utmost power to execute. All the contemporary writers, to whatever faction they belong, mention him with an admiration which nothing could

Maitland
revolts from
the queen
dowager.

^b Knox, 192.

1569. have excited but the greatest superiority of penetration and abilities.

The precipitate retreat of the congregation increased to such a degree the terrour and confusion, which had seized the party at Edinburgh, that before the army reached Stirling it dwindled to an inconsiderable number. The spirit of Knox, however, still remained undaunted and erect; and, having mounted the pulpit, he addressed to his desponding hearers an exhortation, which wonderfully animated and revived them. The heads of this discourse are inserted in his history¹, and afford a striking example of the boldness and freedom of reproof assumed by the first reformers, as well as a specimen of his own skill in choosing the topics most fitted to influence and rouse his audience.

The lords of the congregation apply again to Elizabeth.

A meeting of the leaders being called, to consider what course they should hold, now that their own resources were all exhausted, and their destruction appeared to be unavoidable without foreign aid, they turned their eyes once more to England, and resolved to implore the assistance of Elizabeth towards finishing an enterprise, in which they had so fatally experienced their own weakness, and the strength of their adversaries. Maitland, as the most able negotiator of the party, was employed in this embassy. In his absence, and during the inactive season of the year, it was agreed to dismiss their followers, worn out by the fatigues of a campaign, which had so far exceeded the usual time of service. But, in order to preserve the counties most devoted to their interest, the prior of St. Andrew's, with part of the leaders, retired into Fife. The duke of Chatelherault, with the rest, fixed his residence at Hamilton. There was little need of Maitland's address or eloquence to induce Elizabeth to take his country under her protection. She observed the prevalence of the French counsels, and the progress of their arms in

¹ Knox, 153.

Scotland, with great concern; and, as she well foresaw 1659.
the dangerous tendency of their schemes in that kingdom, she had already come to a resolution, with regard to the part she herself would act, if their power there should grow still more formidable.

In order to give the queen and her privy council a full and distinct view of any important matter which might come before them, it seems to have been the practice of Elizabeth's ministers to prepare memorials, in which they clearly stated the point under deliberation, laid down the grounds of the conduct which they held to be most reasonable, and proposed a method for carrying their plan into execution. Two papers of this kind, written by sir William Cecil with his own hand, and submitted by the queen to the consideration of her privy council, still remain[†]; they are entitled, 'A short discussion of the weighty matter of Scotland,' and do honour to the industry and penetration of that great minister. The motives which determined the queen to espouse so warmly the defence of the congregation, are represented with perspicuity and force; and the consequences of suffering the French to establish themselves in Scotland, are predicted with great accuracy and discernment.

He lays it down as a principle, agreeable to the laws both of God and of nature, that every society hath a right to defend itself, not only from present dangers, but from such as may probably ensue; to which he adds, that nature and reason teach every prince to defend himself by the same means which his adversaries employ to distress him. Upon these grounds he establishes the right of England to interpose in the affairs of Scotland, and to prevent the conquest of that kingdom, at which the French openly aimed. The French, he observes, are the ancient and implacable enemies of England. Hostilities had subsisted between the two

[†] Burn. vol. iii. Append. 283. Forbes, i. 387, etc. Keith, Append. 24.

1569. nations for many centuries. No treaty of peace, into which they entered, had ever been cordial or sincere. No good effect was, therefore, to be expected from the peace, lately agreed upon, which, being extorted by present necessity, would be negligently observed, and broken on the slightest pretences. In a very short time, France would recover its former opulence; and, though now drained of men and money by a tedious and unsuccessful war, it would quickly be in a condition for acting, and the restless and martial genius of the people would render action necessary. The princes of Lorraine, who, at that time, had the entire direction of French affairs, were animated with the most virulent hatred against the English nation. They openly called in question the legitimacy of the queen's birth, and, by advancing the title and pretensions of their niece, the queen of Scotland, studied to deprive Elizabeth of her crown. With this view, they had laboured to exclude the English from the treaty of Chateau en Cambresis, and endeavoured to conclude a separate peace with Spain. They had persuaded Henry the second to permit his daughter-in-law to assume the title and arms of queen of England; and, even since the conclusion of the peace, they had solicited at Rome, and obtained, a bull, declaring Elizabeth's birth to be illegitimate. Though the wisdom and moderation of the constable Montmorency had, for some time, checked their career, yet, these restraints being now removed by the death of Henry the second and the disgrace of his minister, the utmost excesses of violence were to be dreaded from their furious ambition, armed with sovereign power. Scotland is the quarter whence they can attack England with most advantage. A war on the borders of that country, exposes France to no danger; but one unsuccessful action there may hazard the crown, and overturn the government, of England. In political conduct, it is childish to wait, till the designs of an enemy be ripe for execution. The Scottish nobles, after their utmost

efforts, have been obliged to quit the field; and, far from expelling the invaders of their liberties, they behold the French power daily increasing, and must, at last, cease from struggling any longer in a contest so unequal. The invading of England will immediately follow the reduction of the Scottish malecontents, by the abandoning of whom to the mercy of the French, Elizabeth will open a way for her enemies into the heart of her own kingdom, and expose it to the calamities of war, and the danger of conquest. Nothing, therefore, remained but to meet the enemy, while yet at a distance from England, and, by supporting the congregation with a powerful army, to render Scotland the theatre of the war, to crush the designs of the princes of Lorraine in their infancy, and, by such an early and unexpected effort, to expel the French out of Britain, before their power had time to take root and grow up to any formidable height. But, as the matter was of as much importance as any which could fall under the consideration of an English monarch, wisdom and mature counsel were necessary in the first place, and afterwards vigour and expedition in conduct; the danger was urgent, and, by losing a single moment, might become unavoidable¹.

These arguments produced their full effect upon Elizabeth, who was jealous, in an extreme degree, of every pretender to her crown, and no less anxious to preserve the tranquillity and happiness of her subjects. From these motives she had acted, in granting the congregation an early supply of money; and from the same principles she determined, in their present exigency, to afford them more effectual aid. One of Maitland's attendants was instantly despatched into Scotland, with the strongest assurances of her protection, and the lords of the congregation were desired to send commissioners

¹ The arguments which the Scots employed, in order to obtain Elizabeth's assistance, are urged, with great force, in a paper of Maitland's. See Append. No. II.

1559. into England to conclude a treaty, and to settle the operations of the campaign with the duke of Norfolk^m.

The queen dowager meanwhile sends her French troops against them.

Meanwhile, the queen regent, from whom no motion of the congregation could long be concealed, dreaded the success of this negotiation with the court of England, and foresaw, how little she would be able to resist the united efforts of the two kingdoms. For this reason she determined, if possible, to get the start of Elizabeth; and, by venturing, notwithstanding the inclemency of the winter season, to attack the malecontents in their present dispersed and helpless situation, she hoped to put an end to the war before the arrival of their English allies.

A considerable body of her French forces, who were augmented about this time by the arrival of the count de Martigues, with a thousand veteran foot, and some cavalry, were commanded to march to Stirling. Having there crossed the Forth, they proceeded along the coast of Fife, destroying and plundering, with excessive outrage, the houses and lands of those whom they deemed their enemies. Fife was the most populous and powerful county in the kingdom, and most devoted to the congregation, who had hitherto drawn from thence their most considerable supplies, both of men and provisions; and, therefore, besides punishing the disaffection of the inhabitants, by pillaging the country, the French proposed to seize and fortify St. Andrew's, and to leave in it a garrison sufficient to bridle the mutinous spirit of the province, and to keep possession of a port situated on the main oceanⁿ.

But, on this occasion, the prior of St. Andrew's, lord Ruthven, Kirkaldy of Grange, and a few of the most active leaders of the congregation, performed, by their bravery and good conduct, a service of the utmost importance to their party. Having assembled six hundred horse, they infested the French with continual incur-

^m Keith, 114. Rymer, xv. p. 569.

ⁿ Haynes, 221, etc.

sions, beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys of provisions, cut off their straggling parties, and so harassed them with perpetual alarms, that they prevented them, for more than three weeks, from advancing °.

1559.

At last the prior, with his feeble party, was constrained to retire, and the French set out from Kirkaldy, and began to move along the coast towards St. Andrew's. They had advanced but a few miles, when, from an eminence, they descried a powerful fleet steering its course up the frith of Forth. As they knew that the marquis d'Elbeuf was, at that time, preparing to sail for Scotland, with a numerous army, they hastily concluded that these ships belonged to him, and gave way to the most immoderate transports of joy, on the prospect of this long-expected succour. Their great guns were already fired to welcome their friends, and to spread the tidings and terrour of their arrival among their enemies, when a small boat from the opposite coast landed, and blasted their premature and short-lived triumph, by informing them, that it was the fleet of England which was in sight, intended for the aid of the congregation, and was soon to be followed by a formidable land army †.

1560.

Jan. 23.

Throughout her whole reign, Elizabeth was cautious, but decisive; and, by her promptitude in executing her resolutions, joined to the deliberation with which she formed them, her administration became remarkable, no less for its vigour, than for its wisdom. No sooner did she determine to afford her protection to the lords of the congregation, than they experienced the activity, as well as the extent of her power. The season of the year would not permit her land army to take the field; but lest the French should, in the mean time, receive new reinforcements, she instantly ordered a strong squadron to cruise in the frith of Forth. She seems,

The English fleet arrives to their assistance.

° Knox, 202.

† Ibid. 203.

1560. by her instructions to Winter, her admiral, to have been desirous of preserving the appearances of friendship towards the French^q. But these were only appearances; if any French fleet should attempt to land, he was commanded to prevent it by every act of hostility and violence. It was the sight of this squadron, which occasioned, at first, so much joy among the French, but which soon inspired them with such terror, as saved Fife from the effects of their vengeance. Apprehensive of being cut off from their companions on the opposite shore, they retreated towards Stirling with the utmost precipitation, and in a dreadful season, and through roads almost impassable, arrived at Leith, harassed and exhausted with fatigue^r.

The English fleet cast anchor in the road of Leith, and continuing in that station, till the conclusion of peace, both prevented the garrison of Leith from receiving succours of any kind, and considerably facilitated the operations of their own forces by land.

They conclude a treaty with England, Feb. 27.

Soon after the arrival of the English squadron, the commissioners of the congregation repaired to Berwick, and concluded with the duke of Norfolk a treaty, the bond of that union with Elizabeth, which was of so great advantage to the cause. To give a check to the dangerous and rapid progress of the French arms in Scotland, was the professed design of the contracting parties. In order to this, the Scots engaged never to suffer any closer union of their country with France; and to defend themselves to the uttermost against all attempts of conquest. Elizabeth, on her part, promised to employ in Scotland a powerful army for their assistance, which the Scots undertook to join with all their forces; no place in Scotland was to remain in the hands of the English; whatever should be taken from the enemy was either to be razed, or kept by the Scots, at their choice; if any invasion should be made upon Eng-

^q Keith, Append. 45. Haynes, 231.

^r Knox, 203.

land, the Scots were obliged to assist Elizabeth with part of their forces; and, to ascertain their faithful observance of the treaty, they bound themselves to deliver hostages to Elizabeth, before the march of her army into Scotland; in conclusion, the Scots made many protestations of obedience and loyalty towards their own queen, in every thing not inconsistent with their religion, and the liberties of their country¹.

The English army, consisting of six thousand foot and two thousand horse, under the command of lord Gray of Wilton, entered Scotland early in the spring. The members of the congregation assembled from all parts of the kingdom to meet their new allies; and having joined them, with great multitudes of their followers, they advanced together towards Leith. The French were little able to keep the field against an enemy so much superior in number. A strong body of troops, destined for their relief, had been scattered by a violent storm, and had either perished on the coast of France, or, with difficulty, had recovered the ports of that kingdom². But they hoped to be able to defend Leith, till the princes of Lorraine should make good the magnificent promises of assistance, with which they daily encouraged them; or till scarcity of provisions should constrain the English to retire into their own country. In order to hasten this latter event, they did not neglect the usual, though barbarous, precaution for distressing an invading enemy, by burning and laying waste all the adjacent country³. The zeal, however, of the nation frustrated their intentions; eager to contribute towards removing their oppressors, the people produced their hidden stores to support their friends; the neighbouring counties supplied every thing necessary; and, far from wanting subsistence, the English found in their camp all sorts of provisions, at a cheaper

1560.

The English army lays siege to Leith, April 2.

¹ Knox, 217. Haynes, 253, etc.

² Mém. de Castel. 450.

³ Knox, 325.

1560. rate than had, for some time, been known in that part of the kingdom ².

On the approach of the English army, the queen regent retired into the castle of Edinburgh. Her health was now in a declining state, and her mind broken and depressed by the misfortunes of her administration. To avoid the danger and fatigue of a siege, she committed herself to the protection of lord Erskine. This nobleman still preserved his neutrality, and, by his integrity, and love of his country, merited equally the esteem of both parties. He received the queen herself with the utmost honour and respect, but took care to admit no such retinue as might endanger his command of the castle ³.

April 6. A few days after they arrived in Scotland, the English invested Leith. The garrison shut up within the town was almost half as numerous as the army which sat down before it, and, by an obstinate defence, protracted the siege to a great length. The circumstances of this siege, related by contemporary historians, men without knowledge or experience in the art of war, are often obscure and imperfect, and, at this distance of time, are not considerable enough to be entertaining.

April 15. At first the French endeavoured to keep possession of the Hawk Hill, a rising ground not far distant from the town, but were beat from it with great slaughter, chiefly by the furious attack of the Scottish cavalry. Within a few days the French had their full revenge; having sallied out with a strong body, they entered the English trenches, broke their troops, nailed part of their cannon, and killed at least double the number they had lost in the former skirmish. Nor were the English more fortunate in an attempt which they made to take the place by assault; they were met with equal courage, and repulsed with considerable loss. From the detail of these circumstances by the writers of that

May 7.

² Knox, 225.

³ Forbes's Collect. vol. i. 503. Keith, 122.

age, it is easy to observe the different characters of the French and English troops. The former, trained to war, under the active reigns of Francis the first and Henry the second, defended themselves not only with the bravery but with the skill of veterans. The latter, who had been more accustomed to peace, still preserved the intrepid and desperate valour peculiar to the nation, but discovered few marks of military genius, or of experience in the practice of war. Every misfortune or disappointment during the siege must be imputed to manifest errors in conduct. The success of the besieged in their sally was owing entirely to the security and negligence of the English; many of their officers were absent; their soldiers had left their stations; and the trenches were almost without a guard². The ladders, which had been provided for the assault, wanted a great deal of the necessary length; and the troops employed in that service were ill supported. The trenches were opened at first in an improper place; and, as it was found expedient to change the ground, both time and labour were lost. The inability of their own generals, no less than the strength of the French garrison, rendered the progress of the English wonderfully slow. The long continuance, however, of the siege, and the loss of part of their magazines by an accidental fire, reduced the French to extreme distress for want of provisions, which the prospect of relief made them bear with admirable fortitude.

While the hopes and courage of the French protracted the siege so far beyond expectation, the leaders of the congregation were not idle. By new associations and confederacies, they laboured to unite their party more perfectly. By publicly ratifying the treaty concluded at Berwick, they endeavoured to render the alliance with England firm and indissoluble. Among the subscribers of these papers we find the earl of

² Haynes, 294. 298. 305, etc.

1560. **Huntly, and some others, who had not hitherto concurred with the congregation in any of their measures^a. Several of these lords, particularly the earl of Huntly, still adhered to the popish church; but, on this occasion, neither their religious sentiments, nor their former cautious maxims, were regarded; the torrent of national resentment and indignation against the French hurried them on^b.**

Death and
character of
the queen
dowager.
June 10. .

The queen regent, the instrument, rather than the cause, of involving Scotland in those calamities, under which it groaned at that time, died during the heat of the siege. No princess ever possessed qualities more capable of rendering her administration illustrious, or the kingdom happy. Of much discernment, and no less address; of great intrepidity, and equal prudence; gentle and humane, without weakness; zealous for her religion, without bigotry; a lover of justice, without rigour. One circumstance, however, and that too the excess of a virtue, rather than any vice, poisoned all these great qualities, and rendered her government unfortunate, and her name odious. Devoted to the interest of France, her native country, and attached to the princes of Lorraine, her brothers, with most passionate fondness, she departed, in order to gratify them, from every maxim which her own wisdom or humanity would have approved. She outlived, in a great measure, that reputation and popularity which had smoothed her way to the highest station in the kingdom; and many

^a Burn. vol. iii. 287. Knox, 221. Haynes, 261. 263.

^b The dread of the French power did, on many occasions, surmount the zeal which the catholic nobles had for their religion. Besides the presumptive evidence for this, arising from the memorial mentioned by Burnet, History of the Reformation, vol. iii. 281, and published by him, Appendix, p. 278; the instructions of Elizabeth to Randolph her agent, put it beyond all doubt, that many zealous papists thought the alliance with England to be necessary for preserving the liberty and independence of the kingdom. Keith, 168. Huntly himself began a correspondence with Elizabeth's ministers, before the march of the English army into Scotland. Haynes's State Papers, 261. 263. See Append. No. III.

examples of falsehood, and some of severity, in the latter part of her administration, alienated from her the affections of a people who had once placed in her an unbounded confidence. But, even by her enemies, these unjustifiable actions were imputed to the facility, not to the malignity, of her nature; and, while they taxed her brothers and French counsellors with rashness and cruelty, they still allowed her the praise of prudence and of lenity^c. A few days before her death, she desired an interview with the prior of St. Andrew's, the earl of Argyll, and other chiefs of the congregation. To them she lamented the fatal issue of those violent counsels which she had been obliged to follow; and, with the candour natural to a generous mind, confessed the errors of her own administration, and begged forgiveness of those to whom they had been hurtful; but, at the same time, she warned them, amidst their struggles for liberty and the shock of arms, not to lose sight of the loyalty and subjection which were due to their sovereign^d. The remainder of her time she employed in religious meditations and exercises. She even invited the attendance of Willox, one of the most eminent among the reformed preachers, listened to his instructions with reverence and attention^e, and prepared for the approach of death with a decent fortitude.

Nothing could now save the French troops shut up in Leith, but the immediate conclusion of a peace, or the arrival of a powerful army from the continent. The princes of Lorraine amused their party in Scotland with continual expectations of the latter, and had, thereby, kept alive their hopes and their courage; but, at last, the situation of France, rather than the terrour of the English arms, or the remonstrances of the Scottish malecontents, constrained them, though with reluctance, to turn their thoughts towards pacific councils. The pro-

1560.

Motives of
the French
to conclude
a peace.

^c Buchanan, 324.

^d Lealey, de Rebus Gest. Scot. 222.

^e Knox, 228.

1560. testants in France were, at that time, a party formidable by their number, and more by the valour and enterprising genius of their leaders. Francis the second had treated them with extreme rigour, and discovered, by every step he took, a settled resolution to extirpate their religion, and to ruin those who professed it. At the prospect of this danger to themselves and to their cause, the protestants were alarmed, but not terrified. Animated with zeal, and inflamed with resentment, they not only prepared for their own defence, but resolved, by some bold action, to anticipate the schemes of their enemies; and, as the princes of Lorraine were deemed the authors of all the king's violent measures, they marked them out to be the first victims of their indignation. Hence, and not from disloyalty to the king,

March 15. proceeded the famous conspiracy of Amboise; and, though the vigilance and good fortune of the princes of Lorraine discovered and disappointed that design, it was easy to observe new storms gathering in every province of the kingdom, and ready to burst out with all the fury and outrage of civil war. In this situation, the ambition of the house of Lorraine was called off, from the thoughts of foreign conquests, to defend the honour and dignity of the French crown; and, instead of sending new reinforcements into Scotland, it became necessary to withdraw the veteran troops already employed in that kingdom^f.

The negotiations for that purpose. In order to conduct an affair of so much importance and delicacy, the princes of Lorraine made choice of Monluc, bishop of Valence, and of the sieur de Randan. As both these, especially the former, were reckoned inferior to no persons of that age in address and political refinement, Elizabeth opposed to them ambassadors of equal abilities; Cecil, her prime minister, a man perhaps of the greatest capacity who had ever held that office; and Wotton, dean of Canterbury, grown old in

^f Lealey, 224.

the art of negotiating under three successive monarchs. 1560.
 The interests of the French and English courts were soon adjusted by men of so great dexterity in business; and as France easily consented to withdraw those forces which had been the chief occasion of the war, the other points in dispute between that kingdom and England were not matters of tedious or of difficult discussion.

The grievances of the congregation, and their demands upon their own sovereigns for redress, employed longer time, and required to be treated with a more delicate hand. After so many open attempts, carried on by command of the king and queen, in order to overturn the ancient constitution, and to suppress the religion which they had embraced, the Scottish nobles could not think themselves secure, without fixing some new barrier against the future encroachments of regal power. But the legal steps towards accomplishing this were not so obvious. The French ambassadors considered the entering into any treaty with subjects, and with rebels, as a condescension unsuitable to the dignity of a sovereign; and their scruples on this head might have put an end to the treaty, if the impatience of both parties for peace had not suggested an expedient, which seemed to provide for the security of the subject, without derogating from the honour of the prince. The Scottish nobles agreed, on this occasion, to pass from the point of right and privilege, and to accept the redress of their grievances, as a matter of favour. Articles of the treaty. Whatever additional security their anxiety for personal safety, or their zeal for public liberty, prompted them to demand, was granted in the name of Francis and Mary, as acts of their royal favour and indulgence. And, lest concessions of this kind should seem precarious, and liable to be retracted by the same power which had made them, the French ambassador agreed to insert them in the treaty with Elizabeth, and, thereby, to bind the king and queen inviolably to observe them[†].

[†] Keith, 134, etc.

1560. In relating this transaction, contemporary historians have confounded the concessions of Francis and Mary to their Scottish subjects, with the treaty between France and England; the latter, besides the ratification of former treaties between the two kingdoms, and stipulations, with regard to the time and manner of removing both armies out of Scotland, contained an article to which, as the source of many important events, we shall often have occasion to refer. The right of Elizabeth to her crown is, thereby, acknowledged in the strongest terms; and Francis and Mary solemnly engage neither to assume the title, nor to bear the arms of king and queen of England in any time to come ^a.

July 6.

Honourable as this article was for Elizabeth herself, the conditions she obtained for her allies, the Scots, were no less advantageous to them. Monluc and Randan consented, in the name of Francis and Mary, that the French forces in Scotland should instantly be sent back into their own country, and no foreign troops be hereafter introduced into the kingdom, without the knowledge and consent of parliament; that the fortifications of Leith and Dunbar should immediately be razed, and no new fort be erected, without the permission of parliament; that a parliament should be held on the first day of August, and that assembly be deemed as valid, in all respects, as if it had been called by the express commandment of the king and queen; that, conformable to the ancient laws and customs of the country, the king and queen should not declare war or conclude peace, without the concurrence of parliament; that, during the queen's absence, the administration of government should be vested in a council of twelve persons, to be chosen out of twenty-four named by parliament, seven of which council to be elected by the queen, and five by the parliament; that hereafter the king and queen should not advance foreigners to places

^a Keith, 134. Rymer, xv. p. 581. 591, etc. Haynes, 325—364.

of trust or dignity in the kingdom, nor confer the offices of treasurer or comptroller of the revenues upon any ecclesiastic; that an act of oblivion, abolishing the guilt and memory of all offences, committed since the sixth of March one thousand five hundred and fifty-eight, should be passed in the ensuing parliament, and be ratified by the king and queen; that the king and queen should not, under the colour of punishing any violation of their authority, during that period, seek to deprive any of their subjects of the offices, benefices, or estates, which they now held; that the redress due to churchmen, for the injuries which they had sustained during the late insurrections, should be left entirely to the cognizance of parliament. With regard to religious controversies, the ambassadors declared that they would not presume to decide, but permitted the parliament, at their first meeting, to examine the points in difference, and to represent their sense of them to the king and queen¹.

1560.

To such a memorable period did the lords of the congregation, by their courage and perseverance, conduct an enterprise which, at first, promised a very different issue. From beginnings extremely feeble, and even contemptible, the party grew, by degrees, to great power; and, being favoured by many fortunate incidents, baffled all the efforts of their own queen, aided by the forces of a more considerable kingdom. The sovereign authority was, by this treaty, transferred wholly into the hands of the congregation; that limited prerogative, which the crown had hitherto possessed, was almost entirely annihilated; and the aristocratical power, which always predominated in the Scottish government, became supreme and incontrollable. By this treaty, too, the influence of France, which had long been of much weight in the affairs of Scotland, was greatly diminished; and not only were the present en-

The effects of it.

¹ Keith, 137, etc.

1560. croachments of that ambitious ally restrained, but, by confederating with England, protection was provided against any future attempt from the same quarter. At the same time, the controversies in religion being left to the consideration of parliament, the protestants might reckon upon obtaining whatever decision was most favourable to the opinions which they professed.

A few days after the conclusion of the treaty, both the French and English armies quitted Scotland.

A parliament held.

The eyes of every man in that kingdom were turned towards the approaching parliament. A meeting, summoned in a manner so extraordinary, at such a critical juncture, and to deliberate upon matters of so much consequence, was expected with the utmost anxiety.

A Scottish parliament suitable to the aristocratical genius of the government, was properly an assembly of the nobles. It was composed of bishops, abbots, barons, and a few commissioners of boroughs, who met all together in one house. The lesser barons, though possessed of a right to be present, either in person or by their representatives, seldom exercised it. The expense of attending, according to the fashion of the times, with a numerous train of vassals and dependants; the inattention of a martial age to the forms and detail of civil government; but, above all, the exorbitant authority of the greater nobles, who had drawn the whole power into their own hands, made this privilege of so little value, as to be almost neglected. It appears from the ancient rolls, that, during times of tranquillity, few commissioners of boroughs, and almost none of the lesser barons, appeared in parliament. The ordinary administration of government was abandoned, without scruple or jealousy, to the king and to the greater barons. But in extraordinary conjunctures, when the struggle for liberty was violent, and the spirit of opposition to the crown rose to a height, the burgesses and lesser barons were roused from their inactivity, and stood forth to vindicate the rights of their country.

The turbulent reign of James the third affords examples, in proof of this observation^h. The public indignation, against the rash designs of that weak and ill-advised prince, brought into parliament, besides the greater nobles and prelates, a considerable number of the lesser barons. 1660.

The same causes occasioned the unusual confluence of all orders of men to the parliament, which met on the first of August. The universal passion for liberty, civil and religious, which had seized the nation, suffered few persons to remain unconcerned spectators of an assembly, whose acts were likely to prove decisive with respect to both. From all corners of the kingdom men flocked in, eager and determined to aid, with their voices in the senate, the same cause, which they had defended with their swords in the field. Besides a full convention of peers, temporal and spiritual, there appeared the representatives of almost all the boroughs, and above an hundred barons, who, though of the lesser order, were gentlemen of the first rank and fortune in the nationⁱ.

The parliament was ready to enter on business, with the utmost zeal, when a difficulty was started concerning the lawfulness of the meeting. No commissioner appeared in the name of the king and queen, and no signification of their consent and approbation was yet received. These were deemed by many essential to the very being of a parliament. But, in opposition to this sentiment, the express words of the treaty of Edinburgh were urged, by which this assembly was declared to be as valid, in all respects, as if it had been called and appointed by the express command of the king and queen. As the adherents of the congregation greatly out-numbered their adversaries, the latter opinion prevailed. Their boldest leaders, and those of most approved zeal, were chosen to be lords of the articles,

^h Keith, 147.

ⁱ Ibid. 146.

1560. who formed a committee of ancient use, and of great importance in the Scottish parliament^m. The deliberations of the lords of the articles were carried on with the most unanimous and active zeal. The act of oblivion, the nomination of twenty-four persons, out of whom the council, intrusted with supreme authority, was to be elected; and every other thing, prescribed by the late treaty, or which seemed necessary to render it effectual, passed without dispute or delay. The article of religion employed longer time, and was attended with greater difficulty. It was brought into parliament by a petition from those who had adopted the principles of the reformation. Many doctrines of the popish church were a contradiction to reason, and a disgrace to religion; its discipline had become corrupt and oppressive; and its revenues were both exorbitant and ill-applied. Against all these the protestants remonstrated, with the utmost asperity of style, which indignation at their absurdity, or experience of their pernicious tendency, could inspire; and, encouraged by the number, as well as zeal of their friends, to improve such a favourable juncture, they aimed the blow at the whole fabric of popery; and besought the parliament to interpose its authority for rectifying these multiplied abusesⁿ.

Its proceedings with regard to religion;

Several prelates, zealously attached to the ancient superstition, were present in this parliament. But, during these vigorous proceedings of the protestants, they stood confounded and at gaze; and persevered in a silence which was fatal to their cause. They deemed it impossible to resist or divert that torrent of religious zeal, which was still in its full strength; they dreaded that their opposition would irritate their adversaries, and excite them to new acts of violence; they hoped

^m From an original letter of Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, it appears, that the lords of articles were chosen in the manner, afterwards appointed by an act of parliament, 1633. Keith, p. 487. Spotswood seems to consider this to have been the common practice. Hist. 149.

ⁿ Knox, 237.

that the king and queen would soon be at leisure to put a stop to the career of their insolent subjects, and that, after the rage and havoc of the present storm, the former tranquillity and order would be restored to the church and kingdom. They were willing, perhaps, to sacrifice the doctrine, and even the power of the church, in order to ensure the safety of their own persons, and to preserve the possession of those revenues which were still in their hands. From whatever motives they acted, their silence, which was imputed to the consciousness of a bad cause, afforded matter of great triumph to the protestants, and encouraged them to proceed with more boldness and alacrity^o.

The parliament did not think it enough to condemn those doctrines, mentioned in the petition of the protestants; they, moreover, gave the sanction of their approbation to a confession of faith presented to them by the reformed teachers^p; and composed, as might be expected from such a performance at that juncture, on purpose to expose the absurd tenets and practices of the Romish church. By another act, the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts was abolished, and the causes, which formerly came under their cognizance, were transferred to the decision of civil judges^q. By a third statute, the exercise of religious worship, according to the rites of the Romish church, was prohibited. The manner in which the parliament enforced the observation of this law discovers the zeal of that assembly; the first transgression subjected the offender to the forfeiture of his goods, and to a corporal punishment, at the discretion of the judge; banishment was the penalty of the second violation of the law; and a third act of disobedience was declared to be capital^r. Such strangers were men, at that time, to the spirit of toleration, and to the laws of humanity; and with such indecent haste did

^o Knox, 253.

^q Keith, 152.

^p Id. *ibid.*

^r Knox, 254.

1560. the very persons, who had just escaped the rigour of ecclesiastical tyranny, proceed to imitate those examples of severity of which they themselves had so justly complained.

with regard
to the re-
venues of
the church.

The vigorous zeal of the parliament overturned, in a few days, the ancient system of religion, which had been established so many ages. In reforming the doctrine and discipline of the church, the nobles kept pace with the ardour and expectations even of Knox himself. But their proceedings, with respect to these, were not more rapid and impetuous, than they were slow and dilatory, when they entered on the consideration of ecclesiastical revenues. Among the lay members, some were already enriched with the spoils of the church, and others devoured, in expectation, the wealthy benefices which still remained untouched. The alteration in religion had afforded many of the dignified ecclesiastics themselves an opportunity of gratifying their avarice or ambition. The demolition of the monasteries having set the monks at liberty from their confinement, they instantly dispersed all over the kingdom, and commonly betook themselves to some secular employment. The abbot, if he had been so fortunate as to embrace the principles of the reformation from conviction, or so cunning as to espouse them out of policy, seized the whole revenues of the fraternity; and, except what he allowed for the subsistence of a few superannuated monks^a, applied them entirely to his own use. The proposal, made by the reformed teachers, for applying these revenues towards the maintenance of ministers, the education of youth, and the support of the poor, was equally dreaded by all these orders of men. They opposed it with the utmost warmth, and, by their numbers and authority, easily prevailed on the parliament to give no ear to such a disagreeable demand^b. Zealous as the first reformers were, and animated with a spirit superior to the low

^a Keith, 6. Append. 190, 191.

^b See Append. No. IV.

considerations of interest, they beheld these early symptoms of selfishness and avarice among their adherents with amazement and sorrow; and we find Knox expressing the utmost sensibility of that contempt, with which they were treated by many, from whom he expected a more generous concern for the success of religion and the honour of its ministers". 1560.

A difficulty hath been started with regard to the acts of this parliament concerning religion. This difficulty, which, at such a distance of time, is of no importance, was founded on the words of the treaty of Edinburgh. The validity of this parliament called in question. By that, the parliament were permitted to take into consideration the state of religion, and to signify their sentiments of it to the king and queen. But, instead of presenting their desires to their sovereigns, in the humble form of a supplication or address, the parliament converted them into so many acts; which, although they never received the royal assent, obtained, all over the kingdom, the weight and authority of laws. In compliance with their injunctions, the established system of religion was every where overthrown, and that recommended by the reformers introduced in its place. The partiality and zeal of the people overlooked or supplied any defect in the form of these acts of parliament, and rendered the observance of them more universal than ever had been yielded to the statutes of the most regular or constitutional assembly. By those proceedings, it must, however, be confessed, that the parliament, or rather the nation, violated the last article in the treaty of Edinburgh, and even exceeded the powers which belong to subjects. But, when once men have been accustomed to break through the common boundaries of subjection, and their minds are inflamed with the passions, which civil war inspires, it is mere pedantry or ignorance to measure their conduct by those rules, which can be applied only where

* Knox, 239. 256.

1660. government is in a state of order and tranquillity. A nation, when obliged to employ such extraordinary efforts in defence of its liberties, avails itself of every thing which can promote this great end; and the necessity of the case, as well as the importance of the object, justify any departure from the common and established rules of the constitution.

Ambassadors sent by the parliament to France,

In consequence of the treaty of Edinburgh, as well as by the ordinary forms of business, it became necessary to lay the proceedings of parliament before the king and queen. For this purpose, sir James Sandilands of Calder lord St. John was appointed to repair to the court of France. After holding a course so irregular, the leaders of the congregation had no reason to flatter themselves, that Francis and Mary would ever approve their conduct, or confirm it by their royal assent. The reception of their ambassador was no other than they might have expected. He was treated by the king and queen with the utmost coldness, and dismissed without obtaining the ratification of the parliament's proceedings. From the princes of Lorraine, and their partizans, he endured all the scorn and insult, which it was natural for them to pour upon the party he represented^s.

and to Elizabeth.

Though the earls of Morton, Glencairn, and Maitland of Lethington, the ambassadors of the parliament, to Elizabeth, their protectress, met with a very different reception, they were not more successful in one part of the negotiation intrusted to their care. The Scots, sensible of the security which they derived from their union with England, were desirous of rendering it indissoluble. With this view, they empowered these eminent leaders of their party to testify to Elizabeth their gratitude for that seasonable and effectual aid which she had afforded them, and, at the same time, to

^s Knox, 255. Buch. 327. State Papers published by lord Hardwicke, vol. i. p. 125, etc.

beseech her to render the friendship between the nations perpetual, by condescending to marry the earl of Arran, who, though a subject, was nearly allied to the royal family of Scotland, and, after Mary, the undoubted heir to the crown. 1560.

To the former part of this commission Elizabeth listened with the utmost satisfaction, and encouraged the Scots, in any future exigency, to hope for the continuance of her good offices; with regard to the latter, she discovered those sentiments to which she adhered throughout her whole reign. Averse from marriage, as some maintain through choice, but more probably out of policy, that ambitious princess would never admit any partner to the throne; but, delighted with the entire and uncontrolled exercise of power, she sacrificed to the enjoyment of that the hopes of transmitting her crown to her own posterity. The marriage with the earl of Arran could not be attended with any such extraordinary advantage, as to shake this resolution; she declined it, therefore, but with many expressions of good will towards the Scottish nation, and of respect for Arran himself.

Towards the conclusion of this year, distinguished by so many remarkable events, there happened one of great importance. On the fourth of December died Francis the second, a prince of a feeble constitution, and of a mean understanding. As he did not leave any issue by the queen, no incident could have been more fortunate to those who, during the late commotions in Scotland, had taken part with the congregation. Mary, by the charms of her beauty, had acquired an entire ascendant over her husband; and, as she transferred all her influence to her uncles, the princes of Lorraine, Francis followed them implicitly in whatever track they were pleased to lead him. The power of France, under such direction, alarmed the Scottish malecontents with

† Burn. 3. Append. 308. Keith, 154, etc.

1660. apprehensions of danger, no less formidable than well-founded. The intestine disorders which raged in France, and the seasonable interposition of England in behalf of the congregation, had hitherto prevented the princes of Lorraine from carrying their designs upon Scotland into execution. But, under their vigorous and decisive administration, it was impossible that the commotions in France could be of long continuance, and many things might fall in to divert Elizabeth's attention, for the future, from the affairs of Scotland. In either of these events, the Scots would stand exposed to all the vengeance which the resentment of the French court could inflict. The blow, however long suspended, was unavoidable, and must fall at last with redoubled weight. From this prospect and expectation of danger, the Scots were delivered by the death of Francis; the ancient confederacy of the two kingdoms had already been broken, and, by this event, the chief bond of union which remained was dissolved. Catherine of Medicis, who during the minority of Charles the ninth, her second son, engrossed the entire direction of the French councils, was far from any thoughts of vindicating the Scottish queen's authority. Catherine and Mary had been rivals in power, during the reign of Francis the second, and had contended for the government of that weak and unexperienced prince; but, as the charms of the wife easily triumphed over the authority of the mother, Catherine could never forgive such a disappointment in her favourite passion, and beheld now, with secret pleasure, the difficult and perplexing scene on which her daughter-in-law was about to enter. Mary, overwhelmed with all the sorrow which so sad a reverse of fortune could occasion; slighted by the queen-mother^a; and forsaken by the tribe of courtiers, who appear only in the sunshine of prosperity, retired to Rheims, and there, in solitude, indulged her grief, or

Mary retires from the court of France.

^a Hénault, 340. Casteln. 454.

hid her indignation. Even the princes of Lorrain were obliged to contract their views; to turn them from foreign to domestic objects; and, instead of forming vast projects, with regard to Britain, they found it necessary to think of acquiring and establishing an interest with the new administration.

1560.

It is impossible to describe the emotions of joy which, on all these accounts, the death of the French monarch excited among the Scots. They regarded it as the only event which could give firmness and stability to that system of religion and government which was now introduced; and it is no wonder contemporary historians should ascribe it to the immediate care of providence, which, by unforeseen expedients, can secure the peace and happiness of kingdoms, in those situations where human prudence and invention would utterly despair*.

About this time the protestant church of Scotland began to assume a regular form. Its principles had obtained the sanction of public authority, and some fixed external policy became necessary for the government and preservation of the infant society. The model introduced by the reformers differed extremely from that which had been long established. The motives which induced them to depart so far from the ancient system deserve to be explained.

Establishment of presbyterian church government.

The licentious lives of the clergy, as has been already observed, seem to have been among the first things that excited any suspicion concerning the truth of the doctrines which they taught, and roused that spirit of inquiry which proved fatal to the popish system. As this disgust at the vices of ecclesiastics was soon transferred to their persons, and shifting from them, by no violent transition, settled at last upon the offices which they enjoyed; the effects of the reformation would naturally have extended not only to the doctrine, but to the form of government in the popish church; and the same spirit

* Knox, 259.

1560. which abolished the former, would have overturned the latter. But in the arrangements which took place in the different kingdoms and states of Europe, in consequence of the reformation, we may observe something similar to what happened upon the first establishment of christianity in the Roman empire. In both periods, the form of ecclesiastical policy was modelled, in some measure, upon that of the civil government. When the christian church was patronised and established by the state, the jurisdiction of the various orders of ecclesiastics, distinguished by the names of patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, was made to correspond with the various divisions of the empire; and the ecclesiastic of chief eminence, in each of these, possessed authority, more or less extensive, in proportion to that of the civil magistrate who presided over the same district. When the reformation took place, the episcopal form of government, with its various ranks and degrees of subordination, appearing to be most consistent with the genius of monarchy, it was continued, with a few limitations, in several provinces of Germany, in England, and in the northern kingdoms. But in Switzerland and some parts of the low countries, where the popular form of government allowed more full scope to the innovating genius of the reformation, all preeminence of order in the church was destroyed, and an equality established more suitable to the spirit of republican policy. As the model of episcopal government was copied from that of the christian church, as established in the Roman empire, the situation of the primitive church, prior to its establishment by civil authority, seems to have suggested the idea, and furnished the model of the latter system, which has since been denominated 'presbyterian.' The first christians, oppressed by continual persecutions, and obliged to hold their religious assemblies by stealth and in corners, were contented with a form of government extremely simple. The influence of religion concurred with the sense of danger, in extinguishing among them

the spirit of ambition, and in preserving a parity of rank, the effect of their sufferings, and the cause of many of their virtues. Calvin, whose decisions were received among many protestants of that age with incredible submission, was the patron and restorer of this scheme of ecclesiastical policy. The church of Geneva, formed under his eye and by his direction, was deemed the most perfect model of this government; and Knox, who, during his residence in that city, had studied and admired it, warmly recommended it to the imitation of his countrymen. 1560.

Among the Scottish nobility, some hated the persons, and others coveted the wealth, of the dignified clergy; and by abolishing that order of men, the former indulged their resentment, and the latter hoped to gratify their avarice. The people, inflamed with the most violent aversion to popery, and approving of every scheme that departed farthest from the practice of the Romish church, were delighted with a system so admirably suited to their predominant passion: while the friends of civil liberty beheld with pleasure the protestant clergy pulling down with their own hands that fabric of ecclesiastical power which their predecessors had reared with so much art and industry; and flattered themselves that, by lending their aid to strip churchmen of their dignity and wealth, they might entirely deliver the nation from their exorbitant and oppressive jurisdiction. The new mode of government easily made its way among men thus prepared, by their various interests and passions, for its reception.

But, on the first introduction of his system, Knox did not deem it expedient to depart altogether from the ancient form^b. Instead of bishops, he proposed to establish ten or twelve superintendents in different parts of the kingdom. These, as the name implies, were empowered to inspect the life and doctrine of the

^b Spotswood, 158.

1560. other clergy. They presided in the inferior judicatories of the church, and performed several other parts of the episcopal function. Their jurisdiction, however, extended to sacred things only; they claimed no seat in parliament, and pretended no right to the dignity or revenues of the former bishops.

The number of inferior clergy, to whom the care of parochial duty could be committed, was still extremely small; they had embraced the principles of the reformation at different times, and from various motives; during the public commotions, they were scattered, merely by chance, over the different provinces of the kingdom, and in a few places only were formed into regular classes or societies. The first general assembly of the church, which was held this year, bears all the marks of an infant and unformed society. The members were but few in number, and of no considerable rank; no uniform or consistent rule seems to have been observed in electing them. From a great part of the kingdom no representatives appeared. In the name of some entire counties, but one person was present; while, in other places, a single town or church sent several members. A convention so feeble and irregular, could not possess extensive authority; and, conscious of their own weakness, the members put an end to their debates, without venturing upon any decision of much importance^c.

1561. In order to give greater strength and consistence to the presbyterian plan, Knox, with the assistance of his brethren, composed the first book of discipline, which contains the model or platform of the intended policy^d.

Jan. 15. They presented it to a convention of estates, which was held in the beginning of this year. Whatever regulations were proposed, with regard to ecclesiastical discipline and jurisdiction, would have easily obtained the sanction of that assembly; but a design to recover the

^c Keith, 498.

^d Spots. 152.

patrimony of the church, which is there insinuated, met with a very different reception. 1561.

In vain did the clergy display the advantages which would accrue to the public, by a proper application of ecclesiastical revenues. In vain did they propose, by an impartial distribution of this fund, to promote true religion, to encourage learning, and to support the poor. In vain did they even intermingle threatenings of the divine displeasure against the unjust detainers of what was appropriated to a sacred use. The nobles held fast the prey which they had seized; and, bestowing upon the proposal the name of a 'devout imagination,' they affected to consider it as a project altogether visionary, and treated it with the utmost scorn^o.

This convention appointed the prior of St. Andrew's ^{The queen} to repair to the queen, and to invite her to return into ^{invited to} her native country, and to assume the reins of govern- ^{return into} Scotland. ^{Scotland.} ment, which had been too long committed to other hands. Though some of her subjects dreaded her return, and others foresaw dangerous consequences with which it might be attended^f, the bulk of them desired it with so much ardour, that the invitation was given, with the greatest appearance of unanimity. But the zeal of the Roman catholics got the start of the prior, in paying court to Mary; and Lesley, afterwards bishop of Ross, who was commissioned by them, arrived before him at the place of her residence^g. Lesley endeavoured to infuse into the queen's mind suspicions of her protestant subjects, and to persuade her to throw herself entirely into the arms of those who adhered to her own religion. For this purpose, he insisted that she should land at Aberdeen; and, as the protestant doctrines had made no considerable progress in that part of the kingdom, he gave her assurance of being joined in a few days by twenty thousand men; and flattered her that, with such an army, encouraged by her presence and au-

^o Knox, 256.

^f See Append. No. V.

^g Lesley, 227.

1561. thority, she might easily overturn the reformed church, before it was firmly settled on its foundations.

But, at this juncture, the princes of Lorraine were not disposed to listen to this extravagant and dangerous proposal. Intent on defending themselves against Catherine of Medicis, whose insidious policy was employed in undermining their exorbitant power, they had no leisure to attend to the affairs of Scotland, and wished their niece to take possession of her kingdom, with as little disturbance as possible. The French officers too, who had served in Scotland, dissuaded Mary from all violent measures; and, by representing the power and number of the protestants to be irresistible, determined her to court them by every art; and rather to employ the leading men of that party as ministers, than to provoke them, by a fruitless opposition, to become her enemies^b. Hence proceeded the confidence and affection, with which the prior of St. Andrew's was received by the queen. His representation of the state of the kingdom gained great credit; and Lesley beheld with regret the new channel in which court favour was likely to run.

Another convention of estates was held in May. The arrival of an ambassador from France seems to have been the occasion of this meeting. He was instructed to solicit the Scots to renew their ancient alliance with France, to break their new confederacy with England, and to restore the popish ecclesiastics to the possession of their revenues and the exercise of their functions. It is no easy matter to form any conjecture concerning the intentions of the French court, in making these extraordinary and ill-timed propositions. They were rejected with that scorn which might well have been expected from the temper of the nation^c.

In this convention, the protestant clergy did not obtain a more favourable audience than formerly, and

^b Melv. 61.

^c Knox, 269. 273.

their prospect of recovering the patrimony of the church still remained as distant and uncertain as ever. But, with regard to another point, they found the zeal of the nobles in no degree abated. The book of discipline seemed to require that the monuments of popery, which still remained in the kingdom, should be demolished^k; and, though neither the same pretence of policy, nor the same ungovernable rage of the people, remained to justify or excuse this barbarous havoc, the convention, considering every religious fabric as a relic of idolatry, passed sentence upon them by an act in form; and persons the most remarkable for the activity of their zeal were appointed to put it in execution. Abbeys, cathedrals, churches, libraries, records, and even the sepulchres of the dead, perished in one common ruin. The storm of popular insurrection, though impetuous and irresistible, had extended only to a few counties, and soon spent its rage; but now a deliberate and universal rapine completed the devastation of every thing venerable and magnificent which had escaped its violence^l.

1581.

In the mean time, Mary was in no haste to return into Scotland. Accustomed to the elegance, splendour, and gaiety of a polite court, she still fondly lingered in France, the scene of all these enjoyments, and contemplated with horreur the barbarism of her own country, and the turbulence of her subjects, which presented her with a very different face of things. The impatience, however, of her people, the persuasions of her uncles, but, above all, the studied and mortifying neglect with which she was treated by the queen-mother, forced her to think of beginning this disagreeable voyage^m. But, while she was preparing for it, there were sown between her and Elizabeth the seeds of that personal jealousy and discord, which embittered the life, and shortened the days of the Scottish queen.

^k Spotswood, 153.^l Ibid. 174.^m Brantome, Jebb, vol. ii. 482.

1561. Origin of the discord between her and Elizabeth. The ratification of the late treaty of Edinburgh was the immediate occasion of this fatal animosity; the true causes of it lay much deeper. Almost every article in that treaty had been executed by both parties with a scrupulous exactness. The fortifications of Leith were demolished, and the armies of France and England withdrawn within the appointed time. The grievances of the Scottish malecontents were redressed, and they had obtained whatever they could demand for their future security. With regard to all these, Mary could have little reason to decline, or Elizabeth to urge, the ratification of the treaty.

The sixth article remained the only source of contest and difficulty. No minister ever entered more deeply into the schemes of his sovereign, or pursued them with more dexterity and success, than Cecil. In the conduct of the negotiation at Edinburgh, the sound understanding of this able politician had proved greatly an overmatch for Monluc's refinements in intrigue, and had artfully induced the French ambassadors, not only to acknowledge that the crowns of England and Ireland did of right belong to Elizabeth alone, but also to promise, that, in all times to come, Mary should abstain from using the titles, or bearing the arms, of those kingdoms.

The ratification of this article would have been of the most fatal consequence to Mary. The crown of England was an object worthy of her ambition. Her pretensions to it gave her great dignity and importance in the eyes of all Europe. By many, her title was esteemed preferable to that of Elizabeth. Among the English themselves, the Roman catholics, who formed, at that time, a numerous and active party, openly espoused this opinion; and even the protestants, who supported Elizabeth's throne, could not deny the queen of Scots to be her immediate heir. A proper opportunity to avail herself of all these advantages could not, in the course of things, be far distant, and many incidents

might fall in, to bring this opportunity nearer than was expected. In these circumstances, Mary, by ratifying the article in dispute, would have lost that rank which she had hitherto held among neighbouring princes; the zeal of her adherents must have gradually cooled; and she might have renounced, from that moment, all hopes of ever wearing the English crown^a.

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None of these beneficial consequences escaped the penetrating eye of Elizabeth, who, for this reason, had recourse to every thing by which she could hope either to sooth or frighten the Scottish queen into a compliance with her demands; and if that princess had been so unadvised as to ratify the rash concessions of her ambassadors, Elizabeth, by that deed, would have acquired an advantage, which, under her management, must have turned to great account. By such a renunciation, the question with regard to the right of succession would have been left altogether open and undecided; and, by means of that, Elizabeth might either have kept her rival in perpetual anxiety and dependence, or, by the authority of her parliament, she might have broken in upon the order of lineal succession, and transferred the crown to some other descendant of the royal blood. The former conduct she observed towards James the sixth, whom during his whole reign, she held in perpetual fear and subjection. The latter and more rigorous method of proceeding would, in all probability, have been employed against Mary, whom for many reasons she both envied and hated.

Nor was this step beyond her power, unprecedented in the history, or inconsistent with the constitution, of England. Though succession by hereditary right be an idea so natural and so popular, that it has been established in almost every civilized nation, yet England affords many memorable instances of deviations from that rule. The crown of that kingdom having once

^a Haynes, 373, etc.

1561. been seized by the hand of a conqueror, this invited the bold and enterprising in every age to imitate such an illustrious example of fortunate ambition. From the time of William the Norman, the regular course of descent had seldom continued through three successive reigns. Those princes, whose intrigues or valour opened to them a way to the throne, called in the authority of the great council of the nation to confirm their dubious titles. Hence parliamentary and hereditary right became in England of equal consideration. That great assembly claimed, and actually possessed a power of altering the order of regal succession; and even so late as Henry the eighth an act of parliament had authorized that capricious monarch to settle the order of succession at his pleasure. The English, jealous of their religious liberty, and averse from the dominion of strangers, would have eagerly adopted the passions of their sovereign, and might have been easily induced to exclude the Scottish line from the right of succeeding to the crown. These seem to have been the views of both queens, and these were the difficulties which retarded the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh.

But, if the sources of their discord were to be traced no higher than this treaty, an inconsiderable alteration in the words of it might have brought the present question to an amicable issue. The indefinite and ambiguous expression which Cecil had inserted into the treaty, might have been changed into one more limited but more precise; and Mary, instead of promising to abstain from bearing the title of queen of England, in all times to come, might have engaged not to assume that title during the life of Elizabeth, or the lives of her lawful posterity*.

* This expedient for terminating the difference between Elizabeth and Mary was so obvious, that it could not fail of presenting itself to the view of the English ministers. "There hath been a matter secretly thought of, (says Cecil in a letter to Throckmorton, July 14, 1561,) which I dare communicate to you, although I mean never to be an author thereof; and that

Such an amendment, however, did not suit the views of either queen. Though Mary had been obliged to suspend, for some time, the prosecution of her title to the English crown, she had not, however, relinquished it. She determined to revive her claim on the first prospect of success, and was unwilling to bind herself, by a positive engagement, not to take advantage of any such fortunate occurrence. Nor would the alteration have been more acceptable to Elizabeth, who, by agreeing to it, would have tacitly recognised the right of her rival to ascend the throne after her decease. But neither the Scottish nor English queen durst avow these secret sentiments of their hearts. Any open discovery of an inclination to disturb the tranquillity of England, or to wrest the sceptre out of Elizabeth's hands, might have proved fatal to Mary's pretensions. Any suspicion of a design to alter the order of succession, and to set aside the claim of the Scottish queen, would have exposed Elizabeth to much and deserved censure, and have raised up against her many and dangerous enemies. These, however carefully concealed or artfully disguised, were, in all probability, the real motives which determined the one queen to solicit, and the other to refuse, the ratification of the treaty in its original form; while neither had recourse to that explica-

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is, if an accord might be made betwixt our mistress and the Scottish queen, that this should by parliament in Scotland, etc. surrender unto the queen's majesty all matter of claim, and unto the heirs of her body; and in consideration thereof, the Scottish queen's interest should be acknowledged in default of heirs of the body of the queen's majesty. Well, God send our mistress a husband, and by time a son, that we may hope our posterity shall have a masculine succession. This matter is too big for weak folks, and too deep for simple. The queen's majesty knoweth of it." *Hardw. State Pap. i. 174.* But with regard to every point relating to the succession, Elizabeth was so jealous and so apt to take offence, that her most confidential ministers durst not urge her to advance one step farther than she herself chose to go. Cecil, mentioning some scheme about the succession, if the queen should not marry or leave issue, adds, with his usual caution: "This song hath many parts; but, for my part, I have no skill but in plain song." *Ibid. 178.*

1561. tion of it, which, to an heart unwarped by political interest, and sincerely desirous of union and concord, would have appeared so obvious and natural.

But, though considerations of interest first occasioned this rupture between the British queens, rivalry of another kind contributed to widen the breach, and female jealousy increased the violence of their political hatred. Elizabeth, with all those extraordinary qualities by which she equalled or surpassed such of her sex as have merited the greatest renown, discovered an admiration of her own person, to a degree which women of ordinary understandings either do not entertain, or prudently endeavour to conceal. Her attention to dress, her solicitude to display her charms, her love of flattery, were all excessive. Nor were these weaknesses confined to that period of life, when they are more pardonable. Even in very advanced years, the wisest woman of that, or, perhaps, of any other age, wore the garb and affected the manners of a girl^p. Though Elizabeth was as much inferior to Mary in beauty and gracefulness of person, as she excelled her in political abilities and in the arts of government, she was weak enough to compare herself with the Scottish queen^q; and, as it was impossible she could be altogether ignorant how much Mary gained by the comparison, she envied and hated her, as a rival by whom she was eclipsed. In judging of the conduct of princes, we are apt to ascribe too much to political motives, and too little to the passions which they feel in common with the rest of mankind. In order to account for Elizabeth's present, as well as her subsequent, conduct towards Mary, we must not always consider her as a queen, we must sometimes regard her merely as a woman.

Elizabeth, though no stranger to Mary's difficulties

^p Johnston, *Hist. Rer. Britan.* 346, 347. Carte, vol. iii. 699. *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors*, article *Essex*.

^q Melvil, 98.

with respect to the treaty, continued to urge her, by repeated applications, to ratify it^r. Mary, under various pretences, still contrived to gain time, and to elude the request. But, while the one queen solicited with persevering importunity, and the other evaded with artful delay, they both studied an extreme politeness of behaviour, and loaded each other with professions of sisterly love, with reciprocal declarations of unchangeable esteem and amity. 1561.

It was not long before Mary was convinced, that among princes these expressions of friendship are commonly far distant from the heart. In sailing from France to Scotland, the course lies along the English coast. In order to be safe from the insults of the English fleet, or, in case of tempestuous weather, to secure a retreat in the harbours of that kingdom, Mary sent monsieur d'Oysel to demand of Elizabeth a safe-conduct during her voyage. This request, which decency alone obliged one prince to grant to another, Elizabeth ^{refuses} rejected, in such a manner as gave rise to no slight suspicion of a design, either to obstruct the passage, or to intercept the person of the Scottish queen^s. ^{Elizabeth}
^{Mary a safe-}
conduct.

Mary, in a long conference with Throkmorton, the English ambassador in France, explained her sentiments concerning this ungenerous behaviour of his mistress, in a strain of dignified expostulation, which conveys an idea of her abilities, address, and spirit, as advantageous as any transaction in her reign. Mary was, at that time, only in her eighteenth year; and as Throkmorton's account of what passed in his interview with her, is addressed directly to Elizabeth^t, that dexterous courtier, we may be well assured, did not embellish the discourse of the Scottish queen with any colouring too favourable.

Whatever resentment Mary might feel, it did not ^{Mary begins} her voyage.

^r Keith, 157. 160, etc.

^s Keith, 171. Camden. See Appendix, No. VI.

^t Cabbala, p. 374. Keith, 170, etc.

1561. retard her departure from France. She was accompanied to Calais, the place where she embarked, in a manner suitable to her dignity, as the queen of two powerful kingdoms. Six princes of Lorraine, her uncles, with many of the most eminent among the French nobles, were in her retinue. Catherine, who secretly rejoiced at her departure, graced it with every circumstance of magnificence and respect. After bidding adieu to her mourning attendants, with a sad heart, and eyes bathed in tears, Mary left that kingdom, the short but only scene of her life in which fortune smiled upon her. While the French coast continued in sight, she intently gazed upon it, and musing, in a thoughtful posture, on that height of fortune whence she had fallen, and presaging, perhaps, the disasters and calamities which embittered the remainder of her days, she sighed often, and cried out "Farewell, France! Farewell, beloved country, which I shall never more behold!" Even when the darkness of the night had hid the land from her view, she would neither retire to the cabin, nor taste food, but commanding a couch to be placed on the deck, she there waited the return of day with the utmost impatience. Fortune soothed her on this occasion; the galley made little way during the night. In the morning, the coast of France was still within sight, and she continued to feed her melancholy with the prospect; and, as long as her eyes could distinguish it, to utter the same tender expressions of regret. At last a brisk gale arose, by the favour of which for some days, and afterwards under the cover of a thick fog, Mary escaped the English fleet, which, as she apprehended, lay in wait in order to intercept her²; and, on the nineteenth of August, after an ab-

¹ Brantome, 483. He himself was in the same galley with the queen.

² Goodal, vol. i. 175. Camden insinuates, rather than affirms, that it was the object of the English fleet to intercept Mary. This, however, seems to be doubtful. Elizabeth positively asserts that, at the request of the king of Spain, she had fitted out a few ships of slender force, in order to

sence of near thirteen years, landed safely at Leith in 1561.
her native kingdom.

Mary was received by her subjects with shouts and acclamations of joy, and with every demonstration of welcome and regard. But, as her arrival was unexpected, and no suitable preparation had been made for it, they could not, with all their efforts, hide from her the poverty of the country, and were obliged to conduct her to the palace of Holyrood-house with little pomp. The queen, accustomed from her infancy to splendour and magnificence, and fond of them, as was natural at her age, could not help observing the change in her situation, and seemed to be deeply affected with it.⁷

Never did any prince ascend the throne at a juncture which called for more wisdom in council, or more courage and steadiness in action. The rage of religious controversy was still unabated. The memory of past oppression exasperated the protestants; the smart of recent injuries rendered the papists desperate; both were zealous, fierce, and irreconcilable. The absence of their sovereign had accustomed the nobles to independence; and, during the late commotions, they had acquired such an increase of wealth, by the spoils of the church, as threw great weight into the scale of the aristocracy, which stood not in need of any accession of power. The kingdom had long been under the government of regents, who exercised a delegated jurisdiction, attended with little authority, and which inspired no reverence. A state of pure anarchy had prevailed for

clear the narrow seas of pirates, which infested them; and she appeals for the truth of this to Mary's own ministers. App. No. VI. Cecil, in a letter to Throkmorton, Aug. 26, 1561, informs him, that "the queen's ships, which were upon the seas to cleanse them of pirates, saw her, [i. e. Mary,] and saluted her galleys, and staying her ships examined them of pirates, and dismissed them gently. One Scottish ship they detain, as vehemently suspected of piracy." Hardw. State Papers, i. 176. Castelnau, who accompanied Mary in this voyage, confirms the circumstance of her galleys being in sight of the English fleet. *Mém. ap. Jebb.* xi. 455.

⁷ Brant. 484.

1561. the two last years, without a regent, without a supreme council, without the power, or even the form, of a regular government^a. A licentious spirit, unacquainted with subordination, and disdainng the restraints of law and justice, had spread among all ranks of men. The influence of France, the ancient ally of the kingdom, was withdrawn or despised. The English, of enemies become confederates, had grown into confidence with the nation, and had gained an ascendant over all its councils. The Scottish monarchs did not derive more splendour or power from the friendship of the former, than they had reason to dread injury and diminution from the interposition of the latter. Every consideration, whether of interest or of self-preservation, obliged Elizabeth to depress the royal authority in Scotland, and to create the prince perpetual difficulties, by fomenting the spirit of dissatisfaction among the people.

In this posture were the affairs of Scotland, when the administration fell into the hands of a young queen, not nineteen years of age, unacquainted with the manners and laws of her country, a stranger to her subjects, without experience, without allies, and almost without a friend.

On the other hand, in Mary's situation we find some circumstances, which, though they did not balance these disadvantages, contributed however to alleviate them; and, with skilful management, might have produced great effects. Her subjects, unaccustomed so long to the residence of their prince, were not only dazzled by the novelty and splendour of the royal presence, but inspired with awe and reverence. Besides the places of power and profit bestowed by the favour of a prince, his protection, his familiarity, and even his smiles, confer honour, and win the hearts of men. From all corners of the kingdom, the nobles crowded to testify their duty and affection to their sovereign, and studied by every art to wipe out the memory of past misconduct,

^a Keith, Append. 92.

and to lay in a stock of future merit. The amusements and gaiety of her court, which was filled with the most accomplished of the French nobility, who had attended her, began to soften and to polish the rude manners of the nation. Mary herself possessed many of those qualifications which raise affection and procure esteem. The beauty and gracefulness of her person drew universal admiration, the elegance and politeness of her manners commanded general respect. To all the charms of her own sex, she added many of the accomplishments of the other. The progress she had made in all the arts and sciences, which were then deemed necessary or ornamental, was far beyond what is commonly attained by princes; and all her other qualities were rendered more agreeable by a courteous affability, which, without lessening the dignity of a prince, steals on the hearts of subjects with a bewitching insinuation.

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From these circumstances, notwithstanding the threatening aspect of affairs at Mary's return into Scotland; notwithstanding the clouds which gathered on every hand, a political observer would have predicted a very different issue of her reign; and, whatever sudden gusts of faction he might have expected, he would never have dreaded the destructive violence of that storm which followed.

While all parties were contending, who should discover the most dutiful attachment to the queen, the zealous and impatient spirit of the age broke out in a remarkable instance. On the Sunday after her arrival, the queen commanded mass to be celebrated in the chapel of her palace. The first rumour of this occasioned a secret murmuring among the protestants who attended the court; complaints and threatenings soon followed; the servants belonging to the chapel were insulted and abused; and, if the prior of St. Andrew's had not seasonably interposed, the rioters might have proceeded to the utmost excesses*.

* Knox, 284. Haynes, 372.

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It is impossible, at this distance of time, and under circumstances so very different, to conceive the violence of that zeal against popery, which then possessed the nation. Every instance of condescension to the papists was deemed an act of apostacy, and the toleration of a single mass pronounced to be more formidable to the nation than the invasion of ten thousand armed men^b. Under the influence of these opinions, many protestants would have ventured to go dangerous lengths; and, without attempting to convince their sovereign by argument, or to reclaim her by indulgence, would have abruptly denied her the liberty of worshipping God in that manner which alone she thought acceptable to him. But the prior of St. Andrew's, and other leaders of the party, not only restrained this impetuous spirit, but, in spite of the murmurs of the people and the exclamations of the preachers, obtained for the queen and her domestics the undisturbed exercise of the catholic religion. Near an hundred years after this period, when the violence of religious animosities had begun to subside, when time and the progress of learning had enlarged the views of the human mind, an English house of commons refused to indulge the wife of their sovereign in the private use of the mass. The protestant leaders deserve, on this occasion, the praise both of wisdom and of moderation for conduct so different. But, at the same time, whoever reflects upon the encroaching and sanguinary spirit of popery in that age, will be far from treating the fears and caution of the more zealous reformers, as altogether imaginary, and destitute of any real foundation.

The leaders of the protestants, however, by this prudent compliance with the prejudices of their sovereign, obtained from her a proclamation highly favourable to their religion, which was issued six days after her arrival in Scotland. The reformed doctrine, though esta-

Aug. 25.

^b Knox, 287.

blished over all the kingdom by the parliament, which met in consequence of the treaty of pacification, had never received the countenance or sanction of royal authority. In order to quiet the minds of those who had embraced that doctrine, and to remove any dread of molestation which they might entertain, Mary declared, "that until she should take final orders concerning religion, with advice of parliament, any attempt to alter or subvert the religion which she found universally practised in the realm, should be deemed a capital crime^c." Next year a second proclamation to the same effect was published^d. 1561.

The queen, conformably to the plan which had been concerted in France, committed the administration of affairs entirely to protestants. Her council was filled with the most eminent persons of that party; not a single papist was admitted into any degree of confidence^e. The prior of St. Andrew's and Maitland of Lethington seemed to hold the first place in the queen's affection, and possessed all the power, as well as reputation, of favourite ministers. Her choice could not have fallen upon persons more acceptable to her people; and, by their prudent advice, Mary conducted herself with so much moderation, and deference to the sentiments of the nation, as could not fail of gaining the affection of her subjects^f, the firmest foundation of a prince's power, and the only genuine source of his happiness and glory.

A cordial reconciliation with Elizabeth was another object of great importance to Mary; and though she seems to have had it much at heart, in the beginning of her administration, to accomplish such a desirable conjunction, yet many events occurred to widen, rather than to close, the breach. The formal offices of friendship, however, are seldom neglected among princes; and Elizabeth, who had attempted so openly to obstruct

^c Keith, 504.^d Ibid. 510.^e Knox, 285.^f Leasley, 235.

1561. the queen's voyage into Scotland, did not fail, a few days after her arrival, to command Randolph to congratulate her safe return. Mary, that she might be on equal terms with her, sent Maitland to the English court, with many ceremonious expressions of regard for Elizabeth^c. Both the ambassadors were received with the utmost civility; and, on each side, the professions of kindness, as they were made with little sincerity, were listened to with proportional credit.

Both were intrusted, however, with something more than mere matter of ceremony. Randolph urged Mary, with fresh importunity, to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. Maitland endeavoured to amuse Elizabeth, by apologizing for the dilatory conduct of his mistress with regard to that point. The multiplicity of public affairs since her arrival in Scotland, the importance of the question in dispute, and the absence of many noblemen, with whom she was obliged in decency to consult, were the pretences offered in excuse for her conduct; the real causes of it were those which have already been mentioned. But, in order to extricate herself out of these difficulties, into which the treaty of Edinburgh had led her, Mary was brought to yield a point, which formerly she seemed determined never to give up. She instructed Maitland to signify her willingness to disclaim any right to the crown of England, during the life of Elizabeth, and the lives of her posterity; if, in failure of these, she were declared next heir by act of parliament^d.

Reasonable as this proposal might appear to Mary, who thereby precluded herself from disturbing Elizabeth's possession of the throne, nothing could be more inconsistent with Elizabeth's interest, or more contradictory to a passion which predominated in the character of that princess. Notwithstanding all the great qualities which threw such lustre on her reign, we may

^c Keith, 181, etc.

^d Camden, 387. Buch. 329.

observe, that she was tinctured with a jealousy of her right to the crown, which often betrayed her into mean and ungenerous actions. The peculiarity of her situation heightened, no doubt, and increased, but did not infuse, this passion. It descended to her from Henry the seventh, her grandfather, whom, in several features of his character, she nearly resembled. Like him, she suffered the title by which she held the crown to remain ambiguous and controverted, rather than submit it to parliamentary discussion, or derive any addition to her right from such authority. Like him, she observed every pretender to the succession, not only with that attention which prudence prescribes, but with that aversion which suspicion inspires. The present uncertainty with regard to the right of succession operated for Elizabeth's advantage, both on her subjects and on her rivals. Among the former, every lover of his country regarded her life, as the great security of the national tranquillity; and chose rather to acknowledge a title which was dubious, than to search for one that was unknown. The latter, while nothing was decided, were held in dependence, and obliged to court her. The manner in which she received this ill-timed proposal of the Scottish queen, was no other than might have been expected. She rejected it in a peremptory tone, with many expressions of a resolution never to permit a point of so much delicacy to be touched.

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About this time the queen made her public entry ^{Sept. 1.} into Edinburgh with great pomp. Nothing was neglected, that could express the duty and affection of the citizens towards their sovereign. But, amidst these demonstrations of regard, the genius and sentiments of the nation discovered themselves, in a circumstance, which, though inconsiderable, ought not to be overlooked. As it was the mode of the times to exhibit many pageants at every public solemnity, most of these, on this occasion, were contrived to be representations of the vengeance which the Almighty had inflicted

1561. upon idolatersⁱ. Even while they studied to amuse and to flatter the queen, her subjects could not refrain from testifying their abhorrence of that religion which she professed.

Restraints
the license
of the bor-
derers.

To restore the regular administration of justice, and to reform the internal policy of the country, became the next object of the queen's care. The laws enacted for preservation of public order, and the security of private property, were nearly the same in Scotland as in every other civilized country. But the nature of the Scottish constitution, the feebleness of regal authority, the exorbitant power of the nobles, the violence of faction, and the fierce manners of the people, rendered the execution of these laws feeble, irregular, and partial. In the counties which border on England, this defect was most apparent; and the consequences of it most sensibly felt. The inhabitants, strangers to industry, averse from labour, and unacquainted with the arts of peace, subsisted chiefly by spoil and pillage; and, being confederated in septs or clans, committed these excesses not only with impunity, but even with honour. During the unsettled state of the kingdom from the death of James the fifth, this dangerous license had grown to an unusual height; and the inroads and rapine of those freebooters were become no less intolerable to their own countrymen than to the English. To restrain and punish these outrages, was an action equally popular in both kingdoms. The prior of St. Andrew's was the person chosen for this important service, and extraordinary powers, together with the title of the queen's lieutenant, were vested in him for this purpose.

Nothing can be more surprising to men accustomed to regular government, than the preparations made on this occasion. They were such as might be expected in the rudest and most imperfect state of society. The freeholders of eleven several counties, with all their

ⁱ Keith, 189.

followers completely armed, were summoned to assist the lieutenant in the discharge of his office. Every thing resembled a military expedition, rather than the progress of a court of justice¹. The prior executed his commission with such vigour and prudence, as acquired him a great increase of reputation and popularity among his countrymen. Numbers of the banditti suffered the punishment due to their crimes; and, by the impartial and rigorous administration of justice, order and tranquillity were restored to that part of the kingdom.

During the absence of the prior of St. Andrew's, the leaders of the popish faction seem to have taken some steps towards insinuating themselves into the queen's favour and confidence¹. But the archbishop of St. Andrew's, the most remarkable person in the party for abilities and political address, was received with little favour at court; and, whatever secret partiality the queen might have towards those who professed the same religion with herself, she discovered no inclination, at that time, to take the administration of affairs out of the hands to which she had already committed it.

The cold reception of the archbishop of St. Andrew's was owing to his connexion with the house of Hamilton; from which the queen was much alienated. The duke of Guise and the cardinal could never forgive the zeal with which the duke of Chatelherault and his son, the earl of Arran, had espoused the cause of the congregation. Princes seldom view their successors without jealousy and distrust. The prior of St. Andrew's, perhaps, dreaded the duke, as a rival in power. All these causes concurred in infusing into the queen's mind an aversion for that family. The duke, indulging his love of retirement, lived at a distance from court, without taking pains to insinuate himself into favour; and though the earl of Arran openly aspired to marry

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The papists attempt, in vain, to get into favour with her.

¹ Keith, 198.¹ Ibid. 203.

1561. the queen, he, by a most unpardonable act of imprudence, was the only nobleman of distinction who opposed Mary's enjoying the exercise of her religion; and, by rashly entering a public protestation against it, entirely forfeited her favour^m. At the same time, the sordid parsimony of his father obliged him either to hide himself in some retirement, or to appear in a manner unbecoming his dignity, as first prince of the blood, or his high pretensions, as suitor to the queenⁿ. His love inflamed by disappointment, and his impatience exasperated by neglect, preyed gradually on his reason, and, after many extravagancies, broke out at last in ungovernable phrensy.