



C. H. Milburn



D^R. S T U A R T,
• ÆTAT. 55.

London 1st March 1780 Published as the Act Directs
by J. Murray N.º 32 Fleet Street

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE
REFORMATION OF RELIGION
IN
S C O T L A N D.

By GILBERT STUART, LL. D.

L O N D O N,
PRINTED FOR J. MURRAY, N^o. 32. FLEET-STREET,
AND J. BELL, AT EDINBURGH.

MDCCLXXX.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THE object of this work is to exhibit a faithful narration of the establishment of the Protestant Religion in Scotland ; an event which, I imagine, has not hitherto been treated with an accuracy equal to its importance. In the general histories which have been written of Scottish affairs, the views of the authors did not permit them to be sufficiently circumstantial upon this subject ; and, in those books which have been devoted to the church and its concerns, there is evidently an improper mixture of prejudice and controversy. With a view to remedy these defects, I have ventured to compose the present performance ; and it has been my earnest endeavour to exert and exercise that precision which is not usually expected from the general historian ; and that impartiality which is never to be found in the apologist of a faction.

AMIDST the materials which engaged my attention, I could not but observe the signal merit of the public papers which proceeded from the Protestants. Upon
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this account, I have taken the liberty to annex to my book a collection of those of them which I considered as the most interesting and valuable. They have an intimate connection, and an instructive completeness. They shew the actors in the Reformation of Scotland, under the immediate dominion of great passions, struggling with difficult situations, asserting their natural independency, and vindicating the political rights of their nation. While they serve as the vouchers of memorable transactions, they display a genuine and striking picture of the manner and spirit of the times to which they refer.

Edinb. Jan. 1780.

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H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E F O R M A T I O N O F R E L I G I O N
I N
S C O T L A N D.
B O O K I.

THE traffic of indulgences, or the sale of the favour of heaven, to sinners of every degree, first awakened the general attention of mankind to the spirit and tendency of the Romish faith. The consideration of particular abuses and errors led to the discovery of the defects and infirmities of the whole system. Provoked by opposition, invited by curiosity, impelled by pride, and allured by the love of justice and truth, men inquired with anxiety and ardour, not only into the form and administration of the church, but into the doctrines which it taught. It was scrutinized upon every side, and its corruptions

Book I.

1517.
The corruption of the Romish church.

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Book I.

and weakneſſes, incapable of all defence and apology, roused indignation and contempt.

POPERY, as a ſpecies of religion, when examined by the principles of reaſon, appears to mock the judgment and capacity of men; and when ſurveyed as a political eſtabliſhment, it ſeems intended to diſturb the tranquillity of ſociety. The ingenuity of human wit, exerted to contrive what is moſt extravagant; can, with difficulty, conceive inventions more abſurd or romantic than the merits of pilgrimage and penance, the confeſſion and abſolution of ſins, purgatory, the invocation of ſaints, and the adoration of images. Nor, in a political view, is the wildneſs it offers to obſervation leſs concluſive or ſtriking. A prieſt, ſeated at Rome, claiming the prerogatives of a deity, looking down upon emperors and kings, and interfering, with heat and violence, in the temporal as well as the ſpiritual concerns of independent nations, is a boundleſs violation of propriety. Prelates, ſubſervient to a foreign potentate, with intereſts oppoſite to thoſe of the community of which they are members, and aſſembling to deliberate in its ſenate, and to control the authority of the prince and the magiſtrate, may juſtly be conſidered as an inſtitution in hoſtility to all the maxims of civil government. And, by the eſtabliſhment of religious houſes and monaſteries, multitudes of individuals being condemned to confinement and indolence, ſociety was deprived of the fruit and advantage of their induſtry and labour.

TIME added to the original imperfections of the Romiſh ſyſtem. The immenſe wealth accumulated by the

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the clergy, co-operating with the law of celibacy, served to corrupt their morals. The extreme profligacy of their lives was still more offensive than the puerilities they inculcated. In their successful advances to grandeur, they acquired a long train of privileges and immunities; and while their imperiousness propagated distress and terror, new and constant pretences of encroachment presented themselves, to flatter and encourage their spirit of ambition and tyranny. Their power rose to a most exorbitant height, and they were studious to abuse it.

ALL the absurdities which shock most the common understanding of mankind, all the vices and immoralities which insult their sense of modesty and virtue; and all the stretches of authority which violate their pride, and overturn their interests, were displayed and exercised in the Romish religion, and in the transactions of its priesthood*. When advanced to an extremity beyond which they could no longer be endured; the proper check and correction were applied to them. They were traced to their sources, and explained in their consequences. Knowledge increased with inquiry; courage grew with victory; and the invention of the art of printing, submitting the speculations and the reasonings of the learned to the most general remark, the nations of Europe, starting from the lethargy into which they had fallen, were forward to attend to their dignity and importance; and, while they sought a re-

* *Fasciculus rerum expiendarum & fugiendarum, cum Appendice scriptorum veterum qui ecclesiæ Romanæ errores detegunt & damnant, necessitatemque reformationis urgent.*

Book I.

The commencement of the Reformation in Scotland.

medy for the old superstitions, or acted to their overthrow, were strenuous to build up barriers to secure their civil rights.

THE conflagration which Martin Luther kindled in Germany was not long in extending itself to Scotland. In the reign of James V. the new opinions had not only been propagated there, but had even begun to threaten the destruction of the established faith. All the causes which, in other states, afforded popularity and interest to the doctrines of the Reformation, were experienced in this nation; and its political condition furnished to them a peculiar source of encouragement. Views of policy having engaged James V. in the design of humbling his nobility, there was necessarily a feebleness in his government. From the clergy, whom the nobles despised, as inferior to them, while they envied their wealth, he sought to derive a support to his consequence. The breach between the monarchical and the aristocratical powers was thus rendered the more obstinate. In opposition, therefore, to the crown, the nobility were disposed to give their weight to the people. To the new opinions, accordingly, they were favourable from political considerations, as well as from their natural propriety; and, in a few years, they rose up, advanced, and were established.

James V. opposes the new opinions.

To employ severity in the commencement of religious novelties, has been thought consistent with wisdom and polity; and the tenets of the Reformed being in direct opposition to the ancient faith, and even incompatible with its existence, the strongest measures were

were fancied the most expedient to repress them. James V. was not averse from violent counsels. To tolerate sectaries was not the fashion of those times. The clergy had acquired an ascendancy over him; and it was not their interest to submit to deliberation and debate. He took the resolution to act with firmness, and to punish all innovators. Rigorous inquisitions were made after heretics, and fires were lighted to destroy them.

Book I.

THE first person who was called upon to suffer for the Reformed religion, was Patrick Hamilton, abbot of Ferne. At an early period of life he had been appointed to this abbacy; and having imbibed a favourable idea of the doctrines of Luther, he had travelled into Germany, and becoming acquainted with the most eminent Reformers, was fully confirmed in their opinions. Upon his return to Scotland, he ventured to expose the corruptions of the church, and to insist on the advantages of the tenets which he had embraced. A conduct so bold, and the avidity with which his discourses were received by the people, gave an alarm to the clergy. Under the pretence of a religious and friendly conference, he was seduced to St. Andrews by Alexander Campbell, a Dominican friar, who was instructed to remonstrate with him on the subject of the Reformation. The conversations they held only served to establish the abbot the more firmly in his sentiments, and to inflame his zeal to propagate them. The archbishop of St. Andrews, the archbishop of Glasgow, and other dignitaries of the church, constituting a court, called him to appear before them.

1527.
Persecutions.

The

BOOK I.

The abbot neither lost his courage, nor renounced his opinions. He was convicted, accordingly, of heretical pravity, and delivered over to the secular arm*. This Reformer had not attained the twenty-fourth year of his age. His youth, his virtue, his magnanimity, and his sufferings, all operated in his favour with the people. To Alexander Campbell, who insulted him at the stake, he objected his treachery, and cited him to answer for his behaviour before the judgment-seat of Christ. And this persecutor, a few days after, being seized with a frenzy, and dying in that condition, it was believed with the greater sincerity and confidence, that Mr. Hamilton was an innocent man, and a true martyr †.

A DEED so affecting, from its novelty, and in its circumstances, excited throughout the kingdom an universal curiosity and indignation. Minute and particular inquiries were made into the tenets of Mr. Hamilton. Men exercised their reason as well as their humanity. The doctrines of the church of Rome underwent a scrutiny, and were compared with those of the Reformation. The licentiousness of the prelates was contrasted with the austerity of the protestant teachers, and censured with a freedom of speech which filled

* His tenets were of the following import, and are enumerated in the sentence pronounced against him. "Man hath no free will. Man is in sin so long as he liveth. Children, incontinent after their baptism, are sinners. All Christians, that be worthie to be called Christians, do know that they are in grace. No man is justified by works, but by faith only. Good works make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works. And faith, hope, and charity, are so knit, that he that hath the one, hath the rest; and he that wanteth the one of them wanteth the rest." Keith, Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland, Appendix, p. 3.

† Knox, Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 5, 6.

them

them with the greatest displeasure. Converts to the new opinions were multiplying in every quarter, and a partiality to them began to prevail even among the Romish clergy themselves. Alexander Seton, the king's confessor, took the liberty to inveigh against the errors and abuses of popery; to neglect, in his discourses, all mention of purgatory, and pilgrimage, and saints; and to recommend the doctrines of the Reformed. What he taught was impugned; and his boldness rising with contradiction, he defended warmly his opinions, and even ventured to affirm, that in Scotland there were no true and faithful bishops, if a judgment of men in this station is to be formed from the virtues which St. Paul has required of them. A sarcasm so just, and so daring, inflamed the whole body of the prelacy with resentment. They studied to compass his destruction; and, as Mr. Seton had given offence to the king, whom he had exhorted to a greater purity of life, they flattered themselves with the hope of conducting him to the stake. But, being apprehensive of danger, he made his escape into England*.

HENRY FOREST, a Benedictine friar, who discovered a propensity to the Reformed doctrines, was not so fortunate. After having been imprisoned for some time in the tower of St. Andrews, he was brought to his trial, condemned, and led out to the flames. He had said, that Mr. Hamilton was a pious man, and a martyr; and that the tenets for which he suffered might be vindicated. This guilt was aggravated by the dis-

1533.

* Spotswood, Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 64, 65.

BOOK I.

covery, that friar Forest was in possession of a New Testament in the English language: for the priests esteemed a careful attention to the Scriptures to be an infallible symptom of heresy. A cruelty so repugnant to the common sense and feelings of mankind, while it pleased the insolent pride of the ecclesiastics, was destroying their importance, and exciting a general disposition in the people to adopt, in the fullest latitude, the principles and sentiments of the Reformed*.

1534.

JAMES BEATON, archbishop of St. Andrews, though remarkable for prudence and moderation, was overawed by his nephew and coadjutor, David Beaton, and by the clergy. In his own person, or by commissions granted by him, persecutions were carried on with violence. Many were driven into banishment, and many were forced to acknowledge what they did not believe. The more strenuous and resolute were delivered over to punishment. Among these were two private gentlemen, Norman Gourlay, and David Straton. They were tried at Holyrood-house, before the bishop of Ross, and refusing to recant, were condemned. King James, who was present, appeared exceedingly solicitous that they should pass from their confession; and David Straton, upon being adjudged to the fire, having begged for his mercy, was about to receive it, when the priests proudly pronounced, that the grace of the sovereign could not be extended to a criminal whom their law and determination had doomed to suffer †.

* Keith, Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 8. Spotswood, p. 65.

† Knox, p. 23.

A few years after, the bishops having assembled at Edinburgh, two Dominican friars Killor and Beverage, with Sir Duncan Sympton a priest, Robert Forrester a gentleman of Stirling, and Thomas Forrest vicar of Dolour in Perthshire, were condemned to be consumed in the same fire.

BOOK I.

1538.

AT Glasgow, a similar scene was acted. Hieronymus Ruffel a gray friar, and a young gentleman of the name of Kennedy, were accused of heresy before the bishop of that see. Ruffel, when brought to the stake, displaying a deliberate demeanor, reasoned gravely with his accusers, and was only answered with reproaches. Mr. Kennedy, who was not yet eighteen years of age, seemed disposed to disavow his opinions, and to sink under the weight of a cruel affliction; but the exhortation and example of Ruffel awakening his courage, his mind assumed a firmness and constancy, his countenance became cheerful, and he exclaimed with a joyful voice, "Now, I defy thee, Death; I praise my God, I am ready*."

1539.

JAMES BEATON, the archbishop of St. Andrews, happening to die about this time, the ambition of David Beaton, his coadjutor, was gratified in the fullest manner. He had been created a cardinal of the Roman church, and he was now advanced into the possession of the primacy of Scotland. No Scottish ecclesiastic had been ever invested with greater authority; and the Reformers had every thing to fear from so formidable an enemy. The natural violence of his temper had fixed itself in an overbearing insolence, from the success which had attended

Cardinal Beaton is promoted to the see of St. Andrews.

His character.

* Spotswood, p. 67. Keith, p. 9.

BOOK I.

him. His youth had been passed in scenes of policy and intrigue, which, while they communicated to him address, and the knowledge of men, corrupted altogether the simplicity and candour of his mind. He was dark, designing, and artificial. No principles of justice were any bar to his schemes. His heart did not open to any impressions of pity. His ruling passion was an inordinate love of power; and the support of his consequence depending alone upon the church of Rome, he was animated to maintain its superstitions with the warmest zeal. He seemed to take a delight in perfidiousness and dissimulation; he had no religion; and he was stained with an inhuman cruelty, and the most open profligacy of manners. In connection with these defects, he possessed a persevering obstinacy in pursuing his measures, the ability to perceive and to practise all the arts which were necessary to advance them, and the allurements of ostentation and prodigality.

1540.
He endeavours to stop the progress of the Reformation.

HE was scarcely invested in the primacy, when he exhibited an example of his taste for magnificence, and of his aversion to the Reformed. He proceeded to St. Andrews with an uncommon pomp and parade. The earls of Huntley, Arran, Marishal, and Montrose, with the Lords Fleming, Lindsey, Erskine, and Seton, did him the honour to attend upon him; and there appeared in his train, Gavin, archbishop of Glasgow, and lord high chancellor, four bishops, six abbots, a great many private gentlemen, and a vast multitude of the inferior clergy. In the cathedral church of St. Andrews, from a throne erected by his command, he harangued concerning the state of religion and the church, to
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this company, and to a crowd of other auditors. He lamented the increase of heretics; he insisted upon their audacity, and contempt of order; he said, that even in the court of the sovereign too much attention was shewn to them; and he urged the strong necessity of acting against them with the greatest rigour. He informed this assembly, that he had cited Sir John Borthwick to appear before it, for maintaining tenets of faith hostile to the church, and for dispersing heretical books; and he desired that he might be assisted in bringing him to justice. The articles of his accusation* were read against Sir John Borthwick,

The condemnation of Sir John Borthwick.

* They are preserved by archbishop Spotswood, and display great liberality of mind, in a period when philosophy may be said to have been unknown in Scotland. They are thus detailed by this judicious writer.

1. " That he held the pope to have no greater authority over Christians, than any other bishop or prelate had.
2. " That indulgences and pardons granted by the pope were of no force nor effect, but devised to abuse people, and deceive poor ignorant souls.
3. " That bishops, priests, and other clergymen, may lawfully marry.
4. " That the heresies, commonly called *the heresies of England*, and their new liturgy, were commendable, and to be embraced of all Christians.
5. " That the people of Scotland are blinded by their clergy, and professed not the true faith.
6. " That churchmen ought not to enjoy temporalities.
7. " That the king ought to convert the rents of the church into other pious uses.
8. " That the church of Scotland ought to be governed after the manner of the English.
9. " That the canons and decrees of the church were of no force, as being contrary to the law of God.
10. " That the orders of the friars and monks should be abolished, as had been done in England.
11. " That he did openly call the pope *Simoniac*, for that he sold spiritual things.
12. " That he did read heretical books, and the New Testament in English, and some other treatises written by Melancton, Oecolampadius, and Erasmus, which he gave likewise unto others.
13. " The last and greatest point was, that he refused to acknowledge the authority of the Roman see, or be subject thereunto." Hist. of the Church, p. 70.

BOOK I.

who neither appeared in his own person, nor by any agent or deputy. He was found, notwithstanding, to be guilty; and the cardinal, with a solemnity calculated to strike with awe and terror, pronounced sentence against him. His goods and estate were confiscated; a painted representation of him was burned publicly, in testimony of the malediction of the church, and as a memorial of his obstinacy and condemnation. It was ordained, that in the event of his being apprehended, he should suffer as a heretic, without hope of grace or mercy. All Christians, whether men or women, and of whatever degree or condition, were prohibited from affording him any harbour or sustenance. It was declared, that every office of humanity, comfort, and solacement, extended to him, should be considered as criminal, and be punished with confiscations and forfeitures*.

Progress of
the Reforma-
tion.

Sir John Borthwick, having been apprized of his danger, fled into England, where he was kindly received by Henry VIII. who employed him in negotiations with the protestant princes of Germany. Cardinal Beaton perceived with concern, that this stately act of severity did not terrify the people. New defections from the church were announced to him. Andrew Cunningham, son to the master of Glencairn, James Hamilton, brother to Patrick Hamilton the martyr, and the celebrated George Buchanan, the historian, were imprisoned, upon suspicions of heresy; and, if they had not found the means to escape, must have died at the

Keith, Appendix, p. 6, 7, 8.

stake.

stake. In this declining condition of popery, the cardinal held many mournful consultations with the bishops. All their intrigues and wisdom were employed to devise methods to support themselves. The project of an inquisitorial court was conceived, and exhibited a distant view of the extirpation of heretics. To erect this tribunal, they allured James V. with the hopes of the confiscations and spoils, which might enrich him, from the persecution and the punishment of the Reformed. He yielded himself to their sollicitations, and gave them the sanction of his authority.

A court of inquisition is projected.

A formal commission was granted, constituting a court of inquiry after heretics, and nominating for its president, Sir James Hamilton of Fennard, natural brother to the earl of Arran. The officious assiduity of this man, his ambition, and his thirst of blood, were acceptable in a high degree to the clergy; and to this bad eminence their recommendation had promoted him. Upon the slightest suspicion he was allowed to call any person before him, to scrutinize into his creed, and to absolve or to condemn him. A tribunal so dreadful could not have found a director more suited to it. He was in haste to fill the prisons of the kingdom with culprits, and was marking down in lists the names of all those to whom heresy was imputed by popular report, and whom the arts of malicious men had represented as the objects of correction and punishment. But, while he was brooding over mischief, and multiplying in fancy the triumphs of his wickedness, an unexpected turn of affairs presented him in the light of a criminal, and conducted him to the scaffold.

Sir James Hamilton is appointed to preside in it.

The

Book I.

Is accused of
treason, and
executed.

THE brother of Mr. Hamilton the martyr, to avoid persecution, had been obliged to go into banishment ; but, by the intercession of his friends, he was permitted to return for a short time to his own country, that he might regulate the affairs of his family. He was connected with Sir James Hamilton ; and, trusting to the ties of blood, ventured to prolong his stay beyond the period allotted to him. This trespass was trivial. Sir James Hamilton, however, being willing to give a signal example of severity, and by this means to ingratiate himself the more with the priesthood, took the resolution to make his own relation the first victim of his power. Mr. Hamilton, attentive to his personal security, and not unacquainted with the most private machinations of this inquisitor, dispatched his son to the king, who was about to pass the Forth in a barge, and intreated him to provide for his safety, as Sir James Hamilton had conspired with the house of Douglas to assassinate him. James V. being at variance with the house of Douglas, had reasons of suspicion, and was disposed to believe every thing that is most flagitious of Sir James Hamilton. He instructed the young gentleman to go with expedition to Edinburgh, and to open the matter to the privy council ; and that he might be treated with the greater respect, he furnished him with the ring which he was accustomed to send to them upon those important occasions which required their address and activity. Sir James Hamilton was apprehended, and imprisoned. An accusation of having devised and attempted the king's death at different times, was preferred against him. His defence appeared to be weak

weak and unfatisfactory. A jury, which consisted of men of rank and character, pronounced him guilty; and, being condemned to suffer the death of a traitor, he lost his head, and the quarters of his body were exposed upon the gates of the city of Edinburgh. The clergy, who could not prevent his trial and execution, regretted his death, but did not think of appointing a successor to him in their court of inquisition*.

WHILE the Reformation was advancing in Scotland, from the courage and perseverance of its teachers, and from the propriety of its doctrines, when compared with the absurdities of popery, it received some countenance from abroad, by the negotiations of Henry VIII. This magnificent prince, when he resolved to disclaim the authority of the pope, and to possess himself of the ample revenues of the clergy, had exhorted, in an earnest manner, his nephew, James V. to adopt his sentiments. After effectuating the destruction of the monasteries, he became more eager to acquire the Scottish monarch to his party, and to prevent his coalition with the pope and the emperor Charles V. Hence, before the death of James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, he had sent into Scotland, as his ambassador, Sir Ralph Sadler, a minister of ability. His instructions were, to attempt the disgrace of cardinal Beaton, whom he could not hope to gain over from popery, and who was attached to Francis I. from whom he had received the bishopric of Mirepoix, and to Paul III. by whom he had been advanced to the dignity of cardinal. Hints

Intrigues of Henry VIII. to promote the Reformation in Scotland, and to secure its amity.

* Buchanan, Hist. Rer. Scot. lib. xiv. Drummond, Hist. of James V.

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were to be communicated to James V. that this ambitious ecclesiastic was abjectly devoted to the interests of France and Rome ; and that he meant to unite in his person the temporal power and the spiritual jurisdiction. The wants and ambition of James were to be attacked by a display of the riches of the abbeys and religious houses, which might be annexed to his revenue. The hope, that Henry might appoint him his successor, in the event of the death of Edward prince of Wales, was to be insinuated into his thoughts, and to be fostered with art. A trial of his affection for his uncle was to be made, by insisting on the rumours which prevailed, that the pope, the emperor, and the king of France, were to invade England ; and by mentioning a suspicion which had gone abroad, that James was himself to favour their operations. In fine, Henry, thinking that he would be able to complete in person the impressions to be made by his ambassador, instructed him to request an interview with James at York ; where they might finally conclude upon the measures which were most conducive to their mutual interests and security*.

The clergy
oppose the
views of Henry
VIII.

SIR Ralph Sadler acted his part with address ; and James, flattered by the advances of so powerful an ally, was disposed to meet Henry at York, and gave his promise to that purpose. The clergy, however, who saw nothing but ruin in an union which was to be cemented by the overthrow of popery, employed every expedient to prevent it. Cardinal Beaton had recom-

* Sadler, Letters and Negotiations, p. 4. 21.

mended

mended himself so effectually to his sovereign, that the attachment entertained for him was not to be shaken. The bishops joined their influence to his; and they all concurred in representing to James the dangers of innovation, and the spirit of instability and caprice that would arise in the people, from giving way to the current of their humours. They urged, that a facility in sacrificing the ecclesiastical rights and authority, would invite the factious to attempts upon the civil power and the royal prerogatives. The nobility, they said, were devouring, in fancy, the spoils of the church, and were courting an independency that might endanger the crown. A prompt severity, and a firmness of purpose, they conceived, were sufficient to restrain the desires of the multitude, and to check, by degrees, the ferocity of the Reformed. They described the fluctuating councils of Henry VIII. and the impropriety of trusting to a prince who was the sport of his passions. They intreated him to call to remembrance, that the people of England were the ancient and the natural enemies of his nation; and they asked him, if he was to forfeit, for them, the friendship of France, with which his country had been connected in an old and affectionate alliance, and to expose himself to the rage of the pope and the emperor. To give strength to these arguments, they offered to him a yearly pension of fifty thousand crowns; and they assured him, that one hundred thousand more should be lodged annually in his exchequer, from the persecutions of heretics. Mary of Lorraine, the daughter of Claude, the first duke of Guise, the new queen, acceded to sentiments which it was natural

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The state of
parties.

to her to adopt. She was in the bloom of youth, and beauty, and all her address was exerted to assist the representations of the priesthood. King James allowed himself to be overcome: he declined to go to York, where Henry arrived at the appointed time, to hold the conference they had projected; and, in apology for this weakness of behaviour, he affected the controlling necessity of high and important business*.

It was with the utmost indignation that the Scottish nobles considered the pusillanimity of their sovereign; it was with the utmost scorn that they bore the confidence which he reposed in cardinal Beaton and the prelates; it was with the utmost abhorrence that they beheld the cruelties exercised against the Reformed. The different orders of the state were convulsed with animosities. The king dreaded that the nobility were in the interests of Henry VIII. The nobility dreaded that the king had conspired their destruction. The clergy were ready to sacrifice the peace of their country, and every thing that was most sacred, to popery, and their own importance.

Henry commences hostilities with Scotland.

The resentment of Henry VIII. for the affront put upon him by James, did not admit of any alleviation. While he was preparing a powerful army to chastize him, he commanded incursions to be made into the borders of Scotland, and ordered his fleet to make prizes of the Scottish ships in their harbours, and at sea. James dispatched George Gordon, earl of Huntley, to protect the frontier provinces, and gave orders to Sir James

* Lord Herbert, *Life and Reign of Henry VIII.* ap. Kennet, vol. II. p. 222. Buchanan, *Hist. Rer. Scot.* lib. xiv.

Learmont to treat with Henry for terms of accommodation, or to gain time by amusing him. Sir Robert Bowes, with three thousand men, and assisted by the earl of Angus, and Sir George Douglas his brother, penetrated into Scotland, and committed spoil and devastation wherever he marched. The earl of Huntley encountered him at Haldenrig, and the lord Hume advancing with four hundred fresh lances, the English forces were thrown into confusion and discomfited. Few were killed; but six hundred prisoners were taken, and among these, Sir Robert Bowes, Sir William Moubray, and James Douglas of Parkhead*.

AN army, which, according to the English historians, consisted of twenty thousand men, was approaching in the mean while, towards Scotland, under the direction of the duke of Norfolk. It passed the Tweed, and destroyed some hamlets. James reinforced the earl of Huntley, and placing himself at the head of thirty thousand combatants, prepared to give battle to the English commander. But the duke of Norfolk, being apprehensive of this force, or being in want of provisions, or because the season was far advanced, recrossed the Tweed, and led back his troops. The Scottish army waiting his movements, and expecting his march to Edinburgh, had encamped at Fala-moor; and while it was in this station, the nobility conceived the project of putting to death those courtiers and statesmen who had encouraged the king to take exceptions against their order. But while many of them were anxious to save

Military operations.

October
1542.

A conspiracy in the Scottish camp to put to death the king's favourites.

* Drummond, Hist. of James V.

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particular friends and relations, the obnoxious persons made their escape; and the jealousies which before were so high, were still farther inflamed by a turbulence so fierce and ungovernable. To a nobility agitated with domestic grievances, the retreat of the duke of Norfolk communicated no military impatience and ardour. It was in vain that the king urged them to seek glory and revenge, by pursuing him, and carrying their standards into the country of their enemies. They informed him, that they had determined to fight upon Scottish ground, but that they were not inclined to proceed into England, and to urge pertinaciously a war which the arts of the clergy had produced, without the spur and constraint of strong and compelling motives. The king, who considered himself as insulted by their conspiracy against his ministers, was filled with astonishment and indignation at their refusal to obey him. In the bitterness of his anger, he reproached them with treachery and cowardice; and, disbanding an army in which he could not confide, he hastened to Edinburgh to feed his dejection and melancholy*.

A Scottish
army marches
to England.

CARDINAL BEATON was anxious about the condition into which he had brought his sovereign, and dreaded lest he should employ deliberately his understanding on the state of affairs. To cure his despondence, and to gratify his resentment against England, a solemn council was held; and the clergy, producing a register or roll of the names of three hundred and sixty persons, who were heretics, declared, that if their persecution

* Buchanan, Hist. Rer. Scot. lib. xiv. Knox, p. 29.

and

and condemnation were permitted, they would engage to supply the charges of an inroad into England. At the same time, they advised the king to assemble a new army; and that no intelligence of his design might go to the enemy, they proposed, that close letters, instead of an open proclamation, should call together the nobility, and the inferior tenants of the crown. No project could be more acceptable to James; and he was encouraged to it in a more particular manner, when he reflected on the generosity of the lord Maxwell, who, upon the late refusal of the nobility to obey their sovereign, had offered to take the command of ten thousand men, and with this small force to invade England, and to answer for his success with his life. The earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, and Erskine, with a great number of private gentlemen, collecting their relations and vassals, put themselves in motion. Sir Thomas Wharton, the warden of the northern marches of England, gathered in haste what troops he could; and was supported by Sir William Musgrave, and Dacres, captains of valour and experience. At Solway Moss the two armies came in sight of each other. Conducting his troops to an advantageous ground, the English commander ranged them into a battalion. The Scottish nobles demanded to know, by whom they were to be led on to battle. Oliver Sinclair, a son of the family of Rosline, and the favourite of the king and the cardinal, seated on cross pikes, and sustained upon the shoulders of soldiers, was shown to them as their general. Filled with anger at the promotion of a person so much inferior to them, they

The rout of
Solway Moss.

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they refused to perform their duty. An universal dissatisfaction spread itself through the ranks. The lord Maxwell, who expected to have been appointed to the command of this army, employed himself with anxiety to foster the mutiny. Sir Thomas Wharton took advantage of disorders from which he had every thing to hope. He advanced to the attack, commanding his army to make a general shout. This movement added to the confusion of the Scottish forces. No resistance was made. Men of high rank, as well as the common soldiers, were forward to surrender themselves to the enemy. A great booty was taken in horses, artillery, and baggage. Overcome by discontent, disappointment, and rage, a powerful army gave away the honour of their nation, and their own, to a handful of raw and undisciplined soldiers*.

The affliction
and death of
James V.

KING JAMES, indulging in hopes, waited with impatience to hear the success of his troops. An event so uncommon, and so disgraceful, struck him with inexpressible amazement. Suspicions of his nobility augmented his distress. Burning with shame, convulsed with anger, and tortured with fears, he felt the fury of the most unhappy passions. No consolations could afford him any relief; no remedy could be pointed out to retrieve the wretchedness of his fortune. He fled from his capital, to bury himself in the palace of Falkland. The agitations of his mind affected his body; his strength was wasted with continual anxieties and cares. Even the presence of his domestics disturbed

* Buchanan, Hist. Rev. Scot. lib. xiv. Lord Herbert, ap. Kennet, p. 233.

him.

him. His sufferings during the day received no abatement in the night; his sleep was unquiet, his dreams frightful. Abstaining from food, he fixed himself in his bed, a devoted victim to anguish and despair. In this miserable condition the news arrived, that the queen was safely delivered at Linlithgow. A gleam of joy broke in upon him; for his sons James and Arthur were already dead. But being told that this child was a daughter, he turned his face from the unwelcome messenger, and exclaimed, "This kingdom, which came by a woman, will go with one. Many miseries wait upon it. Henry will win it by marriage, or make it his own by arms." Soon after he had uttered these words, he expired*.

JAMES V. with a vigorous constitution, and great advantages of person, had a mind turned for affairs, and ingenious. He had studied the laws of his nation, and he distributed justice with a strict impartiality. He promoted new manufactures, and invited foreign artificers to reside in his kingdom. None of his subjects were refused access to him; and he was able to maintain a familiarity with them without losing his dignity. His munificence and liberality were exerted with a proper attention to his revenues. Though his education had been neglected, he was an encourager of learning. Fond of pleasure, and prodigal of his love, many women of rank were seduced by him to admit his addresses. Of his nobility he was jealous without sufficient grounds; and when they offended him, his revenge was cruel

His character.

* Drummond, Hist. of James V. Spotswood, p. 71. Knox, p. 33, 34, 35.

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and impolitic. But his greatest fault was the respect he entertained for cardinal Beaton and the clergy. Though moderate, and even careless in his religious principles, he adopted their intolerant spirit, and forgot that a good sovereign will not persevere in supporting ancient systems of theology, when they have become too gross and absurd for the understandings of his people.

State of affairs upon the death of James V.

THE death of James was an afflicting event, and seemed a prelude to new calamities. Mary, his infant daughter, succeeded to his kingdom and his misfortunes. Many of the nobility had been taken at Solway Moss, and were prisoners in London; those who remained at home were factious and turbulent. Cardinal Beaton was eager to retain his power, and to augment it. Popery and the Reformed religion were struggling for the superiority, and exciting commotions. An unnecessary and successful war with England had dispirited the nation; and Henry VIII. was stimulated with the glory of adding Scotland to his dominions.

Cardinal Beaton assumes the regency, and loses it. It is conferred upon the earl of Arran.

No steps for the future security of his kingdom had been taken by king James before his death. But, by a testamentary deed which the cardinal had forged in the name of his sovereign *, he was appointed tutor to the queen, and governor of the realm, and three of the principal nobility were named to act as his counsellors in the administration †. To give weight to an instru-

* "He did counterfeit the late king's testament; and when the king was even almost dead, he took his hand in his, and so caused him to subscribe a blank paper." Sir R. Sadler's Letters and Negotiations, p. 161.

† The earls of Huntley, Argyle, and Arran.

ment so favourable to his schemes, it was proclaimed publicly by his order; and upon this authority he intruded himself into the regency. The nobility, and the people, however, calling in question the authenticity of this deed, which he could not establish, and being desirous to give a check to his enterprising temper, he was degraded from the dignity he had assumed; and the estates of the kingdom advanced into the regency James Hamilton, earl of Arran, whom they judged to be intitled to this distinction, as the second person in the kingdom, and the nearest heir, after Mary, to the crown*.

THE disgrace of cardinal Beaton might have proved the destruction of his party, if the earl of Arran had been endowed with vigour of mind and ability. But nature had not qualified him for a high and difficult station. His soul had a womanish sensibility and softness. He was unfit for the bustle of business, and the ardour of turbulent times. His views were circumscribed; and he did not compensate for this defect by any firmness of purpose. He was too indolent to gain partizans, and too irresolute to fix them. Slight difficulties filled him with embarrassment, and great ones overpowered him. His enemies applying themselves to the feverish timidity of his disposition, betrayed him into weaknesses; and the esteem which his gentleness had procured him in private life, was lost in the contempt attending his public conduct, which was feeble, fluctuating, and inconsistent.

His character.

* Regist. Parl. Epist. Regum Scotorum, Appendix, vol. ii. p. 308.

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 1542-3.
 Progress of
 the Reforma-
 tion.

THE attachment which the Regent was known to profess for the new opinions, drew to him the love of the people; his high birth, and the mildness of his virtues, conciliated their respect; and from the circumstance, that his name was at the head of the roll of heretics which the clergy had presented to the late king, a sentiment of tenderness was mingled with his popularity. His conduct corresponded, at first, with the impressions entertained in his favour. Thomas Guilleme, and John Rough, two celebrated preachers, were invited to live in his house; and he permitted them to declaim openly against the errors of the church of Rome. They attacked and exposed the supremacy of the pope, the worship of images, and the invocation of saints. Cardinal Beaton and the prelates were infinitely discontented, and indefatigably active to defend the established doctrines.

The Scriptures are authorized to be read in the vulgar tongue.

THIS public sanction afforded to the Reformation was of little consequence, however, when compared with a measure which was soon after adopted by Robert lord Maxwell. He proposed, that the liberty of reading the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue should be permitted to the people; and that, for the future, no heretical guilt should be inferred against any person for having them in his possession, or for making use of them. The Regent and the three estates acknowledged the propriety of this proposal. Gavin Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow, and chancellor of Scotland, protested, indeed, for himself and for the church, that no act on this subject should pass and be effectual, till a provincial council of all the clergy of the kingdom should

should consider and determine, whether there was a necessity that the people should consult and study the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. But his protestation being disregarded, the bill of the lord Maxwell was carried into a law, and the Regent made it generally known by a proclamation*.

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FROM this period, copies of the Bible were imported in great numbers from England; and men, allured by an appeal so flattering to their reason, were proud to recover from the supine ignorance in which they had been kept by an artful priesthood. To read became a common accomplishment; and books were multiplied in every quarter, which disclosed the pride, the tyranny, and the absurdities of the Romish church and superstitions †.

THE death of James V. and the birth of his daughter, were events extremely favourable to the political designs of Henry VIII. and, putting an end to hostilities, he engaged the Regent in important negotiations. He concerted the union of the two kingdoms, in the marriage of his son Edward prince of Wales with the queen of Scots. To the Scottish noblemen, who were made prisoners at Solway Moss, he communicated this project; and gaining them by civilities and pensions, made them promise upon oath, not only to concur in promoting this alliance, but to endeavour to procure to him the charge and custody of the young queen, with the government of her kingdom, and the possession of her castles. They were released accordingly

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New intrigues of Henry VIII. to promote the Reformation, and to acquire the superiority over Scotland.

* COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. I.

† Spotwood, p. 72. Knox, p. 37.

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from confinement; and they contented to give their sons and relations as hostages, that they should return to be his prisoners, if they failed in accomplishing the purposes they had undertaken. The earl of Angus and his brother, who had been fifteen years in exile, accompanied them into Scotland, and brought letters from Henry, recommending them to the restitution of their honours and estates.

THE Regent lent a willing ear to persons so formidable from their rank and importance, and who had an interest to oppose the measures of the party in opposition to him. And, at this time, cardinal Beaton was thrown into prison, on the pretence of being concerned with the duke of Guise in a scheme hostile to Scotland. A meeting of the estates was called; but though they were disposed to consent to the marriage of their sovereign with the only son of Henry VIII. they disliked the conditions annexed to it; refusing to permit her removal into England, till she had attained her majority; and rejecting with scorn the idea of giving the government of her kingdom, and the care of her castles, to the king of England. Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, exerted upon this occasion all the arts of a skilful and crafty statesman. He alarmed the fears of the Regent by the dangers of a war; he allured his vanity by the hope of the marriage of his son, the lord Hamilton, with king Henry's daughter, the lady Elizabeth; and he held out to him the sovereignty of the country beyond the Forth, as an acquisition within his reach. With the Scottish lords who had sworn to assist his master, his consultations were earnest and

and frequent; and when he despaired of acquiring the objects of his embassy by their political influence, he endeavoured to seduce them into a conspiracy, to convey into England, by stratagem, the young queen and cardinal Beaton*.

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ALL his intrigues, however, were unsuccessful. The three estates could not be induced to yield to views which would necessarily overturn the national independency; the queen dowager and the French faction were firm and powerful; the person of the young queen was guarded with anxiety; and the clergy exerted all their activity and strength to defeat his operations. Henry perceived the expediency of departing from the extravagant conditions he had proposed; and he authorized commissioners to consent to treaties of amity and marriage, in the terms the most favourable to him which could be obtained from the parliament of Scotland.

THE difficulties of negotiation being thus removed, the commissioners of England and Scotland were not long in adjusting and subscribing articles of convention and agreement. It was concluded in the treaty of amity, that a firm peace and alliance should take place between the two nations; and that they should mutually defend and protect one another against every foreign invader. In the treaty of marriage it was agreed, that the queen of Scots should remain within her own dominions till she attained the tenth year of her age. No share in the government of Scotland was communicated

Treaties of
amity and-
marriage.

* Sir Ralph Sadler, Letters and Negotiations, p. 65—260.

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to Henry, and he was invested in no charge of its castles. Six nobles, or their apparent heirs, were immediately to be surrendered to him, in security for the conveyance of the young queen into England, and for her marriage with prince Edward, upon her reaching her tenth year. It was also stipulated, that although the queen should have issue by prince Edward, Scotland should retain not only its name, but its laws and liberties*.

An opposition is made to the English interest.

THOUGH these treaties included conditions which were infinitely more advantageous to Scotland than those which Henry had contended for, yet they did not give entire satisfaction to the nation; and the unsuspecting Regent had struck a blow which was fatal to his popularity. His conduct did not escape the censure of his enemies; and cardinal Beaton, having obtained a discharge from confinement, by the influence of the queen dowager, embraced every opportunity to hasten his disgrace. He exclaimed against an alliance which threatened to destroy the independency of an ancient and renowned kingdom. He fostered the natural animosities of the people, roused their pride, and excited their apprehensions. He called an assembly of the ecclesiastics, pointed out the ruin which hung over the church, represented the dangers which must arise, not only to their revenues, but to their lives, from the advancement of the Reformation; and urged them to unanimity and zeal. Awakening all their fears and selfishness, they granted him large sums of money,

* Epist. Reg. Scot. Appendix, No. I. and II. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xiv. p. 789—796.

with

with which he might buy partizans; and the friars were instructed to preach against the treaties with England, and to invite the rage of fanatical men to display itself, in offering indignities to Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambaffador*.

THE earls of Argyle, Huntley, Bothwel, and Murray, who were all in the French faction, concurred in opposing the measures of Henry VIII. and exerted themselves to overturn the power of the Regent. Upon the conclusion of the treaties, they assisted the cardinal to collect troops; and, with the connivance of the queen dowager, possessing themselves of her person, and of that of the young queen, they affected to arrogate to themselves the authority of government. By this usurpation of consequence, by labouring to prevent the ratification of the treaties, and by threatening to depose the Regent, they flattered the prejudices of the nation, undermined his importance, and augmented their own.

MATTHEW STUART, earl of Lennox, who about this time arrived from France, upon the invitation of the queen dowager and the cardinal, gave a new strength to their party, and a fresh wound to the earl of Arran. He brought with him many fair promises from Francis I. He was made to hope that he might espouse the queen dowager, and obtain the regency of Scotland; and he was disposed to confound the views of the earl of Arran, from an ancient hostility which had subsisted between their families, and from a claim he possessed to

* Buchanan, Hist. Rer. Scot. lib. xv. Spotfwood, p. 73. Lord Herbert, ap. Kennet, p. 235.

superfede

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Schemes to
subvert the
authority of
the regent.

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superfede him, not only in the enjoyment of his personal estates, but in the succession to the crown.

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IT was by giving the alarm to the timorous sensibilities of the Regent, that the queen dowager and the cardinal could effectuate most securely his overthrow; and while the power of their faction acted openly to this end, they were assisted privately by the agency of John Hamilton, the abbot of Paisley. This ecclesiastic was the natural brother of the Regent, enjoyed an extreme intimacy with him, and was devoted to the church and to cardinal Beaton. He represented to him, that Henry VIII. was by no means inclined to afford him any real or solid support; and that the project of delivering up the young queen to this prince, while it was odious to a great number of the nobles, was regarded with the utmost detestation by the people. He pointed out the opposition and the impopularity to which he was assiduous to expose himself. He insisted upon the claims of the earl of Lennox, and explained in glowing colours all the force they might acquire in the present critical situation of affairs. He urged, that his practices to forward the Reformation involved in them his own ruin, and would terminate in the utter extinction of his House. For, there being a divorce in his family, and the legality of it depending upon the papal authority, the destruction of popery would not only take away his title to his earldom and estates, but his claim and pretensions to the crown. Having wrought upon his fears, the full consequence and power of the queen dowager and the cardinal were displayed before him; an offer of their friendship was held out
for

for his acceptance; and he was informed and admonished, that by entering into their measures, he would be enabled not merely to annihilate the earl of Lennox, and to preserve his estates, titles, and pretensions, but to obtain the powerful support of France, and the secure and uncontrolled possession of the regency.

THE earl of Arran, conquered by the difficulties of his situation, was willing to attend to the advances of the queen dowager and cardinal Beaton. To refuse to confirm the treaties, after he had brought them to a conclusion, was, however, a step so repugnant to probity, that he could not be prevailed upon to adopt it. He, therefore, in a solemn manner, in the abbey church of Holy-rood-house executed their ratification, swore to their observance, and commanded the great seal of Scotland to be appended to them*. The same day in which he gave validity to the treaties, he went to St. Andrews, and issued a mandate to the cardinal, requiring him to return to the due allegiance of a subject; and this prelate refusing to pay him any attention, or to move from his castle, he denounced him a rebel, and threatened to compel him to submission by a military force. But a few days after performing these actions, and discovering this show of justice and spirit, he met cardinal Beaton and the earl of Murray at Calendar; and forsaking Henry VIII. embraced the interests of the queen dowager and France. Nor was this all. He was now in haste to reconcile himself to the church of Rome which he

The irresolution and levity of the regent.

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xv. p. 4—7. *Epist. Reg. Scot.* Appendix, No. iii. & iv.

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had abandoned. He, accordingly, renounced publicly at Stirling the opinions of the Reformed, and received absolution from the hands of the cardinal*.

A conduct, so disgraced with meanness and inconsistency, exposed the Regent to contempt, and left him in the keeping of his new confidants without esteem and without power. Cardinal Beaton was in reality the first minister of state, and the earl of Arran had only the name of authority and its odium. The earl of Lennox, finding himself abused by the queen dowager and her minister, was compelled to renounce the views which had brought him from France; and yielding to his resentments, was soon to engage in negotiations with Henry VIII. to seize the post which the Regent ought to have maintained, to place himself at the head of the Scottish lords who were in the English interest, and to assert the cause of the Reformation. A rupture with England was unavoidable, and the disunion of the nobility gave the promise of civil discords and hostility.

Henry VIII.
prepares for
war.

WHILE the cardinal maintained the chief direction of affairs, Henry VIII. could not hope for success in his views upon Scotland. He, therefore, not only delayed, upon his part, to ratify the treaties; but adopting a strong measure, ordered all the Scottish ships in the harbours of England to be taken and confiscated. This violation of a peace, so lately concluded by his commissioners, and upon the faith of which the Scot-

* Sir Ralph Sadler, Letters and Negotiations, p. 356, 357. Buchanan, Hist. Res. Scot. lib xv. Spotswood, p. 74.

tish merchants had entered his ports, inflamed the national disgusts against the English alliance; and no proper apology being made for it by him, the party for the queen dowager and the cardinal obtained an increase of popularity, and were encouraged to proceed in their opposition to his intrigues. After committing this outrage, he affected to demand, that the hostages in terms of the treaty of marriage should be delivered up to him. But the cardinal and the Regent informed Sir Ralph Sadler, that from their own authority they could not command any nobles to be committed to him as hostages; and, that the offensive strain of behaviour assumed by the English monarch might have altered the sentiments of the Scottish parliament with regard to a measure of such importance. Practices of insincerity and dissimulation took place upon either side. Sir Ralph Sadler even declared, that he was not certain, whether, upon the delivery of the hostages, the king of England would confirm completely the stipulations of the treaties. He complained of the repeated insults which had been offered to his own person; and he called upon all those of the nobility who had been prisoners in England to remember their oaths, and to return to London to surrender themselves to Henry VIII. The giddiness and folly of the common people were urged as the causes of the affronts which had been put upon this ambassador. And, of the Scottish nobles, who had been prisoners in England, Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassilis, being alone faithful to his engagements, presented himself to the king of England; who, struck

Book I. with his punctilious sentiments of honour, loaded him
with gifts, and gave him his liberty*.

1543.

Cardinal Beaton acts as minister.

Promotions.

CARDINAL Beaton being in the possession of power, took measures to secure it. The solemnity of the coronation of the young queen was celebrated at Stirling. A council was chosen to direct and assist the Regent in the greater affairs of state. The queen dowager was at its head; the cardinal, the archbishop of Glasgow, and the bishops of Murray, Orkney, Galloway, and Dunblane, with the abbots of Paisley and Cowper, were the ecclesiastical members; and the temporal nobility, who, at first, were appointed to act in it, were the earls of Angus, Huntley, Argyle, Murray, Glencairn, Lennox, Bothwel, and Marishal. But the political views of the earls of Angus, Glencairn, Lennox, and Marishal, not permitting them to accept of this honour, there were chosen in their place the lords Fleming, Ruthven, St. John, and Sir John Campbel of Calder. John Hamilton, the abbot of Paisley, who had acquired an ascendancy over the Regent, was also promoted to the privy seal, and made treasurer of the kingdom; and cardinal Beaton, upon the request of the Regent and the three estates, accepted the office of lord high chancellor †.

The earl of Lennox opposes the government.

AFTER the flatteries and the hopes, with which the earl of Lennox had been amused, the cardinal had reason to dread the utmost warmth of his resentment. He had therefore written to Francis I. giving a detail of the

* Lord Herbert, ap. Kennet, p. 235. Sir Ralph Sadler, Letters and Negotiations, p. 380—388.

† Crawford, Lives of the Officers of State, p. 80. 376.

critical situation of affairs in Scotland, and entreating him to recal to France the earl of Lennox, who was now interested to oppose the influence and operations of the queen dowager. But the lively indignation with which the treachery of the cardinal had inflamed the earl of Lennox, precipitated him into immediate action, and defeated the intention of this artifice. In the hostile situation of his mind towards Scotland, an opportunity of commencing hostilities had presented itself. Five ships had arrived in the Clyde from France, loaded with warlike stores; and having on board the patriarch of Venice, Peter Contareni, legate from Paul III. with La Brosse and James Mesnaige, ambassadors from France; and thirty thousand crowns, which were to be employed in strengthening the French faction, and to be distributed by the queen dowager and the cardinal. Prevailing with the commanders of these vessels, who conceived him to be the fast friend of their monarch, he secured this money for his own use, and deposited the military stores in his castle of Dunbarton, under the care of George Stirling, the deputy governor, who, at this time, was entirely in his interests*.

By the successful application of this wealth, the earl of Lennox called forth the full exertion of his party in levying a formidable army, with which he threatened the destruction of the Regent and the cardinal, offering them battle in the fields between Leith and Edinburgh. The Regent, not being in a condition to accept the challenge of his rival, had recourse to negociation. Car-

Levies an
army, and
marches a-
gainst the
regent.

* Lesly, de Reb. Gest. Scot. ap. Jebb, vol. i. p. 152. Sir Ralph Sadler, Letters and Negotiations, p. 399.

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1543.

dinal Beaton and the earl of Huntley proposed terms of amity, and exerted themselves with so much address, that the earl of Lennox, losing the opportunity of chastising his enemies, consented to an accommodation, and indulged anew the hope of obtaining the queen dowager in marriage. His army was dismissed, and he threw himself at the feet of his mistress. But amidst the smiles and attention with which he was received by the queen dowager and the cardinal, he found insincerity and danger. Many of his friends were seduced from him under different pretences; and apprehending his total ruin from some secret enterprize, he fled to Glasgow, and fortified himself in that city. The Regent, collecting an army, marched against him; and having defeated his friend the earl of Glencairn, in a bloody encounter, was able to reduce the place of strength in which he confided. In this ebb of his fortune, the earl of Lennox had no hope but from England.

The regent prepares to persecute the Reformed.

THE revolution produced in the political state of Scotland, by the arts of cardinal Beaton, while it defeated the intrigues of Henry VIII. pointed all its strength against the progress of the Reformation. After abandoning his old friends, the Regent, in connection with the cardinal, was ambitious to undo all the services he had rendered to them. The three estates annulled the treaties of amity and marriage, and empowered commissioners to conclude an alliance with France*. The Regent discharged the two preachers,

* Epist. Reg. Scot. Appendix, p. 311, 313.

Guillame and Rough, whom he had invited to impugn the doctrines of the church. He drove back into England many pious persons, whose zeal had brought them to Scotland, to explain and advance the new opinions. He caressed, with particular respect, the legate whom the pope had sent to discourage the marriage of the young queen with the prince of Wales, and to promise his assistance against the enterprizes of Henry VIII. He procured an act of parliament to be passed for the persecution of heretics †, and, upon the foundation of this authority, the most rigorous proceedings were concerted against the Reformed; when the arms of England, rousing the apprehensions of the nation, gave the fullest employment to the Regent and his counsellors*.

1543.

IN the rage and anguish of disappointed ambition, the earl of Lennox made an offer to assist the views of the king of England; who, treating with him as an ally, engaged, in the event of success, to give him in marriage his niece, the lady Margaret Douglas, and to invest him in the regency of Scotland. To establish the Reformation in Scotland, to acquire the superiority over it to Henry VIII. and to effectuate the marriage of the prince of Wales with the queen of Scots, were the great objects of their confederacy. He prevailed with the earl of Glencairn to be a party to this treaty; and he inspirited in their rebellious principles, the earls of Angus and Cassilis, with the other lords who were in the interests of the English monarch ‡.

1544-
The earl of
Lennox re-
volts to Hen-
ry VIII.

† Epist. Reg. Scot. Appendix, p. 315.

* Lesly de Reb. Gest. Scot. ap. Jebb. p. 152, 153.

‡ Rymer, Fœdera, vol. xv. p. 22—26.

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1544.
An English
army invades
Scotland.

HENRY, though engaged in a war with France, which required all his military force, could not resist the earliest opportunity in his power to execute his vengeance against Scotland. Edward Seymour, earl of Hartford, was appointed to command ten thousand men, who were embarked at Tinnmouth, aboard a fleet of two hundred ships, under the direction of Sir John Dudley, lord Lisle. This army was landed without opposition, near Leith; and the earl of Hartford made it known to Sir Adam Otterburn, the provost of Edinburgh, that his commission impowered him to lay the country waste and desolate, unless the Regent should deliver up the young queen to the king of England. It was answered, that every extremity of distress would be endured, before the Scottish nation would submit to so ignominious a demand. Six thousand horse from Berwick, under the lord Evers, now joined the earl of Hartford. Leith and Edinburgh, after a feeble resistance, yielded to the English commander, who abandoned them to pillage, and then set fire to them. A cruel devastation ensued in the surrounding villages and country, and an immense booty was conveyed on board the English fleet. But, while an extreme terror was every where excited, the earl of Hartford reembarked a part of his troops, and ordered the remainder to march with expedition to the frontiers of England.

THE Regent, assisted by cardinal Beaton, and the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, and Murray, was active, in the mean time, to collect an army, and to provide for the security of the kingdom. He felt, therefore, the greatest surprize, on being relieved so unexpectedly

unexpectedly from the most imminent hazard; and an expedition, conducted with so little discernment, did not advance the measures of Henry VIII. To accomplish the marriage of the young queen with the prince of Wales, to possess himself of her person, or to achieve a conquest over Scotland, were all circumstances apparently within the reach of the English commander; and yet, in the moment of victory, he neglected to prosecute his advantages; and having inflamed the animosities of the Scottish nation, by a display of the passions and cruelty of his master, left them to recover from their disaster, and to improve in their resources*.

THE earl of Lennox, taking the opportunity of the English fleet, went to consult with Henry VIII. upon the desperate state of his affairs. He renewed his engagements with this monarch, and received in marriage the lady Margaret Douglas, with possessions in England †. Soon after, he arrived in the firth of Clyde, with eighteen ships, and six hundred soldiers, that he might secure the castle of Dunbarton, and employ himself in committing spoil and devastation. But George Stirling, to whom the castle was intrusted, disdain- ing his treachery to his country, or gained by his enemies, refused to surrender it; and even obliged him to reimbarck his troops. After engaging in a few petty incursions and

New misfor-
tunes of the
earl of Len-
nox.

* Lord Herbert, ap. Kennet, p. 243. Lesly de Reb. Gest. Scot. ap. Jebb, p. 155, 156.

† Rymer, Fœdera, vol. xv. p. 29. 32.

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skirmishes, he returned to England, to a melancholy and successful exile*.

1544.

A truce.

Persecutions
of the Re-
formed.

UPON crossing the seas, to carry his arms into France, Henry consented to a truce; and Scotland, after having suffered the miseries of war, was subjected to the horrors of persecution. The Regent had procured an act of parliament for the persecution of the Reformed; and the cardinal, to draw to himself an additional splendor and power, had obtained from the pope the dignity of legate *a latere* †. A visitation of his own diocese appeared to him the most proper method of commencing the proposed extirpation of heresy; and he carried with him in his train, the Regent, and many persons of distinction, to assist in his judicatories, and to share in his disgrace*.

1545.

IN the town of Perth, a great many persons were accused and condemned. The most trifling offences were regarded as atrocious crimes, and made the subjects of prosecution and punishment. Robert Lamb was

* It is remarkable, that George Stirling of Glorot, the deputy-governor of Dunbarton castle, had at this time a pension, during his life, of one hundred marks sterling, from Henry VIII. Rymer, vol. xv. p. 32. The lands in England, given by Henry to the earl of Lennox with the lady Margaret Douglas, were of the yearly value of seventeen hundred marks sterling. Id. p. 31. The earl of Angus had a pension of 100 l. a month. Sadler, Letters and Negotiations, p. 178. The earl of Glencairn had a yearly pension, during his life, of 250 l. sterling. His son, Alexander lord Kilmaurs, had an annuity of 125 l. Rymer, vol. xv. p. 47. The lords Cassilis, Maxwell, and Somerville, were also in the pay of the English monarch. Sadler, p. 215.

† Burnet, Hist. of the Reformation in England, vol. ii. p. 292. Collection of Records, p. 271. A simple legate was an ambassador from the pope, and confined by particular instructions. The legate *à latere* was always a cardinal, and, next to the pope, had the fullest ecclesiastical authority.

hanged,

changed, for affirming that the invocation of faints had no merit to save. William Anderson, James Reynold, and James Finlayson, suffered the same death, for having abused an image of St. Francis, by putting horns upon his head. James Hunter, having kept their company, was found to be equally guilty, and punished in the same manner. Helen Stirke, having refused, when in labour, to invoke the assistance of the Virgin, was drowned in a pool of water. Many of the burgeses of Perth, being suspected of heresy, were sent into banishment; and the lord Ruthven, the provost, was, upon the same account, dismissed from his office*.

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1545.

THE cardinal was strenuous in persecuting heresy in other parts of his diocese. But the discontents and clamour attending the executions of men of inferior station were now lost in the fame of the martyrdom of George Wishart; a person who, while he was respectable by his birth, was highly eminent from the opinion entertained of his capacity and endowments. The historians of the Protestant persuasion have spoken of this Reformer in terms of the highest admiration. They extol his learning as extensive, insist on the extreme candour of his disposition, and ascribe to him the utmost purity of morals. But while the strain of their panegyric is exposed to suspicion from its excess, they have ventured to impute to him the spirit of prophecy; and the impartiality of history is forced to receive their eulogiums with some abatement. It may be sufficient to affirm, that Mr. Wishart was the most eminent

1546.

The trial and
condemnation
of
George
Wishart.

* Buchanan, Hist. Rer. Scot. lib. xv. Spotiswood, p. 75.

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1546.

preacher who had hitherto appeared in Scotland. He was certainly cultivated by reflexion and study, and he was amply possessed of those abilities and qualifications which awaken and agitate the passions of the people. His ministry had been attended with the most flattering success; and his courage to encounter danger, grew with his reputation. The day before he was apprehended, he said to John Knox, who attended him; "I am weary of the world, since I perceive that men are weary of God." He had already reconciled himself to that terrible death which awaited him. Perhaps, he even wished in secret to lay down his life for his opinions, and looked with anxiety to the crown of martyrdom. He was found in the house of Cockburn of Ormiston, in East Lothian; who refusing to deliver him to the servants of the Regent, the earl of Bothwell, the sheriff of the county, required that he should be entrusted to his care, and promised that no injury should be done to him. But the authority of the Regent and his counsellors obliged the earl to surrender his charge*. He was conveyed to the cardinal's castle at St. Andrews, and his trial was hurried on with precipitation. The cardinal and the clergy proceeding in it without the concurrence of the secular power, adjudged him to be burnt alive. In the circumstances of his execution there appears a deliberate and most barbarous cruelty. When led out to the stake, he was met by priests, who mocking his condition, called upon him to pray to the Virgin, that she might intercede

* Epist. Reg. Scot. Appendix, p. 342.

with

with her Son for mercy to him. “ Forbear to tempt me, my brethren,” was his mild reply to them. A black coat of linen was put upon him by one executioner, and bags of powder were fastened to his body by another. Some pieces of ordnance were pointed to the place of execution. He spoke to the spectators, entreating them to remember, that he was to die for the true gospel of Christ. Fire was communicated to the faggots. From a balcony in a tower of his castle, which was hung with tapestry, the cardinal and the prelates, reclining upon rich cushions, beheld the inhuman scene. This insolent triumph, more than all his afflictions, affected the magnanimity of the sufferer. He exclaimed, that the enemy, who so proudly solaced himself, would perish in a few days, and be exposed ignominiously in the place which he now occupied*.

CARDINAL BEATON took a pleasure in receiving the congratulations of the clergy upon a deed, which, it was thought, would fill the enemies of the church with terror. But the indignation of the people was more excited than their fears. All ranks of men were disgusted with an exercise of power which despised every boundary of moderation and justice. The prediction of Mr. Wishart, suggested by the general odium which attended the cardinal, was considered by the disciples of this martyr as the effusion of a prophet. Strengthening their spirit of revenge by conversation and intercourse, they entered into a conspiracy to gratify it. Their complaints were attended to by Norman Lesly,

Cardinal Beaton is assassinated.

* Knox, p. 53. 69. Spotswood, p. 74. 82. Buchanan Hist. Rer. Scot. lib. xv.

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29 May.

the eldest son of the earl of Rothes, whom the cardinal, in the intoxication of his grandeur, had treated with indignity, though he had profited by his services. He consented to be their leader. The cardinal was in his castle at St. Andrews, which he was fortifying after the strongest fashion of that age. The conspirators at different times, early in the morning, entered into it*. The gates were secured; and appointing a guard, that no intimation of their proceedings might go to the cardinal, they dismissed from the castle all his workmen separately, to the number of one hundred, and all his domestics, who amounted to no fewer than fifty persons. The eldest son of the earl of Arran, whom he kept as an hostage for his father's behaviour, was alone detained by them. The astonished prelate, alarmed with their noise, looked from his window, and was informed, that his castle was taken by Norman Lesly. It

* Spotswood, p. 83, observes, that the murderers of cardinal Beaton did not exceed twelve persons in all; Lesly, ap. Jebb, p. 162, will have it that there were no more than nine conspirators; and other authors make them amount to sixteen. In the public archives, however, they are enumerated and described in the following manner: "Normane Leslie fear of Rothes, Petir Carmichaell of Balmadie, James Kirkcaldie of the Grange, William Kirkcaldie his eldest sonne, David Kirkcaldie his brothir, Jhonne Kirkcaldie, Patrick Kirkcaldie, George Kirkcaldie, brother to the said James Kirkcaldie of the Grange, Thomas Kirkcaldie his sonne, Jhonne Leslie of Parkhill, Alexander Inglis, James Maluile elder, Jhonne Maluile, bastard-son to the lard of Raith, Alexander Maluile, David Carmichaell, Gilbert Geddes zounger, Robert Muncreif, brothir to the lard of Tibbermello, William Symfoun, Alexander Anderfoun, David Balfour, sonne to the lard of Monquhany, Thomas Conyghame, Nicholl Hart, William Guthre, Jhonne Sibbald, brother to the lard of Cuikstoune, Peter Carmichaell, Walter Maluile zounger, Sir Jhonne Auchinleck chaplane, Nicol Leirmounth, Sir Jhonnie Zoung chaplane, David Kirkcaldie Cuik, Niniane Cockburne, Jhonne Poll Gunnar, William Orok, Jhonne Rollok, and Andro Tanzou." Epist. Reg. Scot. Appendix, p. 348.

was

was in vain that he endeavoured to secure the door of his chamber by bolts and chests. The conspirators brought fire, and were ready to apply it, when admitting them into his presence he implored their mercy. Two of them struck him hastily with their swords. But James Melvil, a deliberate villain, rebuking their passion, told them, that this work and judgment of God, though secret, ought to be done with gravity. He reminded the cardinal, in general terms, of the enormity of his sins, and reproached him in a more particular manner with the death of Mr. Wishart. He swore that no hope of his riches, no dread of his power, and no hatred to his person, were any motives which actuated him; but that he was moved to accomplish his destruction, by the obstinacy and zeal manifested by him against Christ Jesus and his holy gospel *. Waiting for no answer to his harangue, he thrust the cardinal three times through the body with his dagger.

1546.

THE rumour that the castle was taken, giving an alarm to the inhabitants of St. Andrews, they came in crowds to gratify their curiosity, and to offer their assistance, according to the sentiments they entertained. The adherents and dependents of the cardinal were clamorous to see him; and the conspirators, carrying his dead body to the very place from which he had beheld the sufferings of Mr. Wishart, exposed it to their view. The people, recollecting the prediction of the martyr, were affected with this incident; and the surprize which it at first excited, settled itself in a mixed

* Knox, p. 72.

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affection of melancholy tendernefs and fuperftitious awe*.

1546.

Peace with
England.

THE truce, in the mean time, which had been concluded with England, was frequently interrupted; but no memorable battles were fought. Mutual depredations kept alive the hostile fpirit of the two kingdoms; and while the Regent was making military preparations, which gave the promife of important events, a treaty of peace was finifhed between England and France, in which Francis I. took care to comprehend the Scottifh nation. In this treaty it was ftipulated by Henry, that he was not to wage war againft Scotland, unlefs he fhould be provoked by new and juft caufes of hoftility †.

7th June.

Confequen-
ces of the
murder of
cardinal Bea-
con.

BUT the murderers of cardinal Beaton, apprehenfive of their fafety, and unable to palliate their execrable act, had difpatched meffengers into England, with applications to Henry for affiftance; and being joined by more than one hundred and twenty of their friends, they took the refolution of keeping the caftle, and of defending themfelves. Henry, notwithstanding his treaty with France, refolved to embrace this opportunity of augmenting the difturbances of Scotland. His proclamations of peace declared only an abftinence from war during his own pleafure. He haftened to collect troops, and the Regent and his counfellors preffed France for fupplies in men and money, military ftores, and artillery.

* Buchanan, Hift. Rer. Scot. lib. xv. Spotfwood, p. 83.

† Lord Herbert, ap. Kennet, p. 255.

THE high places which the cardinal occupied, were filled up immediately upon his death. John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, was elected archbishop of St. Andrews, and George earl of Huntley was promoted to be chancellor. By these officers the Regent was urged to proceed with vigour against the conspirators; and it was a matter of the greatest anxiety to him, to recover his eldest son, whom they detained in custody. The clergy had, in the most solemn manner, pronounced them to be accursed, and agreed to furnish, for four months, a monthly subsidy of three thousand pounds, to defray the expence of reducing them to obedience. The queen dowager and the French faction were eager, at the same time, to concur in avenging the assassination of a man, to whose counsels and services they were so greatly indebted. And, that no dangerous use might be made of the eldest son of the earl of Arran, who, after his father, was the heir of the monarchy, an act of parliament was passed, excluding him from his birthright, while he remained in the possession of the enemies of his country, and substituting his brothers in his place, according to their seniority*. The dark politics of Henry suggested the necessity of this expedient, and in its meaning and tendency there may be remarked the spirit and greatness of a free people.

A powerful army laid siege to the castle of St. Andrews, and continued their operations during four months. But no success attended the assailants. The

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 1546.
 Promotions.
 Proceedings
 against the
 conspirators.

 The castle of
 St. Andrews
 is besieged.

* Epist. Reg. Scot. Appendix, p. 343. 353. 359.

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An ineffectual treaty.

1547.
28th Jan.

fortifications were strong; and a communication with the besieged was open by sea to the king of England, who supplied them with arms and provisions. The garrison received his pay, and the principal conspirators had pensions from him *. In return for his generosity, they were engaged to promote the marriage of his son with the young queen, to advance the Reformation, and to keep in custody the eldest son of the Regent. Negotiation succeeded to hostility; and, as the Regent expected assistance from France, and the conspirators had the prospect of support from an English army, both parties were disposed to gain time. A treaty was entered into, and transacted, in which the Regent engaged to procure from Rome an absolution to the conspirators, and to obtain to them, from the three estates, an exemption from prosecutions of every kind. Upon the part of the besieged it was stipulated, that when these conditions were fulfilled, the castle should be surrendered, and the Regent's son be delivered up to him. In the mean time, Henry VIII. died, and a few weeks after, Francis I. paid his debt to nature. But the former, before his death, had recommended the prosecution of the Scottish war, and Henry II. the successor of Francis, was eager to shew his attention to the ancient ally of his nation. When the absolution arrived from Rome, the conspirators refused to consider it as valid; and an expression used by the pope, implying an ab-

* Mr. Henry Balnaves, agent at the court of England for the conspirators, received 1180l. for one half-year's pay to the garrison. Norman Lesly had a pension of 280l. Sir James Kircaldy had 200l. and smaller pensions were allowed to other persons. Burnet, Hist. of the Reformation in England, vol. ii. p. 8.

furdity,

furdity, furnished an apology for their conduct*. They knew that the counsellors of Edward VI. were making vigorous preparations to invade Scotland; they were confident of their present ability to defend themselves; and the advocates for the Reformation encouraged them with hopes and with flattery †.

WHEN the passions of men are agitated, they can find an apology for the worst actions. The favourers of the Reformation, adopting the intolerant maxims of the church, were highly pleased with the assassination of cardinal Beaton; and many of them ventured to congratulate the conspirators upon what was termed their godly deed and enterprize. John Rough, who had formerly been chaplain to the Regent, entered the castle, and joined himself to them. John Knox followed his example, and rose at this time to distinction and eminence. These ministers, under the protection of the conspirators, preached the Reformed doctrines in the castle, and in the town, with greater freedom of language than had been employed on any former occasion. They disputed with the priests, discomfited them with arguments, and triumphed over them with a popular and overbearing eloquence. Knox was successful in a most particular manner. He convinced the people, that the church of Rome had departed from the purity of the apostolic times, in a greater degree than the Jews had degenerated from the ordinances of Moses, in the period when they consented to the death of Jesus Christ.

The Protestants give their sanction to the conspirators.

* The words of the bull excepted against were these, "Remittimus crimen irremissibile."

† Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xv. p. 131. Spotswood, p. 84.

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He silenced every disputant, and confounded all the professors of the university of St. Andrews. The people, pleased with his bold spirit, and elated with the success attending him, were satisfied that he had not only hewn down the branches of popery, but that he had struck a decisive blow at the root of the tree itself. The clergy, defeated, insulted, and ashamed, supplicated the help and assistance of the Regent and his council; and were assured, that the laws of the realm should be put into full execution against heretics*.

The French
navy arrives
before St.
Andrews.

WHILE the Protestants were happy in expressing their contempt and detestation of popery, a navy, consisting of sixteen galleys, under the command of Leon Strozzi, arrived from France. The castle of St. Andrews was invested both by sea and land; and the French troops were skilful in attacking fortified places. Great courage was displayed by the conspirators, but they could not resist long a superior force, directed by knowledge and address; and a plague, or contagious sickness, had broke out in the garrison. A wide breach being made in its walls, the castle surrendered to Leon Strozzi, and honourable conditions were granted to the conspirators. None of them were to lose their lives. They were to be transported, as prisoners, into France; and, if their treatment there did not please them, it was agreed, that they should be conveyed into any other country more agreeable to them, except Scotland, upon the charges of the French king. The spoil of the castle, which was nobly furnished, and in which there was

The castle
capitulates.

* Epist. Rer. Scot. Appendix, p. 381. Knox, p. 75. 77. 83.

treasure

treasure belonging to the cardinal, with the wealth of the besieged, which had been brought to it for security, became the prize of the victors, and was lodged in the French ships. When the prisoners were landed in France, they were used with cruelty, from the hatred entertained against the Protestants. The articles of the capitulation were disregarded. Some of the conspirators were confined in prisons, and others, among whom was John Knox, were sent to work in the galleys. The castle itself, by an order of the Regent and his council, was razed to the ground, upon the pretext, that the canon law commands the defolation of every place where the blood of a cardinal has been spilt; but in reality, that it might not fall into the hands of the king of England, and be retained as a house of strength, to protect his partizans*.

To this blow given to the Protestants, there succeeded the invasion of Scotland by the earl of Hartford, who, in the minority of Edward VI. was chosen protector of England, and created duke of Somerset. It was determined in the English cabinet, that the last hand should be put to the scheme of Henry VIII. and that, if possible, an union of the two kingdoms should be achieved, by the marriage of king Edward and the queen of Scots. His army amounted to eighteen thousand combatants; and a fleet of sixty sail, the one half of which consisted of ships of war, and the other of vessels, loaded with provisions and military stores, facilitated his operations. The Regent was prepared to oppose him, and had assembled forty thousand men.

An English
army invades
Scotland.

* Spotswood, p. 88.

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1547.
The English
commander
invites the
regent to a
peaceful con-
clusion of the
marriage of
the queen of
Scots with
Edward VI.

THE duke of Somerset addressed a letter, or manifesto to the government, in which he pressed the measure of the marriage, and the inseparable connection of the rival states. There was nothing, he said, so hostile to the spirit of Christianity, as injustice and war; peace and quiet were its objects; and, in the present case, political considerations concurred with motives of religion. Nature, by confining the two nations within one island, directed them to be the subjects of one empire. By mutual hostilities they could only hope to weaken each other, and to invite the arms of a foreign enemy. But in their union, and with the protection of the ocean, they had nothing to fear from the most powerful kingdoms. No motive of avarice, or envy, or pride, was the source of the present invasion. A fixed desire of acquiring a perpetual peace was its principle. The marriage of the queen of Scots with the king of England, offered the most effectual means for consolidating tranquillity, and establishing happiness. Former negotiations and treaties had explained the full propriety of this marriage. To give the young queen to another prince could be attended with no such advantages of profit and of honour. The sovereign in her offer was born in the same island, was related to her by blood, and in riches her superior. And the two nations joined already in their territories and dominions, spoke nearly the same language, were governed by similar laws, and accustomed to resembling usages and manners. A total oblivion of ancient animosities would immediately follow the communication of their fortunes. No rivalship would prevail. The fear of injury, and the

the apprehension for its independency, natural to the weaker state, would torture it no longer, nor compel it to constant and enfeebling exertions. It would grow to the fulness of its strength. It was a great glory to Scotland to be solicited to an equal and liberal alliance with a more powerful people. It would be a glory to it still greater, to brighten under the advantages of this new situation; and cultivating the arts of refinement and peace, to advance to the highest point of felicity and splendour which it was capable to attain*.

It seemed expedient to the Regent, and the French faction, that the letter or manifesto of the protector should be suppressed. They were afraid that the nobility and the people might be pleased with its moderation, and receive it with too much respect; and they circulated a report, that the English had come to force away the queen, and to reduce the kingdom to be a dependant province. The duke of Somerset perceived that the sword was to decide this dispute, and advanced to offer battle to the Scottish army. He found it posted in a most advantageous situation, around the villages of Muffelburgh, Inverelk, and Monkton. He could not attempt to bring on an action, with any hope of success, and the Scottish troops might intercept him from his fleet, which was riding in the bay of Muffelburgh. His provisions were nearly exhausted, supplies could not be procured, the Scottish army was more than double to his, and a retreat presented to him every form of danger. He therefore, addressing himself anew

His offers are rejected.

* Buchanan, Hist. Res. Scot. lib. xv. Sir John Hayward, Life and Reign of Edward VI. ap. Kennet, p. 279.

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1547.

to the Regent, proposed terms still more favourable than those of his former manifesto. He declared himself ready to retire into England, and to make ample compensation for the injuries committed by his army, if the Scottish government would promise that the queen should not be contracted to a foreign prince, but should be kept at home till she was of full age to choose a husband to herself, with the consent of the nobility.

The battle
of Pinkey.

THIS new overture confirmed the confidence of the Regent, who now accounted himself secure of victory. The unseasoned courage of his troops increased with the opinion, that the enemy were in distress, and under apprehensions. A few skirmishes, of various success, were preludes to the general engagement. The protector moved towards Pinkey; and the Regent, conceiving that he meant to take refuge in his fleet, changed the strong ground in which he was encamped. He commanded his army to pass the river Esk, and to approach the English forces, which were posted on the middle part of Faside-hill. The earl of Angus led on the van; the main body or the battle marched under the Regent; and the earl of Huntley commanded in the rear. It was the Regent's intention to seize the top of the hill. The lord Grey, to defeat this purpose, charged the earl of Angus, at the head of the English cavalry. They were received upon the points of the Scottish spears, which were longer than the lances of the English horsemen, and put to flight. The earl of Warwick, more successful with his command of infantry, advanced to the attack. The ordnance from the fleet assisted his operations, and a brisk fire from
the

the English artillery, which was planted on a rising-ground, served still more to intimidate the Scottish soldiery. The remaining troops, under the Protector, were moving slowly, and in the best order, to take a share in the engagement. The earl of Angus was not well supported by the Regent and the earl of Huntley. A panic spread itself through the Scottish army. It fled in different ways, presenting a scene of the greatest havoc and confusion. Few perished in the fight; but the chase continuing in one direction to Edinburgh, and in another to Dalkeith, with the utmost fury, a prodigious slaughter was made. The loss of the conquerors did not amount to five hundred men; but ten thousand soldiers perished on the side of the vanquished. A multitude of prisoners were taken, and among these the earl of Huntley, the lord high chancellor*.

AMIDST the consternation of this decisive victory, the duke of Somerset had a full opportunity of effectuating the marriage and union projected by Henry VIII. and on the subject of which such fond anxiety was entertained by the English nation. But the cabals of his enemies threatening his destruction at home, he yielded to the necessities of his private ambition, and marched back into England. He took precautions, however, to secure an entry into Scotland, both by sea and land. A garrison of two hundred men was placed in the isle of St. Columba in the Forth, and two ships of war were left as a guard to it †. A garrison was

The English general neglects to prosecute his victory.

* King Edward's Journal of his own Reign, p. 4, 5. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 33. Sir John Hayward, ap. Kennet, p. 284.

† Thuanus, Hist. sui temporis, lib. iii. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 34.

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also stationed in the castle of Broughty, which was situated in the mouth of the Tay. When he passed through the Merse and Tiviotdale, the leading men of these counties repaired to him, and taking an oath of allegiance to king Edward, surrendered their places of strength. Some of these he demolished, and to others he added new fortifications. Hume castle was garrisoned with two hundred men, and entrusted to Sir Edward Dudley; and he posted three hundred soldiers, with two hundred pioneers, in the castle of Roxburgh, under the command of Sir Ralph Bulmer*.

Scotland prepares to continue the war.

THE Regent, pressed to extremity, turned his eyes towards France, from which alone succours could be expected. Messengers were dispatched to inform Henry II. of the disastrous condition of his ally, and to intreat his assistance. The pride of the nobility increasing with misfortune, urged them to continue the war, and to maintain the rights of the nation against the attempts of an ambitious and haughty enemy. Though the Regent had asked permission from the Protector to treat of peace, he yet avoided to send commissioners to Berwick, where the earl of Warwick was appointed to wait for them. The young queen was lodged, for safety, in the castle of Dunbarton, under the care of the lords Erskine and Livingstone; and the whole nation, roused by the greatness of its danger, thought of nothing but to chastise its enemies, and to recover its honour †.

* Collection of Records in Burnet, vol. ii. No. xi. Spotswood, p. 89.

† Lefly, de Reb. Gest. Scot. ap. Jebb, p. 168.

IT was not long before hostilities were renewed on the part of England. The lord Gray, who was appointed to the lieutenancy of the North, conducted troops into Scotland, fortified Haddington, as a station from which he might annoy the whole kingdom, carried the castles of Yester and Dalkeith, and committed devastations in the Merse, and in the counties of East and Mid Lothian. The Regent, who from the unskilfulness of the Scots engineers, could not retake the castle of Broughty, did not think of laying siege to Haddington till the arrival of the French forces. The impatience with which he expected them was soon gratified. Monsieur de Dese, a general of reputation, landed at Leith, with six thousand soldiers, and a formidable train of artillery. It was instantly resolved to invest Haddington; and eight hundred Scottish horse were ordered to co-operate with the French auxiliaries*.

MEAN while, consultations were held upon the state of public affairs. The defeat at Pinkey had thrown a load of disgrace upon the Regent; and the queen dowager being disposed to supersede his authority, improved this circumstance to his disadvantage. Her mind had begun to open itself to the ambition of governing Scotland without a rival. Her inclination directed her to the firmest union with France; and her interest and stability could best be supported by that kingdom. When succours had been last requested from Henry II. an insinuation was given, that the Dauphin might ob-

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1548.
18 April.An English
army enters
Scotland.

June;

The queen
dowager be-
comes ambi-
tious of
power.
The young
queen is sent
to France.

* Beaugué, History of the Campaigns 1548 and 1549, p. 5.

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1548.

7th July.

tain the young queen in marriage. A parliament being assembled near Haddington, this subject was again considered. The nation, incensed against the obstinate and persevering hostilities of England, and grateful for the repeated services of France, was desirous of a measure which flattered its prejudices. The alliance with England had lost many partizans; and all persons were disgusted with the rude courtship which it had offered to the young queen. To send Mary immediately to France, would remove, it was said, the cause of the present struggles and contentions; and her subsequent marriage with the Dauphin would secure the fullest confidence, and the warmest attachment of the French government. Money aided the operation of argument. Presents to a great value were distributed among the Scottish nobility. The Regent himself was corrupted by a pension of twelve thousand livres, and the title of duke of Chatellerault in France. Monsieur de Ville-gagnon, who commanded four French galleys lying in the harbour of Leith, making a feint as if he intended to proceed instantly for France, tacked about to the north in the open sea, and sailing round the isles, till he reached Dunbarton, received there the young queen, with her attendants; and then conveying her to France, delivered her to her uncles, the princes of Lorraine*.

Military operations.

THE siege of Haddington proceeded slowly, but was conducted with vigour and gallantry. The French and the Scottish troops vied in displaying a determined courage, and in enduring fatigue and hardships. In the

* Buchanan, Hist. Rer. Scot. lib. xv. Lesly de Reb. Gest. Scot. ap. Jebb. p. 169. 170. Black Acts, p. 145. Spotswood, p. 90.

behaviour

behaviour of the besieged there was no less magnanimity and valour. To reinforce the garrison, fifteen hundred horse advanced from Berwick, but an ambuscade being laid for them, they were intercepted, and almost totally destroyed*. Another body of English troops, however, which amounted only to three hundred persons, was more successful. Eluding the vigilance of the Scots and the French, they were able to enter Haddington, and to supply the besieged with ammunition and provisions. The lord Seymour, high admiral of England, made a descent upon Fife with twelve hundred men, and some pieces of artillery, but was driven back to his ships with great slaughter, by James Stuart, natural brother to the young queen, who opposed him at the head of the militia of the county. A second descent was made by him at Montrose; but being equally unsuccessful there, he was obliged to leave Scotland without performing any important or memorable achievement †.

HAVING collected an army of seventeen thousand men, and adding to it three thousand German protestants, the Protector put it under the direction of the earl of Shrewsbury. Upon the approach of the English, Dessé, though he had been reinforced with fifteen thousand Scots, thought it prudent to retreat, and not to hazard a decisive battle. He raised the siege of Haddington, and marched to Edinburgh. The earl of Shrewsbury neglected to attack him during his retreat, and did not follow him to force an engagement; and

The siege of Haddington is raised. Discontents arise between the Scots and the French.

* King Edward's Journal, p. 5. Sir John Hayward, ap. Kennet, p. 291.

† Burnet, vol. ii. p. 83.

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1548.

in both cases he has been censured as deficient in address. For jealousies had arisen between the Scots and the French. The insolence and vanity of the latter, encouraged by their superior skill in military arts, had offended the quick and impatient spirit of the former. The fretfulness of the Scots was augmented by the calamities inseparable from war; and after the conveyance of the young queen to France, the efficacious and peculiar advantage conferred upon that kingdom by this transaction was fully understood, and appeared to them to be highly disgraceful and impolitic. In this state of their humour Dese found not at Edinburgh the reception he expected. The quartering of his soldiers produced disputes, which ended in an insurrection of the inhabitants. The French yielding to their impetuosity, fired among the citizens. Several persons of distinction fell, and among these were the provost of Edinburgh and his son. The national discontents and inquietudes were driven, by this event, to the most dangerous extremity; and Dese, who was a man of ability, thought of giving employment to his troops, and of flattering the people, by the splendor of some martial exploit*.

New operations of war.

THE earl of Shrewsbury, after supplying Haddington with troops, provisions, and military stores, retired with his army into England. Its garrison, in the enjoyment of security, and unsuspecting of danger, might be surprized and overpowered. Marching in the night, Dese reached this important post, and destroying a fort

* Beaugué, Hist. of the Campaigns 1548 and 1549, p. 68. Lesly, de Reb. Gest. Scot. ap. Jebb. p. 172.

of observation, prepared to storm the main gates of the city, when the garrison took the alarm. A French deserter pointing a double cannon to the thickest ranks of the assailants, the shot was incredibly destructive, and threw them into confusion. In the height of their consternation, a vigorous sally was made by the besieged. Deseffé, repulsed but not dispirited, renewed the assault in the morning, and was again discomfited. He now turned his arms against Broughty castle, and, though unable to reduce it, he yet recovered the neighbouring town of Dundee, which had fallen into the possession of the enemy. Hume castle was retaken by stratagem. Deseffé entered Jedburgh, and put its garrison to the sword. Encouraged by this success, he ravaged the English borders in different incursions, and obtained several petty victories. Leith, which from a small village had grown into a town, was fortified by him; and the island of Inchkeith, which is nearly opposite to that harbour, being occupied by English troops, he undertook to expel them, and made them prisoners, after a brisk encounter*.

His activity and valour could not, however, compose the discontents of the Scottish nation; and the queen dowager having written to Henry II. to recall him, he was succeeded in his command by Monsieur de Thermes, who was accompanied into Scotland by Monluc bishop of Valence, a person highly esteemed for his address and ability. This ecclesiastic was designed to supply the loss of cardinal Beaton, and to

* King Edward's Journal, p. 6. *L'Esty de Reb. Gest. Scot.* ap. Jebb. p. 174, 175. Beaugué, *Hist. of the Campaigns 1548 and 1549*, p. 69. 71. 73.

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1548.

discharge the office of lord high chancellor of Scotland. But the jealousies of the nation increasing, and the queen dowager herself suspecting his ambition and turbulence, he attained not this dignity, and soon returned to his own country*.

1549.
Continuation
of hostilities.

DE THERMES brought with him from France a reinforcement of one thousand foot, two hundred horse, and a hundred men at arms. He erected a fort at Aberlady, to distress the garrison of Haddington, and to intercept its supplies of provision. At Coldingham he destroyed a troop of Spaniards in the English pay. Fast-castle was regained by surprize. Distractions, mean while, in the English court, did not permit the Protector to act vigorously in the war. The earl of Warwick was diverted from marching an army into Scotland. An infectious distemper had broke out in the garrison at Haddington; and an apprehension prevailed, that it could not hold out for any length of time against the Scots. The earl of Rutland, therefore, with a body of troops, entered the town, and after setting fire to it, conducted the garrison and artillery to Berwick. The Regent, in the possession of Haddington, was solicitous to recover the other places which were yet in the power of the English. De Thermes laid siege to Broughty castle, and took it. He laid siege to Lawder; and the garrison was about to surrender at discretion, when the news arrived, that a peace was concluded in the plains of Picardy, between France, England, and Scotland †.

* Thuanus, Hist. sui temporis, lib. v.

† Lesly, de Reb. Gest. Scot, ap. Jebb. p. 178, 179.

THE king of France, availing himself of the Scottish war, and the domestic disturbances of England, had taken arms to recover Boulogne and the territory which had been wrested from his crown by Henry VIII. Many places yielded to him; and the Protector Somerset was in no condition to stop his progress. Charles V. declined to assist England upon the pretence, that it maintained no longer any connexion with the church of Rome. The queen of Scots being removed into France, there was no subject for farther hostility with the Scottish nation. The exchequer of England was exhausted; the Protector was infinitely distressed to support the authority he had usurped; and the earl of Warwick, who defeated him by his intrigues, and rose to power upon his fall, being pressed with the difficulties of his own situation, was sufficiently eager to engage in a negotiation with France and Scotland. The articles of the peace were soon settled. Henry II. obtained the restitution of Boulogne and its dependencies for the sum of four hundred thousand crowns. A free trade was opened between France, England, and Scotland. No opposition was to be given to the marriage of the Dauphin with the queen of Scots. The fortresses of Lawder and Dunghlas were to be restored to Scotland; and the English were to demolish the castles of Roxburgh and Aymouth*.

1549.
Peace between France,
England, and
Scotland.

1550.

After the ratification of this treaty upon the part of Scotland by Thomas lord Erskine, who was sent to England for that purpose, the queen dowager prepared to make a visit to the French court. She embarked

The queen dowager wishes to obtain the regency, and goes to France.

* Rymer, Fœdera, vol. xv. p. 211. 217.

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1550.
September.

at Leith with Leon Strozzi, who commanded a stout squadron of French ships. Many of the nobility attended her, and gave a splendour to her equipage and retinue. To the king of France she opened her design of obtaining the government of Scotland. The services she had rendered to his kingdom, her hostility to England, and the influence of her brothers, the princes of Lorraine, were all arguments in her favour; and Henry was sensible that by promoting her views he would consult the best interests of France. The people of Scotland, however, having, of late, imbibed a passionate jealousy of the French, the utmost delicacy and art were necessary to accomplish this project. To remove the Regent by a strong act of power might not only endanger the present elevation of the queen dowager, but fix a perpetual bar to obstruct it in any future period. To win him to an abdication of his high office was difficult, but not impossible. Intrigues to effectuate this important purpose were entered into; and to their success the Regent himself contributed in a considerable degree, by engaging in transactions which gave the killing wound to his popularity.

The renewal
of the persecutions.

THOUGH the arrogance of the French soldiery had disgusted the Scots, and the impatience of temper common to the two nations, had widened the breach, yet the chief cause of the jealousies which animated the people of Scotland is to be traced to motives of religion. The firm hold which the protestant doctrines had taken of their affections, communicated to them a horror of popery; and they justly considered the French

as

as warmly interested to maintain the ancient superstitions of the church. Nor did the Regent remove their suspicions. The peace was hardly proclaimed, when he provoked the public resentment by an action of sanguinary insolence. During the continuance of the war a relaxation of the ecclesiastical discipline had prevailed. While an uncertain contest was maintained with a protestant prince, maxims of selfishness and prudence did not allow the clergy to be intolerant. The Reformation having therefore extended itself, and the preachers of the new doctrines having exerted a successful activity to controvert the tenets of popery, the Regent, and his brother, the archbishop of St. Andrews, now thought it expedient to employ in their defence the last extremity of power. Adam Wallace, a man of simple manners, but of great zeal for the Reformation, was accused of heresy, and brought to trial in the church of the Black Friars at Edinburgh. In the presence of the Regent, the earls of Angus, Huntley, Glencairn, and other persons of distinction and rank, he was charged with preaching without any authority of law, with baptizing one of his own children, and with denying the doctrine of purgatory; and it was strenuously objected to him, that he accounted prayers to the faints and the dead to be an useless superstition, that he had pronounced the mass to be an idolatrous service, and that he had affirmed that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration, do not change their nature, but continue to be bread and wine. These offences were esteemed too terrible to admit of any

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1550.

The tyranny
of the re-
gent.

pardon. The earl of Glencairn, alone, protested against his punishment. The pious sufferer bore with resignation the contumelious insults of the clergy; and by his courage and patience at the stake, gave a sanction to the opinions he had embraced*.

OTHER actions of atrocity and violence stained the administration of the Regent. In his own palace, William Crichton, a man of family and reputation, was assassinated by the lord Semple. No attempt was made to punish the murderer. His daughter was the concubine of the archbishop of St. Andrews, and her tears and intreaties were more powerful than justice. John Melvil, a person respectable by his birth and his fortune, had written to an English gentleman, recommending to his care a friend, who at that time was a captive in England. This letter contained no improper information in matters of state, and no suspicion of any crime against Melvil could be inferred from it. Yet the Regent brought him to trial upon a charge of high treason; and, for an act of humanity and friendship, he was condemned to lose his head. A transaction followed this outrage, which, by pointing to its cause, places it in a light the most base and criminal. The estate of Melvil, forfeited to his family, was given to David, the youngest son of the Regent †. Such stretches of power went home to every man's feelings and understanding.

Intrigues to
undermine
the regent.

AMIDST the pleasures and amusements of the French court, the queen dowager was not inattentive to the

* Knox, p. 69. Spotswood, p. 90. † Buchanan, Hist. Rer. Scot. lib. xv.

scheme of ambition which she had projected. All the assistance in the power of Henry II. was at her command. The earls of Huntley and Sutherland, Marishal and Caffilis, with the lord Maxwel, and other persons of eminence, who had accompanied her to France, were gained over to her interests. Robert Carnegie of Kinnaird, David Panter, bishop of Ross, and Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning, being also at this time in that kingdom, and having the greatest weight with the Regent, were treated with a most punctilious respect. Henry declared to them his earnest wish that the queen dowager might attain the government of Scotland. In case the Regent should consent to this measure, he expressed a firm intention, that no detriment should happen to his consequence and affairs; and he desired them to inform him, that he had already confirmed his title of duke of Chatellerault, had advanced his son to be captain of the Scots gendarmes in France, and was ready to tender other marks of favour to his family and relations. Upon this business, and with this message, Mr. Carnegie was dispatched to Scotland. A few days after, he was followed by the bishop of Ross, who being a man of eloquence and authority, was able, though with great difficulty, to persuade the Regent to a resignation of his high office; and for this service he obtained, as a recompence, an abbey in Poitou. The queen dowager, full of hopes, prepared to return to Scotland*.

* Lesly de Reb. Gest. Scot. ap. Jebb. p. 182. Buchanan, Hist. Rer. Scot. lib. xvi.

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 1551.
 Ecclesiastical
 affairs.

THE Regent, in the mean time, continued to oppose the progress of the Reformation. An act of parliament was passed for holding the subjects of Scotland in the true and catholic faith, by forfeiting to the crown the moveable goods of all persons who, being accursed or excommunicated, should delay to reconcile themselves to the holy church †. A provincial synod was also celebrated by the archbishop of St. Andrews, which had in view the promotion of the ecclesiastical discipline. It confirmed some canons which had been formerly enacted, to remove the two great sources of the Reformation, the profane lewdness of the established clergy, and their gross ignorance of all learning and science. It framed new regulations to enforce the same ends, and it commanded the publication of a catechism, which had been drawn up for the advantage and instruction of the priesthood*.

IN

† Black Acts, p. 147.

* In a work like the present, which is confined to a particular nation, and meant to be purely historical, it is sufficient to have alluded in general terms to the great and original causes of the Reformation †. They are chiefly to be traced in the corruptions of the Romish church with regard to theology, to ecclesiastical forms, and to the manners of the clergy. Upon this subject there are excellent observations in the writings of Father Paul, Mr. Hume, and other authors of eminence; but I believe it has not been treated, with high ability, in any regular and complete performance. Such a publication, however, could not fail of being instructive and entertaining in the highest degree. With respect to that depravity of manners in the Romish priesthood, which gave so much offence to the Scottish Reformers, there are very strong and remarkable descriptions in old books; and a few extracts from them may be acceptable to the enquiring reader.

“ Jam sacerdotes & clerici omnem Dei metum postponentes, ut mimi aut scurrones vivunt, & scurrilia loquuntur: ea quæ increpant vitia loquuntur, & a se removeri non sinunt. Concubinas in pluribus locis non verentur palam secum

‡ See the Introductory Paragraphs to this volume.

“ fovere

IN her way to Scotland, the queen dowager made use of a safe conduct * obtained from Edward VI. by Henry II. and landed at Portsmouth. Her reception and entertainment were splendid and noble †. The young king had not yet forgot her beautiful daughter,

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1551.
2 Novem.
The queen
dowager re-
turns to Scot-
land.

“ fovere in domibus, ut spurcitiā feminent, ne fructus eorum marescant : de quibus potius gloriantur quam erubescunt : inebriantur, male loquuntur, cum tesseris ludunt : vix autem unquam statuta jejunia Ecclesiæ jejulant, juramenta violant, privilegiis clericorum se tumentur, non ad virtutes exercendas sed ut liberius absque metu vitia continent, & mala malis accumulunt : convivia quotidiana diligunt, bibunt ad vomitus, pugnant, rixantur, stultilogia fantur, mentiuntur, instabiles, nullum bonum propositum habentes : indevote, corrupte, & male orant : imò multi nihil orant : inconfessi celebrant, præcipue multi Pharisæi : confessa produnt, justè viventes odiunt, & verbis ac factis quantum possunt persequuntur : devotos contemnunt & derident, justis obloquuntur, viduas & pupillos cum citationibus & banno lædunt : interdicitis eorum parochias confundunt, & pauperes cum eisdem opprimunt : cum incautis contendunt, ut eis male dicatur. Unde occasionem citandi & tribulandi sumunt & exercent. Emunt & vendunt velut mercatores temporalia & spiritualia : licet circumlocutionibus simoniam cooperire intendunt, Simoniacè beneficia & sacros ordines possident, & suscipiunt seu assequuntur.” Hermanni Ryd de Reen Tractatus de Vita & Honestate Clericorum.

“ Insuper luxuriosissimi sunt omnes, fornicatores, adulteri, incestuosi, omni genere gulositatis summe gulosi, & ut breviter transeat omni genere flagitii, facinoris, abominationis & novæ in his adinventiois, secundum dictum prophetæ, coinquinati : Deo & curiæ cœlesti summe abominabiles & odibiles effecti ; quia per ipsos nomen Dei in omnibus gentibus blasphematur.” Sermo R. Grossetest Episc. Lincoln.

“ Concubinitus in clero tam publicè & solemniter, & meretrices illic tam pretiosè vestiuntur & tantum honorantur, quasi sic vivere utriusque sexui non sit vitiosum vel inhonestum, sed honorabile & gloriosum. Ita ut curtesani sic vivere consueti, etiam alias partes inficiant, & inducant in eas etiam eandem pestiferam consuetudinem, & potius corruptelam. Vix est aliquis tam sceleratus aut scandalosus, qui ad celebrandum divinum officium non admittatur. Vix est aliquis tam sceleratus & miser cui sacri ordines denegentur.” Matthæus de Cracovia de Squaloribus Romanæ Curie. See Append. ad Fasciculum Rerum expendarum & fugiendarum, p. 142. 252. 585.

* Rymer, Fœdera, vol. xv. p. 264.

† King Edward's Journal, p. 38, 39.

and

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and did not fail to urge his superiority of claim to her over the Dauphin. All the advantages of their intended marriage, the force of his early love, and its cruel disappointment, were set before her. Avoiding to enter seriously upon this topic, she hinted a disapprobation of the violence of the duke of Somerset, and expressed a regret, that the queen of Scots had been courted by arms and war, instead of caresses and tenderness. Two days after holding this conversation, she left London, and proceeded to the borders of Scotland. By the earl of Bothwell, the lord Hume, and other nobles, she was received near Berwick, and conducted to Edinburgh, amidst the acclamations of the people, who every where testified the utmost satisfaction for her return*.

1552.

The regent holds justice-courts, and harrasses the people.

THE queen dowager, who was naturally affable and insinuating, was disposed, at this period, to be more than usually attentive in her demeanour. And the Regent having projected a judicial circuit through the kingdom, an opportunity was afforded to her of exercising all her arts of allurements and address. The pretence of this circuit was, the repression of disorders, and the punishment of crimes. But the Regent, misguided by his brother, and covering bad purposes with honourable names, presumed to molest the people by plunder and rapine. The innocent and the guilty were subjected alike to his rapacity. Great fines were levied for pretended as well as real offences; and the Protestants, in particular, seemed in an uncommon degree to draw his remark and severity. In this progress

* Sir John Hayward, p. 324. Lesly, de Reb. Gest. Scot. ap. Jebb. p. 183.

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he was accompanied by the queen dowager, who was indefatigable in paying a studied and flattering civility to the nobles and principal men in the different counties through which they passed. It was impossible not to contrast their behaviour. His tyranny, giddiness, and injustice, excited contempt and abhorrence. Her high rank and beauty, her accomplishments and courtesy, won to her the most general confidence and affection *.

It was now time to remind the Regent of his engagements to the queen dowager; and the bishop of Ross, to whom they had been made, laid claim to their execution. But the possession of power was too bewitching to be abandoned without a pang. The Regent was now struck with all its charms, and wondered at the preposterous promise he had given. The conditions held out to him for parting with authority, which he himself had approved of as advantageous and alluring, appeared to be trifling considerations, when compared with the grandeur which he was to lose. The courage and magnanimity with which superior spirits pass from greatness and a public station, to retirement and a private life, were no parts of his character. He wished anxiously to forego his engagements, and to continue in the regency. His brother, the archbishop, who had been dangerously ill of a dropsy when he was enticed to consent to the resignation of his honours, fortified him in his design to maintain them.

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1553.

He is urged
to resign his
high office.

* Ledly, ad Reg. Scot. Gest. ap. Jebb, p. 185.

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He assured him of the full support of the clergy ; and the Regent thought of upholding his importance by intrigues and policy. But his importance had already forsaken him, and his popularity was utterly decayed. The young queen had chosen the king of France, the duke of Guise, and the cardinal of Lorraine, to be her curators. These curators devolved all their authority upon the queen dowager. The nobility had joined themselves to her faction. The people, insulted and fatigued with his government, desired her elevation, as the greatest advantage that could befall them. His irrefolute and feeble mind passed from obstinacy to terror. It was suggested to him, that a parliamentary inquiry might be made into the errors of his administration. He looked around him, and could see nothing but hostility and danger. Haunted with apprehensions, and solicitous to secure the conditions once in his power, he went to Stirling to the queen dowager, and in a solemn manner expressed his willingness to execute the resignation of his office. She professed the utmost readiness to enter into an accommodation and agreement. It was stipulated, that he should succeed to the crown upon the death of the queen without issue ; that his son should continue in the command of the gendarmes ; that no inquiry should be made into his expenditure of the royal treasures ; that no account should be taken of his government ; and that he should enjoy, in the amplest manner, his duchy and pension. A parliament was assembled, and these articles were ratified. The royal crown, the sword, and the

The queen dowager obtains the regency.

the sceptre being surrendered by the Regent, were delivered to the queen dowager, by the authority of the three estates, and by the mandate of the young queen, with the consent of her curators, the king of France, the duke of Guise, and the cardinal of Lorraine. With all this anxiety and artifice, the queen dowager advanced herself to dominion, and inquietude, and cares.

BOOK I.

1553.

THE
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E F O R M A T I O N O F R E L I G I O N
I N
S C O T L A N D.
B O O K I I.

Book II.

1554.
The queen
regent enters
upon her ad-
ministration.

MARY of Lorraine, the queen dowager, did not preserve long the popular affection which had facilitated her advancement to the regency. Her attachments to France were open and avowed. To her brothers, the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, she was obsequious beyond all measure of propriety. To Monsieur D'Oysel, the ambassador from the king of France, whom they entreated her to regard as an able and a faithful minister, she paid too scrupulous an attention. Her moderation of temper, and her prudence fitted her admirably for government; and even her indifference on the subject of religion might, in a political

political view, be esteemed a virtue in times of controversy and disputation. But ruling by councils, not her own, she exposed her character to suspicion, and multiplied the difficulties and the enormities of her administration.

BOOK II.

1554.

THE first action which she performed was not merely impolitic, but even wildly imprudent. Disregarding the Scottish statesmen, she filled several offices of distinction with French gentlemen. One Vilmort was made comptroller of the royal revenues; Rubay was appointed keeper of the great seal, and vice-chancellor; and Bonot was promoted to the government of the Orkneys, a place of high profit*. The nobility of Scotland bore this contempt of their order with an indignant astonishment and silence. But the flame, though suppressed, could not be extinguished. It was to burst forth with the greater violence.

Promotions.

THE Reformation had hitherto flourished under hardships. But a bigness of danger seemed now to threaten its destruction. The Queen Regent was a papist; and the death of Edward VI. having opened the succession of England to queen Mary, that furious bigot had already restored the Roman Catholic superstitions. These circumstances, however, so terrible in appearance, were productive of advantages to the Reformed. They were admonished to unanimity and watchfulness; and many English Protestants, dreading the rage of persecution, took refuge in Scotland. Among these there were several preachers, who abound-

Advances of
the Reforma-
tion.

* Thuanus, Hist. sui Temp. lib. xvii. Lessy de Reb. Gest. Scot. ap. Jebb, p. 189.

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BOOK II.

1554.

ing in the learning, and skilled in the controversies of the times, were successful in promoting the doctrines of the Reformation, and in cementing the union of the Reformed. The Protestants, conscious of their strength, began to consider themselves as a body, and to look out for a leader. They were too numerous and too determined to be opposed without danger; and their importance did not escape the penetrating eyes of the nobles.

State of the church.

By the removal of the earl of Arran from power, the church had declined in its strength. For, the archbishop of St. Andrews, disgusted with the disgrace of his brother, had taken the line of opposition to the Queen Regent. She punished him with neglect, and by degrading him from the office of lord high treasurer, which she conferred upon the earl of Caillis*. He was thus inflamed still more in his animosity; and being possessed of address and capacity, he was able to carry the clergy into his views.

1555.

The queen regent enacts beneficial laws, and attends to the execution of justice.

AFTER promoting her foreign counsellors, the Queen Regent assembled a parliament, and applied herself to advance the internal tranquillity of her kingdom. Accustomed to the maxims and the policy of a more cultivated state, they explained to her the advantages of legislation, and inculcated the strict enforcement of justice. Many laws of high moment were enacted by her †; and while she made a progress herself through the southern provinces of the kingdom, to hold justiciary courts, she endeavoured to introduce order and law into the western countries and isles; first, by the

* Crawford, Officers of State, p. 382.

† Black Acts.

earl of Huntley, and afterwards by the earls of Argyle and Athole, to whom she granted commissions for this purpose with effectual powers*.

IN another improvement, which the Queen Regent attempted by the advice of her French council, the manners and genius of the nation were not sufficiently consulted. There are precautions and institutions of great utility in themselves, which do not suit particular conditions of society, and which politicians and statesmen cannot establish with propriety or success, till circumstances and time have pointed out and illustrated their expediency. Though a standing army had been long familiar to the French, there could be nothing so impracticable as its introduction at this time into Scotland, which was governed by the free and peculiar maxims of the feudal law †. Yet the Queen Regent was induced to venture the experiment. It was proposed that the possessions of every proprietor of land in the kingdom should be valued and entered into registers; and that a proportional payment should be made by each. The application of this fund was to maintain a regular and standing body of soldiers. This guard or army, it was urged, being at all times in readiness to march against an enemy, would protect effectually the frontiers; and there would no longer be any necessity for the nobles to be continually in motion on every rumour of hostility or incursion from English invaders. No art, however, or argument, could recommend these measures.

1556.
A standing
army is pro-
jected.

* Lesly de Reb. Gest. Scot. ap. Jebb, p. 190, 191.

† Observations concerning the Public Law and the Constitutional History of Scotland, chap. iii.

Book II. A perpetual tax and a standing army were conceived
 1556. to be the genuine characteristics of despotism. All ranks of men considered themselves to be insulted and abused; and three hundred tenants of the crown assembling at Edinburgh, and giving way to their indignation, sent their remonstrances to the Queen Regent in a strong and expressive language.

Remonstrances
 against it.

THEY informed her, that their ancestors had been able not only to protect Scotland, but to acquire renown by carrying their arms into England. They were not degenerated from their ancestors; and England was now less powerful. No necessity existed for a humiliating taxation, and for bands of mercenaries. The lives and estates of all the landed proprietors of the nation were at its call. Soldiers, allured with pay, had no sentiment of honour. It was a wild infatuation to confide in them in preference to men who fought for every thing that was most dear to them, their country, their reputation, their families, their fortunes. Money was a feeble tie of duty, and the service it bought was cold and languid. And, if mercenaries, when they achieved their best, were ineffectual and without zeal as a defence and a barrier, it ought to be remembered that this defence or this barrier, weak as it was, could not be relied upon as certain and secure. A higher bribe could compass its treachery; and the kings of England knew how to apply their treasures. In consenting to the elevation of the Queen Regent, they had expressed the good opinion they entertained of her; but whatever confidence they might repose in the rectitude of her intentions, they were not sure that this
 tax,

tax, and this army, for which she was so anxious, would not be abused by their own princes. From such innovations the most destructive calamities might proceed. They respected their constitution as sacred; and in its stability they acknowledged a decisive proof of the wisdom with which it had been framed. They could not, therefore, submit to any mockery of its forms, and were not disposed to surrender any of their natural or political rights. If the fundamental principles of their compact and union were invaded, they would yield to the duties which they owed to themselves and to posterity; and drawing their swords, would employ them to uphold that venerable fabric, which had been built and cemented by the valour and the blood of their ancestors*.

THESE vigorous remonstrances had a proper effect upon the Queen Regent. But though she abandoned this dangerous project, the attempt she had made left a melancholy impression in the minds of the people. They suspected her to be a secret enemy to their government and liberties; and they were convinced that Henry II. was engaging her in refinements and artifices, that he might reduce Scotland to be a province of France.

WHILE an alarm about their civil rights was spreading itself among the people, the Protestants were rising daily in their spirit and in their hopes. John Knox †, whose courage had been confirmed by misfortunes,

The Protestants discover a formidable spirit. John Knox distinguishes himself.

* Buchanan, Hist. Rer. Scot. lib. xvi.

† When he was sent to France with the conspirators against cardinal Beaton, he was confined to the galleys; but had obtained his liberty in the latter end of the year 1549.

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1556.

and whose talents had improved by exercise, was at this time making a progress through Scotland. The characteristic peculiarities of popery were the favourite topics of his declamation and censure. He treated the mass, in particular, with the most sovereign contempt, representing it as a remnant of idolatry. The utmost abhorrence of it was extended every where by his sermons and conversation. The exemplary carriage of the man, his zeal, his sincerity, his boldness, attracted the curiosity of all, and fixed the respect and admiration of the pious. Many of the nobility and gentry afforded him countenance and protection. They invited him to preach at their houses, and they partook with him in the ordinances of religion after the Reformed method. Religious societies and assemblies were held publicly, in defiance of the church; and celebrated preachers were courted with assiduity and bribes, to reside and officiate in particular districts and towns*.

15 May.

The clergy, who beheld the conduct of Mr. Knox with a concern mixed with surprize, cited him to appear before them at Edinburgh, in the church of the Black-friars. He did not neglect their citation; and upon the appointed day presented himself, with a numerous attendance of gentlemen, who were determined to exert themselves in his behalf. The priesthood did not choose to proceed in his prosecution; and Mr. Knox, encouraged by this symptom of their fear, took the resolution to explain and inculcate his doctrines repeatedly and openly, in the capital city of Scotland.

* Knox, p. 99, 100.

Immense crowds assembling to be edified by his knowledge and example, augmented his zeal and their own.

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It was at this period, that the earl of Glencairn allured the earl Marishal to hear the exhortations of this celebrated preacher; and they were so much affected with his reasonings and rhetoric, that they requested him to address the Queen Regent upon the subject of the Reformation of religion. He complied with a desire so flattering to him, in a letter to herself, expressed in terms more forcible than pleasing; and the earl of Glencairn delivered it with his own hand, in the expectation that some advantage might in this manner be obtained for the Reformed. But the Queen Regent was no less offended with the freedom of the nobleman than the preacher; and, after perusing the paper, she gave it to James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, with an expression of disdain, "Here, my lord, is a pasquil."

AMIDST these occupations, Mr. Knox received an invitation to take the charge of the English congregation at Geneva, which he accepted. His departure from Scotland, however, though it pleased the clergy, did not extinguish their resentment. With a dastardly spirit, they called upon him, in his absence, to appear before them, condemned him to death as a heretic, and ordered him to be burned in effigy*.

THOUGH many symptoms prognosticated a disastrous and turbulent government to the Queen Regent, she

The queen regent is desirous of a war with England.

* Spotswood, p. 94. Buchanan Hist. Rev. Scot. lib. xvi.

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discovered little anxiety to secure the affections of the people. War having been declared between France and Spain, Mary queen of England was preparing to send forces into Flanders, to assist her husband Philip II. The king of France expected, upon this occasion, the aid of Scotland; and the Queen Regent assembling a parliament in the monastery of Newbottle, desired the concurrence of the three estates to a declaration of hostilities against England. But amidst the jealousies entertained of the French, and in the absence of all urgent motives for war, her request was received with disgust. She desisted not, however, from her purpose; and what her influence could not gain, she attempted to effectuate by artifice. By the advice of her French counsellors, she ordered Monsieur d'Oysel to rebuild the fortifications at Aymouth, which had been dismantled in consequence of the late treaty of peace with England. The English garrison at Berwick, to prevent this business, and to chastise this perfidiousness, made an inroad into Scotland. The Scottish nobles were offended, and what their wisdom had refused to the Queen Regent, was granted by their passions. A herald was sent to denounce war against the Queen of England; and a proclamation was issued for collecting a great body of troops. Several successful incursions into the English borders were made by the earl of Huntley, and a formidable army advanced to Kelso under the earl of Arran. While the indignation, however, of the nobility was dying away, Monsieur D'Oysel, without orders from the general, but with the connivance of the Queen Regent, passed the Tweed with the French ordnance and troops, and

and laid siege to Werk Castle. This impetuosity, which was meant to hasten the movements of the Scottish nobles, produced the opposite effect. They considered it as a stretch of unpardonable insolence; and new fuel being added to their jealousies, they insisted to treat this officer as an enemy to their nation. In marching to the frontier, and in discovering their readiness to defend their country against invaders, they had done what they conceived to be their duty. But, without knowing fully the views of the Queen Regent, and the causes of the war, they did not choose to carry their arms into England, and could conceive no controlling necessity for a step so important and so hazardous. The Queen Regent was glad to recall Monsieur D'Oysel with disgrace; and being struck with shame for her want of consequence, she disbanded an army, which could not be engaged in any effectual service to the French king*.

THE injurious treatment of Mr. Knox neither obstructed the ambition nor the rivalry of the other preachers. William Harlaw and John Willocks, Paul Methven and John Douglas, upheld the zeal and the courage of the Protestants. They kept their councils and conventions with regularity and firmness. Desertions were made from Popery in every town and village; and even many members of the church, both secular and regular, were forward to embrace the principles of the Reformation, and to atone for their past mistakes by the bitterest raileries against the corrup-

1557.
Progress of
the Reformation.

* Pere Daniel, Histoire de France, tome v. p. 599.

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tions and the folly of the Romish faith. The ardour of the populace broke out in acts of outrage and violence. The priests were treated in all places with an indecent ridicule and contempt. The images, crucifixes, and reliques, which served to rouse the decaying fervours of superstition, were stolen from the churches, and trampled under foot. The bishops, provoked and vindictive, but afraid to indulge in persecutions, called aloud to the Queen Regent to punish the preachers, for assembling the people in illegal conventions, and for acts of mutiny and sedition. Citations were given to the preachers to appear in their defence. They obeyed the order of the Queen Regent, but with such a formidable retinue, that it was with difficulty she was permitted to apologize for her conduct. James Chalmers of Gairgirth, pressing forward from the crowd, addressed himself to her: "We vow to God, that the devices of the prelates shall not be carried into execution. We are oppressed to maintain them in their idleness. They seek to undo and murder our preachers and us; and we are determined to submit no longer to this wickedness." The assembled multitude applauding his speech, put their hands to their daggers*.

Leaders of
eminence
take the di-
rection of the
Protestants.

IN the feebleness of the government, and in their own growing power, the Protestants found an encouragement to attempt a legal establishment of the Reformation. The earl of Glencairn, the lord Lorn, John Erskine of Dun, and James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, offered themselves to be the leaders of the faith-

*. Spotswood, p. 95. Buchanan, Hist. Rev. Scot. lib. xvi.

ful. The conduct of the Protestants was soon to become less irregular and desultory. Policy and address were joined to zeal and argument; and already the foundations were laid of great events.

THAT the leaders of the faithful might be able to acquire the fullest confidence of the people, and act with the greatest weight and authority, it was necessary that they should possess and command the assistance and efforts of some distinguished preacher. John Knox was possessed of all the qualifications which they could desire in an assistant of this kind; and dispatching a trusty messenger to Geneva, they had invited him to return to his own country. But in the infancy of their connection, being apprehensive of one another, being uncertain in their counsels, or being deserted by persons upon whom they had relied, it appeared to them that they had adopted this measure without a due preparation; and by opposite dispatches, Mr. Knox was requested to delay his journey for some time.

To this zealous Reformer their unsteadiness was a matter of serious affliction; and in the answer he transmitted to their letters, he rebuked them with severity; but amidst the correction he bestowed, he neglected not to employ topics of blandishment and hope. He entreated them not to faint under their purposes, from apprehensions of danger. This, he said, was to separate themselves from the favour of God, and to provoke his vengeance. The enterprize they had undertaken was the greatest in which they could possibly be engaged. Their country was in a miserable state of oppression; the bodies and the souls of the people being

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They invite
John Knox to
return to
Scotland.

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ing holden in bondage. The Reformation of religion, and of public wrongs, was a general concern, and not the exclusive business of potentates and clergymen. In the cause which they had embraced, they ought to be fervent and strenuous. The Almighty, speaking to their consciences, called upon them to hazard their lives for the deliverance of their nation. Were they to prefer their worldly rest to the glory of God? or the friendship of the wicked to the salvation of their brethren? They ought to yield without reserve to the greatness of the motives which animated them; and while they were to receive honour, and tribute, and homage upon earth, they might expect eternal joy and comfort in the heavens*.

The first covenant.

His impatient and sanguine temper was fully gratified in the success of his exhortation. He had written other addresses to particular persons; and to all of them the greatest attention was paid. The favourable opportunity of prosecuting their schemes was seized by the leaders of the Protestants. A formal bond of agreement, which obtained the appellation of *the First Covenant*, was entered into, and all the more eminent persons who favoured the Reformation were invited to subscribe it. The earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Morton, with the lord Lorn, and John Erskine of Dun, led the way, by giving it the sanction of their names. All the subscribers to this deed, renouncing the superstitions and idolatry of the church of Rome, promised to apply continually their whole power and wealth, and

* Knox, p. 107. 110.

even to give up their lives, to forward and establish the word of God. They distinguished the Reformed, by calling them the Congregation of Christ; and by the opprobrious title of the Congregation of Satan, they peculiarized the favourers of popery*.

IN the mean while, the Queen Regent, conscious of her precarious authority, was eager to hasten the marriage of her daughter with the Dauphin. She fondly imagined, that the investiture of the crown of Scotland in the son of the king of France, would advance rapidly her interests, bind the two nations in a cordial union, and enable her to conduct her administration with a power and vigour which the Reformers could not hope to resist with success, any more than the House of Hamilton. To Henry II. she had written in a pressing strain upon this subject; and though the Queen's marriage met with some opposition in the court of France, the princes of Lorraine triumphed over every difficulty. The French monarch presented, by his ambassador, a letter to the three estates of Scotland, expressing his satisfaction in the approaching marriage of his son with the Queen of Scots, and requesting that proper persons of rank and consideration should be deputed to Paris, to be present at the solemnity, and to assist in managing the articles and conventions of the alliance. Deputies, accordingly, or commissioners, were chosen in parliament to represent the nation, or the three estates of the kingdom. These were, James Beaton archbishop of Glasgow, David Panter bishop of

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The Queen Regent urges the marriage of the queen of Scots with the dauphin.

Commissioners are appointed to transact this business.

* COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. II.

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Rofs, and Robert Reid bishop of Orkney ; George Lesly earl of Rothes, and Gilbert Kennedy earl of Cassilis ; James lord Fleming, and George lord Seton ; James Stuart prior of St. Andrews, and John Erskine of Dun. A commission to these deputies, and to Antonia de Bourbon, duchess of Guise, to act in the intended marriage, was also given by the Queen of Scots herself. And, upon the part of the Queen Regent, a power was granted to the duchess of Guise to appear for her, and to express her approbation and concurrence*.

Their instructions.

THE instructions to the Scottish deputies have been lost ; but their tenor and spirit may be collected from the parliamentary edict in approbation of their conduct †. They were enjoined to obtain from the Queen of Scots, decisive deeds in ratification of the statute or ordinance, in consequence of which her majesty was sent into France. One instrument, or charter, to this purpose, to which her curators were to be parties, was to be granted before her marriage ; and another deed of ratification was to be given after her marriage, with the consent of the king of France, and the Dauphin her husband. Other instruments were to be executed, in which the king of France, the Queen of Scots, and the Dauphin, were to give security to the promises which had been made to the earl of Arran, and to express their determination to support his right to the Scottish crown. The Queen Regent was to receive from the Queen of Scots, and the Dauphin, a commission of re-

* Lesly de Reb. Gest. Scot. ap. Jebb, 197, 198. Keith, Append. p. 12. 18. 19. Daniel, Hist. de France, tome v. p. 600.

† Keith, Append. p. 13.

gency,

gency, to be in force while they continued to be absent from Scotland. And a charter from the Queen of Scots and the Dauphin was to express their solemn and deliberate resolution, to observe and sustain in the amplest manner the independency, the laws, and the liberties of the Scottish nation.

ALL this anxious attention in the parliament of Scotland, while it is expressive of sagacity and wisdom, betrays a violent suspicion of the views and policy of France. But to the orders given to the Scottish commissioners no objections were made. The whole articles and instructions were executed in every point, with a minute and ceremonious exactness. Under this appearance, however, of respect and candour, there was concealed a detestable perfidiousness. The king of France, and the princes of Lorraine, enjoyed in an unlimited degree the confidence of the Queen of Scots, who, upon account of her early youth, could possess little knowledge or experience in affairs. Abusing this confidence, and insulting the dignity of the kingdom of Scotland, they engaged her privately to put her name to three extraordinary deeds, or instruments. By the first, she conveyed her kingdom, in a free gift, to the king of France and his heirs, in the default of children of her own body. By the second, she assigned to him, if she should die without children, the possession of Scotland, till he should receive a million of pieces of gold, or be amply repaid for the sums expended by him in her education and entertainment while in France. And by the third, she confirmed both these grants, in an expressive declaration, that they contained the pure and

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The perfidious management of the court of France.

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genuine sentiments of her mind ; and that any papers which might be obtained from her before or after her marriage, by the desires and the arts of the Scottish parliament, should be invalid, and of no power or efficacy*.

24 April.
The marriage of the Queen of Scots and the Dauphin.

AMIDST these transactions, the marriage of the Dauphin with the Queen of Scots was celebrated with uncommon pomp. By the contract of marriage, he was permitted to assume the title of King of Scotland† ; and immediately after the nuptial ceremony was performed, the Scottish commissioners, in the name of the three estates, took the oath of fidelity to him. But the court of France being unsatisfied with the empty title of king, did not scruple to demand, that the crown of Scotland, and the other ensigns of royalty, should be delivered up to the Dauphin. The commissioners, however, declared that they had received no commands upon this subject from the parliament of Scotland. It was then requested of them, by the chancellor of France, that upon their return home they should employ all their influence to obtain the crown matrimonial to the King Dauphin ; and that, in the mean time, they would express their resolution to undertake this commission, under their subscriptions and seals. But the commissioners, offended justly with this spirit of incroachment, informed him, that they were limited by instructions which they could not exceed or violate without treachery ; and that it became not the ancient ally of Scotland thus to transf-

* Burnet, Hist. of the Reformation in England, vol. iii. p. 280. Records, p. 279.

† Keith, Append. p. 15.

gress the bounds of moderation, and, instead of the tenderness of friendship, to exhibit the extravagance of ambition*. This patriotism was not acceptable to the court of France; and four of the commissioners dying before they could embark for Scotland, a suspicion was entertained that they were poisoned by the princes of Lorraine †.

HENRY II. though he could not but know, that the mixed form of government which prevailed in Scotland did not permit an unlimited power in the prince, was yet warmly impressed with the fancy, that very ample prerogatives might be connected with the crown matrimonial. After the surviving deputies had explained their transactions to the Scottish parliament, he continued to press this favourite project. The young Queen herself applied to the three estates, desiring that the crown matrimonial might be conferred upon her husband. The French ambassador was active in distributing bribes and promises. The influence of the Queen Regent was exerted in the fullest manner; and the party for the Reformation, willing at this time to win her favour, bestowed the full weight of their concurrence in an emergency so interesting to her ‡. The earl of Arran, apprehensive for his claim to the crown, remonstrated against the danger of entrusting too much

An act of parliament is obtained to give the crown matrimonial to the Dauphin.

* Buchanan, Hist. Rer. Scot. lib. xvi.

† Mezerai, Hist. de France, tome ii. p. 1125. Thuanus, Hist. sui temp. lib. xx.

‡ It is probable that they had obtained some favourable promises from her. See a Record in Burnet, vol. iii. p. 279.

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power with the Dauphin; and the clergy, actuated by the archbishop and his brother, turned away the current of their favour from the king of France and the Queen Regent. But all opposition was ineffectual and vain. An act of parliament was passed, consenting to the desire of the young Queen, and conferring upon the Dauphin the crown matrimonial, as a gratification, during their marriage, but without any prejudice to the liberties of her kingdom, to the heirs of her body, or to the order of the royal succession*. Amidst these restraints, it is difficult to comprehend the advantages which were so earnestly fought by the court of France. It is certain, however, that the earl of Arran trembled with suspicions, and entered a protest in parliament, that the coronation of the Dauphin should not prejudice or invalidate his rights †.

IN compliance with the ordination of the three estates, the Queen Regent appointed the earl of Argyle, and James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, to carry the crown matrimonial into France. But this transaction was never to be completed. These leaders of the Reformation forgot altogether their embassy in the importance of more animating cares. The King Dauphin was never to receive the crown matrimonial; and the Queen Regent, in the attention which she found necessary to herself, neglected fortunately to terminate an intrigue, which, in all the stages through which it passed, is disgraced by duplicity and guilt.

* Keith, p. 76.

† Buchanan, Hist. Rer. Scot. lib. xvi. Lesly, de Reb. Gest. Scot. ap. Jebb. p. 203, 204.

AFTER

AFTER the leaders of the Reformation had subscribed the first covenant, they addressed letters to John Knox, urging in the strongest terms his return to Scotland; and that their hopes of his assistance might not be disappointed, they sent an address to John Calvin, the celebrated Reformer, begging him to join his commands to their entreaties. The archbishop of St. Andrews, who perceived the rising storm, was in a difficult situation. A powerful combination threatened ruin to the church; and he had separated himself from the politics of the Queen Regent. The zeal of the Roman Catholics pointed out strong measures to him; and his dispositions were pacific. The Clergy were offended with his remissness and neglect of duty. The Reformers detested his looseness of principles, and were shocked with the dissolute depravity of his life and conversation. He resolved to try the force of address, and did not succeed. He then resolved to be severe, and was still more unsuccessful.

THE earl of Argyle was the most powerful of the Reformed leaders. To allure him from his party, the archbishop of St. Andrews employed the agency of Sir David Hamilton. He represented to the earl, by this messenger, the antiquity of the blood of his House, its unspotted glory, the affection he bore to it, and the desire with which he was animated to perpetuate its fame. He conjured him not to give way to heresy, and to alter his religion in his old age. He held out the terrors of the law, and touched upon the sorrow with which his heart would be penetrated, if any peril or calamity should affect his lordship, his son, or his

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 New attempts
to check the
Reformation.

The arch-
bishop of St.
Andrews en-
deavours to
gain the earl
of Argyle
from the Re-
formers.

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his Houfe. He inveighed with great bitternefs againft John Douglas, the reformed preacher, whom the earl entertained as his chaplain; and he begged to have the permiffion to fend a learned man to him, who knew well all the true doctrines of the Catholic faith. In fine, he urged, that “the moans, the cries, and the murmurs of the queen,” the churchmen, the fpiritual and temporal eftates, and the more eftimated of the people, all compelled him to actions of vigour and feverity*.

THIS policy of the archbifhop operated to his difadvantage with the earl of Argyle. The kindnefs he affected, and the advices he beftowed, were no compliment to the underftanding of this nobleman; and his threats were regarded with fcorn. All the refolutions of the earl were fortified the more ftrongly, by an application which, in one view, might be confidered as a declaration of war from the church, and in another as a fymptom of its weaknefs. The Reformers, inftead of lofing their courage, felt a fentiment of exultation and triumph; and the earl of Argyle happening to die about this time, he not only maintained the new doctrines in his laft moments, but intreated his fon to feek for honour in promoting the public preaching of the gofpel, and Jefus Chrift, and in the utter ruin of fuperftition and idolatry †.

The martyrdom of Walter Mill.

IT was determined by the archbifhop and the prelates, that this difappointment fhould be fucceeded by a furious perfecution of the Reformed, and that the

* Knox, p. 111. 113.

† Keith, p. 67. Knox, 114. 118.

church

church should exhaust all her rage and thunder. Walter Mill, a priest, had neglected to officiate at the altar, and having been long under the suspicion of heresy, was carried to St. Andrews, committed to prison, and accused before the archbishop and his suffragans. He was in an extreme old age; his powers of nature were nearly exhausted; and he had struggled all his life with poverty. He sunk not, however, under the hardness of his fate. To the articles of his accusation he replied with signal recollection and fortitude*. The firmness

* His examination is recorded with an interesting simplicity by archbishop Spotswood.

“ Sir Andrew Oliphant, one of the archbishop’s priests, commanding him to arise (for he was upon his knees) and answer to the articles, said, *Sir Walter Mill, get you up and answer, for you keep my lord here too long.* He notwithstanding continued his devotion, and that done he arose, and said, *he ought to obey God more than men; I serve a mightier lord than your lord is. And where you call me Sir Walter, they call me Walter, and not Sir Walter. I have been too long one of the pope’s knights. Now say what you have to say.*

“ Oliphant then began with this question, *What thinkest thou of priest’s marriage?* He answered, *I esteem it a blessed bond, ordained by God, approved by Christ, and made free to all sorts of men; but you abhor it, and in the mean time take other men’s wives and daughters; you vow chastity, and keep it not.*

“ Oliphant proceeding, said, *Thou sayest that there is not seven sacraments.* He answered, *Give me the lord’s supper and baptism, and take you the rest and part them among you.*

“ Oliph. *Thou sayest that the mass is idolatry.* He answered, *A lord sendeth and calleth many to his dinner, and when it is ready, ringeth the bell, and they come into the hall, but he turning his back upon the guests, eateth all himself, giving them no part; and so do you.*

“ Oliph. *Thou deniest the sacrament of the altar to be the body of Christ really in flesh and blood.* He answered, *The scripture is not to be taken carnally, but spiritually; and your mass is wrong; for Christ was once offered on the cross for man’s sins, and will never be again, for then he put an end to all sacrifices.*

“ Oliph. *Thou deniest the office of the bishop.* He answered, *I affirm they whom you call bishops do not bishops works, nor use the offices of bishops, but live after their own sensual pleasures, taking no care for the flock, nor yet regarding the word of God.*

○

“ Oliph.

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firmness of his mind, in the emaciated state of his body, excited admiration. The insults of his enemies, and their contempt, served to discover his superiority over them. His pride was lifted the more by their attempts to humble him. When the clergy declared him a heretic, no temporal judge could be found to condemn him to the fire. He was respited to another day; and so great sympathy prevailed for his misfortunes, that it was necessary to allure one of the archbishop's domestics to supply the place of the civil power, and to pronounce the sentence of condemnation. When brought to the stake, the resolution of this sufferer did not forsake him. He praised God, that he had been called to seal up the truth with his life; and he conjured the people, as they would escape eternal death, not to be overcome by the errors and the artifices of monks and priests, abbots and bishops*.

The Reformers think of resistance. Subscriptions are taken for hostilities.

THE barbarity of this execution affected the Reformed with inexpressible horror. As they had increased to a most formidable number, the blow was unex-

“*Oliph. Thou speakest against pilgrimage, and callest it a pilgrimage to whoredom.*
 “*He answered, I say that pilgrimage is not commanded in the Scriptures, and that there*
 “*is no greater whoredom in any place than at your pilgrimages, except it be in the com-*
 “*mon brothels.*”

“*Oliph. Thou preacheest privately in houses, and sometimes in the fields.* He answered,
 “*Yea, man, and upon the sea too, when I am sailing.*”

“*Oliph. If thou wilt not recant thy opinions, I will pronounce sentence against thee.*
 “*He answered, I know I must die once, therefore, as Christ said to Judas, Quod facis*
 “*fac cito; you shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn, and no chaff;*
 “*I will neither be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail, but will abide*
 “*both.*”

“These answers he gave with great boldness, to the admiration of all that were present.” Hist. of the Church, p. 96.

* Buchanan, Hist. Rer. Scot. lib. xvi. Knox, p. 130.

pected.

pected. The church adding contempt to cruelty, they felt surprize and astonishment, as well as indignation and rage. All the misery of their condition displayed itself to them. By yielding to the light of their conscience and understanding, they exposed themselves to a cruel death. By conforming to the established faith, they hazarded their salvation. To continue in this state was to prolong their torture; and if there was a remedy for their wretchedness, it seemed to them that they were entitled to apply it. If temporal judges and bishops could support with impunity the empire of idolatry, and appeal to the stake and the gibbet, it could not, they imagined, be criminal in them to stretch out their hands to uphold the truth, and to dash from them with scorn the insolence of oppression. Unacquainted with the subtleties and refinements of government and polity, they yielded to the sentiments which were suggested by the pain and the pressure of difficulties and dangers. They joined in a work of Reformation. Subscriptions for mutual defence were taken. Persons moved with zeal, or attracted with the love of change, engaged in circuits through the kingdom, to collect the voices of the faithful. Design and art concurred with piety, novelty, and religion. The leaders of the Reformation, dispersing their emissaries to every quarter, encouraged the vehemence of the multitude. The covenant to establish a new form of religion extended from the few to the many. Amidst the turbulence and discord of the passions, and interests of men, the soft voice of humanity and reason was not heard. The sharp point of the sword, not the calm exertion

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The Protestants agree to solicit redress from the Queen Regent.

exertion of inquiry, was to decide the disputes of theology.

WHEN the leaders of the Reformation were apprized of the ardent zeal of the people, and considered the great number of subscriptions which had been collected in the different counties of the kingdom, they assembled to deliberate concerning the steps to be pursued. To proceed in their business with an avowed and open contempt of the established authority, appeared to them a violation of all justice and law. For the object they sought was a redress of grievances, not the destruction of the government. It was resolved, accordingly, that a public and common supplication of the whole body of the Protestants should be presented to the Queen Regent; which, after complaining of the injuries they had suffered, should require her to bestow upon them her support and assistance, and urge her to proceed in the work of a Reformation. To explain their full meaning, a schedule, containing particular demands, was, at the same time, to be exposed to her scrutiny. To Sir James Sandilands of Calder they committed the important charge of their manifesto and articles of Reformation; and in appointing him to this commission, they consulted the respect which was due both to the government and to themselves. His character was in the highest estimation. His services to his country were numerous; his integrity and honour were superior to all suspicion; and his age and experience gave him authority and reverence.

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THE petition, or supplication of the Protestants, was expressed in strong, but respectful terms. They told the Queen Regent, that though they had been provoked by great injuries, they had yet, during a long period, abstained from assembling themselves, and from making known to her their complaints. Banishment, confiscation of goods, and death in its most cruel shape, were evils with which the Reformed had been long afflicted; and they were still exposed to these dreadful calamities. Continual fears disturbed them; and they felt the waste and anguish of secret grief. Compelled by their sufferings, they presumed to ask a remedy against the tyranny of the prelates and the estate ecclesiastical. They had usurped an unlimited domination over the minds of men. Whatever they commanded, though without any sanction from the word of God, must be obeyed. Whatever they discharged, though from their own authority only, must be avoided. All arguments and remonstrances were equally fruitless and vain. The fire, the faggot, and the sword, were the weapons with which the church enforced and vindicated her mandates. By these, of late years, many of their brethren had fallen; and upon this account they were troubled and wounded in their consciences. For, conceiving themselves to be a part of that power which God had established in this kingdom, it was their duty to have defended them, or to have concurred with them in an open avowal of their common religion. They now take the opportunity to make this avowal. They break a silence which may be misinterpreted into a justification of the cruelties of their enemies. And disdaining all farther diffimulation

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Their supplication.

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mulation in matters which concern the glory of God, their present happiness, and their future salvation, they demand, that the original purity of the Christian religion shall be restored; and that the government shall be so improved, as to afford to them a security in their persons, their opinions, and their property*.

WITH this petition, or supplication of the Protestants, Sir James Sandilands presented their schedule of demands, or the preliminary articles of the Reformation. They were in the spirit of their supplication, and of the following tenor.

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I. IT shall be lawful to the Reformed to peruse the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue; and to employ also their native language in prayer publicly and in private.

II. IT shall be permitted to any person qualified by knowledge, to interpret and explain the difficult passages in the Scriptures.

III. THE election of ministers shall take place according to the rules of the primitive church; and those who elect shall enquire diligently into the lives and doctrines of the persons whom they admit to the clerical office †.

IV. THE holy sacrament of baptism shall be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, that its institution and nature may be the more generally understood.

V. THE holy sacrament of the Lord's supper shall likewise be administered in the vulgar tongue; and in this communion, as well as in the ceremonial of bap-

* COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. III.

† Spotswood, p. 118.

tism; a becoming respect shall be paid to the plain institution of Christ Jesus.

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VI. The wicked and licentious lives of the bishops, and estate ecclesiastical, shall be reformed; and if they discharge not the duties of true and faithful pastors, they shall be compelled to desist from their ministry and functions*.

FROM a spirit of opposition to the established church, and from the hope of advantage to themselves, the Protestants had courted the Queen Regent, by affording her a powerful aid in the transactions which concerned France and the Dauphin. In her turn, she was not wanting in a show of cordiality and friendship; and, by this affectation, she gratified her resentments against the archbishop of St. Andrews, and the House of Hamilton. The unanimity, however, of the Protestants, their subscriptions for mutual defence, the power and ability of their leaders, the force of their remonstrances, and the peculiarities of their demands, all conspired to involve her in the greatest perplexity and uneasiness. It was not agreeable to her to yield to their views, and it was dangerous to oppose them. Adopting an indecisive conduct, she flattered them with hopes. She assured the Protestants, by Sir James Sandilands, their orator or commissioner, that every thing they could legally desire should be granted to them; and that, in the mean time, they might, without molestation, employ the vulgar tongue in their prayers and religious exercises. But, upon the pretence that no encou-

The Queen-Regent appears to favour the Reformed.

* See COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. III.

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agement might be given to tumults and riot, she requested that they would hold no public assemblies in Edinburgh or Leith. The Congregation, for this name was now assumed by the Protestants, were transported with these tender proofs of her regard; and while they fought to advance still higher in her esteem, by the inoffensive quietness of their carriage, they were encouraged to persist in the undertaking they had begun, and to accomplish the work of the Reformation †.

The articles of Reformation are presented to the clergy.

NOR to the clergy, who at this time were holding a provincial council at Edinburgh, did the Congregation scruple to communicate the articles of the intended Reformation. The clergy received their demands with a storm of rage, which died away in an innocent debility. Upon recovering from their passions, they offered to submit the controversy between them and the Reformed to a public disputation. The Congregation did not refuse this mode of trial; and desired, as their only conditions, that the Scriptures might be considered as the standards of orthodoxy and truth, and that those of their brethren who were in exile, and under persecution, might be permitted to assist them. These requests, though reasonable in a high degree, were not complied with; and the church would allow no rule of right, but the canon law and its own councils. Terms of reconciliation were then offered upon the part of the estate ecclesiastical. It held out to the Protestants, the liberty of praying and administering the sacra-

† Buchanan, Hist. Rer. Scot. lib. xvi.

ments in the vulgar tongue, if they would pay reverence to the mass, acknowledge purgatory, invoke the saints, and admit of petitions for the dead. To conditions so ineffectual and absurd, the Congregation did not deign to return any answer*.

THE meeting of the parliament approached. The parties in contention were agitated with anxieties, apprehensions, and hopes. An expectation of a firm and open assistance from the Queen Regent, gave courage to the Reformed; and, from the parliamentary influence of their friends in the greater and the lesser baronage, they expected the most important services. They drew up with eagerness the articles which they wished to be passed into a law; and as the spirit and sense of their transactions are to be gathered in the completest manner from the papers which were framed by themselves, it is proper to attend to them with a punctilious exactness. Their petitions were few and explicit.

I. THEY could not, in consequence of principles which they had embraced, from a conviction of their truth, participate in the Romish religion. It was therefore their desire, that all the acts of parliament, giving authority to the church to proceed against them as heretics, should be abrogated; or, at least, that their power should be suspended, till the disputes which had arisen were determined, and brought to a conclusion.

II. They did not mean that all men should be at liberty to profess what religion they pleased, without

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The Protestants resolve to apply to parliament.

Their petitions.

* Spotswood, p. 119.

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the control of authority. They consented that all transgressors in matters of faith should be carried before the temporal judge. But it was their wish that the clergy should have only the power to accuse; and they thought it conformable to justice, that a copy of the criminal charge should be lodged with the party upon trial, and that a competent time should be allowed him to defend himself.

III. THEY insisted, that every defence consistent with law should be permitted to the party accused; and that objections to witnesses, founded in truth and reason, should operate to his favour.

IV. They desired that the party accused should have permission to interpret and explain his own opinions; and that his declaration should carry a greater evidence than the deposition of any witness; as no person ought to be punished for religion, who is not obstinate in a wicked or damnable tenet.

V. IN fine, they urged, that no Protestant should be condemned for heresy, without being convicted by the word of God, of the want of that faith which is necessary to salvation*.

The Queen
Regent
amuses the
Protestants.

THE Congregation presented these articles to the Queen Regent, in the fond hope, that she would not only propose them to the three estates assembled in parliament, but employ all her influence to recommend them. While she discouraged not, however, the sentiments they entertained in her favour, she objected to the expediency of their proposal. It

* COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. IV.

was dangerous, she said, to prefer their requests to parliament, when the ecclesiastical board was inflamed to a fierce opposition; and, if she should venture upon this measure, she was certain of drawing the whole weight of the church against her in other matters which were of high importance. She therefore recommended it to them, to wait for a more convenient opportunity of pressing their purposes, and to depend upon her zeal and services.

THIS behaviour did not satisfy the leaders of the Congregation. They began now to suspect the sincerity of the Queen Regent; and they were sensible that their petitions, though they had been carried in parliament, could not have passed into a law without her consent. They thence abstained from presenting them; but as their complaints and desires were fully known in parliament, they ordered a solemn declaration to be read there, in their behalf, and demanded that it should be inserted in the records of the nation. In this declaration, after expressing their regret for having been disappointed in their scheme of Reformation, they protested, that no blame should be imputed to them for continuing in their religion, which they believed to be founded in the word of God; that no danger of life, and no political pains should be incurred by them, for disregarding statutes which support idolatry, and for violating rites which are of human invention; and that, if insurrections and tumults should disturb the realm, from the diversity of religious opinions, and if abuses should be corrected by violence, all the guilt, disorder, and inconvenience

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Their protestation.

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thence arising, instead of being applied to them, should be ascribed to those solely who had refused a timely redress of wrongs, and who had despised petitions presented with the humility of faithful subjects, and for the purposes of establishing the commandments of God, and a most just and salutary Reformation*.

THE three estates received this formidable protest with attention and respect; but the intention of inserting it in the national records was abandoned by the Congregation, upon a formal promise from the Queen Regent, that all the matters in controversy should speedily be brought by her to a fortunate issue.

The political views of the Queen Regent.

THOUGH disposed neither to bigotry nor persecution by her temper and understanding, the Queen Regent was yet willing to maintain the Romish religion. She respected the antiquity of this system of faith; she did not dislike the humble submissions it required in its votaries; she dreaded the dangers of innovation; and she could not divest herself of the prejudices of her education. Her sentiments coincided with the politics of the French court, and received a confirmation from that quarter. Her brothers, the princes of Lorraine, possessed an authority over her that approached to dominion; and, by their address, they were able to drive her dispositions and passions to a point of the utmost violence and obstinacy. The marriage of the queen of Scots to the Dauphin had advanced their power to an exorbitant height; and they were solicitous to add to their consequence, by governing Scotland in a despotic

* COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. V.

manner,

manner, by the means of the Queen Regent. In the tendency and nature of all these causes and circumstances, there were danger and hostility to the Reformed; and an event of great importance put them into action with their fullest influence.

MARY, queen of England, having died of jealousy and discontent, after a short and inglorious reign, the princes of Guise insisted upon the claim of the queen of Scots to her crown. The king of France took an early opportunity to declare her publicly, at Paris, to be the queen of England by right of blood, as the descendant of Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry VII. to the exclusion of Elizabeth, whom he held to be the daughter of Henry VIII. by an illegal marriage*. He prevailed with the queen of Scots to assume the title of queen of England, and to stamp money under this character. The arms of England were quartered with those of France and Scotland; and with a profuse and premature parade, they were employed as ornaments to the plate and furniture of the queen of Scots and the Dauphin. The court of France dreaded the ability of queen Elizabeth, and her zeal against popery. By supporting the pretensions of the queen of Scots, they might keep alive the intestine divisions of England. The Roman Catholics in that kingdom were still numerous and powerful; and the pope might, in compliment to the church, be engaged to pronounce the illegitimacy of queen Elizabeth †.

The king of France declares the queen of Scots to be the heir of the English crown.

* Camden, Hist. of Q. Elizabeth, ap. Kennet, vol. ii. p. 378. Mezeray, Histoire de France, tome ii. p. 1129.

† State Papers published by Dr. Forbes, vol. i. p. 173.

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He incites
the Queen
Regent to
persecute the
Reformed.

WHILE the king of France and the princes of Lorraine were meditating the humiliation of this illustrious princess, they depended upon the powerful assistance of the Scottish nation. The Queen Regent was perfectly at their devotion. But from the Reformed they had reason to expect a warm opposition to their views. It was therefore expedient to give a check to the Congregation; and as a slight wound might irritate rather than intimidate, it was resolved to strike a violent and overpowering blow. Counsels the most bold and savage suggested themselves. The total destruction of the leaders of the Reformation was projected. The Queen Regent, forgetting her prudence, her humanity, and her sex, was preparing to build scaffolds, and to stain herself with blood*.

Breach between the Queen Regent and the Congregation.

THE suspicions which, during the sitting of the parliament, were excited in the minds of the Reformed, by the artificial conduct of the Queen Regent, were fully confirmed upon its dissolution. She reconciled

* Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the English ambassador at the court of France, writes thus to Sir William Cecil, secretary to queen Elizabeth. "I am informed, that two daies ago, upon their consultation here for matters of Scotland, the cardinal of Lorraine, the duke of Guise, and others of that house, have as much as they could persuaded, that the way to amend the garboyles there, is to cause the earl of Argyle, the prior of St. Andrews, otherwise called the bastard of Scotland, and the lord Dun, to be apprehended, their goodes confiscat, and they themselves to lose their lives; and the like to be done to a number of other inferiors: for, say they, so long as these men remaine, Scotland cannot be kept in obedience either to the church, or to the king or the Queen Dolphin. Whereupon they have determined to use this extreme manner of reformation; whereof I am advertised by such a one as, both for God's cause, and the saving of their lives, seemed verely desirous and to wysh, that they had knowledge what is meant towards them; which I leave to your consideration to be used and followed, as you shall thinke convenient." Dr. Forbes, State Papers, vol. i. p. 152.

herself

herself to the archbishop of St. Andrews, and to the clergy, who were infinitely flattered by her advances. She proclaimed throughout the kingdom a solemn observance of the festival of Easter. She herself received first the sacrament; and it was her pleasure that all the persons of her household should receive it. By the studied punctuality of her carriage, she desired to encourage the priesthood, and to throw a contempt upon the Protestants. She was now heard frequently to say, that the royal authority had been insulted, and that it was her determined purpose to restore it to that reverend esteem which it had lost. Inquiries were made after all the preachers of the Congregation, and citations were sent to them to appear at Stirling, to answer to the charges which might be preferred against them. The impending storm was observed by the leaders of the Reformation. Alexander earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudon, were deputed to admonish her not to persecute the preachers, unless they had been obnoxious by circulating erroneous doctrines, or by disturbing her government. Unable to restrain her temper, she told them, that the preachers should be banished from Scotland, though their doctrines were as sound as those of St. Paul. The deputies entreated her to be more moderate, and to call to mind the repeated promises of kindness which she had made to the Congregation. Her passions increased in their violence. "The promises," said she, "of princes, ought not to be claimed with rigour, and are only binding when subservient to their conveniency and pleasure." They replied with indignation and fortitude, "If these are
" your

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1559.

The Reformation is established at Perth.

“ your sentiments, the Congregation can no longer acknowledge your authority, and must renounce the allegiance of subjects.” Her mind was agitated with pride, anger, and astonishment*.

It was not long before the news was brought, that the Reformation was established at Perth; the inhabitants having embraced publicly the new opinions. The lord Ruthven, the provost of that city, being commanded into her presence, she peremptorily enjoined him to suppress the religious novelties which had arisen within the limits of his jurisdiction. He informed her, that he was invested with no power over the minds and the consciences of men. She ordered the provost of Dundee to apprehend Paul Methven, a preacher, who had offended her. He did not dispute her authority, but sent privately a message to the delinquent to provide for his safety. Her proclamation for the observance of Easter was neglected and despised. There were multitudes in every quarter, who refusing to communicate, exclaimed that the mass was an idol, and that they abhorred all idolatry and superstition †.

The preachers prepare to appear before the Queen Regent.

NEW citations, in the mean time, had been given to all the preachers to appear at Stirling. They prepared for their trial, and gathered themselves into a body, with an attendance of Protestants from all parts of the country. Upon their approach towards Perth, John Erskine of Dun, whom they respected alike for his prudence and his zeal, advanced before them, to acquaint the Queen Regent, that this convocation of the

* Buchanan, Hist. Rer. Scot. lib. xvi.

† Spotswood, p. 121. Knox, p. 134, 135.

Reformed was made with a view that they might offer a profession of their common religion with the preachers, and assist them with their testimony. Struck with their unanimity, dreading their power, though they were without arms, and being informed of their fervor, she entreated him to stop their march; and affecting candour and sincerity, assured him, that all proceedings against the preachers should be abandoned. Mr. Erskine, desirous of quiet, and confident of the good intentions of the Queen Regent, exerted himself with success. The multitude was dismissed; and the barons and gentlemen of the Congregation remained at Perth with the preachers. When the day of citation arrived, the preachers conforming to the agreement, did not present themselves at Stirling. They were, notwithstanding, denounced to be rebels for this neglect; and all persons were prohibited, under the penalty of high treason, from affording them any comfort or assistance. A violation of faith so ignoble, disgraced the dignity of government. Distrust, suspicion, and terror of the civil power, spread themselves among all ranks of the people. Mr. Erskine, inflamed by the affront put upon his understanding, and ashamed of having been dishonoured as a tool of deceit, hastened to apologize to the Congregation for his conduct, and to urge them to provide for the most desperate extremities*.

At this critical period John Knox arrived in Scotland, in compliance with the second invitation which had been addressed to him by the leaders of the Pro-

John Knox preaches at Perth. The demolition of the monasteries.

* Knox, p. 136.

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testants. It was not the nature of the man to be inactive. He flew to Perth, to triumph with the brethren, or to perish with them. The perfidiousness of the Queen Regent, the proclamation denouncing the preachers to be rebels, and the spirited remonstrances of Mr. Erskine, had prepared the Reformed for every thing that was most violent. Knox, ascending the pulpit, pointed all the thunder of his eloquence against idolatry. The people, moved to madness by what was termed the abomination of idols and images, thought of doing honour to the Almighty by destroying them. A priest, in contempt of the rhetoric of this Reformer, prepared, after his sermon, to say mass; and opening a tabernacle, or case, which stood upon the high altar, displayed the images of the saints. In a moment the altars and images were demolished, and beat to the ground, with every mark of the most indignant rage. The fury of this mob communicated itself to new multitudes. The monasteries of the Grey, and the Black friars were attacked and destroyed. That of the Carthusians shared the same fate. Nor was the wealth contained in these edifices accounted to be more sacred. It was either seized by the invader as his legal prize, or appropriated to the poor, by the direction of the preachers. The profuse abundance of stores which the ecclesiastics had provided for convenience and luxury, the multitude of their vessels of gold and silver, and the costly magnificence of their beds and furniture, were reproached to them, as unbecoming the condition of men who professed mortification and poverty*.

* Spotswood, p. 121. Knox, p. 137. Buchanan, Hist. Rev. Scot. lib. xvi.

THE example of Perth was followed by Cowper in Fife; and the church there, with its pictures and altars, was defaced. Similar insurrections were apprehended in other places; and the Queen Regent, alarmed with such strong proceedings, and such unbounded profanation of the established faith, vowed to punish the inhabitants of Perth with striking and humiliating marks of her severity. She invited the nobility to her by pressing letters, and entreated the full assistance of her vassals. The French troops were collected. A hope of surprizing Perth before the insurgents could prepare for their defence, animated her diligence. But the news of her preparations could not be concealed from the Protestants, who dispatched messengers to every quarter for aid; and several days passed away before her ordnance could be dragged to the town. The Protestants, neither insensible of their danger, nor despairing of a pardon, but firm to the object of obtaining a security to their doctrines, addressed themselves in letters to the Queen Regent, to the French commanders in Scotland, to the nobility, and to the clergy*. They rejected popery with the most determined scorn, and expressed the desire of a peaceful Reformation; but acknowledged that they were disposed to repel force by force. To their manifestoes and declarations no respect was paid by those to whom they were addressed; and multitudes of the faithful were hastening, in the mean while, to join them. The gentlemen in the districts of Fife, Angus, and Merns, collecting their followers and dependents,

1559.

The queen regent collects an army, and marches against the Protestants.

* COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. VI.

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formed a camp near Perth. The earl of Glencairn, with admirable celerity, advanced from the shire of Air, and brought with him two thousand five hundred men. Repeated messages had now passed between the Queen Regent and the Protestants, which had fully explained to her their spirit and resolution. Unwilling to hazard a battle, and dreading the consequences of a defeat in the perilous state of the kingdom, she had recourse to negotiation. The earl of Argyle, and the prior of St. Andrews, who began now to have the title of the Lord James Stuart, were disposed, upon her earnest request, to attempt a reconciliation of the contending parties, and had great authority with the Reformed. When reproached by Mr. Knox and Mr. Willocks, for having forsaken the Congregation, these commissioners declared, that though they had promised to the Queen Regent to employ their endeavours to produce an agreement, their best wishes were still with the Protestants; and that if she should refuse to accept of reasonable terms of accommodation, or should violate any treaty entered into, they would immediately give their full weight to the Reformation, and, joining themselves to the brethren, partake in all their difficulties and hazards. Upon these assurances, the preachers were employed to persuade the multitude to consent to articles of agreement. It was concluded and determined by both parties, that the two armies should return peaceably to their habitations; that the town of Perth should be evacuated, and made accessible to the Queen Regent; that no molestation should be given to the late insurgents, and no persecutions of the Reformed be undertaken; that

29 May.

A treaty is concluded.

that no garrison of French troops should be stationed at Perth; that no Frenchman should advance nearer to it than three miles; and that in the approaching assembly of the three estates, the work of the Reformation should be finally established*.

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THIS treaty was not executed, upon the part of the Protestants, without suspicions of the integrity of the Queen Regent. The artifice of her former conduct, and her known respect for French counsels, induced the Congregation still to entertain a dread of her violence. Before they separated, it appeared therefore expedient to them to engage in a new association, which they termed *the Second Covenant* †. The cordiality of their affection was thus augmented, and a new tie of confidence was created. In the presence of God, they vowed to preserve a constant amity and fellowship; to concur in the establishment of a purer religion; and to expend and devote their lives, activity, and riches, to support and maintain the liberty of the Protestants, in opposition to every mode of hostility, and every pretence of domination.

The second covenant.

WHAT they had dreaded did not fail to happen; the articles of the treaty were violated. Immediately upon the dispersion of the troops of the Congregation, the Queen Regent entered Perth, with French soldiers in her retinue; who firing into the house of a citizen of known zeal for the Reformation, killed his son. A multitude of outrages harassed and insulted the inhabitants. Many of them were driven into exile, and large

The queen regent breaks her agreements.

* Spotwood, p. 122.

† COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. VII.

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fums of money were extorted from others. The magistrates were dismissed, to make way for men devoted to the Queen Regent and to Popery. And four companies of soldiers were left as a garrison to the town; and they were enjoined not to permit the exercise of any religion but that of Rome. Such rude and inclement breaches of the treaty filled the people with horror, and shewed the Queen Regent to be inflexible. But while she thus gave a mortal wound to her honour, she acquired a political advantage of some importance. The town of Perth, from its situation, and the strength of its walls, was convenient for receiving troops from different quarters of the kingdom. Its inhabitants were warlike; and, while they were awed by the garrison, it struck a terror into the country around, which was affectionately disposed towards the Protestants*.

The earl of Argyle and the lord James Stuart leave the court.

No events could have happened more opportunely to allure the earl of Argyle and the lord James Stuart to take upon them openly the command of the Protestants. They could not but resent the crafty conduct of the Queen Regent, and they were bound by promises to the Congregation. When she was informed that they had withdrawn from her interests, she summoned them, upon their allegiance, to appear before her council. They said, that they could no longer confide in her friendship, since she could submit to break conditions which they had stipulated upon the rectitude of her intentions, and the weight of her authority. This answer did not give satisfaction; and dreading some ex-

* Knox, p. 148.

exploit of the French troops, which were considerable in number, and formidable from their discipline, they prepared to collect the strength of the Congregation, and to inspirit their passions.

ALL the industry and rhetoric of the preachers were exerted, in the mean while, to throw the people into combustion. John Knox signalized himself at Crail. He admonished the Protestants of the double dealing of the Queen Regent, and that no faith was to be paid to her most solemn declarations. He urged them to avoid the delusion of smiles and promises, and to animate themselves to war. When peace could not be compassed by contracts, it was to be established by arms. They must humble the pride of the Queen Regent, and expel the French from the kingdom, who had influenced her not only to persecute the Reformed, but to attempt the overthrow of the ancient liberties of their nation. There were before them, on the one hand, idolatry and servitude; and on the other, victory and death. Putting their swords into their hands, it was now their business to build up the fabric of their religion, or to fall like men. Moved by his exhortations, the people, in the excess of their fury, proceeded to pull down the altars and images of their town, and to demolish all the other monuments of idolatry. Mr. Knox continuing his labours, preached at Anstruther; and there the people, animated with the same passions, exercised the same violence. He prepared to pour out the tide of his eloquence in the cathedral church of St. Andrews. The archbishop threatened his destruction, and was ready to oppose him with a hundred men at arms. The Queen Regent,

The preachers inflame the people. The demolition of religious houses.

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Regent, and the French troops, were at Falkland, at the distance only of twelve miles. His friends, apprehensive for his safety, applied their earnest solicitations to dissuade him from his attempt. Nor threats, nor dangers, nor friendship could prevail. The inhabitants were, to a man, favourable to the Congregation. The archbishop had prudence, and retreated. Mr. Knox, mounting the pulpit, harangued from that portion of the gospel which treats of the ejection of the buyers and the sellers from the temple. He compared the corruption which deformed Jerusalem, to the abomination of Popery in Scotland; and from the fact related of Jesus Christ, he inferred the duty of those to whom God had committed power and authority. The magistracy were forward to understand him; and their example urged the ravages of the people. All the churches of St. Andrews were instantly divested of their ornaments and grandeur, and the monasteries of the Franciscan and Dominican friars were levelled with the ground*.

Hostile preparations of the queen regent and the lords of the Congregation.

THE Queen Regent, indignant and astonished, gave orders for the French troops, and a body of her Scottish subjects, to march to St. Andrews; and directed proclamations to be sent through the adjacent country, to command all the fencible men to appear in arms at Cowper. The lords of the Congregation, to disappoint her operations, dispatched messengers to their adherents, and, in the mean time, advanced expeditiously to Cowper, with an attendance only of one hundred

* Buchanan, Hist. Rer. Scot. lib. xvi. Spotswood, p. 123, 124. Knox, p. 149, 150.

horse, and as many foot. But so ardent was the zeal of the Congregation, that in the morning after their march, the leaders of the Protestants found their force to be fully three thousand fighting men. The two armies approached. The lords of the Congregation chose their ground with advantage. A small river ran before them; and pieces of ordnance were placed upon its banks. The lord Ruthven, with the horsemen, was in the van. The main body, or the battle, under other lords, consisted of the gentlemen of Angus, Merns, Fife, and Lothian. The rear was composed of the inhabitants of Dundee, St. Andrews, and Cowper; and at some distance from this body, the followers of the camp were posted in such a manner as to give them the appearance of an auxiliary band. In the army of the Queen Regent, Monsieur D'Oyfel commanded the French troops, and the Scottish soldiers were led by the duke of Chattellerault. A fog obstructed, for some hours, the two armies from observing one another with exactness. But when the air began to grow clear, the generals of the Queen Regent were informed of the order and military aspect of the Congregation. They suspected themselves to be of inferior strength; and they dreaded a mutiny of their Scottish soldiers, many of whom being Protestants, were averse from fighting for Frenchmen and Popery, against their friends, their countrymen, and their religion. The Queen Regent, yielding to the necessity of her situation, instructed the duke of Chattellerault to treat for a peace. To the commissioners whom he sent for this purpose, the lords of the Congregation remonstrated, in a spirited strain, upon the little

R

respect

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respect which could be paid to the promises of the Queen Regent, and upon the danger which threatened the civil liberties of the nation, from the entertainment of French mercenaries. They also took the opportunity to assert, that instead of being enemies to peace and order, they were ready to act for their establishment, whenever the French troops should be dismissed out of Scotland, and whenever a security was given that no violence should be employed against the Protestants. It was answered for the Queen Regent, that she could not dismiss the French soldiery without insulting the king of France; and that it did not consist with her honour to give any security but her word for the protection of the Protestants. Upon these terms no formal or lasting treaty could be concluded. A truce, however, was entered into, in which it was stipulated, that the French troops should instantly pass the Forth; and that before the expiration of eight days, the Queen Regent should send certain noblemen to St. Andrews, to adjust finally with the lords of the Congregation, the articles of an effectual peace*.

13 June.

A truce is
agreed upon.

But is broken
by the queen
regent.

IN compliance with this convention, the leaders of the Protestants disbanding their troops, proceeded to St. Andrews, to wait for the commissioners of the Queen Regent. Upon her part, she was so far faithful to it, that she conveyed over the Forth her French troops and artillery. But the truce expired, and no noblemen appeared at St. Andrews to treat with the Congregation. Complaints, mean while, were perpetually circu-

* COLLECTION OF RECORDS; No. VIII.

culating of the sufferings endured by the Protestants at Perth, from the garrison which she had stationed there, in opposition to her former paction and agreement. The earl of Argyle and the lord James Stuart, attentive to the cause they had espoused, requested earnestly by letter the dislodgement of this garrison, and the restoration of the inhabitants to their just liberties*. No answer, however, was returned to them. A treachery so systematic and incurable, and which involved in it so great a portion of contempt, exhausted all the patience, and inflamed to its utmost height, the rage of nobles conscious of importance and power †.

* By the spirit of the treaty of Perth, it was understood, that no soldiers of any kind should be left in that city. And in their letter to the Queen Régent, these nobles inform her, that “under the description of French soldiery, they included Scottish men, or natives of any country whatsoever, taking wages of the king of France.” Knox, p. 153. It may therefore be concluded, that the garrison of Perth were not in Scots pay. The opposite conclusion is drawn, indeed, by Mr. Hume, but without any probability. This author has also inferred, that even though they had been in French pay, they were yet *national* troops; a fancy which is equally fallacious. For by the constitution of Scotland, no standing body of mercenaries could be upheld by the sovereign; and the *national* troops were the feudal and the allodial militia. It is upon these foundations that he would defend the Queen Regent as guiltless of any violation of the treaty of Perth; an attempt altogether impracticable, but which suited the despotical maxims he inculcates in his work, and which permitted him to insinuate improper reflections against the Reformers. His political sentiments, however, operated here more than his religious creed. For a writer may do complete justice to the actors in the Reformation, without being suspected of fanaticism, or even of Christianity. Hist. of England, 8vo. vol. v. p. 30.

† Throckmorton, writing upon the views of the French to secretary Cecil, has this passage, “Butomcourt, which I think passed through to England, had in charge to will the Queen Douagier of Scotland to conforme herself to the Scotts proceedings in religion, and to dissemble with them; supposing that to be the best meane to work theyr purposes. — I pray youe, the Scotts may be advertised of this dissimulation of the Queen Douagier, and to what end it is done.” Forbes, vol. i. p. 183.

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 1559.
 The siege of
 Perth.

A resolution was taken to expel the garrison from Perth, and to relieve the inhabitants. The lords of the Congregation buckled on their armour. The districts of Fife, Angus, Merns, and Strathern, furnished them with an army. They marched to Perth, and commanded the magistrates and the garrison to make it open to all her majesty's subjects. It was answered, that the town would be maintained for the Queen Regent. The earl of Huntley, the chancellor, hastened, by her commission, to intreat the associated lords to delay the siege for a few days. They told him that they would not delay it for one hour; and that if a single Protestant should be killed in the assault, the garrison should be put indiscriminately to the sword. The offended chancellor departed fullenly, without bidding them an adieu. A new invitation called upon the magistrates and the garrison to surrender; who being in hopes of relief, repeated the answer they had first given. The batteries of the Congregation were now applied to the town; and the fears of the besieged increasing as their expectations of assistance died away, they beat a parley, and offered to surrender within twelve hours, upon the condition that the captains and soldiery should be permitted to retire with their colours flying. These terms were accepted; and the town was thus, without the effusion of blood, restored to its liberties, and to the exercise of the Reformed faith*.

The abbey
 and palace of
 Scoon are
 burned.

THE zeal of the Congregation was lifted by this exploit. They thought of destroying the palace and ab-

* Lesly de Reb: Gest. Scot. ap. Jebb; p. 209. Knox, p. 154. Spotswood, p. 125. Buchanau, Hist. Rer. Scot. lib. xvi.

bey of Scoon, which were at a little distance from Perth. It was in vain that their leaders interested themselves to save them. Even the rhetoric of John Knox was here ineffectual. An enraged multitude set fire to these stately edifices; and while the flames were ascending, an old woman was heard to exclaim, "See how the judgments of God are just! No authority is able to save where he will punish. This place, in my memory, has been nothing else but a sink of whoredom. It is incredible to think, how many wives have been allured to adultery, and how many virgins have been deflowered by the filthy beasts fostered in this den *!"

It was now to be dreaded that the Congregation would carry their arms into the southern provinces. The Queen Regent was therefore impatient to throw a garrison into Stirling, and to possess herself of its bridge, which was the only one over the Forth. But the earl of Argyle, and the lord James Stuart, apprized of her intention, presented themselves at Stirling, the very morning after the demolition of the palace and abbey of Scoon. The people, animated by their presence, applied themselves to mischief and destruction. All the monasteries in the town and its neighbourhood were pulled to the ground. The fine abbey of Cambuskenneth, situated in the midst of a valley on the north bank of the Forth, could not preserve itself from their fury. The gloomy Protestant walked over its ruins.

AFTER passing three days at Stirling, the Congregation marched to Linlithgow, whence, after having com-

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Ravages of
the Congre-
gation at
Stirling.

At Linlith-
gow and
Edinburgh.

* Knox, p. 156.

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mitted their usual havock, they advanced to Edinburgh. The Queen Regent, struck with terror, fled from her capital to Dunbar. The lord Seaton the provost undertook the protection of the black and grey friars, and abandoned the resolution he had taken. Whatever was sacred in the monasteries was destroyed; whatever was valuable was taken away as spoil.

The Protestants take up their residence at Edinburgh.

At Edinburgh the Congregation determined to remain for some time. After their bold proceedings, it was proper to deliberate concerning the steps of their future conduct. When they had purified the churches from the pollutions of popery, it was their first care to appoint preachers, who might expound to the people the purer doctrines of Christianity. They then possessed themselves of the mint, and the instruments of coinage, upon the pretext, that the stamping of base money had raised, to an extravagant rate, all the necessary provisions of life.

The proclamation of the Queen Regent.

In the ardour of success, the congregation were meditating more extensive exertions of power, when the Queen Regent, unable to dispute with them in the field, attempted, by a manifesto or proclamation, to awaken the minds of the people to a lively sense of their allegiance, and to exhibit the most odious representation of her adversaries. She declared, that the Protestants calling themselves the Congregation, were a seditious multitude, who, under the show and cover of religion, were seeking the subversion of the government; she appealed to the strong actions which they had achieved; she commanded them to leave Edinburgh within six hours at the farthest; and she enjoined the subjects of Scotland

Scotland to avoid their society, under the penalty of treason *. Beside having conspired against the authority of the Queen Regent, it was industriously reported, that it was a part of their intention to deprive the duke of Chattellerault and his heir of their right of succession to the crown, and to raise to the sovereignty, the lord James Stuart †. When the truth is not to be perceived with certainty, suspicions have their full force; and the Queen Regent having likewise expressed in her proclamation her desire that the disputes about religion should be settled and determined by the three estates, an uncommon respect, notwithstanding her former artifices, seems to have been paid to her declarations. Attachment to the established government, the sympathy which is felt for grandeur in distress, the aversion from trouble that is naturally produced by the indolence and the fears of mankind, all operated in her favour. The Congregation losing somewhat of their popularity, and being permitted to languish in inaction and idleness, the spirit of disunion came to prevail among them to a considerable degree; and many retired to seek comfort and security in their own homes. The neglect of forming them into a regular body under military discipline, and of establishing a fund for their

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* COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. IX.

† Throkemorton to Sec. Cecil. "I am secretly informed, that there is a party in Scotland for the placing of the prior of Saynte Andrewes in the state of Scotland; and that he himself doth by all the secret means he can aspire thereunto; whereof I thought to give you knowledge, as well for the more certain understanding of the same, as for further consideration to be had what the queen's majesty hath to do in this case." Forbes, State Papers, vol. i. page 180.

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maintenance added its influence to these different sources of decline; and when the protestants appeared to have gained every thing, by having forced the Queen Regent from her capital, they were tottering on the brink of a precipice.

The Protestants assert the integrity of their intentions.

The Congregation did not fail to vindicate themselves from the charges imputed to them. In an address to the Queen Regent, they disclaimed all intentions hostile to the state and to its polity; and affirmed, that the only objects in their view were the advancement of the true religion, and the protection of its followers against the violence and passions of their enemies*. To give strength to their assertions, they offered to explain them by the most respectable members of their association, in the presence of the Queen Regent herself, if a free access were permitted to her person. A safe conduct brought their deputies before her. They enlarged to her upon the averments and good intentions of the Congregation; but she being desirous of protracting the time in fruitless treaty, affected still to have doubts, and desired that the earl of Argyle, and the lord James Stuart, as the leaders of the party, might be sent to her.

Conference by Commissioners between the queen regent and the Congregation.

To the Congregation it appeared a dangerous experiment to confide so far in the virtue of the Queen Regent, as to entrust their leaders to her discretion; and, as it was known that designs against their lives had been meditated in the court, their reserve and prudence are worthy of applause. But that they might not seem

* COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. X.

to neglect her request altogether, they agreed, that the earl of Argyle, and the lord James Stuart, should meet with her friends in a place not exposed to suspicion, and with an equal number of attendants upon each side. The Queen Regent named for her commissioners the duke of Chattellerault, the earl of Huntley, the lords Erskine and Somerville, Mr. Gavin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, and the justice-clerk. Upon the part of the Congregation there were appointed the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the lords Ruthven, Boyde, and Ogiltree, the lord James Stuart, and the barons Dun and Pittarow. One hundred persons attended respectively, the deputies of the Queen Regent, and the Protestants, who held their conference at Preston in East-Lothian. But though they deliberated together during a whole day, they could reach no conclusion; for the commissioners for the Queen Regent, while they seemed willing to yield to the free exercise of the Protestant faith, yet insisted, that in whatever place she presented herself, the preachers should be silent, and that the mass only should be celebrated; and for the Congregation it was contended, that this was in effect to deprive them of a church, as by changing the place of her residence, she might totally destroy their form of worship, or make a mockery of it.

AFTER this vain parade of a conference, the commissioners for the Congregation, still disposed to proceed in the business, and to bring it to an issue, addressed themselves, by two of their number, to the Queen Regent. They informed her, that they would never consent that the preachers should be condemned

The Protestants send a message to the queen regent.

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to silence upon any account, or that the true religion should yield and give way to popery and superstition. They, therefore, requested the liberty of worshipping God according to their own consciences; and, as the introduction of foreign troops into the country was inconsistent with liberty, they entreated her solemn promise to abstain from this dangerous policy in the future, and that the French soldiers now in the kingdom should be instantly removed. They assured her, that upon these conditions, they were ready to furnish her with ships and money for transporting them to France, and would swear to the Almighty God, to serve and support her to the utmost extent of their power. They said, that they were not averse from her calling the preachers into her presence, that all objections to their lives and doctrines might be stated and examined; and they took the freedom to suggest, that a legal parliament was the most proper and constitutional method of terminating all their differences, with this limitation, that the bishops, as parties, should be made to withhold their influence and voices. Upon these topics the Queen Regent did not enter; she replied in general terms, that she wished in an earnest manner for tranquillity and peace*.

The queen-regent marches against the Congregation

THE ambiguity and art of the Queen Regent could not possibly escape the discernment of the leaders of the Congregation; and upon this account it is difficult to explain their sluggish councils. Attempts were making to divide them, and their troops were dispersing

* Knox, p. 158, 160. Spowood, p. 127.

them-

themselves. The Queen Regent was rising in consequence, and was still warmly averse from the work of a Reformation. They were sinking into weakness, and were unprepared to defend the capital, though they had resolved to continue in it. After amusing them with negociation, she excited their terror by arms. Leaving Dunbar, she marched towards Edinburgh. Their perplexity was infinite. Collecting the few friends who remained with them, the leaders of the Congregation proceeded to Leith, to join their adherents there. But Leith had already surrendered itself to the Queen Regent. They returned to Edinburgh, and were told by the lord Erskine, the governor of its castle, that he would treat them as enemies, if they should presume to interrupt her entry into her capital. In this extremity they were inclined to enter into articles of accommodation. A treaty accordingly was ratified.

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23d July.

A treaty is concluded.

Its terms.

It was stipulated upon the part of the Congregation, that the town of Edinburgh should be open to the Queen Dowager and her attendants; that the palace of Holyrood-house, and the instruments of coinage, should be delivered up to her; and that the Protestant lords and people should be obedient to her authority and the laws, should abstain from all injury to papists, and should employ no violence against churches, religious houses, and images. Upon the part of the Queen Regent, it was agreed, that the inhabitants of Edinburgh should adopt the Reformed religion or popery at their pleasure; that no garrison of French or Scottish mercenaries should be stationed within this city; and that, in other places of the kingdom a simi-

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Discontents
concerning
the French
mercenaries.

lar latitude with regard to belief and religious exercise should be given to the Protestants and to their preachers*.

AMIDST all the candour and liberality which appear on the side of the Queen Regent in this treaty, there is no mention of the removal of the French soldiers out of the kingdom, and of her obligation that no foreign troops should be brought into it without the consent of the three estates. Yet it is certain, that an article to this purpose was inserted in the original schedule, or instrument which the lords of the Congregation communicated to her as the foundation and boundary of their agreement †. The constant jealousy entertained of such troops on the one hand, and the perpetual anxiety to uphold them manifested on the other, are a decisive evidence of the danger which they threatened to the independency of the nation. And, it ought not to escape remark, that the day after the ratification of this treaty, the duke of Châtellerauld and the earl of Huntley, the friends of the Queen Regent, contrived to have a private interview with the leaders of the Congregation; in which they engaged themselves to desert her interest, and to join the Protestants, if she should depart from her stipulations in the smallest degree; or, if counteracting the general wishes of the people, she should continue in an obstinate resolution to maintain her French troops.

* Spotswood, p. 128. Knox, p. 162.

This accommodation or truce which was concluded upon the 24th day of July 1559, was only to be effectual till the 10th day of January 1560.

† Knox, p. 163.

A SUSPICION of the despotic intentions of the Queen Regent, which she had been too careful to encourage, a jealousy of France, the free genius of the Gothic or mixed form of government, and the high pride and spirit which animated the feudal nobles, all conspired to foster an indignant contempt, and a fearful hatred of bands of foldiers, who knew war in no other light than as a profession; who receiving a constant pay, were ever ready to act for it; and who, in drawing their swords, observed no distinctions of right, but fought in a blind subserviency to the caprices and the mandate of a master.

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WHILE these events were in full operation, Henry II. king of France, died of a wound received in a tournament. By the advice of the constable Montmorency, he had sent into Scotland James Melvil, a person of capacity and address, in order to acquire an intimate knowledge of its affairs, and to penetrate into the secret intentions of the lord James Stuart, who was suspected of aiming at the sovereignty. But when Mr. Melvil, after executing his commission, had returned to Paris, this monarch was languishing at the point of death. What political consequences might have resulted to Scotland from this embassy, it is impossible to determine with infallible certainty. Our historians, indeed, from a vain conjecture of advantage, and from a change of system in Scottish affairs, which was never adopted, have vied in tender expressions of regret for the death of Henry II. It is not probable, however, that the prosperity of Scotland had been ever any serious object of his thought

The death of
Henry II.

or

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1559.

or care. The great current of French politics bore with violence against the freedom of the Scottish government, and against the Protestant religion *. Henry did not want a sufficient portion of bigotry. He wore obsequiously the chains of the duchess of Valentinois, who had been the concubine of his father, Francis I. but who retained to an advanced age all the bewitching allurements of beauty. The constable Montmorency was the slave of her faction; and of this lady it is known, that she was a mortal enemy to the Reformed, and a sincere friend to persecution.

Accession of Francis and Mary to the crown of France. The expectations of the queen regent.

THE violent counsels which Henry II. had encouraged in the Queen Regent, did not suffer any abatement under his successor, Francis II. The princes of Lorraine, taking an unlimited advantage of the extreme weakness of this prince, and of the fond affection which their niece, the queen, bore to them, advanced themselves beyond the station of ministers. The constable Montmorency, who, during a portion of the reign of Henry II. had surpassed them in power, was now in disgrace. Instigated by an ungovernable ambition, they usurped the exercise of all the powers of the kings of France. To the Queen Regent they communicated the insulting insolence of their pride. They enjoined her to proceed in the desperate courses upon which she had entered; and animating her hopes, and flattering her courage, gave her the assurance of an aid, which should be able not only to overpower every effort of

* See the Collection of State Papers published by Dr. Forbes.

her

her enemies, and to establish Popery on the firmest foundation, but to subject Scotland to a military despotism, and to be a dependent province of France.

1559. —

THESE important events, the death of Henry, and the advancement of Francis, did not pass unobserved by the leaders of the Protestants. After having proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, the particular articles which concerned the Reformed in the late accommodation, or truce, which they had concluded with the Queen Regent, they proceeded to Stirling, where holding a council upon the state of their affairs, they thought it expedient to enter into a new league for the support of religion, and for their mutual defence. This league, or association, was called *the Third Covenant* *. It expressed the sensibility which the Congregation entertained of the craft and treachery of their adversaries, and their dread of the fair bribes and promises which might be employed to separate them from one another, to their utter ruin and destruction; and by the terms of it, they individually engaged themselves before God, and by the respect which they felt for the true religion, that they should refuse to attend the Queen Regent upon any letter or message; and that immediately upon the receipt of any notice from her, to any person of their number, it should be communicated without reserve, and be made a common subject of scrutiny and deliberation. When cemented by the sanction of this new compact and oath, they formed the resolution of seeking aid and support from

The lords of the Congregation meet at Stirling. The third covenant.

* COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. XI.

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all princes whatsoever of the Reformed religion, against the Queen Regent, if it should appear that her oppressions and tyranny could not in any other manner be opposed with success; and they agreed, in this extremity, to apply first to England, upon account of the proximity of its situation*.

The Protestants are disturbed in the exercise of their religion.

IT was neither the intention nor the interest of the Queen Regent to engage in hostilities till the arrival of the troops which she expected from France. She could not, however, refrain herself from discovering, with some degree of violence, her dissatisfaction with the Reformed, and with the favourable concessions which had been granted to them by the late treaty. Before her entry into Edinburgh, the Protestants had possessed themselves of the High Church; and in terms of the truce, which discharged all molestation of the preachers, they continued to occupy it. She was yet desirous that this church should be reserved in a peculiar manner for her own use, and for the exercise of the mass; and she employed the duke of Chattellerault, the earl of Huntley, and the lord Seaton, to procure it from the magistracy. This favour, as might have been expected, was refused to her. She then requested, that the liberty of saying mass in this church, either before or after the sermons of the preachers, might be granted to the Popish clergy. It was answered, that the Reformed were in possession of the High Church, and that they could never consent to have it applied, in any shape, to the pollutions of

* Knox, p. 166.

idolatry.

idolatry. Her defeat in these attempts, was resented by open insults to the preachers and the Reformed. The French captains and soldiers were ordered to parade in the churches during the time of divine service, and to give disturbance by indecency and noise. It was thought that the preachers might thus be induced to seek more retired places for the exercises of religion; and that the people might be irritated to break the peace, and afford pretences for accusing the Reformed of sedition and turbulence*.

IN this precarious and uncertain situation of the two factions, Monsieur de la Croc arrived from France, to assure the Queen Regent, that a powerful army to support her interests was soon to be transported into Scotland; and that she might immediately expect a few troops, with money and ammunition. This envoy was also intrusted with letters from Francis and Mary to the lord James Stuart, who was now generally understood to be the principal leader of the Congregation †. They were full of reproaches, menaces, and entreaties; and when the lord James Stuart had perused them, the envoy informed him, that “the king his master would rather expend all the treasures of France than lose the gratification of his revenge against the nobles, whose arts and rebellion had disturbed Scotland ‡. The lord James Stuart replied to these letters with firmness, and not without modesty; acknowledging that he had joined himself to the Protestants; and that,

A messenger arrives from France. Francis and Mary address letters to the lord James Stuart.

* Spotswood, p. 129. Knox, p. 169.

† Lesly, de Reb. Gest. Scot. ap. Jebb. p. 212, 213.

‡ Spotswood, p. 131.

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for the glory of God, he was interested to establish the Reformation; but entreating them to remember, that, while the invidious name of rebellion was misapplied to an activity which could boast the most sacred of all motives, he was in every other respect most obedient and submissive to the laws*.

Character of
the lord James
Stuart.

THIS illustrious man was the natural son of James V. by Margaret, the daughter of John lord Ereskine. He had been appointed, at an early age, to the priory of St. Andrews; but he possessed not that pacific mind, which, uninterested in the present world, delights to look to the future, and to busy itself in the indolent formalities of devotion. The activity of his nature compelled him to seek agitation and employment; the perturbed period in which he lived supplied him with scenes of action; and the eminence of his abilities displayed itself. He discovered a passion for liberty and a zeal for religion; and he distinguished himself by an openness and sincerity of carriage. These popular qualities pleased the Congregation, and procured to him their confidence. The love of liberty, however, was not, in him, the effect of patriotism, but of pride; his zeal for religion was a political virtue; and under the appearance of openness and sincerity, he could conceal more securely his purposes. Power was the idol which he worshipped; and he was ready to acquire it by methods the most criminal. He was bold, firm, and penetrating. His various mind fitted him alike for intrigue and for war. He was destined to flourish in the

* Buchanan, Hist. Rer. Scot. lib. xvi.

midst of difficulties. His sagacity enabled him to foresee dangers, his prudence to prepare for them, and his fortitude to surmount them. To his talents, his genius, and his resources, Scotland is indebted for the Reformation. But by this memorable achievement, he meant nothing more than to advance himself in the road to greatness. To this point all his actions were directed. It gave the limits to his generosity, which has been extolled as unbounded. His praise, his caresses, and his services, his dissimulation, his perfidiousness, and his enmities, were all sacrifices to ambition. And miscarriage, which has ravished so many laurels from great men, did not tarnish his glory. His success was so conspicuous, that he seemed to have the command of fortune.

THE letters of Francis and Mary are to be considered as an artifice of the Queen Regent, to gain or to intimidate a man whose superior endowments made him formidable. She perceived his defection to be irrecoverable; and sought a consolation for it in the arrival of a French commander, with a body of a thousand men, and sums of money and military stores. This captain, whose name was Octavien, was ordered by her to return to France, to request an immediate reinforcement of one thousand soldiers more, with one hundred men at arms, and four ships of war to guard the Firth of Edinburgh. And to stimulate the zeal of Francis and Mary, she took the opportunity to inform them, that the Congregation were soliciting assistance of men and money from all the princes who had embraced the Reformation. With the troops already sent, she pre-

The arrival
of French
troops at
Leith.

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New supplies
from France.

pared to fortify Leith, which might serve her as a place of refuge, and keep open by its port a communication with other countries*.

WHILE Octavien was preparing for his departure, La Brosse, a dependant of the House of Guise, arrived with two thousand foot of additional supplies; and that the Scots might be defeated not only by arms but by disputation, he brought with him Pellevé, bishop of Amiens, and three doctors of the Sorbonne †. It was by the advice of these ecclesiastics that the Queen Regent, violating the late convention, deprived the Congregation of the High Church of Edinburgh, which they affected to purify from heretical pollutions, with a variety of rites, and great ostentation of sanctity. But whatever might be expected from their declamations and arguments, they were able only to afford a temporary joy and consolation to the persons who were of the Romish faith. The Protestants treated their legation with the most sovereign contempt, and considered their parade and ceremonies, not merely as tricks to flatter and impose upon ignorance, but as insults to their purer doctrines, and a profanation of whatever is most holy in the true religion.

Matters arrive at the
last extremity.

It was in vain that the Queen Regent now attempted to disunite the associated nobles. Matters had proceeded to the last extremity. The alarm excited by the French troops, and by the pertinacious obstinacy which was manifested in supporting the errors of Popery, spread throughout the kingdom with violence. A procla-

* Lesly de Reb. Gest. Scot. ap. Jebb. p. 215.

† Mezeray, Hist. de France, tome iii. p. 16. Spotswood, p. 133.

mation

mation by the Queen Regent endeavoured to appease the apprehensions of the people, and augmented them. An answer to it by the Protestants gave them new popularity, and furnished their partizans with arguments and topics of defence. Each faction laid claim to justice, vindicated its own rights and merits, and vented its reproaches. The spirit of violence, difunion, and hostility, was thus diffused the more *.

IN the mean time, the lord James Stuart and the Congregation had assembled anew at Stirling; and here they were joined by the earl of Arran, the eldest son of the duke of Chatellerault. This nobleman, who had lived for some years in France, where he commanded the company of Scots gendarmes †; had embraced the Protestant religion, and rendered himself obnoxious to the princes of Lorraine; who were exercising the most horrid cruelties against the Reformed. More zealous than prudent, he had used expressions on the subject of Popery; which attracted too much notice ‡. The cardinal of Lorraine marked him out for the stake ||. Not ambitious of martyrdom, he saved

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The earl of Arran joins the Protestants.

* Knox, p. 172. 174.

† Daniel, Hist. de la Milice Française, tome ii. p. 174.

‡ Thuanus, Hist. sui Temp. lib. xxiv.

¶ It is probable that political reasons concurred with religion to induce the House of Guise to think of destroying the earl of Arran. His death would put an end to his pretensions to the crown. It was with the greatest anxiety that they sought to have him either dead or alive. The conquest of Scotland was accounted by them as certain; and, from a letter to queen Elizabeth by her ambassador Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, it appears, that the marquis D'Elbeuf was to have gone to Scotland, to reside there in the character of its viceroy. Dr. Forbes; Collection of State Papers, vol. i. p. 193.

himself

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himself by flight. Revenge and rage actuated him. In uniting himself to the Congregation he adopted all their wisest views. He was their friend both as to religion and to liberty; and was eager not only to erect the banner of the Reformation upon the ruins of Popery, but to act in the total expulsion of the French troops.

They are joined by the duke of Chatellerault.

WHEN the earl of Arran communicated his complaints to the duke of Chatellerault, he could not fail to communicate also his resentments. To win him completely to the side of the Congregation was his next step; and it was not difficult. Doomed by the easiness of his temper to be a Papist or a Protestant in convenience to his friends, the duke consented to forsake the party which had honoured him as their leader. Some petty feuds in which he was engaged with the associated nobles were soon extinguished. His dissatisfaction with the despotic designs of the Queen Regent was improved into a disgust. The smart of injuries offered to his family and greatness inflamed him against France. He had indeed opposed the Protestants, but they were willing to receive him with open arms; and they were strong enough to protect him. His case required no deepness of thought; a force and power of circumstances directed his line of conduct; and the father and the son threw their united weight into the scale of the Congregation.

Proceedings of the lords of the congregation.

IN this fulness of their strength, the associated lords having deliberated upon the measures which the Queen Regent was pursuing, resolved to address to her a common letter of expostulation. They told her that their astonishment.

ment was greatly excited by her fortifying Leith, expelling its natural inhabitants, and planting a colony of foreigners; and that from this conduct, which had no authority from the three estates, they could plainly infer her intention to destroy the liberties of the nation, and to subject it to a despotism. They called upon her to consider, that these steps were a violation of the spirit and meaning of the late treaty, and an act of hostility against the laws and the constitution; and they conjured her to relinquish a course and habit of administration, which must drive them to the disagreeable necessity of giving their concurrence to the people, who knew how to punish all transgressions of their rights, and to stop the melancholy approaches of domination and tyranny*.

THE Queen Regent did not offer to return any direct or explicit answer to this letter. By arts of management and policy she laboured to conciliate to her the duke of Chatellerault and the lord James Stuart. But as the fortifications and military preparations at Leith were continued, all her strongest affirmations of attachment to the nation and of respect to its rights were disregarded. The confederated nobles dispatched throughout the country the information of her hostile designs, described the impending danger, and called the people to arms. Mutual manifestoes were now circulated in apology for the conduct of the two factions†.

The duplicity
of the queen
regent.

* COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. XII.

† COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. XIII.

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The Protestants march to Edinburgh.

By a strong act of power the Congregation commanded Broughty castle to be seized for their use; and after this decisive explanation of their sincerity in their purposes, they consulted the movements of their courage, and marched to Edinburgh. The Queen Regent retired from her palace of Holyrood-house to put herself under the protection of the French troops at Leith. The nobles, that they might not seem to act without a prudent recollection, addressed a new admonition to her. They desired her to call to her remembrance their late remonstrances upon her fortifying Leith and planting it with foreigners. They assured her that they were still of opinion, that these measures indicated a concerted design to overthrow the national liberties. They therefore requested her to command her Frenchmen and mercenaries to depart from Leith, and to make it open and patent not only to the natural inhabitants, who had been dispossessed of their houses, but to all the subjects of Scotland. And they declared, that her refusal of this requisition should be held by them as a decisive proof of her project to reduce the kingdom to slavery; and that they were determined to employ all their power to defend and protect the national freedom and independency*.

The queen regent sends the lord Lion to them.

THE messenger of the Congregation was dismissed by the Queen Regent without any answer; but, two days after she had received this new remonstrance, she sent to them the lord Lion king at arms. He told them, that she considered their demand and claim, not only

* COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. XIV.

as presumptuous, but as an encroachment upon the royal authority; that it was an indignity to her to be dictated to by subjects; that Frenchmen were not to be treated as foreigners, as they were intitled to the privileges of Scotsmen; and that she would neither disband her troops, nor order the town of Leith to be open and patent. Upon delivering this resolute message, the lord Lion in her name and by her authority commanded the lords of the Congregation to depart from Edinburgh, and to disperse themselves, under the pain of high treason*.

AN answer so unequivocal explained the intentions of the Queen Regent without the possibility of a doubt. Agitated with this avowed contempt of the laws, and with this deliberate insult to their rank and to their power, the associated lords thought of instant and decisive action. A council of nobles, barons, and burghesses, was assembled; and the lord Ruthven acted as president. Having stated the presumptuous refusal which had been given to the repeated and earnest solicitations of men who were counsellors and legislators, he put this important question: "Is it fit, or not, that the Queen Regent should controul the commonwealth, and subject the people to bondage?" A deep silence ensued. The dignity of a citizen in a free nation, the majesty of a chief magistrate, the abuse of delegated power; these great considerations filled every man's mind. Struck with the novelty of their situation; with its grandeur, and with the reverence of authority, some

They deliberate upon the conduct of the queen regent, and deprive her of her office.

* COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. XV.

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hesitated concerning their right to suspend the operation of the regency in the absence of their sovereign. The case appeared to be without any example in the history of Scotland. To the preachers they applied as to oracles. John Willocks spoke of the limitation of magistrates by the word of God, and of the deposition of kings recorded in the Scriptures. John Knox assured them, that the preservation of the commonwealth and the incurable sins of the Queen Regent were sufficient reasons for depriving her of her high office; but that in withdrawing their obedience from her, they did not withdraw from the duty which they owed to their sovereign. In the course of their deliberations every doubt which had been entertained was completely satisfied; and at length the vote being called for degrading the Queen Regent, every man was required to give his judgment according to his conscience, and as he was to answer to the Almighty God: Every voice pronounced her guilt, and consented to her humiliation. And the nobility, barons, and burgessees, all agreed and concurred in subscribing an edict which suspended her commission of regency, and removed her from the administration of the government*.

Their sentence or decree.

THIS edict or ordination † was sent to the chief cities of Scotland, and published in them. It represented the urgent necessity of the commonwealth which had given occasion to so strong an act; and enumerated in detail the offences of the Queen Regent. It mentioned her

* Spotswood, p. 135, 136, 137. Knox, p. 198. Buchanan, Hist. Her. Scot. lib. xvi.

† COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. XVI.

march to Perth with armed men to punish the inhabitants who had made a profession of the true religion, but who had been convicted of no crime; her hostile preparations and proceedings against the nobles and barons who had associated from motives of piety, and against whom no criminal sentence had been pronounced; her stationing garrisons in particular towns to the destruction of their liberties; her removal of magistrates at her pleasure, and her election of others in their place in contempt of established forms; her planting a colony of foreigners in a principal station of her kingdom, with a view to its conquest, and without the consent of the three estates; her debasing the coin, and her circulation of money made of lead, to the impoverishment of the realm, and the ruin of all foreign trade; her maintaining strangers in the great offices of state, to the extreme danger of religious and civil liberty; her transporting the great seal out of the kingdom, that it might be put to the most inclement uses; her altering the old laws and customs by the introduction of French formalities in the remissions and pardon of criminals; her upholding a formidable army of mercenaries in opposition to the nature and spirit of the government; and, in fine, her determined resolution to refuse all redress of injury and grievances. Such were the offences which compelled them to degrade her from authority and office, and prohibit all the officers of state from paying any obedience or respect to her commands.

By these bold proceedings the lords and the commons of the Congregation did not mean to destroy

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altogether the operation of the civil government: they considered themselves as forming a council for the administration of affairs under Francis and Mary. Hence, when they dispatched the lord Lion king at arms to the Queen Dowager with the act of her deprivation, they took the opportunity to inform her by letter, that they considered her administration as in a violent hostility to the will of their sovereign lord and lady, whose counsellors they were; and that it was in their name and authority that they had suspended her from the regency*.

IN the democratical genius of the Scottish constitution, in the importance which distinguished the people from the earliest times, there is the strongest vindication of this measure †. Limited by laws, magistrates, not despots, even the monarchs of Scotland themselves when they presumed to invade the rights of the nation, by their representatives or in their own persons, were exposed to the resistance and the correction of the subject. The indignant people might vindicate their privileges and their honours. Upon slight transgressions they might give the alarm to the fears of their prince, and repress by remonstrance the intoxication of his grandeur. Upon great occasions, and in the hard moments of tyranny, they might yield to the fullness of their resentments and their wrongs; and making him a sacrifice to justice, and an instruction to posterity, conduct him from the throne to the scaffold.

* See COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. XVI.

† See Observations concerning the Public Law and the Constitutional History of Scotland.

THE
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
REFORMATION OF RELIGION
I N
S C O T L A N D.
B O O K III.

AFTER depriving the Queen Dowager of the re-
gency, the Congregation summoned Leith to sur-
render, and required its garrison to leave the town
within the space of twelve hours. A defiance being
given to their power, and their herald being treated
with indignity, some petty skirmishes ensued. The
confederated nobles now prepared to enter Leith by
scalade; and, for this service, ladders were framed in
the church of St. Giles; a business which interrupting
the preachers in the exercise of public worship, made
them prognosticate misfortune and miscarriage to the
Congregation. In the displeasure of the preachers the
common

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The Protestants summoned
Leith to surrender; and
fall into distress.

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common people found a source of complaint ; and the emissaries of the Queen Dowager acting with indefatigable industry to divide her adversaries, and to spread chagrin and dissatisfaction among them, discontent, animosity, and terror, came to prevail to a great degree. The duke of Chatellerault, invaded by timidities, discouraged many by his example. Defections from the Protestants added strength to the Queen Dowager. The most secret deliberations of the confederated lords were revealed to her. The soldiery were clamorous for pay, and it was very difficult to procure money to extinguish their claims. Attempts to soothe and appease them, discovering their consequence, engendered mutinies. They put to death a domestic of the earl of Argyll, who endeavoured to compose them to order ; they insulted several persons of rank who discovered a solicitude to pacify them ; and they even ventured to declare, that, for a proper reward, they were ready to suppress the Reformation, and to re-establish the mass*.

Their perplexity, and application to England.

It was absolutely necessary to give satisfaction to the Protestant soldiers. The lords and gentlemen of the Congregation collected a considerable sum among them, but it was not equal to the present exigency. The avarice of many taught them to withhold what they could afford, and the poverty of others did not permit them to indulge their generosity. It was resolved, that each nobleman should surrender his silver plate, to be struck into money. By the address, however, of the

* Spotiswood, p. 138. Knox, p. 200.

Queen Dowager, the officers of the mint were bribed to conceal, or to convey to a distance, the stamps and instruments of coinage. A gloomy despair gave disquiet to the Congregation, and threatened their ruin. Queen Elizabeth, with whose ministers the confederated lords maintained a correspondence at this time, had frequently promised them her assistance; but they could not now wait the event of a deputation to the court of England. In an extremity so pressing, they therefore applied for a sum of money to Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir James Croft, the governors of Berwick; and Cockburn of Ormiston, who was entrusted with this commission, obtained from them an aid of four thousand crowns. Traitors, however, in the councils of the Congregation, having informed the Queen Dowager of his errand and expedition, the earl of Bothwell, by her order, intercepted him upon his return, discomfited his retinue, and made a prize of the English subsidy*.

To rouse the spirit of the party, an attack was projected upon Leith, and some pieces of artillery were planted against it. But before any charge could be made, the French soldiers sallied out to give battle to the troops of the Congregation, possessed themselves of their cannon, and drove them back to Edinburgh. A report that the victors had entered this city with the fugitives, filled it with disorder and dismay. The earl of Argyle and his Highlanders hastened to recover the honour of the day, and harassed the French in their retreat. This petty conflict, while it elated the Queen.

An unsuccessful attempt against Leith.

* Keith, Append. No. 15.

Book III. Dowager, served to augment the despondence of the
 1559. Protestants. Their councils were without vigour, and
 resolutions were no sooner formed, than they were
 abandoned.

A second skir-
 mish.

VAIN of their prowess, the French made a new sally from Leith, with a view to intercept a supply of provisions and stores for the Congregation. The earl of Arran and the lord James Stuart advanced to attack them, and obliged them to retire. But pursuing them with too much heat, a fresh body of French troops made its appearance. It was prudent to retreat, but difficult. An obstinate resistance was made. It was the object of the French to cut off the soldiers of the Congregation from Edinburgh, and by this means to divide the strength of that station. The earl of Arran and the lord James Stuart had occasion for all their address and courage. Though they were able, however, to effect their escape, their loss was considerable, and the victory was manifestly on the side of their adversaries*.

Secretary
 Maitland
 joins the Con-
 gregation.

ABOUT this time, William Maitland of Lethington, secretary to the Queen Dowager, withdrew secretly from Leith, and joined himself to the confederated nobles. He had been disgusted with the jealousies of the French counsellors, and was exposed to danger from having embraced the doctrines of the Reformed. His reception was cordial, and corresponded to the opinion entertained of his wisdom and experience. He was skilled in business, adorned with literature, and accustomed to reflec-

* Buchanan, Hist. Rer. Scot. lib. xvi.

tion. But, as yet it was not known, that his want of integrity was in proportion to the greatness of his talents.

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THE accession of this statesman to their party could not console the lords of the Congregation for the unpromising aspect of their affairs. The two discomfitures they had received sunk deeply into the minds of their followers. Those who affected prudence, retired privately from a cause which they accounted to be desperate; and the timorous fled with precipitation. It was to no purpose that Maitland urged the Protestants to constancy, and to maintain their post at Edinburgh. It was in vain that the lord James Stuart exerted himself to shew the propriety of this measure. The lord Erskine, who had importance from his personal character, and as the governor of Edinburgh castle, refused to declare for the Congregation, and made professions of neutrality. The earls of Huntley and Morton were supposed to be friends to the Reformed, but remained in suspense from irresolution or craftiness. It was suspected, that many persons of rank were soon to give openly their influence to the Queen Dowager; and already she was assisted by the earl of Bothwell, and the lords Seton and Borthwick. The wailings and distrust of the brethren were melancholy and infectious; and exciting the ridicule and scorn of the partisans of the Queen Dowager, were thence augmented the more. A distress not to be comforted seemed to have invaded the Protestants; and the associated nobles consented to abandon the capital. A little after midnight they retired from Edinburgh; and so great was the panic

The Protestants leave Edinburgh.

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They send
ambassadors
to England.

which prevailed, that they marched to Stirling without any stop or intermission*.

JOHN KNOX, who had accompanied the Congregation to Stirling, anxious to recover their unanimity and courage, addressed them from the pulpit. He represented their misfortunes as the consequences of their sins; and entreating them to remember the goodness of their cause, assured them, in the end, of joy, honour, and victory. His popular eloquence, corresponding to all their warmest wishes, diffused satisfaction and cheerfulness. They passed from despair to hope. A council was held, in which the confederated nobles determined to solicit, by a formal embassy, the aid of Queen Elizabeth. Maitland of Lethington, and Robert Melvil, were chosen to negotiate this important transaction; and they received the fullest instructions concerning the state and difficulties of the Congregation, the tyrannical designs of the Queen Dowager, and the danger which threatened England from the union of Scotland with France.

Queen Elizabeth is urged to give assistance to the Congregation.

THOUGH Elizabeth had employed Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir James Croft, and Thomas Randolph, to watch over the affairs of Scotland, to act privately with the Congregation, and to supply them with advice and money, she yet affected a slowness of councils, and the formality of debates. The commissioners from the Protestants vindicated the confederated nobles from the charge of rebellion, and demonstrated, by an historical detail of circumstances, that they had been necessitated to

* Knox, p. 205. Spottwood, p. 139.

take up arms in defence of the government and liberties of Scotland. They traced the despotic intentions of France and the Queen Dowager, to the marriage of the Queen of Scots with the Dauphin; and in giving the narrative of her administration, they pointed out its tendency in her French counsellors, her French troops, her perpetual opposition to the natives of Scotland, her hatred to England, and her affection to France. They insisted that the Protestants were animated by no motives whatever, but the extirpation of idolatry, and the preservation of their civil rights. It was to advance these salutary ends that they desired the assistance of England; and they offered, in return, the amity of the Scottish nation. The two states were about to be of the same religion, and no measure could contribute so powerfully to their mutual strength and endurance, as the effectual coalition of their interests. The Congregations were disposed to enter into a solid and permanent treaty with England. The natives of both countries, with a few exceptions, were keen and strenuous for this alliance. And in fine, the conquest of Scotland, if achieved by French policy and arms, would open a source of calamities to the English nation, which its utmost efforts might be unable to resist. The urgency and strength of these motives, it was contended, could not escape remark, and must carry a lively conviction along with them. It was therefore inferred, that Queen Elizabeth ought to prevent the possibility of future dangers to her kingdom, to give a present check to the encroachments of an ambitious enemy, and to acquire

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Deliberations
of the English
statefmen.

to herself an ally, whose gratitude and attachment would compensate and reward her services and generosity*.

To some of the English statefmen it seemed a dangerous precedent, to furnish aid to subjects against the ruling authority; and to refuse assistance to Protestants suffering under the oppressions of Papists, appeared an impiety to others. But Sir William Cecil, weighing profoundly the true interests of England, set himself to consider the consequences of the establishment of the French power in Scotland. He regarded the French as the inveterate and incurable enemies of England. When they made peace, it was only that they might grow in strength, and renew hostilities with greater efficacy. As their natural resources were immense, they soon recovered from disasters and defeats; and it was not possible for them to be poor or peaceable for any length of years. The House of Guise had adopted the notion, that the Queen of Scots was the true heir of the English monarchy; and they were eager to gain it to France. The insolence with which Henry II. had disputed the title of Queen Elizabeth to her crown and kingdom was sufficiently known. The burning desire of the French nation to involve her in difficulties and danger, had urged them to obtain a bull from Rome, declaring her to be the fruit of an illicit amour; had engaged them in intrigues against her with foreign nations; and had induced their monarchs to usurp,

* Record ap. Burnet, vol. iii. Append. p. 278.

and

and to engrave on their plate and pageants, the arms of the Queen of England. Their arts, conduct, and practices, were strongly expressive of the most hostile intentions; and it was not fit that a politic address, and smooth disguises, should conceal their perfidiousness and ambition. While the Scottish nobles could maintain their importance, and that of their nation, England might trust to its situation, and naval power, as a firm protection, and a formidable barrier; and had little reason to apprehend the invasions of France. But, if Scotland were subdued, its force, and the strength of the French kingdom, might destroy altogether the English independency and government. It was from the Scottish borders that England could be invaded with the surest probability of success. It was upon English ground that a single battle might make the crown to totter upon the head of the sovereign. And the nobles and the people in the northern counties were so much disposed to Popery, that a suspicion might justly be entertained of their affections. To remain indolent and secure, till the schemes of France ripened for execution, and till it could strike overwhelming blows, was the height of weakness and simplicity. To prevent its approaches to greatness, and to employ courage and stratagem against it, were measures of manliness and wisdom. By entering early upon action, the war would be confined to Scotland, and an opportunity would be afforded of strengthening the English frontiers. The enemy, discouraged and disconcerted in the first stages of their designs, would despond and languish; and the business of the total expulsion

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Queen Elizabeth agrees to assist the Congregation.

pulsion of the French from Scotland, be effected with the greater facility, and at the smallest charge *.

QUEEN ELIZABETH, who was sagacious in discerning her real interests, and firm in prosecuting them, perceived all the advantages of interposing in the concerns of Scotland. The representations of the Scottish commissioners, and of her own council, obtained her full assent. A resolution was taken to assist the Congregation; and it was pronounced to be a step not only just and honourable, but even necessary and profitable †. Robert Melvil, accordingly, was dispatched, to inform the confederated nobles of her determination, and to prepare them for the treaty which she intended to conclude with them.

The associated nobles go to different parts of the kingdom.

AFTER they had dispatched their commissioners to Queen Elizabeth, the lords of the Congregation separated, to employ their activity in the two great divisions of the country. The duke of Chatellerauld, the earl of Glencairn, and the lords Boyd and Ochiltree, with their friends, moved to the west, and chose Glasgow as the place of their residence. The lord James Stuart, and the earls of Rothes and Arran, and the master of Lindfey, with their adherents, took their station in the county of Fife. To give comfort to the Reformed in a more extensive degree, to encourage their hopes, and to court new partizans, were the objects of this separation; and that a regular intelligence might be preserved, and a proper communication of measures

* Keith, Append. No. XVII. Burnet, vol. iii. Collection of Records, p. 283. 287.

† Dr. Forbes, State Papers, vol. i. p. 390. 396.

be kept up by the confederated leaders, Mr. Henry Balnaves attended the nobles at Glasgow as their secretary, and to those in Fife Mr. Knox acted in the same character and capacity*.

THE duke of Chatellerault destroyed, at Glasgow, all the images and altars, and possessed himself of the castle, which belonged to the archbishop of that see. Upon the approach, however, of a body of French troops, with the archbishop, and the lords Semple, Seaton, and Ross, he left the town. But the French marching back instantly to Edinburgh, the city of Glasgow was again occupied by the duke and his friends. He now published a remarkable proclamation, under the sanction and authority that the Reformed leaders were a council acting for Francis and Mary. Having observed, that it was the chief care and study of the associated nobles, to advance the glory of God, by maintaining the true preachers of the word, and reforming religion, he commanded the officers of the crown, in the name and authority of the King and Queen of Scots, to charge all the clergy who had not yet joined the Congregation, to appear before it without delay, to testify their conversion from Popery, and their abhorrence of superstition. If they should refuse to comply with this order, the proclamation assured them, that they should be accounted enemies to God, and to the true religion; and that the fruits and profits of their benefices should be taken from them, and employed in supporting the faithful preachers of the go-

The images and altars at Glasgow are demolished. A proclamation by the duke of Chatellerault.

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* Spotswood, p. 140.

Book III. **spel, and for other purposes advantageous to the commonwealth** *.

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THIS violence, instead of answering any salutary end, inflamed the passions of the priesthood; and appears to have induced them to think anew of persecutions against the Reformed. Hence, another proclamation was issued by the Protestants, of which it was the object to put a stop to the convention of all consistories, or ecclesiastical courts, for administering and carrying into force the laws against heretics †.

The queen dowager enters Edinburgh.

FROM the flight and dispersion of the confederated nobles, the Queen Dowager conceived high expectations. She immediately took possession of Edinburgh with the French troops, and driving from it all persons of the Reformed faith, restored the service of the church of Rome. Amidst the excessive triumph and exultation of the Papists, the High Church was again hallowed by the bishop of Amiens, with a variety and splendor of ceremonies. This prosperous turn of affairs was announced by her to the princes of Lorraine; and she requested, in an earnest manner, their utmost diligence in transporting new bands of foldiers, that she might be able to improve her success, and achieve the full conquest of Scotland ‡.

She resolves to finish the war before the arrival of the English troops.

HER elevation of mind, however, was soon repressed, by the certain intelligence she received of the negotiation with Elizabeth, and of her promise to assist the associated lords. She adopted, notwithstanding, a very

* Keith, p. 111.

† Petric, ap. Keith, p. 112.

‡ Knox, p. 213. Spotswood, p. 139, 140.

spirited conduct. Before the English army could arrive, she determined to destroy the Congregation. Against the nobles in Fife she directed her first operations. Her French troops took the road to Stirling, and wasted, in their march, all the grounds which belonged to the favourers of the Reformation. After renewing their depredations at Stirling, they passed the bridge there, and proceeding along the side of the river, exercised their cruelties and oppressions in a district which had distinguished itself by an ardent zeal against Popery. While the terror of their arms was thus diffusing itself, they resolved to seize the town and castle of St. Andrews, which they considered as an important military station, and as a convenient place of reception for the auxiliaries they expected from France.

BUT the lord James Stuart, penetrating into their designs, employed himself to interrupt their progress, and retard their attempts; and it was his object, at the same time, to keep the force of the Congregation entire, to hazard no action of importance, and to wait the approach of the English army. A small advantage was obtained by the French at Petticure; and they possessed themselves of Kinghorn. The lord James Stuart, with five hundred horse, and one hundred foot, entered Dyfart. With this inconsiderable strength he proposed to act against an army of four thousand men*. His admirable skill in military affairs, and his heroic courage, were eminently displayed. During twenty

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The Protestants endeavour to check the French troops.

* Buchanan, Hist. Rer. Scot. lib. xvi. Spotswood, p. 141.

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days he prevented the march of the French to St. Andrews; intercepting their provisions, harrassing them with skirmishes, and intimidating them by the address and the boldness of his stratagems.

1560.

The arrival of
the fleet from
England.

MONSIEUR D'OYSEL, enraged and ashamed to be disconcerted and opposed by a body of men so disproportioned to his army, exerted himself with vigour. The lord James Stuart was obliged to retire. Dyfart and Wemyss were given to the French troops to be pillaged; and when D'Oysel was in full march to St. Andrews, he discovered a powerful fleet bearing up the firth. It was concluded that the supplies expected from France were arrived. Guns were fired by his soldiers, and the vivacity of their joy was indulged in all its extravagance. But this fleet having taken the vessels which contained their provisions, and the ordnance with which they intended to improve the fortifications of the castle at St. Andrews, a period was put to their rejoicings. They were perplexed with doubts and with anxieties. The certain news was brought, that the fleet they observed was the navy of England, which had come to support the Congregation. A consternation, deepened by the giddiness of their preceding transports, invaded them. Monsieur D'Oysel perceived now the value and merit of the service which had been performed by the lord James Stuart; and thinking no more of St. Andrews and conquest, fled to Stirling, in his way to Leith, from which he dreaded to be intercepted; but he reached that important station, after a march of three days, in which he experienced all the difficulties

difficulties and uneasiness that can proceed from an unguarded precipitation and rugged roads, the fears of an enemy and the oppression of fatigue*.

THE duke of Norfolk, who had been constituted lord lieutenant of the northern counties of England, advanced to Berwick, and invited the lords of the Congregation to a formal treaty †. They appointed as their Commissioners, with full instructions and powers, the lord James Stuart, the lord Ruthven, Sir John Maxwell of Teiregles, Maitland of Lethington, John Wishart of Pittarrow, and Mr. Henry Balnaves. The attempts of the French to subdue Scotland, to suppress its liberties, and to unite it to the crown of France, were stated as the causes of this alliance; and it was its object to disappoint these intentions, and to afford an effectual protection to the Scots. Queen Elizabeth engaged to equip and furnish an army of horse and foot for the service of the Congregation, and to employ her fleet in their behalf; and the nobility and the people of Scotland were to enjoy the continuance of her aid, till the final expulsion of the French soldiery, and till the full re-establishment of their constitution in its free and ancient form. All the houses of strength to be recovered from the French were to be demolished, or to be surrendered to the leaders of the Congregation, if they should desire it; and no fortifications were to be raised by the English upon Scottish ground, without the consent of the duke of Chatelleraut, the nobility, and the people. Upon the part of the Congregation, the most

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1560.

The treaty of Berwick, between the Congregation and queen Elizabeth.

* Knox, p. 214. 218. Spottwood, p. 142.

† Camden, the Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth, ap. Kennet, vol. ii. p. 380.

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extensive concurrence and operation in their power, with the armaments of England, were stipulated. They promised all possible support, with horse and foot, by sea and land. They were to be enemies to all the Scots and French who should oppose England in the execution of the purposes of the treaty. They were never to permit the realm of Scotland to be conquered by the French, nor knit to the crown of France in any method prejudicial to its freedom and laws. If the French should invade England, they were to supply two thousand horse, and an equal number of foot, or what proportion of this strength Queen Elizabeth might require, to be employed upon her own charge. And, if the invasion should be made in the northern districts of her dominions, they were to gather their whole military force, without any expence to her, and joining with the power of England, to continue their warmest support and service for thirty days, or during the usual time their troops were accustomed to remain in the field. The earl of Argyle was to assist Queen Elizabeth in reducing to obedience the north parts of Ireland. Hostages were to be given by the Congregation for the performance of their stipulations. And the duke of Chatelleraut, and the Scottish commissioners, after expressing their conviction that the Queen of England was moved to this alliance from the honourable principle of protecting the realm of Scotland against conquest, and from no hostile intention, testified and protested for themselves, that they meant not to withdraw their due obedience from their sovereign lady, nor to oppose the king her husband in any mat-

ter

ter not tending to the overthrow of their ancient and constitutional liberties, for the preservation of which they were bound to expend their goods, lands, and lives*.

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WHILE England was about to exert itself in defence of the Congregation, the Queen Dowager suffered a disappointment in her expectations from France. The violent administration of the House of Guise had involved that nation in troubles and distress. Its credit was greatly sunk, and its treasury was nearly exhausted. Persecutions, and the spirit of Calvinism, produced commotions and conspiracies; and amidst domestic and dangerous intrigues and struggles, Scotland failed to engage that particular distinction which had been promised to its affairs. It was not, however, neglected altogether. The count De Martigues had arrived at Leith, with one thousand foot and a few horse; and the marquis D'Elbeuf had embarked for it with another body of soldiers; but, after losing several ships in a furious tempest, was obliged to return to the haven from which he had sailed †.

The queen dowager is disappointed in her hopes from France.

IN this reverse of her fortunes many forsook the Queen Dowager. The courage of the Congregation was elated. In an insurrection at Aberdeen, the monasteries of the Dominican and Carmelite friars were demolished; and it was with great difficulty that the earl of Huntley was able to save its cathedral church. It was now understood that the English army was upon

The Protestants recover their spirits.

* COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. XVII.

† Pere. Daniel, Hist. de France, tom. v. Buchanan, Hist. Res. Scot. lib. xvi. Dr. Forbes, State Papers, vol. i. p. 307.

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1560.

Negotiations of the French.

its march to Scotland. The Scottish lords who had affected a neutrality, meditated an union with the Protestants. The earl of Huntley gave a solemn assurance that he would join them. Proclamations were issued throughout the kingdom, calling upon the subjects of Scotland to assemble in arms at Lialithgow, to re-establish their ancient freedom, and to assist in the utter expulsion of the French soldiery*.

THE English fleet, mean while, under Winter the vice-admiral, had taken and destroyed several ships, had landed some troops upon Inchkeith, and discomfited a body of French mercenaries. Upon the foundation of these acts of hostility, the princes of Lorraine dispatched the chevalier de Seure to queen Elizabeth, to make representations against this breach of the peace, and to urge the recall of her ships. This ambassador affected likewise to negotiate concerning the evacuation of Scotland by the French troops, and to propose methods, in consequence of which the king of France might quarter the arms of England, without doing a prejudice to Queen Elizabeth. But to prevent the execution of vigorous resolutions against the Queen Dowager, and to gain time, were the only objects he had in view. With similar intentions John Monluc, bishop of Valence, a man of greater address and ability, and equally devoted to the House of Guise, was also sent at this time to the court of England †. Queen Elizabeth, however, and her ministers, were too wise

* Spotswood, p. 143, 144.

† Dr. Forbes, State Papers, vol. i. p. 343, 446. Thuanus, Hist. sui Temp. lib. xxiv.

to be amused by artifice and dexterity. They discovered, that his instructions were simply to treat, but not to conclude any business; and that he possessed no power of any kind from the Queen of France and Scotland. By starting difficulties and sending occasionally to his court for new orders, opportunities might be procured of delaying hostilities, till the marquis D'Elbeuf had embarked anew with a French army for Scotland. But with all his speeches and intrigues, he could neither deceive nor intimidate.

THE lord Grey entered Scotland with an army of twelve hundred horse, and six thousand foot; and there commanded under him, the lord Scroop, Sir James Croft, Sir Henry Percy, and Sir Francis Lake*. By an inclement policy, the Queen Dowager had already wasted all the country around the capital. But the desolation she had made, while it was infinitely ruinous to the Scottish peasants, affected not the army of England. The leaders of the Congregation did not want penetration and foresight, and had provided themselves against this difficulty. The duke of Chatelleraut, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Menteith, the lord James Stuart, and the lords Ruthven, Boid, and Ochiltree, with a numerous and formidable force, joined the English commander at Preston†.

The arrival of the English troops, and their junction with the Congregation.

STRUCK with the sad condition of her affairs, despairing of a timely and proper succour from France, and reminded by sickness of her mortality, the Queen Dowager retired from Leith to the castle of Edin-

The queen dowager retires into Edinburgh castle.

* Camden, Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth, ap. Kennet, p. 381.

† Knox, p. 239.

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burgh, and put herself under the protection of the lord Erskine. At the period when she was appointed to the regency, the lord Erskine had received from the three estates the charge of this important fortress, with the injunction to hold it till he should know their farther orders; and giving way to the solicitations of neither faction, he had kept it with fidelity. By admitting the Queen Dowager, he yielded to sentiments of honour and humanity, and did not mean to depart from his duty. A few only of her domestics accompanied her, with the archbishop of St. Andrews, the bishop of Dunkeld, and the earl Marishal*.

4 April.

The last letter from the Congregation to the queen dowager.

THE confederated nobles now assembled at Dalkeith to hold a council; and conforming to those maxims of prudence and equity, which, upon the eve of hostilities, had been formerly exercised by them, they invited the Queen Dowager to an amicable conclusion of the present troubles. In a letter which they wrote to her, they called to her remembrance the frequent manifestoes and messages in which they had pressed her to dismiss the French soldiery, who had so long oppressed the lower ranks of the people, and who threatened to reduce the kingdom itself to servitude. The aversion, however, with which she had constantly received their suit and prayers, was so great, that they had given way to a strong necessity, and had intreated the assistance of the Queen of England to expel these strangers by the force of arms. But though they had obtained the powerful protection of this princess, they

* *Lesly de Reb. Gest. Scot. ap. Jebb, p. 221. Spotswood, p. 144.*

were

were yet animated with a becoming respect for the mother of their sovereign, and abhorring to stain the ground with Christian blood, were disposed once more to solicit the dismissal of these mercenaries, with their officers and captains. And that no just objection might remain against the grant of this their last request, they assured her, that a safe passage by land, to the ports of England, should be allowed to the French; or that, if they judged it more agreeable, the navy of Queen Elizabeth should transport them to their own country. If these proposals should be rejected, they appealed and protested to God, and to mankind, that it should be understood and believed, that no motive of malice, or hatred, or wickedness of any kind, had induced them to employ the fatal expedient of arms and battles; but that they had been compelled to this disagreeable and distressful remedy, for the preservation of their commonwealth, their religion, their persons, their estates, and their posterity. They begged her, in the humility of supplication, to weigh the equity of their petition, to consider the inconveniencies of war, and to think of the rest and quiet which were necessary to relieve the afflictions of her daughter's kingdom; and they besought her to embalm her own memory, by an immortal deed of wisdom, humanity, and justice*.

To give authority and weight to the letter of the associated lords, the lord Grey directed Sir George Howard, and Sir James Croft, to wait upon the Queen Dowager, and to stipulate the peaceable departure of

* Buchanan, Hist. Rer Scot. lib. xvi. Spottwood, p. 144.

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the English troops, upon the condition that the French mercenaries were immediately dismissed from her service, and prohibited from residing in Scotland*. Returning no direct answer to the applications made to her, she desired time to deliberate upon the resolution which it became her to adopt. This equivocal behaviour corresponded with the spirit of intrigue which had uniformly distinguished the Queen Dowager; and it is probable, that her engagements with France did not permit her to be open and explicit.

The siege of
Leith.

THE combined armies marched towards Leith. A body of the French, posted upon a rising-ground called the Hawk-hill, disputed their progress. During five hours the conflict was maintained with obstinate valour. At length the Scottish horsemen charged the French with a fury which they were unable to resist. They fled to Leith with precipitation; and might have been cut off from it altogether, if the English cavalry had exerted themselves. Three hundred of the French soldiers perished in this action, and a few combatants only fell on the side of the Congregation †.

* Spottwood, p. 145.

The liberal conduct of the English nation, upon this occasion, appears in a still stronger light in a letter from Queen Elizabeth to her ambassador in Spain. "We caused the Queen Dowager to be gently required, that she would come to some accord, and, receiving the obedience of her dowghter's subjects, remove away the [French] forces thence; and if any person there would withdraw his obedience from her dowghter the quene, she should have our power, if she would, to join with hers, to the chastelyng of any such: but hereunto no direct answer could be gotten." Dr. Forbes, State Papers, vol. i. p. 447.

† Camden, Life and Reign of Elizabeth, ap. Kennet, p. 381. Buchanan, Hist. Rev. Scot. lib. xvi.

LEITH was invested. The pavilions and tents of the English and Scottish nobility were planted at Restalrig, and around it. Trenches were cast; and the ordnance from the town annoying the combined armies, a mount was raised, upon which eight cannons were erected. A continual fire from these, against St. Anthony's tower in South Leith, being kept up and managed with skill, the walls of this fabric were shaken, and the French found it necessary to dismount their artillery. Negligent from security, and apprehensive of no attack, the English and Scottish officers occupied themselves in amusements, and permitted a relaxation of military discipline. The French informed of this supineness and levity, made a sally from Leith. While some of the captains were diverting themselves at Edinburgh, and the soldiery were engaged at dice and cards, they entered the trenches unobserved, and pushing their advantage, put six hundred men to the sword. After this slaughter, the Protestants were more attentive to their affairs; mounts were built at proper distances, which being fortified with ordnance, served as places of retreat and defence, in the event of sudden incursions; and thus they continued the blockade in a more effectual manner*.

THE army under the marquis D'Elbeuf, promised so often to the Queen Regent, was in vain expected by her; but she received, at this time, supplies in money and military stores; and Monluc bishop of Valence, though defeated in dexterity by Elizabeth and her mi-

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1560.

Military operations.

Unsuccessful negotiations.

Knox, p. 239, 240. Spotswood, p. 145.

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nisters, had arrived in Scotland, to try anew the arts of delay and negotiation. Conferences were held by him with the Queen Dowager, with the English commanders, and with the confederated nobles; but no contract or agreement could be concluded. His credentials neither extended to the demolition of Leith, nor to the recall of the French mercenaries; and though he obtained powers from his court to consent to the former of these measures they were yet burdened with conditions which were disgraceful to the Congregation; who, in the present prosperous state of their fortunes, were not disposed to give up any of the objects for which they had struggled so long, and to the attainment of which they now looked forward with a settled hope and expectation*.

THOUGH the grave and measured orations of Monluc could not overpower the plain and stubborn sense

* "It was long ere the bishop of Valence could have saved the condyt of the lordes of Scotland to repaire unto the Queyne Doujar, bycause they did mistrust the sufficiencie of his autorité; but yet at length it was granted. So as he went and spak with the quyne in the castell of Edenbourgh, and after came unto the lordes, where he was well received, and his oration dillygently harde. But the next day, when that he came to talke of the matters that were in controversye, he was so myche mysliked by his awne fault, that my lord Maxwell had the garde of him, till he might be providid of thinges necessary for his retorne againe: the cause was, that he had no autorité to demolyse the towne of Lyth, and send baka the soldiars. But during his stave, by way of wrighting, he obtained a new occasion to treat farther; so as in his second parley, he granted, by the consent of the Quyne Doujar, to the demolything of Lyth, in case the Scottes wolde breake their league made with Inglande, revok their hostages, and gyve pleggis to the Quyne Doujar for their obedience, besides the restoringe of the castell of Dombretayne into her possession. Whereupon the parlye was broken; because the lordes of the Congregation could not revoke ther pleggis, nor break the league, without the Quyne's majesty's consent." Mr. Killegrew to Sir Nicholas Throkmorton. Dr. Forbes, State Papers, vol. i. p. 456.

of

of the Congregation, yet as he affected to give them admonitions and warnings, and even ventured to insult them with menaces*, they appear to have conceived a high indignation against him. Under this impulse, and that in so advanced a stage of their affairs they might exhibit the determined firmness of their resolutions, and bind to them by an indissoluble tie, the earl of Huntley, and the other persons who had joined them in consequence of the English alliance, they thought of the assurance and stability of a *new league and covenant*, more solemn, expressive, and resolute, than any which they had yet entered into and subscribed †.

THE nobles, barons, and inferior persons, who were parties to this bond and association, bound themselves in the presence of Almighty God, as a society, and as individuals, to advance and set forward the Reformation of religion, and to procure, by every possible means, the true preaching of the gospel, with the proper administration of the sacraments, and the other ordinances in connection with it. Deeply affected, at the same time, with the misconduct of the French statesmen, who had been promoted to high offices; with the oppressions of the French mercenaries, whom the Queen Dowager kept up and maintained under the colour of authority; with the tyranny of their captains; and with the manifest danger of conquest to which the country was exposed, by different fortifications upon the sea-coast, and by other dangerous in-

Book III.

1560.

27 April.

The fourth
covenant.

* Forbes, p. 443.

† COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. XVIII.

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novations, they promised and engaged, generally and individually, to join with the Queen of England's army, and to concur in an honest, plain, and unreserved resolution, to expel all foreigners from the realm, as oppressors of public liberty; that by recovering the ancient rights, privileges, and freedom of their nation, they might live for the future under the due obedience of their King and Queen, be ruled by the laws and customs of the country, and by officers and statesmen born and educated among them. It was likewise contracted and agreed by the subscribers to this bond and covenant, that no private intelligence by writing or message, or communication of any kind, should be kept up with their adversaries; and that all persons who resisted the godly enterprize in which they were united, should be regarded as their enemies, and reduced to subjection and obedience.

The dejection
of the queen
dowager.

WHEN the strong and fervid sentiment and expression of this new association were communicated to the Queen Dowager, she resigned herself to the extremity of sorrow. Her mind, inclined to despondence by the increase of her malady, felt the more intensely the cruel distractions and disquiets into which the kingdom had been driven by the ambition of France, her own doating affection for the princes of Lorraine, and the vain prognostications of flatterers and courtiers. In the agony of passion, she besought the malediction and curse of God to alight upon all those who had counselled her to persecute the preachers, and to refuse the petitions of the most honourable portion of her subjects.

IN

IN the mean time, the siege of Leith was prosecuted. But the strength of the garrison, amounting to more than four thousand soldiers, the operations of the besiegers were slow and languid. An accidental fire in the town, which destroyed many houses, and a great part of the public granary, afforded them an opportunity of playing their artillery with some advantage; and a few days after they made a general assault. But the scaling-ladders which were applied to the walls being too short, and Sir James Croft, who had been gained to the Queen Dowager, having acted a treacherous part, the attempt failed of success, and a thousand men were destroyed. The combined armies, however, did not lose their resolution or their hopes. The English and Scots animated the constancy of one another; and in the ratification of the treaty of Berwick, which was now made, a new source of cordiality opened itself. Letters also had come from the duke of Norfolk, promising a powerful reinforcement, giving the expectation of his taking upon him the command of the troops in person, and ordering his pavilion to be erected in the camp. Leith began to feel the misery of famine, and the French to give themselves to despair. The besiegers abounded in every thing; and the arrival of two thousand men, the expected reinforcement from England, gave them the most decisive superiority over their adversaries. Frequent sallies were made by the garrison, and they were always unsuccessful. Discouraged by defeats, depressed with the want of provisions, and languishing under the negligence of France, they

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1560.

 Prosecution
of the siege
of Leith.

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1560.

The death
and character
of the queen
dowager.

they were ready to submit themselves to the mercy of the Congregation*.

AMIDST this distress and inquietude, the Queen Dowager, wasted with a lingering distemper, and with grief, expired in the castle of Edinburgh. Religious persecution, and a settled scheme to overturn the liberties of Scotland, while they rendered her administration odious and detestable, have obscured the lustre of her virtues. The treacherous views and policy of France serve to explain, but cannot excuse the wickedness of the counsels she embraced, and her uniform practices of dissimulation. She allowed herself to be overcome and directed by the obstinacy of the duke of Guise, the unprincipled refinements of the cardinal of Lorraine, and the imperiousness of both. Misfortunes to herself and to Scotland, were the cruel consequences of her facility and submission. If she had trusted to her own abilities, her government, it is probable, would have been distinguished by its popularity, and her name have been transmitted to posterity with unfulfilled honours. Humane and affectionate in her temper, it was naturally her wish to rule with a woman's gentleness. Her judgment was extensive, her mind vigorous. She could comprehend a system, and act upon it with undeviating exactness, and unshaken fortitude. The inclinations, character, and humours of her people, were fully known to her. She could accommodate herself with ease to the Scottish manners; and the winning graces of her demeanour gave an aid and assistance to

* Buchanan, Hist. Rer. Scot. lib. xvi. Dr. Forbes, State Papers, vol. i. p. 455. Knox, p. 241, 244. Spotwood, p. 145.

her

her address and penetration. In distributing justice, she was impartial and severe; and in her court, she was careful to uphold the royal dignity. In private life, she was civil, amiable, and magnificent. The propension to gallantry which the example of her husband had promoted, was repressed by her decency and moderation*. The excesses of that amorous monarch seem even to have induced her to adopt a more than common reserve and circumspection. Though a widow, at an age when the soft passions have their full power, no suspicion was ever entertained of her chastity; and her maids of honour recommended themselves to her by modesty, piety, and virtue. Her various endowments, and the many excellent qualities which gave her distinction, excite a regret that she should have been disgraced so completely, by a frail obsequiousness to French counsels †. Yet for this fatal error it is some compensation, that her repentance was severe and painful. A few days before her death, she invited to her the duke of Chatellerault, the lord James Stuart, and the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Marishal, to bid them a last adieu ‡. She expressed to them her sorrow for the troubles of Scotland, and made it her earnest suit, that they would consult their constitutional liberties, by dismissing the French and English from their country; and that they would preserve a dutiful obedience to the Queen their sovereign. She professed an unlimited forgiveness of all the injuries which had been done to her;

* Spotswood, p. 146.

† Buchanan, Hist. Rev. Scot. lib. xvi.

‡ Lesly de Reb. Gest. Scot. ap. Jébb, p. 222.

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and entreated their pardon for the offences she had committed against them. In token of her kindness and charity, she then embraced them by turns; and while the tear started in her eye, presented to them a cheerful and smiling aspect. Her soul, melting with tenderness, and divesting itself of its prejudices, weaknesses, and hatreds, seemed to anticipate the purity of a better world. After this interview, the short portion of life which remained to her was dedicated to religion; and that she might allure the Congregation to be compassionate to her popish subjects, and her French adherents, she flattered them, by calling John Willocks, one of the most popular of their preachers, to assist and comfort her by his exhortations and prayers. He made long discourses to her about the abominations of the mass*; but she appears to have died in the communion of the Romish church; and her body being transported to France, was deposited in the monastery of St. Peter, at Rheims, in Champagne, where her sister Renée was an abbess.

The state of
France.
Its disposition
towards
peace.

THE death of the Queen Dowager at a period so critical, broke altogether the spirit of the French troops. Negotiation only could now save them from disgrace. They were blocked up so completely, that it was almost impossible for any supplies to reach them, either by sea or land; and France had delayed so long to fulfil its magnificent promises, that it was no longer in a capacity to take any steps towards their accomplishment. Its internal distress and disquiets were mul-

* Knox, p. 244.

tipling.

tipling. A savage spirit of revenge, cruel executions, assassinations, dark intrigues, and fluctuating counsels, filled to the brim the measure of its wretchedness. The nobility, impoverished by wars, were courting the rewards of service, and struggling in hostility. The clergy were avaricious, ignorant, and vindictive. The populace, knowing no trade but arms, offered their swords to the factious. Francis II. was without dignity or understanding. Catharine de Medicis was full of artifice and falsehood. The fury of superstition, the fortitude of the Reformed, the virulence of party, all furnished their proportions of calamity. Insurrections were dreaded in every province. The House of Guise was encompassed with difficulties, and trembling with apprehensions. In a condition so distracted and miserable, they could not think of persisting in their views of distant conquests. It was necessary that they should abandon for a time all the proud projects they had formed for the extension of the French monarchy. It was chiefly in the exemption from foreign wars that they could hope to support their own greatness, and apply a remedy to the domestic disturbances of France*.

It appeared to Francis and Mary, that they could not treat in a direct method with the Congregation, whom they affected to consider as rebellious subjects, without derogating from their royal dignity. In negotiating a peace, they therefore addressed themselves to Queen Elizabeth. It was by her offices and interference that they projected a reconciliation with the confede-

Commissioners to treat of peace are named by France and England.

* Pere Daniel, Hist. de France, tome v. Dr. Forbes, State Papers, vol. i.

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1560.

derated lords, and that they meant to extinguish the animosities which, with so much violence, had agitated the Scottish nation *. They granted their commission † to John Monluc, bishop of Valence, Nicholas Pellevé, bishop of Amiens, Jacques de la Brosse, Henry Clentin sieur d'Oysel, and Charles de la Rochefaucault sieur de Randan; authorising them in a body, or by two of their number, to enter into accords and agreements with the Queen of England. The English commissioners were, Sir William Cecil, principal secretary of state, Nicolas Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Henry Percy, and Sir Peter Carew; and the powers of treaty were to be exercised by them all in conjunction, or by four, three, or two of them ‡. It was not difficult for statesmen of great talents to agree in transactions which the contracting powers were cordially interested to conclude ||.

THE

* Dr. Forbes, vol. i. p. 419.

† 2 May. Dr. Forbes, p. 460.

‡ Dr. Forbes, vol. i. p. 494. Their commission is dated 25 May.

|| It has been doubted whether the court of England was well disposed to peace at this juncture: but that point seems to be very clear from the following evidence. Secretary Cecil writes in this manner to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton. "Wee onely seke fuerty; which cheefly dependeth upon the liberty of Scotland, and yet upon a leeful liberty. My lord admiral goeth within theis five dayes to the sea, and *onely cruseith*; although we be content, the *French* shall thynk *otherwise*." Dr. Forbes, vol. i. p. 460. In a letter from Edinburgh, to queen Elizabeth, he has this passage: "We doubt not but to obtain all reasonable things, saving surety towards both these realms; and such is the case being betwixt a prince and subjects, as we know not how to provide for surety of subjects against all adventures, without such dishonour to the prince as neither will be granted, nor can reasonably be demanded for subjects. I assure your majesty, these cases be marvellous difficult to resolve; and yet considering I know the French malice, and am wholly addicted to your majesty's honour and
" surety."

THE plenipotentiaries of France, though empowered only to treat with England, were yet, by a separate commission*, entrusted to assure the Congregation, that notwithstanding the heinous guilt incurred by them, Francis and Mary were yet inclined to receive them into favour, upon their repentance, and return to obedience; to forget and bury in everlasting oblivion all that had passed; and to abstain for ever from all enquiry into their conduct. They had full authority, at the same time, by this new deed, to hear, in conjunction with the commissioners of Elizabeth, the complaints of the Congregation, and to grant, with their consent, the relief which appeared to them to be the most proper and salutary †.

WITHOUT the investiture of these powers in the commissioners of France, the confederated lords could not have consented to peace with any security to themselves, or to the cause in which they were embarked. The nobility and the people of Scotland, choosing for their representatives the lord James Stuart, the lord Ruthven, and Maitland of Lethington, expressed their willingness to concur in reasonable measures for the re-establishment of the public union and tranquillity. By the mode of a formal petition, they enumerated their grievances, laid claim to a redress of them, and besought a uniform protection to their constitution and

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The plenipotentiaries from France have a particular commission with regard to the Congregation.

The Protestants detail their grievances to the deputies of England and France.

“surety, I would not yield so much to the French queen’s honour in behalf of her subjects, *if your coffers were full to maintain but one year’s war.* Such would be your honour, conquest, and surety.” Keith, App. p. 49.

* 2 June.

† COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. XIX.

laws.

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laws. To this petition the intercession of Queen Elizabeth effected the friendly attention of Francis and Mary; and upon a foundation concerted with so much propriety, Monluc and Randan, Cecil and Wotton, the acting plenipotentiaries of England and France drew up and authenticated the celebrated deed of relief and concession † which does so much honour to the spirit, perseverance, and magnanimity of the Scottish nation.

The concessions of Francis and Mary.

By this accord and agreement Francis and Mary stipulated and consented, that no French soldiers and no foreign troops should be ever introduced into Scotland without the counsel and advice of the three estates. They concurred in the opinion that the French mercenaries should be sent back into France; and that the fortifications of Leith should be demolished. They agreed that commissioners should be appointed to visit Dunbar, and to point out the works there which ought to be destroyed; and they bound and engaged themselves to build no new fortress or place of strength within the kingdom, and to repair no old one, without a parliamentary authority and sanction. They consented to extinguish all debts which had been contracted for the maintenance of the French and Scotch soldiery in their service. They appointed the estates of the realm to hold a parliament for the discussion of affairs of state; and they obliged themselves to consider the acts of this assembly as valid and effectual in every respect. They confirmed the ancient law of the country which prohi-

† COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. XX.

bited the princes of Scotland from making peace and war without the advice of the three estates *. It was accorded and agreed by them that the three estates in concurrence with the Queen should elect a council for the administration of affairs during her Majesty's absence. They became bound to employ the natives of Scotland in the management of justice both civil and criminal, in the offices of chancellor, keeper of the seals, treasurer, comptroller, and in other stations

* "The lords deputies consented, granted and appointed, that neither the King nor the Queen shall order peace or war within Scotland, but by the advice and consent of the three estates, conformable to the laws, ordinances, and customs of the country, and as has formerly been done by their predecessors kings of Scotland." Treaty, Art. 5.

This is a very remarkable evidence of the great freedom of the constitution of Scotland in antient times. For it has been argued by constitutional lawyers, that in all modern nations, the sole prerogative of making peace and war was constantly vested in the person of the Sovereign. That the case was very different in Scotland may be perceived, not only from the testimony now quoted, but from other authorities. It appears from our histories that Malcolm IV. was commanded by the three estates to make war upon England; and that when Robert II. was disposed to conclude a truce with that nation, the Scottish parliament defeated his purpose by refusing their consent. From the statutes of James III. it is evident, that this prince was inclined to be at peace with England, "Sa that it had bene according to the worship and honour of his hienes and his realme, *be the fecht of* his three estates." By their authority therefore they obliged him to concur with them in the measures of a war; and after mentioning the causes which moved them to hostility, it is said, "The three estates hes thairfoir hartfully of *thair awin fre will* grantit and promittit to our soverane lord, to remane and abyde at the command of his heines with their personnes and thair substance of landis and gudis in defence of his maist nobill persoun his successioun realm and lieges, as they and thair foirbearis hes of *auld tymes* done of befoir." Black Acts, fol. 66. The prerogative of peace and war, it is thus to be concluded, did not belong to the prince, but to the parliament; and if a Scottish monarch had ventured upon acts of this kind, the three estates might not only legally resist their authority, and pronounce them to be void, but impeach the minister who advised them, or if the sovereign had no minister, call him in person before them, and punish his infringement of the majesty of the people, and of the power of the laws.

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of a similar nature; and to abstain from the promotion of all foreigners to places of trust and honour, and from investing any clergyman in the charge of affairs of the revenue. They determined to establish an act of oblivion, and to forget and bury for ever the memory of all the late transactions of war and offence. It was concluded by them, that a general peace and reconciliation should take place among all parties. They expressed their determination, that no pretence should be assumed by them, from the late contentions, to deprive any of their subjects of their estates or offices. And they referred the reparation which might be proper to compensate the injuries that had been sustained by bishops and ecclesiastics, to the judgment of the three estates in parliament.

IN all these grants and concessions there is a reference chiefly to civil liberty. Upon the subject of the Reformation the plenipotentiaries of England and France did not choose to deliberate and decide, although articles with regard to it had been presented to them by the nobles and the people. They referred this delicate topic to the ensuing meeting of the parliament; and the leaders of the Congregation engaged, that deputies from the three estates should repair to the King and Queen, to know their intentions concerning matters of such high importance.

Treaty of
Edinburgh.

AFTER having granted these concessions to the nobility and the people of Scotland, upon the part of their respective courts, Monluc and Randan, Cecil and Wotton, concluded another deed of treaty and agreement. By this convention it was determined, that the English and

and French troops should depart out of Scotland ; that all warlike preparations should cease ; that the fort of Aymouth should be rased to the ground, in terms of the treaty of Cambray ; that Francis and Mary should abstain from bearing the title and arms of England or Ireland ; that it should be considered, whether a farther comperfation should be made to Elizabeth for the injuries committed against her ; and that the king and queen of Scots should be fully and sincerely reconciled to the nobility and the people of their kingdom. The interests of England and France were the particular objects of this agreement. But though the conceffions to the Protestants were not inserted in it at full length, an expreffive reference was made to them ; and they received a confirmation in terms which could not be misunderstood or controverted. This deed recorded the clemency of Francis and Mary to their subjects of Scotland, the extreme willingness of the nobility and the people to return to their duty and allegiance, the representation they had offered of their grievances, and the request of Queen Elizabeth, that redrefs should be afforded to them ; and it appealed to the consequent conceffions which had been stipulated to their advantage*.

By these important negotiations, the Protestants, while they humbled France, flattered Queen Elizabeth ; and while they acquired a power to act in the establishment of the Reformation, restored its civil constitution to Scotland. The exclusion of foreigners from

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* COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. XXI.

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offices of state, the limitation of the Scottish princes with regard to peace and war, the advancement of the three estates to their ancient consequence, and the act of oblivion of all offences, were acquisitions most extensively great and useful; and while they operated the fullest security to the Reformed, gratified all their happiest and most sanguine expectations.

The proclamation of the peace.
A thanksgiving.
The appointment of preachers and superintendents.

THE peace, so fortunately concluded, was immediately proclaimed. The French mercenaries embarked for their own country, and the English army took the road to Berwick. Amidst events so joyful, the preachers exhorted the confederated nobles to command the solemnity of a thanksgiving. It was ordered accordingly; and after its celebration, the commissioners of the boroughs, with several of the nobility, and the tenants *in capite*, were appointed to choose and depute ministers to preach the gospel in the principal towns throughout the kingdom. John Knox was called to discharge the pastoral functions at Edinburgh, Christopher Goodman at St. Andrews, Adam Heriot at Aberdeen, John Row at Perth, Paul Methven at Jedburgh, William Christison at Dundee, David Ferguson at Dunfermling, and David Lindfey at Leith. That the business of the church, at the same time, might be managed with propriety, superintendents were elected to preside over the ecclesiastical affairs of particular provinces and districts. Mr. John Spotswood was named the superintendent for the division of Lothian, Mr. John Willocks for that of Glasgow, Mr. John Winram for that of Fife, Mr. John Erskine of Dun for that of Angus and Merns, and Mr. John Carswell for that of Argyle and the Isles. This
inconsiderable

inconsiderable number of ministers and superintendants gave a beginning to the Reformed church of Scotland*.

AMIDST the triumph and exultation of the Protestants the meeting of the parliament approached. An universal curiosity and attention were excited. All persons who had a title from law, or from ancient custom, to attend the great council of the nation, were called to assemble there. The democratical spirit of the Scottish constitution displayed itself. While there was a full convention of the greater barons and the prelates, the inferior tenants *in capite*, or the lesser barons, upon an occasion so great, instead of appearing by representation, came in crowds to give personally their assistance and votes; and all the commissioners for the boroughs, without exception, presented themselves †.

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The parliament assembly.

IT

* Knox, p. 251, 253. Spotswood, p. 149.

† Spotswood, p. 149. The roll of the members of this parliament is of sufficient curiosity to be laid before the reader, and had the fortune to be preserved in the Cotton library. Keith, p. 146.

“ The Names of the Eris, Lordis, Clergye, and vtheris of the States that wer at
“ the last parliament.

“ JAMES duke off Chastellerault, James erle off Arrane, Archybald erle off
“ Ergyle, Jhon erle off Athole, Williame erle Marschal, David erle Crawford,
“ James erle Mortoun, Alexander erle off Glencarne, Andro erle off Rothes, Hew
“ erle off Eglington, Gilbert erle off Cassillis, Jhohn erle off Sutherland, George
“ erle off Caitness, Jhon erle off Monteith, Jhon archibischop Sanctandr. comen-
“ datare off Paislay, Robert bischop off Dunkeld, William bischop off Dumblane,
“ James bischop off Ergyl, Alexander archibischop off Athenis, elect off Galloway
“ and commendatere off Incheffray, Jhon elect off the Ilis, commendatere off
“ Ycolmkyll & Archattane.

“ George lord Gordoun, Jhon lord Erskyn, Patrik lord Ruthven, Alexr. lord
“ Home, Jhon lord Lyndesay off the Byris, Williame lord Hay off Zestir, James
“ lord Somerville, Williame lord Levingstoun, Andro lord Stewart off Ouchiltree,

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Its legality is
disputed and
confirmed.
The suppli-
cation of the
Reformed.

IT was objected to this parliament, when it was as-
sembled, that it could not be valid, since Francis and
Mary.

“ Alexr. lord Saltoun, Robert lord Boyd, Robert lord Elphinstoun, Jhon lord In-
nermeith, Patrik lord Gray, James lord Ogylvie, Jhon lord Glamis, Jhon lord
“ Borthuik, Allane lord Cathcart, James lord Sanct Johnis.

“ James commendatere off the priorie off Sanctandros & Pettinweme, Jhon
“ commendatere off Abirbrothok, Robert commendatere off Halyrudhows, John
“ commendatere off Coldinghame, Jhon abbot off Lundoris, Donald abbot of Cou-
“ per, Andro commendatere off Jedburgh & Restennot, Marke commendatere off
“ Newbottle, Adam commendatere off Dundrannen, Jhon abbot off Newabbay,
“ ——— commendatere off Dryburgh & Inchmahome, ——— Postulat off Cambuf-
“ kynneth, James commendatere off Sanct Colmis Inche, William commendatere
“ off Culrofs, Walter abbot off Kinlofs, Gawine commendatere off Kilwynnyng,
“ Nichol abbot off Ferne, Robert commendatere off Deir, Jhon priour off Port-
“ moak, Robert commendatere off Sanct Marie Isle, Robert minister † off Faul-
“ furde.

“ The commissaries off burrois, viz. Edinburgh, Striveling, Perth, Abirdene,
“ Dundee, Air, Irwein, Hadingtown, Lynlythgow, Glasgou, Peblis, Jedburgh,
“ Selkirk, Coupar, Kinghorne, Banff, Forfar, Invernes, Montrofs, Kirkcudbricht,
“ Wigtoun, Innerkethyng.

“ Williame maister Merscheal, Jhon maister off Maxwel off Terriglis knycht,
“ Patrik maister Lindesay, Henry maister Sinclare, Williame maister off Glen-
“ carne, Hew maister Somerville, James Dowglas off Drumlangrig knycht, Jhon
“ Gordoun of Lochinver, Alexander Stuart off Garleifs, Jhon Wallace off Cragye,
“ Williame Cwninghame off Cwninghameheid, Jhon Cwninghame off Caprintoun,
“ Jhon Mwre of Rowallane, Patrik Howfston off that Ilk, George Buquhannane off
“ that Ilk, Robert Menteith off Kerfs, James Striviling off Keir, Willam Murray
“ off Tullibardin, Andro Murray off Balwarde, Jhon Wischeart off Pitarro, Wil-
“ liame Douglas of Lochlevin, Colin Campbel of Glenurquhard, Williame Sin-
“ clare off Rossing, Jhon Creichtoun off Strathurde, Alexander Irwein off Drum,
“ ——— Allertes off that Ilk, Alexander Frafer of Philorth, William Innes of that
“ Ilk, ——— Sutherland off Duffus, Jhon Grant off Freuchy, Robert Monro off
“ Fowlis, George Ogylvie off Dunlugus, David Ogylvie off that Ilk, Jhon Ogyl-
“ vie off Innerquharite, ——— Ogylvie off Cloway, ——— Ouchterlony off Kelly,
“ Jhon Straithauchin [Strachan] off Thorntown, Andro Straton off Lawrestown,
“ John Creichtoun off Ruthvennis, Thomas Blair off Baltheok, ——— Ogylvy off
“ Inchemertyn, Thomas Mawle off Panmure, Archibald Douglas off Glenbarve,
“ Thomas Fottringhame off Powry, Robert Grahame off Morphy, Robert
“ Stewart off Rossyth, Walter Lundy off that Ilk, ——— Myretoun off Cammo,

† He was probably a prefect of a religious house, and might sit in parliament in a double
capacity, as being a prelate, and a tenant *in capite*.

Arthur

Mary were not present, and had not impowered any person to represent them. But by the terms of the late concessions to the nobility and the people, they had in effect dispensed with this formality; and the objection, after having been agitated with heat for some days, was rejected by a majority of voices. The Lords of the Articles were then chosen; and as the Protestant party were superior to the Popish faction, they were careful, in electing the members of this committee, to favour all those who were disposed to forward the work of the Reformation. The first object which the Lords of the Articles held out to the parliament was, the supplica-

“ Arthure Forbes off Reres, Andro Wod off Largo, Jhon Kynneir off that Ilk,
 “ Robert Logan off Restalrig, George Didd off that Ilk, Jhon Edmestone off that
 “ Ilk zounger, Gilbert Wauchop off Niddre-Merscheal, George Home off Spot,
 “ — Hamiltoun of Innerweik, David Home off Wedderburne, — Nisbet
 “ off that Ilk, Jhon Swintoun off that Ilk, William Hamiltoun off Sanchar,
 “ George Crawford off Lessures, James Cockburne off Scraling, — Twedy
 “ off Drumelzear, Hew Wallace off Carnel, Robert Lyndesay off Dunrod, Robert
 “ Maxwel off Calderwood, Patrik Lermonth off Derly, George Lermonth off Bal-
 “ comy, Jhon Carmichal off that Ilk, Jhon Carmichael off Medowflat, George
 “ Haliburton off Petcur, James Haring of Glasclune, — Stewart off Grantuly,
 “ Jhon Stewart of Arntully, James Meinzeis off that Ilk, Jhon Forrel off that Ilk,
 “ Maister Alexander Levingstoun off Donipace, Jhon Creichton tutor off San-
 “ char, Jhon Cwninghame off Drumquhaffil, David Hamiltoun off Fingaltoun,
 “ Henry Wardlaw off Torry, — Ramsay off Banff, James Heriot off Trabron,
 “ Walter Ker off Cesfurde, Jhon Ker off Pharnihurst, Jhon Jhonstoun off that
 “ Ilk, Williame Dowglas off Quittinghame, Neil Montgomery off Langschaw,
 “ Patrik Montgomery off Giffine, — Montgomery off Hefilheid, Williame
 “ Cranstoun off that Ilk, Thomas Macdowal off Makcarston, Jhon Home off
 “ Coldingknowis, Patrik Hepburne off Wauchtoun, James Forestar off Corstor-
 “ phin, Jhon Sandelandis off Calder, Williame Lauder off Haltoun, Jhon Cok-
 “ burne off Ormestoun, George Brown off Colstoun, James Sandelandis off Cruvy,
 “ — Baillie of Lamyngtoun, Sir James Hamiltoun off Crawford, Jhon
 “ Knyght, — Arbuthnot off that Ilk.

“ With mony vtheris baronis, fre. haldaris, and landit men, but [*i. e.* without],
 “ all armour.”

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tion of the nobility, the gentry, and all the other persons who professed the new doctrines. It required that the Romish church should be condemned and abolished. It reprobated the tenet of transubstantiation, the merit of works, papistical indulgences, purgatory, pilgrimages, and prayers to departed saints; and considering them as pestilent errors, and as fatal to salvation, it demanded that all those who should teach and maintain them should be exposed to correction and punishment. It demanded, that a remedy should be applied against the profanation of the holy sacraments by the Roman Catholics, and that the ancient discipline of the church should be restored. In fine, it insisted, that the supremacy and authority of the pope should be abolished, and that the patrimony of the church should be employed in supporting the Reformed ministry, in the provision of schools, and in the maintenance of the poor*.

A confession of faith is drawn up by the Reformed, and approved by the parliament.

THIS supplication of the Protestants was received in parliament with marks of the greatest deference and respect. The popish doctrines it censured, and the strong language it employed, excited no dispute or altercation. The nobility, however, and the lay members, did not think it expedient, that the patrimony of the church, in all its extent, should be allotted to the Reformed ministry, and the support of schools and the poor. Avoiding, therefore, any explicit scrutiny into this point, the parliament gave it in charge to the ministers, and the leading men of the Reformation, to

† COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. XXII.

draw

draw up, under distinct heads, the substance and sense of those doctrines which ought to be established over the kingdom. Within four days this important business was accomplished. The writing or instrument to which the Reformed committed their opinions was termed, “The Confession of Faith professed and believed by the Protestants within the realm of Scotland*.” It was read first to the Lords of the Articles. It was then read to the parliament; and the prelates of the Romish church were commanded, in the name of God, to make publicly their objections to the doctrines it proposed. They preserved a profound silence. A new diet was appointed for concluding the transaction. The articles of the Confession were again read over in their order; and the votes of the parliament were called. Of the temporal nobility, three only refused to bestow upon it their authority. The earl of Athol, and the lords Somerville and Bothwell, protested that “they would believe as their fathers had done before them.” The bishops, and the estate ecclesiastical, from a consciousness of the weakness of Popery, from a policy that looked for the arrival of more favourable times, from an abject terror, or from the greatness of their misfortunes, seemed to have lost all power of speech. No dissent, no vote was given by them. “It is long,” said the earl Marishall, “since I entertained a jealousy of the Romish faith, and an affection to the Reformed doctrines. But this day has afforded me the completest conviction of the falshood of the

* It is given at full length in Knox, in the Collection of Confessions of Faith, vol. ii. and in the Statute Book, Parl. 1567.

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 " do not conceive themselves to be deficient in learning,
 1560. " and whose zeal for the maintenance of the hierar-
 " chy cannot be doubted, have abandoned their reli-
 " gion, and their interests in it, as objects which ad-
 " mit of no defence or justification." All the other
 constituent members of this great council were zealous
 for the establishment of the Reformation, and affirmed
 the propriety of its doctrines. Thus the high court of
 parliament, with great deliberation and solemnity, ex-
 amined, voted, and ratified the confession of the Re-
 formed faith *.

17 August.

The aboli-
 tion of the
 mass.

A FEW days after the establishment of the Confes-
 sion of Faith, the parliament passed an act against the
 mass, and the exercise of the Romish worship. And it
 scrupled not to ordain, that all persons, saying or hear-
 ing mass, should, for the first offence, be exposed to the
 confiscation of their estates, and to a corporal chastise-
 ment, at the discretion of the magistrate; that for the
 second offence, they should be banished out of the
 kingdom; and that for the third offence they should
 incur and suffer the pains of death †. This fierceness,
 it is to be acknowledged, did not suit the generosity of
 victory; and while an excuse is sought for it in the
 perfidiousness of the Romish priesthood, it escapes not
 the observation of the most superficial historians, that
 these severities were exactly those of which the Pro-
 testants had complained so loudly, and with so much
 justice. The human mind in the warmth of tumult and

* KNOX, I. 250, 252, 272. Spotswood, p. 150.

† COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. XXIII.

agitation,

agitation, reconciles itself to violence of every kind; and under a strong sense of a criterion of religious right, it is constantly forgot that any injury is committed, in the compulsion of mankind to embrace tenets which are conceived to constitute their duty in this state, and to conduct them to happiness in another. The utter contempt and abhorrence of persecution, and the philosophical and unbounded toleration of opinion, have never distinguished the practice of nations, and are never to be expected from them. They serve only to illustrate the capacity and the virtue of those rare and singular individuals, who are the favourites of heaven, who feel a superiority over the herd of the species, and enjoy and exercise the fullest powers of the understanding, and the best affections of the heart.

By another ordination, the parliament, after having declared, that the pope, or bishop of Rome, had inflicted a deep wound and a humiliating injury upon the sovereignty and government of Scotland, by his frequent interferences and claims of power, commanded and decreed, that, for the future, his jurisdiction and authority should be dead and extinct; and that all persons maintaining the smallest connection with him, or with his sect, should be liable to the loss of honour and offices, proscription and banishment*.

THESE memorable and decisive statutes achieved the overthrow of the Romish religion. It perished without those struggles which might have been expected from

Abolition of the papal authority.

The parliament solicits the ratification of its proceedings from Francis and Mary.

* COLLECTION OF RECORDS, No. XXIV

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the grandeur to which it had risen. An immense and disproportioned structure falling to pieces, covered the ground with unseemly ruins. To obtain to these proceedings, and to its other ordinances, the approbation of Francis and Mary, was an object of the greatest anxiety, and of infinite moment to the three estates. Sir James Sandilands, lord St. John, was therefore appointed to go to France, and to express to the King and Queen the affection and allegiance of their subjects, to explain what had been done in consequence of the late concessions and treaty, and to solicit their royal ratification of the transactions of the parliament*. The spirited behaviour of the Congregation had, however, exceeded all the expectations of the princes of Lorraine; and the business of the embassy, and the ambassador himself, though a man of character and probity, were treated not only with ridicule, but with insult and contumely. He returned, accordingly, without any answer to his commission. Instead of submitting the heads and topics of a Reformation to Francis and Mary, by a petition or a narrative, the parliament had voted them into laws; and from this informality the validity of its proceedings has been suspected. But it is observable of the Protestants, that they had not concealed their views with regard to religion, and the abolition of popery; that in the grant of redress and concession, and in the deed of treaty, no actual prohibition was made to bar the establishment of the Reformation; that a general authority was given to the parliament to

* Keith, Appendix, p. 91.

decide

decide in affairs of state; and that Francis and Mary were solemnly bound to authenticate its transactions. Though a formality was invaded, the spirit of the treaties was yet respected and maintained. The nation, of consequence, imputed the conduct of Francis and Mary to political reasons, suggested by the princes of Lorraine, and to the artifices of the popish clergy; and as Elizabeth did not refuse, upon her part, the ratification of the agreements*, and solicited and pressed the French court in vain to adopt the same measure, a strength and force were thence communicated to this conclusion †.

THE sagacity of the leaders of the Congregation, not less than their zeal for religion, had induced them to think of the bold and determined measures which they executed. A parliamentary sanction could alone give the pre-eminence to the Reformed doctrines. They knew and understood the councils, refinements, and ambition of the House of Guise. It was therefore their chief concern, to prevent the possibility of a disappointment. To have committed their tenets of religion, and their views of Reformation, to a supplication or a bill, and to have presented them in that form to Francis and Mary, was a slow and an uncertain method of action. It was sure of creating delays, and it exposed them to dangers, by necessarily involving them in intrigues with a court which was fruitful in expedients, and inflamed to a wild hostility against their

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xv. p. 60r.

† Buchanan, *Hist. Rer. Scot.*, lib. xvii. Knox, p. 274. Spotswood, p. 15a.

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projects, by the double and powerful incentives of interest and religion. The refusal, accordingly, of Francis and Mary to ratify the proceedings of the three estates, did not destroy their effect and operation. The parliament protected its own acts; the people bestowed upon them their respect, and honoured them with their obedience; and popery, defeated and in dependence, but not without hope, took her flight from Scotland.

Embassy to England. The parliament proposes the union of England and Scotland, by the marriage of Queen Elizabeth with the earl of Arran.

WHEN the three estates dispatched Sir James Sandilands to France, they instructed the earls of Morton and Glencairn, with Maitland of Lethington, to repair to the court of England. By these ambassadors they presented to Elizabeth their sincere and respectful thanks, for the attention shewn by her to Scotland, in her late most important services. They displayed the advantages of the union of the two nations; and while they solicited the continuance of her favour and protection, entreated, in an earnest manner, that her majesty, for the establishment of a perpetual peace and amity, would be pleased to take in marriage the earl of Arran, the next heir, after his father, to the Scottish monarchy. It was with real joy that the Queen of England received the acknowledgments of the people of Scotland for the benefits she had conferred upon them. She made new and fervent protestations of her regard and attachment; and gave the promise of her warmest aid when it should be necessary, in their just defence, upon any future occasion. She spoke in obliging terms of the earl of Arran, but as she found in herself no present disposition to marriage, she desired that he might consult

his

his happiness in another alliance. She expressed a favourable opinion of the prudence and capacity of the Scottish nobility, and as a demonstration of her affection and esteem, she took the liberty to remind them of the practices which had been employed to overturn their independency; and begged them to consider the unanimity and concord of their order as a necessary guard against the ambition and the artifice of the enemies of their nation*.

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THE success of the Congregation, though great and illustrious, was not yet completely decisive. They were happy in the overthrow of Popery, and in the patronage of Queen Elizabeth. But the refusal of Francis and Mary to ratify their proceedings, opened up a source of bitterness and inquietude. The popish party, though humbled, was not annihilated. Under the royal protection it would soon be formidable. Political considerations might arise, not only to cool the amity of England, but even to provoke its resentment. And France, though it could now transport no army against Scotland, might soon be able to adopt that expedient. Cruel distractions, and severe calamities, were still to be dreaded. In the narrowness of their own resources they could find no solid and permanent security against the rage and weight of domestic faction, and the strenuous exertions of an extensive kingdom. All their fair achievements might be blasted and overthrown. Popery might again build up her towers, and a fan-

The delicate
state of the
Congregation.

* Burnet, vol. iii. Collection of Records, p. 308, 309, 310. Keith, p. 154, 156.

guinary.

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The death of
Francis II.

guinary domination destroy alike their religious and civil liberties*.

WHILE the anguish of melancholy apprehensions repressed the triumph of the Congregation, the event which could operate most to their interests was announced to them. This event was the death of Fran-

* About this time, Maitland of Lethington writes in the following manner to Sir William Cecil. “ Those that give themselves forth for Protestants be not all alike earnestly bent to maintain it. Some have been accustomed so to feed upon the French fare, that their delicate stomachs cannot well digest any other. Some be so covetous, that wheresoever the lure of commodity is showed unto them, thither will they fly. Some so inconstant, that they may be easily carried away by the countenance of their prince’s presence, sometimes shewing them a good visage, and sometimes, as occasion shall require, frowning on them. Others there be so careless and ignorant, that they will rather respect their present ease, which shall bring after it most grievous calamities, than with the hazard of a little present incommodity put them and theirs in full security afterwards. These to be a great number in our late danger, we had large experience; yet I doubt not but the best sort will constantly and stoutly bear out that which they have begun. Mary, what difficulty and hazard shall be in it you may judge, when the Queen shall so easily win to her party the whole Papists, and so many Protestants as be addicted to the French faction, covetous, inconstant, uneasy, ignorant, or careless. So long as her Highness is absent, in this case there is no peril, but you may judge what the presence of a prince, being craftily counselled, is able to bring to pass.—I assure you, this whole realm is in a miserable case. If the Queen our sovereign come shortly home, the dangers be evident and many; and if she shall not come, it is not without great peril: yea, what is not to be feared in a realm lacking lawful government? It is now more than two years past that we have lived in a manner without any regiment; which when I consider sometimes with myself, I marvel from whence doth proceed the quietness we presently enjoy, the like whereof, I think, all circumstances being weighed, was never seen in any realm. It would seem impossible that any people could so long be contained in order without fear of punishment, and strict execution of the laws; and indeed I cannot by searching find out any probable reason, but only that it has pleased the goodness of God to give this glory to his truth preached among us; but by all worldly judgment the policy cannot thus long endure; so that for this respect her absence to us is most pernicious. Thus whether she come or not we be in a great strait.” Keith, Append. p. 92, 93.

eis II. The tie which knit Scotland to France was thus broken. A new scene of politics displayed itself. Catharine de Medicis, the queen-mother, ruled Charles IX. and was the personal enemy of the Queen of Scots. The power and the credit which Mary had lent to her uncles, and the frequent and humiliating disappointments which the queen-mother had suffered from her influence over Francis, were now repaid with a studied indifference and neglect. In the full perfection of her charms, with two crowns upon her head, and looking towards a third, she felt herself to be without grandeur, and without consequence. Leaving a court where she had experienced all the most exquisite enjoyments of which humanity is susceptible, she retired to Rheims*, to know and to indulge in the exacerbation of misery and sorrow. Her eyes, not the less beautiful for having wept, were continually flooded with tears; and in the perturbed state of her native kingdom, to which she was soon to return, her anxious and foreboding mind, ingenious to prolong its woe, already anticipated new and hard conflicts of misfortune and disquiet.

IN the humiliation of their Queen, and in the change produced in the councils of France, the Protestants found every possible encouragement to proceed with vigour in the full establishment of the Reformed doctrines. After the dissolving of the parliament †, they turned their thoughts and attention to the plan of policy which might suit best the tenets and religion for which they had contended. The three estates, amidst

The establishment of the presbyterian church.

* Lesly, de Reb. Gest. Scot. ap. Jebb. p. 226.

† Knox, p. 275.

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their other transactions, had granted a commission to Mr. John Winram, Mr. John Spotswood, John Willocks, Mr. John Douglass, Mr. John Row, and John Knox *, to frame and model a scheme or platform of ecclesiastical government. They were not long in complying with an order so agreeable to them, and composed what is termed *the First Book of Discipline*; in which they explained the uniformity and method which ought to be preserved concerning doctrine, the administration of the sacraments, the election and provision of ministers, and the policy of the church. In performing this interesting business, they had chiefly in view the Reformed Assembly, or the religious establishment of Geneva †. They departed in a wide extremity from the splendor and pomp of the Romish forms and ceremonies; disdaining to flatter the senses and the imagination; and confident and secure that the native purity and brightness of their doctrines were fully sufficient to uphold them. All exterior greatness, the allurements of magnificence, the charm of painting, and the enchantment of music, were disregarded, not only as mean and useless artifices, but as dangerous trappings; which might obscure and degrade the interests and dignity of truth. They sought to revive the plainness and sincerity of primitive times. All the functions of religion were to be performed by ministers elected by the people, and by superintendents who presided over particular districts ‡. By these, no charge was ar-

* Preface to the Book of Discipline.

† Spotswood, p. 174.

‡ Book of Discipline, ap. Collection of Confessions of Faith, vol. ii.

rogated in secular affairs. Too humble for ambition, and undistracted with legislative concerns, they were left in the fullest leisure to attend to apostolic cares.

A CONVENTION of the estates gave its sanction to the Presbyterian scheme of government. But while the Book of Discipline sketched out a policy so beautiful for its simplicity, it yet required that the patrimony, and the rich possessions of the ancient church, should be allotted to the new establishment. The Reformers, however, so successful in the doctrines and the policy they had proposed, were here infinitely unfortunate. This convention of the estates did not pay a more respectful regard to this proposal, than the celebrated parliament had done, which demolished the mass, and the jurisdiction of the see of Rome. They affected to consider it as no better than a dream. The expression, *a devout imagination*, was applied to it in mockery; and it was not till after long and painful struggles, that the new establishment was able to procure to itself a becoming and necessary provision and support. The Romish clergy were strenuous to continue in their possessions, and to profit by them; and the nobles and the laity having seized upon great proportions of the property of the church, were no less anxious to retain the acquisitions they had made*.

THE aversion entertained from bestowing riches upon the presbyterian establishment, encouraged the ardour which prevailed for advancing all the other views and interests of the Reformed. And this end was also pro-

BOOK III.

1560.

17 January,
1561.An envoy arrives from
France.

* Knox, p. 276.

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1561.

May.

moted in no inconsiderable degree, by the insidious policy of Catharine de Medicis. She was willing to encrease and to foster all the difficulties and dangers in the situation of the Queen of Scots and her subjects. Upon this account, she had engaged Charles IX. to dispatch Monsieur Noailles to the Scottish parliament, to urge it in strong terms to renew the ancient league between the two kingdoms, to dissolve the alliance with England, and to re-establish over Scotland the popish doctrines and the popish clergy. A new meeting of the estates was assembled, which considered these strange requisitions, and treated them with the indignation they merited. Monsieur Noailles was instructed to inform his sovereign, that France having acted with cruelty and perfidiousness towards the Scots, by attacking their independency and liberties, under the cover and pretence of amity and marriage, did not deserve to know them any longer as an ally; that principles of justice, a love of probity, and a high sense of gratitude, did not permit the Scottish parliament to break the confederacy with England, which had generously protected their country against the tyrannical views of the French court, and the treacherous machinations of the House of Guise; and that they were never to acknowledge the popish clergy to be an order of men, or the legal possessors of the patrimony of the church; since, having abolished the power of the pope, and renounced his doctrines, they could bestow no favour or countenance upon his vassals and servants*.

* Buchanan, Hist. Her. Scot. lib. xvii. Knox, p. 289, 294.

Book III.

To this council of the estates a new supplication was presented by the Protestants. They departed from the high claim which they had made for the riches and patrimony of the popish church; and it was only requested by them, that a reasonable or decent provision should be allotted to the true preachers of the gospel*. This application, however, no less than their former exorbitant demand, was treated with neglect and indifference. But amidst the anxiety manifested by the nobles, and the tenants of the crown, to hold the presbyterian clergy in subjection and in poverty, they discovered the warmest zeal for the extension and continuance of the Reformed opinions. For in this supplication of the Protestants, an ardent desire being intimated and urged, that all the monuments of idolatry which remained should be utterly destroyed, the fullest and most unbounded approbation was given to it. An act accordingly was passed, which commanded that every abbey church, every cloister, and every memorial whatsoever of popery, should be finally overthrown and demolished: and the care of this cruel, but popular employment, was committed to those persons who were most remarkable for their keenness and ardour in the work of the Reformation. Its execution in the western counties was given in charge to the earls of Arran, Argyle, and Glencairn; the lord James Stuart attended to it in the more northern districts; and in the inland divisions of the country, it was intrusted to the barons in whom the Congregation had

1561.

The final destruction of the monasteries, and of the other monuments of popery.

* Knox, p. 282.

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1561.

the greatest confidence. A dreadful devastation ensued. The populace, armed with authority, spread their ravages over the kingdom. It was deemed an execrable lenity to spare any fabric or place where idolatry had been exercised. The churches and religious houses were every where defaced, or pulled to the ground; and their furniture, utensils, and decorations, became the prizes and the property of the invader. Even the sepulchres of the dead were ransacked and violated. The libraries of the ecclesiastics, and the registers kept by them of their own transactions, and of civil affairs, were gathered into heaps, and committed to the flames. Religious antipathy, the sanction of law, the exhortation of the clergy, the hope of spoil, and, above all, the ardour to put the last hand to the Reformation, concurred to drive the rage of the people to its wildest fury; and, in the midst of havock and calamity, the new establishment surveyed its importance and its power*.

Conclusion.

I HAVE thus endeavoured to describe the rise, progress, and establishment of the Reformation in Scotland; employing a narrative which aims at simplicity, and which is ambitious to record the truth. From the order and the laws of our nature it perpetually happens that advantages are mixed with misfortune. The conflicts which led to a purer religion, while they excite, under one aspect, the liveliest transports of joy, create, in another, a mournful sentiment of sympathy

* Spotswood, p. 175. Keith, p. 503. Knox, p. 294.

and

and compaffion. Amidft the felicities which were obtained, and the trophies which were won, we deplore the melancholy ravages of the paffions, and weep over the ruins of ancient magnificence. But while the contentions and the ferments of men, even in the road to improvements and excellence, are ever deftined to be polluted with mifchief and blood, a tribute of the higheft panegyric and praife is yet juftly to be paid to the actors in the Reformation. They gave way to the movements of a liberal and a refolute fpirit. They taught the rulers of nations, that the obedience of the fubject is the child of juftice, and that men muft be governed by their opinions and their reafon. Their magnanimity is illuftrated by great and confpicious exploits; which at the fame time that they awaken admiration, are an example to fupport and animate virtue in the hour of trial and peril. The exiftence of civil liberty was deeply connected with the doctrines for which they contended and fought. While they treated with fcorn an abject and a cruel fuperftition, and lifted and fublimed the dignity of man, by calling his attention to a fimpler and a wifer theology, they were ftrenuous to give a permanent fecurity to the political conftitution of their ftate. The happieft and the beft interefts of fociety were the objects for which they buckled on their armour; and to wifh and to act for their duration and ftability are perhaps the moft important employments of patriotifm and public affection. The Reformation may fuffer fluctuations in its forms; but, for the good and the profperity of mankind, it is to be hoped that it is never to yield and to
fubmit

BOOK III. submit to the errors and the superstitions which it overwhelmed; that it is to guard with anxiety against their advances, to be scrupulously jealous, and to take an early alarm. In this enlightened age of philosophy and reflexion it is difficult indeed to be conceived that any serious attempts to establish them shall be made; yet, if by some fatality in human affairs, such endeavours should actually be tried, and should succeed, it may be concluded, without the possibility of a doubt, that all the boasted freedom which the Reformation has fostered would then perish for ever. The sentiment of liberty, and the fire of heaven which our fathers transmitted to their posterity, would expire and be extinguished. Men would know the debasement of servility, and forget the honours of their kind. They would renounce their natural, their religious, and their political rights; and be contented to creep upon the earth, to lick its dust, and to adore the caprices and the power of a tyrant.

A
C O L L E C T I O N
O F T H E
P R I N C I P A L R E C O R D S
C O N C E R N I N G T H E
E S T A B L I S H M E N T O F T H E R E F O R M A T I O N
I N S C O T L A N D.

A P P E N D I X.

No. I.

Act allowing the Bible to be read in the vulgar tongue.*

Article I.

ANENT the writting gevin in be Robert lord Maxwell, in presens of my lord governour and lordis of Articklis, to be avisit by theim, gif the samin be reasonable or not, of the quhilk the tenor followis: it is statute and ordanit, that it sal be lefull to all our soverane ladyis lieges to haif the Haly Writ, to wit the New Testament and Auld, in the vulgar tounge, in Inglis or Scottis, of ane gude and true-translatioun; and that thei sal incur na crimes for the hefing and reading of the samin, providing alwayis that nae man dispute or hald oppinzeonis, under the painis contenit in the acts of parliament. The lordis of Articklis heand avisit with the said writting, finds the samin resonable; and therefore thinkis that the samin may be usit amangis all the lieges of this realm, in in oure vulgar tounge, of ane gude, true, and just translatioun, because there was na law shewin nor productit in the contrair; and that nane of oure soverane ladyis lieges incur ony crimes for haifing or reding of the samin in form as said is, nor fall be accufit therefore in time coming; and that na personis dispute, argou or hald oppunionis of the samin, under the saidis painis contenit in the foresaides actis of parliament.

Article II.

Proclamation of the act allowing the Bible to be read in the vulgar tongue.

GUBERNATOR.

CLERK of register, it is our will, and we charge zou, that ze gar proclaim this day, at the Marcat Cross of Edinburgh, the actis made in oure soverane ladyis parliament, that suld be proclomit and givin furth to

* Introduction to sir Ralph Sadler's Letters and Negotiations.

her liëges; and in speciale, the act made for having the New Testament in vulgar tounge, with certain additionis; and thereafter gif furth the copys therof actentick, as efferis, to all thaim that will desyre the saymn; and insert this our command and charge in the bukis of parliament, for zoure warrant, subscribit with our hand, at Edinburgh, the xix day of Marche, the year of God Jai vc and xlii yeris.

JAMES G.

No. II.

The first covenant of the Protestants in Scotland.*

WE, perceiving how sathan, in his members the antichrists of our time, cruelly do rage, seeking to overthrow and to destroy the Gospel of Christ and his congregation, ought, according to our bounded duty, to strive, in our Master's cause, even unto the death, being certain of the victory in him. The which our duty being well considered, we do promise, before the Majestie of God, and his congregation, that we (by his grace) shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish, the most blessed word of God, and his congregation; and shall labour, at our possibility, to have faithful masters, truly and purely to minister Christ's Gospel and Sacraments to his people: we shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, at our whole powers, and waging of our lives, against sathan and all wicked power that doth intend tyranny or trouble against the foresaid congregation. Unto the which holy word and congregation we do joyne us; and so do forsake and renounce the congregation of sathan, with all the superstitious abomination and idolatry thereof; and moreover shall declare our selves manifestly enemies thereto, by this our faithful promise before God, testified to his congregation, by our subscription at these presents. At Edinburgh, the 3d day of December 1557 years. God called to witness. A. earl of Argyle. Glencarne. Mortoun. Archibald lord of Lorne. John Erskine of Dun, &c.

* Knox.

No. III. *

Article I.

The oration and petition of the Protestants of Scotland to the queen regent.

ALBEIT we have of long time containd our selves in that modestie, most noble princeffe, that neither by exile of body, losse of goods, nor perishing of this mortall life, was able to convene us, to aske at your grace reformation, and redrefs of those wrongs, and of that fore griefe patiently borne of us, in bodies and minds, of long time; yet are we nowe, of very conscience, and by the feare of our God, compelled to crave, at your grace's feet, remedy against the most unjust tyrannie, used against your grace's most obedient subjects, by those that be called the Estate Ecclesiastical. Your grace cannot be ignorant, what controversie hath bin, and yet is, concerning the true religion, and right worship of God; and how the clergie (as they will be termed) usurpe to themselves such empire above the consciences of men, that whatsoever they command, must be obeyed; and whatsoever they forbid, must be avoyded, without farther respect to God's pleasure, commaundement, or will revealed to us in his most holy worde; or else there abideth nothing for us, but fagot, fire and sword. By the which many of our brethren, most cruelly and most unjustly have bin stricken of late years within this realme; which nowe we finde to trouble and wounde our consciences. For we acknowledge it to have bene our bounden duties before God, either to have defended our brethren from those cruell murtherers, (seeing we are a parte of that power which God hath established in this realme) or else to have given open testification of our fayth with them. Which now we offer our selves to doe, lest that by our continuall silence, we shall seeme to justifie their cruell tyrannie: which doth not only displease us; by your grace's wisdom most prudentlie doth foresee, that for the quieting of this intestine dissention, a publice reformation, as well in the religion, as in the temporall government, were most necessaric. And to the performance thereof, most gravely and most godly (as we are informed) ye have exhorted, as well the clergie as the nobilitie, to employ their studie, diligence, and care. We

* Knox.

therefore of conscience dare no longer dissemble in so weighty a matter, which concerneth the glorie of God, and our salvation: neither now dare we withdrawe our presence, or counsell, or petitions, lest that the adversaries hereafter shall object to us, that place was graunted for reformation, and yet no man sued for the same; and so shall our silence be prejudiciall unto us in time to come. And therefore we, knowing no other order placed in this realme, but your grace and your grave counsel set to amend, as well the disorder ecclesiastical, as the defaults in the temporal regiment, most humbly prostrate our selves before your feete, asking justice, and your gracious help, against them that falsly traduce and accuse us, as that we were heretikes and schismatikes, under that colour seeking our destruction; for that we seeke the amendment of their corrupted lives, and Christes religion to be restored to the originall puritie. Farther we crave of your grace, with open and patent eares to hear those our subsequent requests; and to the joy and satisfaction of our troubled consciences, mercifullie to graunt the same, vnlesse by God's playne word anie be able to prove, that justly they ought to be denied.

Article II.

The particular demands of the Protestants.

FIRST, humbly we ask, That as we have by the lawes of this realme, after long debate obtained to read the holy books of the Old and New Testament, in our vulgar tongue, as spirituall food to our soules: so from henceforth it may be lawfull, that we may meet publikely or privately to our Common-Prayers in our vulgar tongue, to the end that we may increase and grow in knowledge, and be induced by fervent and oft prayer, to commend to God the holy universall church, the queen our soveraigne; her honourable and gracious husband, the abilitie of their succession; your majestie regent, the nobilitie, and whole state of this realme.

Secondly, If it should happen in our said meetings any hard place of scripture to be read, of which, without explanation, hardly can arise any profit to the hearers, that it shall be lawfull to any qualified person in knowledge, being present, to interpret and open up the said hard places, to God's glory, and to the profit of the auditory. And if any thinke that this libertie should be occasion of confusion, debate or heresie, we

are

are content that it be provided that the said interpretation shall underly the judgment of the godly, and most learned within the realme at this time.

Thirdly, That the holy Sacrament of baptisme may be used in the vulgar tongue; that the god-fathers and witneses may not onely understand the points of the league and contract made betwixt God and the infant, but also that the church then assembled, more gravely may be informed and instructed of their duties, which at all times they owe to God, according to the promise made unto him, when they were received into his household by the lavacre of the spirituall regeneration.

Fourthly, We desire that the holy sacrament of the Lords Supper or of his blessed body and blood may likewise be ministred unto us in the vulgar tongue, and in both kindes, according to the plaine institution of our Saviour Christ Jesus.

And lastly, We most humbly require, that the wicked, slanderous, and detestable life of, prelates, and of the state ecclesiasticall, may be reformed, that the people by them have not occasion (as of many dayes they have had) to contemne their ministerie, and the preaching, whereof they should be messengers. And if they suspect that we rather envying their honours, or coveting their riches and possessions, then zealously desiring their amendment and salvation, do travell and labour for this reformation: we are content, that not only the rules and precepts of the New Testament, but also the writings of the ancient fathers, and the godly and approved lawes of Justinian the emperor, decide the controversie between us and them. And if it should be found, that either malevolently or ignorantly we aske more then these three forenamed have required, and continually do require of able and true ministers in Christs church, we refuse not correction, as your majestie with right judgment shall think meet. But if all the forenamed shall condemne that which we condemne, and approve that which we require; then we most earnestly beseech your majestie, that notwithstanding the long custome which they have had to live at their lust, that they be compelled either to desist from ecclesiasticall administration, or to discharge their duties as becometh true ministers. So that the grave and godly face of the primitive church reduced, ignorance may be expelled; treue doctrine and good manners may once againe appeare in the church in this realme.

realme. These things we, as most obedient subjects, require of your majestie, in the name of the eternall God, and his Son Christ Jesus, in presence of whose throne judicall, ye, and all other that heere in earth beareth authority shall give account of your temporall regiment. The spirit of the Lord Jesus move your majesties heart to justice and equity.

No. IV.

The petitions which the Protestants intended to present to parliament.*

FIRST, Seeing that the controversie in religion which hath long continued betwixt the protestants of Almany, Helvetia, and other provinces; and the papisticall church is not yet decided by a lawfull and generall counsell: and seeing that our consciences are likewise touched with the fear of God, as was theirs in the beginning of their controversie, we most humbly desire, that all such acts of parliament as in the time of darknesse gave power to the church-men to execute their tyrannie against us, by reason that we to them were declared hereticks, may be suspended and abrogated, till a generall counsell lawfully assembled, have decided all controversies in religion. And lest that this mutation should seem to set all men at liberty to live as they list, we secondarily require that it be enacted by this present parliament, that the prelates and their officers be removed from the place of judgement, onely granting unto them nevertheless the place of accusators in the presence of a temporall judge; before whom the church-men accusators shall be bounden to call any by them accused of heresie: to whom also they shall be bounden to deliver an authenticke copy of all depositions, accusations, and processe laid against any person accused. The judge likewise delivering the same to the partie accused, assigning unto him a competent terme to answer to the same, after he hath taken sufficient caution. De judicio fifti.

Thirdly, we require, that all lawfull defences be granted to the person accused; as, if he be able to prove that the witnesses be persons unable by

* Spotwood. Knox.

law to testify against him, that then their accusations and depositions be null, according to justice.

Item, That place be granted to the party accused to explain and interpret his owne minde and meaning; which confession we require be inserted in publicke acts, and be preferred to the deposition of any witnesse, seeing that none ought to suffer for religion, that is not found obstinate in his damnable opinion.

Lastly, We require that our brethren be not condemned for hereticks, unlesse by the manifest word of God they be convinced to have erred from that faith which the Holy Spirit witnesseth to be necessary to salvation: and if so they be, we refuse not but that they be punished according to justice; unlesse by wholesome admonition they can be reduced to a better minde.

These things require we to be considered of by you, who are in the place of the eternal God (who is God of order and truth) even in such sort, as ye will answer in presence of his throne judiciall: requiring further, that favourably you would have respect to the tenderesse of our consciences, and to the trouble which appeareth to follow in this commonwealth, if the tyranny of the prelates, and of their adherents be not bridled by God and just lawes. God move your hearts deeply to consider your owne duties, and our present troubles.

No. V.

The protestation of the Protestants upon the refusal of the queen regent to present their petitions to parliament.*

FIRST we protest, That seeing we cannot obtain a just reformation according to Gods word, that it be lawfull to us to use ourselves in matters of religion and conscience, as we must answer unto God, unto such time as our adversaries be able to prove themselves the true ministers of Christ church, and to purge themselves of such crimes as we have already laid to their charge, offering our selves to prove the same whensoever the sacred authority please to give us audience.

Secondly we protest, That neither we, nor yet any other of the godly that list to joyn with us in the true faith which is grounded upon the invin-

* Spottwood, Knox.

cible word of God, shall incur any danger of life or lands, or any political pain, for not observing such acts as heretofore have passed in favour of our adversaries, neither yet for violating of such rites as man without God's commandment or word hath commanded.

We thirdly protest, That if any tumult or uprore shall arise amongst the members of this realme for the diversity of religion; and if it shall chance that abuses be violently reformed, that the crime thereof be not imputed to us, who most humbly do now seek all to be reformed by an order. But rather whatsoever inconvenience shall happen to follow for lack of order taken; that may be imputed to those that do refuse the same.

And last we protest, That these our requests, proceeding from conscience, do tend to none other end, but to the reformation of abuses in religion onely; most humbly beseeching the sacred authority to take us faithfull and obedient subjects into protection against our adversaries, and to shew unto us such indifferency in our most just petition, as it becometh God's lieutenants to do to those that in his name do call for defence, against cruell oppressors, and blood-thirsty tyrants.

No. VI.

Article I.

Letter by the Congregation to the Queen Regent.*

To the Queen's Grace Regent, all humble obedience and duty promised.

AS heretofore, with jeopard of our lives, and yet with willing hearts, we have served the authority of Scotland, and your grace now regent in this realme in service, to our bodies dangerous and painfull; so now with most dolorous mindes we are constrained, by unjust tyranny purposed against us, to declare unto your grace, that except this cruelty be staid by your wisdom, we shall be compelled to take the sword of just defence, against all that shall pursue us for the matter of religion, and for our conscience sake; which ought not, nor may not be subject to mortall creatures, farther than by God's word, man is able to prove that he hath power to command us. We signifie moreover to your grace, that if by rigor we

* Knox.

be compelled to seeke the extreme defence, that we will not only notifie our innocencie and petitions to the king of France, to our mistresse and to her husband; but also to the princes and counsell of every Christian realme; declaring unto them, that this cruell, unjust and most tyrannicall murder, intended against townes and multitudes, was, and is the only cause of our revolt from our accustomed obedience; which, in God's presence, we faithfully promise to our soveraigne mistresse, to her husbande and unto your grace regent; provided that our consciences may live in that peace and liberty, which Christ Jesus hath purchased to us by his blood; and that we may have his word truly preached, and holy sacraments rightly ministered unto us; without which, we firmly purpose never to be subject to mortall man. For better we think to expone our bodies to a thousand deaths, than to hazard our souls to perpetual condemnation, by denying Christ Jesus, and his manifest verity; which thing not onlie do they commit open idolatrie, but also all such as seeing their brethren pursued for the cause of religion, and having sufficient meanes to comfort and assist them, do nevertheless withdraw from them their doubtfull support. We would not your grace should be deceived by the false persuasions of those cruell beasts the church-men, who affirm, that your grace needeth not greatlie to regard the losse of us that professe Christ Jesus in this realme. If (as God forbid) ye give ear to their pestilent counsel, and so use against us this extremity pretended; it is to be feared, that neither ye, neither yet your posteritie, shall at any time after this find that obedience and faithfull service within this realme, which at all times you have found in us. We declare our judgements freely, as trew and faithfull subjectes: God move your gentle heart, favourably to interpret our faithfull meaning. Farther advertising your grace, that the self same thing, together with all thinges that we have done, or yet intend to do, we will notifie by our letters to the king of France; asking of you, in the name of the eternall God, and as your grace tenders the peace and quietnes of this realme, that ye invade us not with violence, till we receive aunswer from our maister her husband, and from their advised counsell ther. And this we commit your grace to the protection of the Omnipotent. ° From Sainct Johnstone, the 22. of May 1559.

Your grace's obedient subjectes in all thinges not repugnant to God,
The faithfull Congregation of Christ Jesus in Scotland.

Article II.

*To the generation of Antichrist, the pestilent prelates and their shavelinges * within Scotlande, the Congregation of Christ Jesus within the same sayeth,*

TO the end that ye shall not be abused, thinking to escape just punishment, after ye, in your blind furie, have caused the bloud of manie to be shedde, this we notifie and declare unto you, that if ye proceede in this your malitiouslye crueltie, ye shall be intreated wheresoever ye shall be apprehended, as murtherers and open enemies to God and unto mankinde: and therefore betimes cesse from this blind rage. Remove first from your selves your bands of bloudie men of warre, and reforme your selves to a more quiet life; and thereafter mitigate ye the authoritie, which, without crime committed upon our part, ye have enflamed against us: or else be ye assured, that with the same measure that ye have measured against us, and yet intend to measure to others, it shall be measured unto you; that is, as ye by tyrannie intend not only to destroy our bodies, but also by the same to hold our soules in bondage of the devill, subject to idolatrie, so shall we, with all force and power which God shall graunt unto us, execute just vengeance and punishment upon you: yea we shall begin that same warre which God commaundeth Israell to execute against the Cananites; that is, contract of peace shall never be made, til that ye desist from your open idolatrie, and cruell persecution of God's children. And this we signifie unto you, in the name of the eternall God, and of his sonne Christ Jesus, whose veritie we professe, and gospel we have preached, and holy sacraments rightly ministred, so long as God will assist us to gainstand your idolatrie. Take this for advertisement, and be not deceived.

No. VII.

The Second Covenant †.

AT Perth, the last day of May, the year of God 1559 years, the congregations of the West Country, with the Congregations of Fyfe, Perth,

* Priests.

† Knox.

Dundee, Angus, Mearns and Montrose, being convened in the town of Perth, in the name of Jesus Christ, for forth setting of his glory, understanding nothing more necessary for the same than to keep a constant amity, unity and fellowship together, according as they are commaunded by God, are confederat, and become bounden and oblist, in the presence of God, to concur and assist together, in doing all things required of God in his scripture that may be to his glory; and at their whole powers to destroy and away put all things that doth dishonour to his name; so that God may be trewly and purely worshipped. And in case that any trouble be intended against the said congregations, or any part or member thereof, the whole congregation shall concur, assist, and conven together, to the defence of the same congregation or person troubled; and shall not spare labours, goods, substance, bodies, and lives, in maintaining the liberty of the whole congregation, and every member thereof, against whatsoever power that shall intend the said trouble, for cause of religion, or any other cause depending thereupon, or lay to their charge under pretence thereof, although it happen to be coloured with any other outward cause. In witnessing and testimony of the which, the whole congregations aforesaid have ordained and appointed the noblemen and persons underwritten to subscribe thir presents. Arch. Argyle. James Stewart. Glencarne. R. lord Boid. Wchiltree. Matthew Campbell of Tarmgannar.

No. VIII.

The truce or assurance between the queen regent and the congregation.*

WE James duke of Chattellerault, earl of Arran, lord Hamilton, and my lord D'Ozel lieutenant for the king in these parts, for ourselves, our assistaries and partakers, being presently with us in company; by the tenor hereof promits, faithfully of honour, to my lords Archbald earl of Argyle, and James commendator of the priorie of St. Andreus, to their assistaries and partakers, being presently with them in company; that we

* Keith.

and our company aforesaid shall retire incontinent to Falkland, and shall with diligence transport the Frenchmen, and our other folks now presently with us; and that no Frenchmen, or other soldiers of ours, shall remain within the bounds of Fyfe, but so many as before the raising of the last army, lay in Dyfert, Kirkaldie, and Kinghorne; and the same to lye in the same places onlie, if we shall think good. And this to have effect for the space of eight days following the date hereof exclusive, that in the mean time certain noblemen, by the advice of the queen's grace, and the rest of the council, may convene, to talk of such things as may make good order and quyetnes amongst the queen's lieges. And farther, we nor non of our assistaries being present with us, shall invade, trouble or disquyet the said lords nor their assistaries, during the said space. And this we bind and oblige us, upon our loyal fidelity and honour, to observe and keep in every point above written, without fraud or guile. In witness whereof we have subscribed these presents with our own hands, at Garle-banke, the 13. day of June 1559. JAMES. "The other subscription," says Mr. Knox, "we could not read; but the familie is this, MENEITS."

No. IX.

Proclamation by the queen regent against the congregation.*

FRANCIS and Marie by the grace of God king and queen of Scots, doulphin and doulphineffe of Vienhois: to our loved Lyon king of arms, &c. our sheriffs in that part, conjunctly and severally, specially constitute, greeting. Forasmuch as our dearest mother Marie queen dowager regent of our realme, and lords of our secreet council, perceiving the seditious tumult raised by one part of our lieges, naming themselves the Congregation; who, under pretence of religion, have put themselves in arms: and that her grace, for satisfying of every man's conscience, and pacifying of the said troubles, had offered unto them, to affix a parliament to be holden in January next to come, or sooner if they had pleased, for establishing of a univerfal order in matters of religion, by our advice and estates of our realme; and in the mean time, to suffer every man to live at liberty of conscience, without trouble, unto the time that the said order was taken

* Knox. Keith.

by advice of our foresaid estates. And at last, because it appeareth much to stand upon our borough of Edinburgh, offered in like manner to let the inhabitants thereof chuse what manner of religion they would set up and use for that time; so that no man might alledge that he was forced to do against his conscience. Which offer the queen's grace, our said dearest mother, was at all times, and yet is ready to fulfill. Nevertheless the said Congregation, being of mind to receive no reasonable offers, hath since by open deed declared, that it is no religion, nor any thing thereto pertaining, that they seek; but onlie the subversion of our authority, and usurpation of our crowne: in manifest witnessing whereof, they daily receive Englishmen with messages unto them, and sendeth such like into England: and last of all, have violently intromitted with, taken and yet with-hold the irons of our cunzie-house; which is one of the chief points that concerneth our crowne: and such like have intromitted with our palace of Holy-rood-house. Our will is therefore, &c. that ye pass to the Market cros of our said borough of Edinburgh, or any other publick place within the same; and there by open proclamation, in our name and authority, commaund and charge all and sundry persons of the said Congregation, or yet, being presently within our said borough, other than the inhabitants thereof, that they, within six hours next after our said charge, depart furth of the same, under the pain of treason. And also; that ye commaund all and sundry persons to leave their company, and adhere to our authority; with certification to such as do the contrary, that they shall be reputed and holden as manifest traytors to our crowne, &c.

No. X.

The answer of the congregation to the proclamation of the queen regent.*

PLEASE your grace to be advertised, it is come to our knowledge, that your grace hath sett furth, by your letters openlie proclaimed, that we, called by name the Congregation, under pretence and colour of religion, convene together to no other purpose but to usurp our soveraigns authority, and to invade your person representing theirs at this present.

* KNOX.

Which

Which things appeareth to have proceeded of sinister information, made to your grace by our enemies, considering that we never minded such thing; but only our mind and purpose was, and is, to promote and set furth the glorie of God, maintain and defend the true preachers of his word, and, according to the same, abolish and putt away idolatry and false abuses, which may not stand with the said word of God; beseeching your grace to bear patiently therewith, and interpone your authority to the furtherance of the same, as is the duty of every christian prince and good magistrate. For as to the obedience of our soveraigns authority in all civil and politick matters, we are, and shall be as obedient, as any other your grace's subjects within the realme: and that our convention is for no other purpose, but to save our preachers and their auditors from the injury and violence of our enemies, which should be more amply declared by some of us in your grace's presence, if ye were not accompanied with such as have pursued our lives and fought our blood. Thus we pray almighty God to have your highness in his eternall tuition. Att Edinburgh, the 2d of July 1559.

No. XI.

*The third covenant *.*

WE foreseeing the craft and sleight of our adversaries, tending all manner of ways to circumvent us, and by privey means intendeth to assaile every one of us, particularly by fair heghts and promises, there-through to separate one of us from another, to our utter ruin and destruction: for remedy thereof, we faithfully and truly bind us, in the presence of God, and as we tender the maintenance of trew religion, that none of us shall, in time coming, pass to the queen's grace dowager, to talk or commune with her, for any letter or message sent by her unto us, or yet to be sent, without consent of the rest, and common consultation there-upon: and how soon that either message or writing should come from her unto us, with utter diligence we shall notifie the same one to another; so that nothing shall proceed therein without common consent of us all. Att Stirling, the first day of August 1559.

* Knox.

No. XII.

The address of the confederated nobles to the queen regent.*

At Hammilton the 29 day of September.

MADAME, we are credibly informed that your army of French-men should instantly begin to plant in Leith, and to fortifie the same, of minde to expell the ancient inhabitants thereof, our brethren of the congregation, whereof we marvell not a little, that your majestie should so manifestly breake the appointment made at Leith, without any provocation made by us and our brethren. And seeing the same is done without any manner of consent of the nobilitie and counsell of this realme, we esteem the same not onely oppression of our poore brethren, and in-dwellers of the said towne, but also very prejudiciall to the common-wealth, and plain contrary to our ancient laws and liberties. We therefore desire your majestie to cause the same work enterprised to be stayed, and not to attempt so rashly and so manifestly against your majesties promise, against the common-wealth, the ancient laws and liberties thereof (which things, besides the glory of God, are most dear and tender to us, and onely our presence) otherwise assuring your majestie, we will complain to the whole nobility and commonalty of this realme, and most earnestly seek for redresse thereof. And thus recommending our humble service unto your highnesse, whom we commit to the eternall protection of God, expecting earnestly your answer. At Hammilton the day and yeer aforesaid: By your majesties humble and obedient servitours.

No. XIII.

Manifesto or proclamation by the queen regent †.

Article I.

FOR so much as it is understood by the queen; that the duke of Chattellawralt hath lately directed his missives into all parts of this realm,

* This letter was subscribed by the duke of Chattellawralt, the earls of Arran, Argyle, Glencairn, and Menteth, by the lords Ruthven, Ochiltree, Boyd, and by other barons and gentlemen. Knox.

† Knox.

making mention that the French-men late arrived with their wives and children, are begun to plant in Leith, to the ruine of the common-weale, which he and his partakers will not passe over with patient beholding, desiring to know what will be every mans part. And that the fortification of Leith, is a purpose devised in France, and that therefore monsieur de la Broffe, and the bishop of Amiens, are come to this countrey. A thing so vaine and untrue, that the contrary thereof is knowne to all men of free judgement. Therefore the queen, willing that the occasions whereby her majesty was moved so to do, be made patent, and what have been her proceedings since the appointment last made on the linkes beside Leith. To the effect that the trueth of all things being made manifest, every man may understand how unjustly that a desire to suppress the liberty of this realm is laid to her charge; we have thought expedient to make this discourse following. First, although after the said appointment, divers of the said-congregation, and that not of the meanest fort, hath violently broken the points thereof, and made sundry occasions of new cumber. The same was in a part winked at, and over-looked, in hope that they in time would remember their duty, and abstaine from such evil behaviour, which conversion her majestie ever sought, rather than any punishment, with such care and sollicitude by all means, and in the mean time nothing was provided for her own security. But at last by their frequent messages to and from England, their intelligence then was perceived, yet her majestie trusted the queen of England (let them seek as they please) will do the office of a Christian princeffe, in time of a sworne peace, through which, force was to her majestie, seeing so great defection of great personages, to have recourse to the law of nature. And like as a small bird, being pursued, will provide some nest, so her majestie could do no lesse in cases of pursuit, but provide some sure retract for her self and her company, and to that effect chose the town of Leith, as a place convenient therefore: because it was her dearest daughters property, and no other person could clame title or interesse thereto, and also because in former times it had been fortified: about the same time that the seeking support of England was made manifest, arrived the earle of Arrane, and adjoyned himselfe to the congregation, upon further promise then the pretended quarrell, or religion, that was to be set up by them in authority, and so to pervert the whole obedience, and as some of the congregation at the
same

same time had put into their hands, and taken the castle of Brochtie, put forth the keepers thereof. Immediately came from the said duke to her majestie unlooked for, a writ, beside many others complaining of the fortification of the said town of Leith, in hurt of the ancient inhabitants thereof, brethren of the said congregation, whereof he then professed himselfe a member. And albeit that the bearer of the said writ was an unmeet messenger, in a matter of such consequence, yet her majestie directed to him two persons of good credit and reputation, with answer; offering, if he would cause amends to be made for that which was committed against the lawes of the realme, to do further than could be craved of reason. And to that effect, to draw some conference, which by his fault and his colleagues took no end; neverthelesse they continually since continue in their doings, usurping the authority, commanding and charging free boroughs to chuse provests and officers of their naming, and to assist to them in the purpose they would be at: and that they will not suffer provision to be brought for sustentation of her majesties houses. A great part have so plainly set aside all reverence and humanitie, whereby every man may know, that it is no matter of religion, but a plaine usurpation of the authority: and no doubt but simple men of good zeale in former times, therewith falsly have been deceived. But as to the queens part (God who knoweth the secrets of all hearts well knoweth, and the world shall see by experience) that the fortification of Leith was devised for no other purpose, but for recourse to her highnesse and her company, in case they were pursued. Wherefore, as good subjects that have the feare of God in their hearts, will not suffer themselves by such vaine persuasions to be led away from their due obedience: but will assist in defence of their soveraigns quarrell, against all such as shall pursue the same wrongfully. Therefore her majestie ordaineth the officers of arms to passe to the Marketcrosses of all the head burroughs of this realme, and there by open proclamation command and charge all and sundry the lieges thereof, that none of them take in hand to put themselves in arms, nor take part with the said duke or his assistaries, under the paine of treason.

Article II.

The declaration of the confederated nobles against the proclamation of the queen regent.

WE are compelled unwillingly to answer the grievous accusations most unjustly laid to our charges by the queen regent, and her perverse counsell, who cease not by all craft and malice to make us odious to our dearest brethren, naturall Scottish-men, as that we pretended no other thing, but the subversion and overthrow of all just authoritie, when God knoweth we fought nothing, but, that such authoritie as God approveth by his word, be established, honoured, and obeyed amongst us. True it is, that we have complained (and continually must complaine, till God send redresse) that our common cuntry is oppressed with strangers; that this inbringing of souldiers with their wives and children, and planting of men of war in our free townes; appeareth to us a ready way to conquest. And we most earnestly require all indifferent persons to be judge betwixt us and the queen regent in this cause, to wit, whether our complaint be just or not? for, for what other purpose should she thus multiply strangers upon us, but onely in respect of conquest: which is a thing of late devised by her and her avaritious house. We are not ignorant that six years ago the question was demanded of a man of honest reputation; what number of men was able to daunt Scotland, and to bring it to the full obedience of France? She alleadged, that to say that the fortification of Leith was of purpose devised in France, and that for that purpose were monsieur de la Brosse, and the bishop of Amiens sent to this cuntry; is a thing so vaine and untrue, that the contrary thereof is notorious to all men of free judgement. But evident it is, whatsoever she alleadged, that since their arrivall Leith has begun to be fortified. She alleadged, that she seeing the defection of great personages, was compelled to have recourse to the law of nature, and like a small bird pursued to provide for some sure retreat to her self and her company. But why doth she not answer for what purpose did she bring in her new bands of men of war? was there any defection espied before their arrivall? was not the congregation under appointment with her? which whatsoever she alleadged, she is not able to prove that we have violated in any chiefe point, before that her

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new throat-cutters arrived, yea, before that they began to fortifie Leith, a place, saith she, most convenient for her purpose; as indeed it is, for the receiving of strangers at her pleasure: for if she had feared the pursuit of her bodie, she had Inche, Colme, Dumbar, and Blacknesse, forts and strengths already made; yet all these could not so well serve her turne as Leith, because it was her daughters property, and none other could have title unto it, and because it had been fortified oft before. That all men may know the just title her daughter and she had to the town of Leith, we shall in a few words declare. It is not unknown to the most part of this realm, that there hath been an old hatred and contention betwixt Edinburgh and Leith; Edinburgh continually seeking constantly to possesse the liberty of Leith which by donation of ancient kings they have long enjoyed: and Leith, by the contrary aspiring to a liberty and freedom in prejudice of Edinburgh. The queen regent, a woman that could make her profit at all hands, was not ignorant how to compasse her own businesse, and therefore secretly she gave advertisement to some of Leith, that she would make their towne free, if that she might do it with any colour of justice. By which promises the principall men of them did travell with the laird of Lestarrig, a man neither prudent nor fortunate, to whom the superiority of Leith appertained, that he should sell his whole title and right to our soveraigne for a certain sum of money, which the inhabitants of Leith paid, with a large taxation more, to the queen regent, in hope to be made free, in despight and defraud of Edinburgh: which right and superiority when she had gotten, and when the money was paid, the first fruits of their liberty they now eat with bitternes, is, that strangers shall possesse their towne: this is the just title which her daughter and she might claim to that towne. And when she alleadged, that it was fortified before; we ask, if that was done without the consent of the nobility and estates of the realme, as now she and her crafty counsellors do, in despight and high contempt of us the lawfull and borne counsellors of this realme. How far we have sought support of England, or of any other prince, and how just cause we had and have so to do, we shall shortly make manifest unto the world, to the praise of Gods holy name, and to the confusion of all those that slander us for so doing: for this we fear not to confesse, that as in this our enterprise, against the

devil, idolatry, and the maintainers of the same, we chiefly and onely seek Gods glory to be notified unto man, sin to be punished, and vertue to be maintained: so where power faileth in our selves, we will seeke it wheresoever God shall offer the same: and yet in so doing, we are assured neither to offend God, neither yet to do any thing repugnant to our duties. We heartily praise God, who moved the heart of the earle of Arran to joyn himself with us his persecuted brethren. But how malicious a lye it is, that we have promised to set him up in authority, the issue shall declare: God we take to record, that no such thing hath entered into our hearts, neither yet hath the said earle, neither any to him appertaining, moved us unto any such matter: which if they should do, yet are we not so slender in judgement, that inconsiderately we would promise that, which after we would repent. We speak and write to the praise of God's glory; the least of us knoweth better what obedience is due to a lawfull authority, then she and her counsell doth practice the office of such as worthily may sit upon the seat of justice: for we offer, and we perform all obedience which God hath commanded; and we deny neither toll, tribute, nor fear, to her nor her officers, we onely bridle her blinde rage, in which she would erect and maintain idolatry, and would murder our brethren, who refuse the same: but she doth utterly abuse the authority established by God, she profaneth the throne of his majestie on earth, making the seat of justice, which ought to be the sanctuary and refuge of all godly and vertuous persons unjustly afflicted, to be a den and receptacle to thieves, murtherers, idolaters, whore-mongers, adulterers, and of blasphemers of God, and all godlineffe. It is more than evident what men they are, and long have been, whom she by her power maintaineth and defendeth; and also what hath been our conversation, since it hath pleased God to call us to his knowledge, whom now in her fury she cruelly persecuteth. We deny not the the taking of the houses of Brochtie; and the causes being considered, we think that no naturall Scottish-man will be offended at our fact. When the assured knowledge came to us that the fortification of Leith was begun, every man began to inquire, what danger might ensue to the rest of the realm, if the French should plant in divers places, and what were the places that might annoy us. In conclusion it was found, that the taking of the said house
by

by French-men, should be destruction to Dundie, and hurtfull to S. Iohnston, and to the whole countrey; and therefore it was thought expedient to prevent the danger, as that we did, for preservation of our brethren and common countrey. It is not unknown what enemies those two towns have, and how gladly would some have all good order and policy overthrowen in them. The conjectures that the French-men were of minde shortly to have taken the same place, were not obscure: but whatsoever they pretended, we cannot repent that we (as said is) have prevented the danger; and would God that power had been in the same manner to have foreclosed their enterprize at Leith: for what trouble this poor realm shall endure before that those murtherers and unjust possessors be removed from the same, the issue will declare. If her accusations against the duke, and that we refused conference, be truly and simply spoken, we will not refuse the judgement of those very men, whom she alleadgeth to be of such reputation. They know that the duke did answer, that if the realme should be set at liberty from the bondage of those men of war, which presently did oppresse it, and was so fearfull to him, and to his brethren, that they were compelled to absent themselves from the places where she and they made residence: that he and the whole congregation should come and give all dutifull obedience to our soveraigne her daughter, and unto her, as regent for the time: but to enter into conference so long as she kept above him and his brethren that fearfull scourge of cruell strangers, he thought no wise man would counsell him. And this his answer we approve, adding farther, that she can make us no promise which she can keep; nor we can credit, so long as she is forced with the strength, and ruled by the counsell of France. We are not ignorant that princes think it good policy to betray their subjects by breaking of promises. be they never so solemnly made. We have not forgotten what counsell she and monsieur Dofell gave to the duke, against those that slue the cardinall, and kept the castle of St. Andrews, which was this, that what promise they list to require should be made unto them; but as soon as the castle was rendred, and things brought to such passe as was expedient, that he should chop the heads from every one of them. To the which the duke answered, that he would never consent to so treasonable an act, but if he promised fidelity, he would faithfully keep it.

Monseigneur

Monſieur Dofell ſaid in mockage to the queen in French, that is a good ſimple nature, but I know no other prince that would ſo do. If this was his judgement in ſo ſmall a matter, what have we to ſuſpect in this our cauſe? For the queſtion is not of the ſlaughter of one cardinall, but of the juſt abolishing of all tyranny, which the Romane Antichriſt hath uſurped above us; of the ſuppreſſing of idolatry, and of the reformation of the whole religion, by that vermine of ſhavelings utterly corrupted. Now if the ſlaughter of a cardinall be a ſin irremiſſible, as they themſelves affirme; and if faith ought not to be kept to hereticks, as their owne law ſpeaketh, what promiſe can ſhe that is ruled by the counſell and commandment of a cardinall, make to us that can be ſure? Where ſhe accuſeth us, that we uſurp authority to command and charge free boroughs, to chuſe proveſts and officers of our naming, &c. We will that the whole boroughs of Scotland teſtifie in that caſe, whether we have uſed any kinde of violence, but lovingly exhorted ſuch as aſked our ſupport to chuſe ſuch in office, as had the feare of God before their eyes, loved equity and juſtice, and were not noted with avarice and bribing. But wonder it is with what face ſhe can accuſe us of that, whereof we are innocent, and ſhe ſo openly criminall, that the whole realme knoweth her iniquity: in that caſe hath ſhe not compelled the towne of Edinburgh to retaine a man to be their proveſt moſt unworthy of any regiment in a well-ruled commonwealth? Hath ſhe not enforced them to take bayliſſes of her appointment? and ſome of them ſo meet for their office in this troubleſome time, as a ſowter is to ſayle a ſhip in a ſtormy day. She complaineth that we will not ſuffer proviſion to be made for her houſe: in very deed we unfainedly repent that before this we took not better order that theſe murderers and oppreſſors whom ſhe pretendeth to nourish for our deſtruction, had not been diſappointed of their great proviſion of victuals which ſhe and they have gathered, to the great hurt of the whole countrey: but as God ſhall aſſiſt us in times coming, we ſhall do diligence ſomewhat to fruſtrate their devilliſh purpoſe. What both ſhe and we pretend, we doubt not but God (who cannot ſuffer the abuſe of his own name long to be unpuniſhed) ſhall one day declare, and unto him we feare not to commit our cauſe. Neither yet feare we in this preſent day, that againſt us ſhe maketh a malicious lye, where that ſhe ſaith, that it is not religion that

that we go about, but a plain usurpation of authority. God forbid that such impiety should enter in our hearts, that we should make his holy religion a cloke and covertour of our iniquity: from the beginning of this controversie, it is evidently knowne what have been our requests; which if the rest of the nobility and commonalty of Scotland will cause to be performed unto us, if then in us appear any signe of rebellion, let us be reputed and punished as traitors. But while strangers are brought in to suppress us, our common wealth and posterity: while idolatry is maintained, and Christ Jesus his true religion despised, while idle bellies, and bloody tyrants the bishops are maintained, and Christs true messengers persecuted; while, finally, vertue is contemned, and vice extolled; while that we a great part of the nobility and commonalty of this realme are most unjustly persecuted, what godly man can be offended that we shall seek reformation of these enormities (yea, even by force of arms, seeing that otherways it is denied unto us) we are assured that neither God, neither nature, neither any just law forbiddeth us. God hath made us councillours by birth of this realme, nature bindeth us to love our owne cuntry, and just laws command us to support our brethren unjustly pursued, yea, the oath that we have made to be true to this common-wealth compelled us to hazard whatsoever God hath given us, before that we see the miserable ruine of the same. If any thinke it is not religion which now we seek, we answer, that it is nothing else but the zeal of the true religion which moveth us to this enterprize: for as the enemy doth craftily foresee, that idolatry cannot universally be maintained, unlesse that we be utterly suppressed, so do we consider that the true religion (the purity whereof we openly require) cannot universally be erected, unlesse strangers be removed, and this poor realme purged of those pestilences which before have infected it. And therefore in the name of the eternall God, and of his son Christ Jesus, whose cause we sustain, we require all our brethren naturall Scottish-men prudently to consider our requests, and with judgement to discern betwixt us and the queen regent, with her faction, and not to suffer themselves to be abused by her craft and deceit, that to lift their weapons against their brethren, who seek nothing but Gods glory, or yet to extract from us their just and dutifull support, seeing that we hazard our lives for preservation of them and us, and of us
and

and our posterity to come: assuring such as shall declare themselves favourers of her faction and enemies unto us, that we shall repute them, whensoever God shall put the sword of justice in our hands worthy of such punishment as is due for such as study to betray their countreyes into the hands of strangers.

No. XIV.

The second address or admonition of the confederated nobles to the queen regent.*

MADAME, your majestie may call to minde, how at our last convention at Hamilton, we required your highnesse in most humble manner to desist from the fortifying the town of Lieth, then enterprised and begun, which appeared unto us (and yet doth) an entrie to a conquest and overthrow of our liberties, and altogether against the lawes and customes of this realm, seeing it was begun, and yet continueth without any advice and consent of the nobility and counsell of this realm. Wherefore now, as oft before, according unto our duty to our common-wealth, we most humbly require your majestie, to cause your strangers and souldiers whatsoever, to depart the said town of Leith, and make the same patent, not onely to the inhabitants, but also to all Scottish-men, our soveraign ladies lieges; assuring your highnesse, that if refusing the same, ye declare thereby your evil minde towards the common-wealth, and liberty of this realm, we will (as before) move and declare the causes unto the whole nobility and commonalty of this realm. And according to the oath which we had sworn for the maintenance of the common-weale, in all manner of things to us possible, we will provide remedy therefore, requiring most humbly your majesties answer in haste with the bearer, because in our eyes the act continually proceeds, declaring your determination of conquest, which is presumed of all men, and not without cause. And thus after our commendation of service, we pray almighty God to have your majesty in his eternall tuition.

• Knox.

No.

No. XV.

The answer by the queen regent, to the second address or admonition of the confederated nobles.*

AFTER commendations, we have received your letter of Edinburgh the 19th of this instant, which appeareth to us rather to have come from a prince to his subjects, than from subjects to them that bear authority. For answer whereof, we have presently directed unto you this bearer Lion Herald King of Arms, sufficiently instructed with our mind, to whom ye shall give credence. Att Leith, October 21st 1559.

MARIE R.

His credit was this.

“ That the queen wondred how any durst presume to command her
 “ in that realm, which needeth not to be conquest by any force, consider-
 “ ing that it was already conquest by marriage: that Frenchmen could
 “ not justly be called strangers, seeing that they were naturalized; and
 “ therefore that she would neither make that town patent, neither yet
 “ send any man away, but as she thought expedient. She accused
 “ the duke of violating his promise. She made long protestation of
 “ her love towards the commonwealth of Scotland: and in the end
 “ commanded, that under the pain of treason, all assistaries to the
 “ duke, and unto them, should depart from the town of Edinburgh.”

No. XVI.

The act or decree of the congregation, degrading the queen regent of her high office.*

Article I.

AT Edinburgh the one and twentieth day of October, 1550, the nobility, barons and burgeses convened, to advise upon the affairs of the common-wealth, and to ayd, support and succour the same, perceiving and lamenting the enterprised destruction of their said common-wealth,

* Клох.

† Клох.

and overthrow of the liberties of their native countrey, by the means of the queen regent, and certain strangers her privie counsellors, plain contrary to our soveraign lord and ladies mind, and direct against the counsell of the nobility, to proceed by little and little, even unto the uttermost ruine; so that the urgent necessity of the common-wealth may no longer suffer delay, and earnestly craveth our support. Seeing therefore that the said queen regent (abusing and overpassing our soveraigne lord and ladies commission given and granted to her) hath in all her proceedings pursued the barons and burgesse within this realme, with weapons and armour of strangers, without any proceffe and order of law, they being our soveraigne lord and ladies true lieges, and never called nor convinced of any crime by any judgement lawfull. As first, at S. Johnston, in the moneth of May, she assembled her army against the towne, and the inhabitants never called nor convinced of any crime, onely because they professed the true worship of God, conform to his most sacred word. 2. And likewise in the moneth of June last, without any order or calling going before, invaded the persons of fundry noble-men and barons with force of armes, convened at S. Andrews, onely for cause of religion, as is notoriously known, they never being called nor convinced of any crime. 3. Again, laid garrisons the same moneth upon the inhabitants of the said town, oppressing the liberties of the queens true lieges: for fear of which her garrisons, a great part of the inhabitants thereof fled from the towne, and durst not resort again unto their houses and heritages, untill they were restored by arms; they notwithstanding never being called nor convinced of any crime. 4. Further, at that same time did thrust in upon the heads of the inhabitants of the said towne, provost, and bayliffs, against all order of election, as lately in this month of September she had done in other towns of Edinburgh and Jedburgh, and divers other places, in manifest oppression of our liberties. 5. Declaring her evill minde towards the nobility, commonalty, and whole nation, she hath brought in strangers, and daily pretends to bring in greater force of the same, pretending a manifest conquest of our native rooms and countrey, as the deed itself declareth; in so far, as she having brought in the said strangers without any advise of councill and nobility, and contrary to their expresse minde sent to her in writing, hath placed and planted her said strangers in one of the principall towns and parts of the realm,

sending.

feeding continually for greater forces, willing thereby to suppress the common-weale, and liberty of our native countrey, to make us and our posterity slaves to strangers for ever; which, as it is intolerable to commonwealths and free countreys, so it is very prejudiciall to our soveraign lady and her heirs whatsoever, in case our soveraign lady decease without heirs of her person. And to performe these her wicked enterprises, conceived (as appeareth) of inveterate malice against our whole countrey and nation, caused (without any consent or advise of the councill and nobility) to coyn lead money, so base, and of such quantity, that the whole realme shall be depauperate, and all traffique with forraigne nations everted thereby. 6. Again, she so placeth and maintaineth against the pleasure of the councill of this realme, a stranger in one of the greatest offices of credit in this realme, that is in keeping of the great-seal thereof, wherein great perills may be ingendred to the common-weale, and liberty thereof. 7. Further, lately sent the great seal forth of this realme by the said stranger, against the advice of the said councill, to what effect, God knoweth. 8. And hath also by this means altered the old law and custome of this our realme, ever observed in the graces and pardons granted bo our soveraigns to all their lieges, being repentant of their offences committed against ther majesties, or the lieges of the realme. And hath introduced a new captious stile and form of the said pardons and remissions, conform to the practices of France, tending thereby to draw the said lieges of this realm, by proesse of time, into a deceivable snare, and further shall creep in the whole subversion and alteration of the remanent laws of this realme, contrary to the contents of the appointment of marriage. 9. And also peace being accorded amongst the princes, retaineth the great army of strangers, after commandment sent by the king of France to retire the same, making excuse that they were retained for the suppressing the attempts of the lieges of this realme; albeit the whole subjects thereof of all estates, is, and ever hath been readie to give all dutifull obedience to their soveraignes, and their lawfull ministers proceeding by Gods ordinance: and the same army of strangers not being paid in wages, was laid by her upon the necks of the poor commonalty of our native countrey, who were compelled by force to defraud themselves, their wives and children, of that poor substance which they might purchase with the sweat of their

brows, to satisfie their hunger and necessities, and quit the same to sustain the idle bellies of her strangers; through the which, in all parts rose such heavy lamentation and complaint of the commonalty, accusing the counsell and nobility of their sloth, that as the same oppression we doubt not hath entred in before the justice seat of God, so hath it moved our hearts to pity and compassion. And for redresse of the same, with other great offences committed against the publike weale of this realme, we have convened here as said is: and as oftentimes before have most humbly and with all reverence desired and required the said queen regent to redresse the said enormities, and especially to remove her strangers from the necks of the poor commonalty, and to desist from enterprising of fortification of strengths within this realme, against the expresse will of the nobility and and counsell of the same; yet we being convened the more strong for fear of her strangers, who we saw presume no other thing, but with arms to pursue our lives and possessions, besought her to remove the fear of the same, and make the town patent to all our soveraigne lord and ladies lieges. The same in no wise would she grant unto, but when some of our company in peaceable manner went to view the towne, there was both great and small munition shot forth at them. And seeing therefore that neither access was granted to be used, nor yet she would joyn herself to us to consult upon the affairs of our common-wealth, as that we be borne councillors to the same by ancient laws of the realme: but fearing lest the judgement of the counsell would reform, as necessity required, the aforesaid enormities, she refuseth all manner of assistance with us, and by force and violence intendeth to suppress the liberties of our common-weale, and of us the favourers of the same. We therefore, so many of the nobility, barons, and provests of our boroughs, as are touched with the care of the common-weale, (unto the which we acknowledge our selves, not onely borne, but also sworne protectors and defenders, against all and whatsoever invaders of the same) and moved by the foresaid proceedings notorious, and with the lamentable complaint of oppression of our commonalty, our fellow-members of the same. Perceiving farther, that the present necessity of our common-weale may suffer no delay, being convened (as said is) presently in Edinburgh, for support of our common-weal, and ripely consulted and advised, taken the fear of God before our eyes, for the causes

causes foresaid, which are notorious, with one consent and common vote. Every man in order his judgement being required, in the name and authority of our soveraign lord and lady, suspend the said commiffion granted by our said soveraigne to the said queen dowager, discharging her of all administration or authority she hath, or may have thereby, unto the next parliament, to be set by our advice and consent : and that because the said queen, by the foresaid faults notorious, declareth her selfe enemy to our common-weale, abusing the power of the said authority to the destruction of the same : and likewise we discharge all members of her said authority from thenceforth ; and that no coyn be coyned from thenceforth, without expresse consent of the said councill and nobility, conform to the laws of this realme, which we maintain, and ordain this to be notified and proclaimed by officers of arms, in all head boroughs within the realm of Scotland. In witnesse of the which our common consent and free vote, we have subscribed this present act of suspension with our hands, day, yeere, and place aforesaid.

Sic subscribitur.

By us the nobility and common of the Protestants
of the church of Scotland.

Article II.

Letter by the council of the Protestants to the queen dowager upon her degradation from the regency.*

Please your grace,

WE have receiv'd your answer, and heard the credit of Lion king of arms ; whereby we gather sufficiently your preservation in evil mind towards us, the glory of God, our commonwealth, and liberty of our native countrey. For saving of the which, according unto our duties, we have, in our soverain lord and ladie's name, suspended your commiffion, and all administration of the policy your grace may pretend thereby ; being most assuredly perswaded that your proceedings are directly contrary to our soverain lord and lady's will ; which we ever esteem to be for the weal, and not for the hurt of this our commonwealth. And as your grace will not acknowledge us, our soverain lord and lady's true barons and lieges,

* Cotton library, Caligula, b. 10. Keith.

for your subjects; no more will we acknowledge you for any regent, or lawfull magistrate unto us; seeing, if any authority you have by reason of our soverain's commission granted unto your grace, the same, for most weighty reasons, is worthily suspended by us, by name of authority [Knox, in the name and authority] of our soverains, whose councill we are of native birth, in the affairs of this our common weal. And forasmuch as we are determined, with hazard of our lives, to sett that town at liberty, wherein you have most wrongfully planted your soldiers and strangers; for the reverence we ow to your person, as mother to our soverain lady, we require your grace to transport your person therefrom; seeing we are constrained, by the necessity of the commonwealth, to force the same by arms; being denyed liberty thereof, by fundry requests made before: your grace wou'd cause depart with you, out of the said town, any person having commission of ambassade, if any such be, or lieutenantship of our soverains, together with all Frenchmen soldiers, being within the same; whose blood we thirst not, because of the old amity and friendship betwixt the realm of France and us; which amity, by the marriage of our soverain lady to the king of that realm, should rather increase than decrease. And this we pray your grace and them to do within the space of twenty-four hours, for the reverence we ow unto your persons. And thus, recommending our humble service to your grace, we commit your highness to the eternal protection of God. At Edinburgh, the 23d of October.

By your grace's humble serviteurs,

The council having the authority unto the next parliament,
erected by common election of the earls, lords, and barons,
conven'd at Edinburgh, of the Protestant faction.

E A R L S.

My Lord Duke's Grace, and Earl

of Arran.

The E. of Argile.

The E. of Glencairn.

L O R D S.

James of St. Andrews.

The Lord Ruthven.

The Master of Maxwell.

B A R O N S.

Tullibardine.

The Laird of Dun.

The Laird of Pitarrow.

The Provost of Aberdeen for the
Borrows.

No. XVII.

*The treaty of Berwick, or the convention of the nobles and the people of Scotland with queen Elizabeth against the union of Scotland with France, and in defence of their constitution and liberties **

AT Barwyck, the twenty sevinct day of Februarē, the zeir of our Lord God one thousand five hundred fifty nyne zeris : it is agreed, contractit and finalye appoynted, betwixt the noble mychty prince, Thomas duck of Northfolk, erle marschell of Ingland, lieutenant for the quenis most excellent majestie of England in the North, in the name and behalf of hir hienes, of the one partye; and the ryght honorable lord James Steward, Patrick lord Ruthven, sir John Maxwell of Teiregles knycht, William Maitland of Lethyngtonne zoungare, Johnne Wyfchert of Pittarrow, and maistre Henry Balnaves of Hal-hil, in the name and behalf of the noble and myghtie prince, James duck of Chasteau la Rault, secund personn of the realme of Scotland, and the remanent of the rest of the lordes of his parte, joyned with him in this caus for mayntenance and defence of the auncient ryghteis and liberteis of their cuntree, on the other partye, in forme as hereafter followeth; that is to say, that the quenis majestyē having sufficientlie understanded, alswēall by information sent from the nobilite of Scotland, as by the manifest proceedingis of the Frenche, that thei intend to conquer the realme of Scotland, suppress the liberteis thair of, and unyte the same unto the crowne of France perpetualie, contrarie to the laws of the said realme, and to the pactes, othes, and promessis of France; and being thairto most humilie and earnestlie required by the said nobilitie, for and in the name of the hole realme; shall accept the said realme of Scotland, the said duck of Chasteaulerault, being declared by acte of parliament to be heyre apperand to the crowne thair of, and the nobilite and subjectes of the same, into hir majesties protection and mayntenaunce, onelie for preservacion of theym in their old fredomes and liberteis, and from conquest, during the tyme the marriage shall continew betwix the queyn of Scottis and the Frenche king, and one zeir:

* Rymer.

* after;

after; and for expelling owte of the same realme of such as presentlie goeth abowte to practise the said conquest.

Hir majestie shall with all speyd send into Scotland a convenient ayd of men of warre, on horse and foot, to joyne with the power of the Scottishmen, with artailze, munition, and all uther instrumentis of warre mete for the purpose, alweall by sea as by land, not onlie to expel the present power of Frenche within that realme, oppressing the same, but also to stop, as far as convenientlie may be, all grytare forces of Frenche to enter thairin for the like purpose; and shall continue hir majesties ayde to the said realme, nobilite and subjectes of the same, until the Frenche, being enemies to the said realme, be utterlie expelled thence; and shall never transact, compound or agree with the Frenche, nor conclude any league with thame; except the Scottes and the Frenche shall be agreed, that the realme of Scotland shall be left in a dew freedome by the Frenche. Nor shall leave the mayntenaunce of the said nobilite and subjectes, wheirby thei might fall as a praye in their ennemeis handes, aslong as thei shall acknowledge thair soverane lady and quene, and shall endever theymselves to maynteyn the libertie of their cuntree, and the estait of the crowne of Scotland; and yf in caise any fortes or strentes within the said realme be wonne out of the handes of the Frenche, at this present, or at any time hereafter, by her majesties ayde, the same shall be immediatelie be demolished by the Scottishmen, or delivered to the duck and his partye at their optionn and choise. Neyther shall the power of England fortifye within the gronde of Scotland, being out of the bowndes of England, but by the advyse of the said duck, nobilite and estates of Scotland. For the wiche cause, and in respect of her majesties most gentle clemency, and liberall supporte, the said duck, and all the nobilitie, alweal suche as be now joined with him, as suche as shall hereafter joyne with him for defence of the libertie of that realme, shall, to the uttermost of their power, ayde and supporte her majesties armye, against the Frenche and their parttakaris, with horsemen, footmen and victuals, by land and by sea, and with all manner of uther ayde, to the best of their power; and so shall continew during the tyme that her majesties armye shall remane in Scotland.

Item,

Item, Thei shall be ennemeis to all suche Scottissh men and Frenche as shall in any wayis shewe themselves ennemeis to the realme of England, for the ayding and succouring the said dwke and nobilite, to the deli-verye of the realme of Scotland from conqueft.

Item, Thei shall never assent nor permit that the realme of Scotland shall be conquered, or otherwys knytt to the crowne of Fraunce then it is at this present, onelie by the mariage of the quene their soverane to the Frenche king, and by the lawes and liberties of the realme it aucht to be.

Item, In caise the Frenche shall at any time invade, or cause to be invaded the realme of England, they shall furnish the nombre of twa thousand horsemen, and twa thousand footemen at the least, or suche parte of eyther of theym, at choise of the quenys majestie of England, and shall conducte the same to pass from the borders of Scotland next England, uppon her majesties charges, to any parte of the realme of England, for the defence of the same; and in caise the invasion be uppon the north partes of England, on the north parte of the water of Tyne towards Scotland, or against Barwyck on the north side of the watter of Tweyd; thei shall convent and gadder their hole forces uppon their owen charges, and shall join with the English power, and shall continew in goode and earnest profecutionn of the quarrel of England, during the space of thretty dayes, or so muche longer as thei were accustomed to tary in the fieldes for the defence of Scotland, at the mandement of their soveranis at any tyme by past.

And als wa, the erle of Ergyle lord justice of Scotland, being presentlie joyned with the said lord duke, shall employ his force and good will, whair he shall be required by the quenys majestie, to reduce the north partes of Ireland to the perfytt obedience of England, conforme to a mutuall and reciproque contraiçt to be maid betuixt her majesties lieutenant or deputie of Ireland for the tyme being, and the said erle, wheirein shal be conteyned what he shal do for his parte, and what the said lieutenant or deputie shal do for his supporte, in case he shall have to do with James Monneil, or any other of the isles of Scotland or realme of Ireland.

For performance and sure keeping whei of, thei shall for their parte enter to the said duke of Northfolk the pledges presentlie named by him, befor the entree of her majesties ayde in Scottishe ground, to remane in

England for the space of six monthes, and to be then excheanneged upon deliverie of new hostages of lyke or als goode condition as the former, or being of the lauchfull sonnes, brethren or heyres, of any of the erlis or barronis of parliament, that have or hereafter shal shewe themselves, and so persist open ennemyes of the Frenche in this quarrell; and so furth from six monethis to six monethis, or from foure monethis to foure monethis, as shall best please the partye of Scotland: and the tyme of the continewance of the hostages shal be during the mariage of the queene of Scottes to the Frenche king, and one zeare after the dissolutionn of the said mariage, untill forder order may be had betuixt both the realmes for peace and concord.

And furthermore, the said duke, and nobilite, being erlis and barones in parliament, joyned with him shall subscribe and seale these articles and compactes within the space of twenty, or thretty dayes at the uttermost, nixt following the day of the deliverye of the saidis hostages; and shall also procure and perswade all uthers of the nobilitie, that shall joyn theymselves hereafter with the saide duke for the cause above specified, lykewys to subscriye and seale these articles present, at any tyme after the space of twenty dayes after their conjunction, uponn requisition maid to them on the partye of the quenys majestie of England.

And fynalie, the said duck and nobilitie joined with him, certanelie perceiving that the quenys majestie of England is theirunto onelie moved uponn respect of princelie honour and neyghbowrheid, the defence of the just freedome of the crowne of Scotland from conquest, and not of any other sinister entent, doeth by these presentis testifye and declare, that thei nor any of them meane, by this compacte, to withdrawe any deuobedience from their soverane ladye the queyn, nor in any lesfull thing to withstand the Frenche king, being her husband and head, that during the mariage shall not tend to the subversionn and oppreffiounn of the just and auncient liberties of the said kingedome of Scotland; for the preservation wheirof, both for their soveranis honour, and for the continewance of the kingdome in auncient estait, thei acknowledge themselves bound to spend their goodes, landes and lyves: and for the performance of this present contracte for the parte of England, the quenys majestie shall confyrme the same, and all clausses therein conteyned, by her lettres patentes, under the
greate

greate seale of England, to be delivered to the nobilite of Scotland, uponn the entree of the pledges afoirsaid within the ground of England.

In witnes wheirof, the commissiounaris for the ducke of Chasteaularault and nobilite of Scotland befoir named, haif subscryved these presentis, and thereunto affixed their seales, the day, zeare and place afoirsaidis.

JAMES STEWART.

PATRIK L. Ruthwen.

JOHNE MAXWELL.

W. MAITLAND.

JHONE WYSHART.

HENRICUS BALNAVES.

Sub sigillis prædictorum commissariorum de cera rubea pendente à duplicibus caudis pergamenæ.

No. XVIII.

The fourth covenant.*

Ane contract of the lords and barons to defend the liberty of the evangell of Christ.

AT Edinburgh, the twintie seventh of Apryll, the year of God ane thousand fyve hundred threescore years; we, whaes names are underwriten, haif promittit and obliedged our selves faithfully, in the presence of our God, and be thir present promitts, that we altogether in general, and every one of us in special be himself, with our bodies, goods, friends, and all that we may do, fall fet forwart the reformation of religion, according to Goddes worde; and procure, be all means possible, that the true preaching of Goddes word may haif free passage within this realme; with dew administration of the sacraments, and all things depending upon the said worde. And sicklyke, deiply weighing with our selves the misbehaviour of the Franche ministers heir, the intolerable oppreSSIONS committed be the Franch-men of weir upon the pair subjects of this realme, be meyn-

* Burnet, from the original at Hamilton.

tenance of the queen dowriare, under collour and pretence of authority; the tyranny of their captains and leaders, and manifest danger of conquest, in whilk this countrie presently stands, be reason of diverse fortifications on the sea-coast, and other novelties of late attemptat be them; promitts, that we fall, als weell every one with others, as altogether, with the queen of England's armie, presently come in for our deliverance, effectually concurr and joyn together, taking onefold and plain part of the expulsion of the said strayingars, oppressors of our liberty, furth of this realme, and recovery of our ancient freedoms and liberties; to the end in tyme coming we may, under the obedience of our king and queen our soverains, be only reulyt be the laws and customes of the countrie, and by the men of the land: and that never any of us all haiff pryvy intelligence, be writing or message, or communication with any of our said enemys or adversars in this cause, bot be the advyce of the rest, at leist fyve of our numbers. Attour, that we fall tender this present cause, as if it were the cause of every one of us in particular; and that the cause of every one of us now joyned together being leiful and honest, shall be all our causes in general; and he that is enemy to the cause forsaid, shall be enemy to us all; in so far, that whatfomever person will plainly resist thir our godly interpryfis, and will not concurr as ane guid member of this common-weill, we fall fortify the authority of the counsell, to reduce them to their deuty; lykeas we fall fortify the said authority of the counsale in all things tending to the furtherance of the said cause. And giff any particular debate, quarrell or contraversee fall aryse, for whatfomever cause bygain, present or to come, betwixt any of us, (as God forbid;) in that case we fall submit our selves and our said questions to the decision of the counsale, or to arbitrators to be named be them; provyding allwayes that this be not prejudicial to the ordinar jurisdiction of judges, but that men may persue their actions, by ordour of law, civilly or criminally, before the judges ordinars, gif they please.

No. XIX.

Commission by Francis and Mary to deputies to act in the settlement of the affairs of Scotland.*

FRANCIS and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of France and Scotland, to all who shall see these present letters, greeting: the thing which we have above all others desired since the death of our most honoured lord and father the king lately deceased, whom God absolve, has been to preserve that peace, amity and confederacy established in his lifetime with our neighbouring christian princes, especially with our most dear and well-beloved sister and cousin the queen of England, by the best offices of friendship that lay in our power, as every one may perceive and know, by the sincerity of our actions, and our gracious deportment towards each of the said princes. But whereas the rebellion of some of our subjects of the kingdom of Scotland has been the occasion, that upon the frontiers of the said kingdom, and those of England, there has been some gathering together of soldiers from both kingdoms, which may have interrupted in some sort our common amity: for the re-establishment whereof, and to pacify the differences which upon this occasion may have intervened, we having received information, that our said sister is willing to depute some persons to repair thither on her part, do hereby publish and declare, that being desirous above all other things to see Christendom in repose, and to continue that peace which God hath been pleased to bestow upon us, to his honour and the repose of his people; a thing which has been also very dear to us: and having perfect and entire confidence in our trusty and beloved John de Montluc bishop of Valence, and Nicolas de Pelue bishop of Amiens, both members of our privy-council; James de la Brosse, Sieur de la Brosse, knight of our orders, and chamberlain in ordinary; Henry Clentin, Sieur d'Oysel, gentleman of our bed-chamber, and our lieutenant-general in the kingdom of Scotland, and Charles de la Rochefoucault, Sieur du Randan, a captain of fifty men

* Keith.

of our gens d'armes; and we being well satisfied of their good understanding, virtues, loyalty, experience and conduct: for these and other considerations us moving, have given commissions to them, or any three or two of them in absence of the rest, or during their necessary avocation elsewhere; and by these presents do give commission, order and appointment to the said persons, or any three or two of them, to transport themselves to the frontier of our said kingdom of Scotland, and to meet and assemble with the deputies of our said sister the queen of England, at such time, and in such place, together with such other circumstances as depend thereupon, and as shall be agreed upon by their common and mutual consent, and then and there to treat concerning the renewing of our foresaid mutual amity, and to devise such means as may serve to compose and make up the differences which may have brought an alteration therein, according as they shall perceive the same to be for the behoof of our service, the peace and tranquillity of our kingdoms, territories, and subjects. And in like manner, to give assurance to our subjects of the kingdom of Scotland, that notwithstanding they have of late committed so grievous a crime, as to forget their duty towards us, if nevertheless they shall repent, and return to that obedience which they owe to us, we are willing to receive them into favour, and to forget all that is past, and not afterwards to make any enquiry into their former behaviour; because we are desirous of nothing more, than to see them living under obedience to us, and in peace, union and tranquillity together. And generally to do in the premises, the circumstances and dependences thereof, all and sundry things which we ourselves would or could do, if we were personally present, even altho' something should fall out which might appear to require a more special instruction than is contained in these presents. By which likewise we promise in good faith, and in the word of a king and queen, to hold agreeable, firm and stable all and every thing that shall be agreed, done and concluded by our foresaid deputies, or any three or two in the absence of the rest: and to maintain, keep, observe, approve and ratify the same within the time and after the manner as they shall agree to; and that we shall never act in the contrary thereof any manner of way. For such is our will and pleasure. In witness whereof, we have signed these presents with our proper hands, and have caused our seal to be appended. Given

at

at Remorentin the 2d day of June, in the year of grace 1560, and of our reigns the first and fixteenth.

Signed, FRANCIS. MARY.

And in the folding, By the KING and QUEEN. De l'Aubespine.

Seal'd with yellow wax.

Signed thus, MONLUC E. de Valence. RANDAN.

And we subscribers in our own names, and in the names of the rest of the nobility of Scotland, do promise and shall bind ourselves to the within contents.

Then follows in English,

This is the trew copy of the original conferred and colationed.

JAMES STEWART.

RUTHVEN.

W. MAITLAND.

No. XX.

The concessions of Francis and Mary to the nobility and the people of Scotland.*

ALTHO' war be sometimes permitted, for necessity, for self-defence, and for other just and reasonable causes; nevertheless seeing the effects thereof are afflicting and mischievous, it must of consequence be disagreeable and hateful to all those who have any thing of the fear of God remaining in them. For besides that there can be no war without a dissolution of the bond of charity, which is the true and certain mark whereby true Christians are discernable from those wicked ones who bear the name only of Christianity; humane blood is therein shed with far less regard than that of the brute beasts in the shambles; the whole body of the people is cruelly treated and trampled upon; the ill-deserving are supported and favoured; the virtuous are oppressed, and constrained to abandon their houses and families; married women are forced from their

* Keith.

husbands;

husbands; virgins are hal'd away, and made subservient to abominable practices; widows and orphans are left a prey to those whose chief business it is to work mischief. These are the effects of war: and therefore the cry of so many poor afflicted persons cannot fail to reach unto heaven, and be heard by him who cannot lie, and hath promised to revenge the evil which is done to the desolate, whom he hath taken under his own protection and safe-guard. All which inconveniencies and mischiefs have been maturely and wisely considered by the king and queen our sovereigns, who desire nothing more than to maintain their subjects in peace, union and tranquillity: and being to their great grief advertised of the troubles which have fallen out of late in this kingdom of Scotland, following their own good and christian disposition, they have given express deputation to the reverend father in God, John de Monluc bishop and count of Valence, one of his majesty's privy-council, and to Messire Charles de la Rochefoucault knight, Seigneur de Randan, chamberlain in ordinary to the king, and captain of 50 gens d'armes, to transport themselves into Scotland, with orders to appease the commotions of war, and reconcile, if possible, all differences, and to notify to the nobility, and all their other subjects in that kingdom, their majesties gracious intentions to receive them into favour, and to retain no remembrance of any thing that has intervened from the beginning of those troubles. Which gracious clemency the Scottish nobility have received with all due submission and reverence, both in name of themselves here present, and of those that are absent: and in testimony of their duty, have offered to render to their majesties all that obedience which the true, faithful, and natural subjects of this crown owe to their sovereigns; promising at the same time to serve their majesties so faithfully, and so to acquit themselves of their bounden duties, that their majesties shall ever have occasion to treat them favourably. And in order to remove all differences which are at present subsisting, as well as to take out of the way the occasions that may chance to create new ones for the time to come, they have presented to the lords deputies a petition, containing certain articles for the preservation and maintenance of their liberties, laws, customs and privileges, and of peace, union and love among the whole subjects: of the which articles, such as have appeared

peared to be just and reasonable to the lords deputies, the said deputies have granted the confirmation, in name of the king and queen our sovereigns, in manner after following :

I. UPON the complaint made by the nobility and people of this country against the number of soldiers kept up here in time of peace, supplicating the lords deputies of the king and queen to afford some remedy therein, for the relief of the country : the saids deputies having considered the said request to be just and reasonable, have consented, agreed and appointed, in the name of the king and queen, that hereafter their majesties shall not introduce into this kingdom any soldiers out of France, nor any other nation whatsoever, unless in the event of a foreign army's attempting to invade and possess this kingdom : in which case the king and queen shall make provision, by and with the counsel and advice of the three estates of this nation. And as for the French soldiers that are just now in the town of Leith, they shall be sent back into France, at the same time that the English naval and land armies, together with the Scottish army, shall remove in such form as shall be more amply devised. And it is likewise agreed, that such bands of Scottish soldiers as are within the town of Leith shall be disbanded. Item, That no more than sixscore French soldiers shall be retained in the forts of Dunbar and Inch-keith, to be divided between them two places ; sixty whereof, and no more, shall remain in the fort of Dunbar. And if the states can fall upon any secure means whereby to retrench the expence laid out on these two places, without incurring the danger of rendering them a prey to those that would pretend to make themselves masters of them, they are at freedom to acquaint their majesties thereof with the soonest. But the foresaid number of sixscore French soldiers shall in nowise be augmented : nor shall it be allowable for them to do harm or injury to any person, nor yet to receive within their forts any Scottish men of what quality or degree soever, with intention to secure them from the magistrates of the country, or defend them against the officers of justice ; nor shall they take any part in any private quarrels, which may chance to fall out among the great men or other persons within the kingdom : and if any complaint shall be made against any of themselves, they shall be bound to answer before the ordinary judges of

the land, and shall be liable to punishment according to the laws and customs of the country. Item, It is provided, that to prevent their taking things upon loan, they shall receive their wages regularly each month. And it shall be lawful for two Scottish gentlemen chosen by the council, to be present at their musters, and to inspect the forts, lest there be more men got into them, than the stipulated number. Item, the soldiers belonging to those two garrisons shall not take to them any victuals, without paying ready money for the same; at least, they shall not take them against the good-will and consent of those to whom they belong: and the nobility shall be obliged to furnish them with as much as they stand in need of, provided they have money to pay for the same.

II. As to the petition presented to the lords deputies concerning the demolition of fortifications, they have consented, agreed and appointed, that the fortifications of Leith shall be demolished: and as for Dunbar, two commissioners shall be appointed by the lords deputies, who, together with two Scottish men, shall visit the place, and consider what therein is fit to be demolished: and such new works as have been added to it since the beginning of these troubles, together with such as may serve to enlarge the fortification, and render it capable to receive soldiers, shall all be thrown down three days after that Leith begins to be demolished. And forasmuch as by the said demolition, and the few soldiers that are to be left in garrison, the place will be in danger to be surpris'd; 'tis accorded, that those who have presented this petition, shall each in particular oblige themselves to defend it with all their force, against all those that would attempt to seize it. The same thing shall in like manner be agreed upon by the states, with respect to the wardens of the marches. And neither the king nor the queen shall hereafter cause to be built any new fortification within this kingdom, nor yet enlarge those that are now subsisting, nor repair those that are now to be demolished, but by the advice and consent of the states. Neither shall they cause to be imported any artillery, ammunition, gunpowder, or vivres, in a greater quantity than shall be necessary for the defence of the two forementioned forts, and the complement of their garrisons from one half-year to another, or at most from year to year, without the advice and consent of the states foresaid.

III. Touching

III. Touching the petition for the payment of such debts as be owing within this kingdom by the French and Scottish bands in the service of the king, the lords deputies have agreed, that the king and queen shall cause to be reimbursed whatever has been given to the king's lieutenant, to the captains and other officers, for the subsistence of the said bands; and generally whatever the king's lieutenant is in debt for his majesty's service, whether the same appear by writing, or by the confession and acknowledgment of the parties.

IV. Concerning the petition relating to the assembling of the states, the lords deputies have agreed, consented and appointed, that the states of the kingdom may assemble, in order to hold a parliament, on the 10th day of July now running; and that on the said day the parliament shall be adjourned and continued, according to custom, from the said 10th day of July until the 1st day of August next: provided that before the states shall enter upon any business, all hostilities both by English and Scottish men be at an end, that so the votes of the meeting may be unconstrained, and none of them be over-awed by soldiers, or any other persons whatsoever. And during the interval of adjournment, the lords deputies shall order a dispatch to the king and queen to advertise them of this concession, and and supplicate them most humbly, that they would be pleased to agree to that which they have herein accorded. And this assembly shall be as valid in all respects, as if it had been called and appointed by the express commandment of the king and queen; provided always that no matter whatsoever shall be treated of, before the foresaid 1st day of August.

V. Concerning the article relating to peace and war, the lords deputies have consented, granted and appointed, that neither the king nor the queen shall order peace or war within Scotland, but by the advice and consent of the three estates, conformable to the laws, ordinances and customs of the country, and as has formerly been done by their predecessors kings of Scotland.

VI. Touching the petition presented to the lords deputies, relative to the political government and the affairs of state within this kingdom, the said lords have consented, accorded and agreed, that the three estates shall make choice of twenty-four able and sufficient persons of note of this realm; out of which number the queen shall select seven, and the states five, for to serve as an ordinary council of state during her majesty's ab-

fence, for administration of the government. *And it shall not be allowed for any person of what rank soever, to meddle in any thing that concerns the civil government, without the intervention, authority and consent of this council : and the said counsellors shall be obliged to convene as oft as they can conveniently, and not under six at a time : and when any matter of importance shall occur, they shall *all* be called to consult and give their orders therein ; at least, the greatest part must be present. And when any one of the queen's nomination shall happen to die, their majesties shall make choice of another to fill his place, out of the remainder of the twenty-four which were at first presented to them. And in like manner, when one of the five that were nominated by the states happens to decease, in that event, the other surviving four shall elect another, out of the remainder of the twenty-four that were nominated first. Moreover, if the states shall find it convenient to add to the number of twelve, two more counsellors ; in that case the king and the queen shall chuse one, and the states another. And it is specially declared, that the concession of this article shall in no wise prejudice the king and queen's rights for hereafter, nor the rights of this crown. And as for the salaries and expences to be paid to the said counsellors, and the officers under them, the lords deputies engage to employ their interest and good offices with the king and queen, to obtain these for them out of the revenues of the crown, provided they take care to attend and wait upon their charge.

VII. Concerning the petition presented to the lords deputies, respecting the offices of the crown, they have consented, agreed, and appointed, that hereafter the king and queen shall not employ any stranger in the management of justice civil or criminal, nor yet in the offices of chancellor, keeper of the seals, treasurer, comptroller, and such like offices ; but shall employ therein the native subjects of the kingdom. Item, That their majesties shall not put the offices of treasurer and comptroller into the hands of any clergyman, or other person who is not capable to enjoy a state-office ; and the treasurer and comptroller shall be invested with powers sufficient for the exercise of their respective offices : but it shall not be lawful for them to alienate or dispose of the wards of marriages, non-entries, casualties, nor of any other things which have relation to their offices, without the advice and consent of the council ; that thereby
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the counsellors may be assured, that every thing is made to return to the queen's profit. Yet the deputies mean not by this article, to have the queen limited and restrained from a liberty to grant pensions and gifts where she shall think fit.

VIII. The lords deputies have agreed, that in the ensuing parliament the states shall form, make and establish an act of oblivion, which shall be confirmed by their majesties the king and queen, for forgetting and burying the memory of all bearing of arms, and such things of that nature as have happened since the 6th day of March, 1558. And by this act, all those who have any manner of way contravened the laws of the kingdom, shall be exempted from the pains and penalties contained therein, as if they had never offended: provided nevertheless that the privilege of this act be not extended to those whom the estates shall not deem worthy thereof.

IX. 'Tis agreed and concluded, that the estates shall be summoned to the ensuing parliament according to custom; and it shall be lawful for all those to be present at that meeting who are in use to be present, without being frightned or constrained by any person. And the estates shall oblige themselves, that in case there happen any sedition, or gathering together of armed force without the orders of the council, consisting of the forementioned number; the whole country shall look upon the authors and assisters thereof as rebels, and as such shall pursue them, in order to have them punished according to the laws of the kingdom; that so neither the king nor the queen may be at any trouble in sending foreign soldiers hither, for enforcing obedience to themselves.

X. 'Tis agreed and concluded, that there shall be a general peace and reconciliation among all the nobility and other subjects of Scotland; and it shall not be lawful for those persons who have been called the Congregation, nor for those who were not of the Congregation, to reproach each other with any thing that has been done since the aforesaid 6th day of March.

XI. The lords deputies have offered, agreed, and concluded, that neither the king nor queen shall prosecute, nor take revenge for any thing that is now past and gone; nor shall not allow their French subjects to prosecute nor revenge the same, but shall forget the same as if it had never been done: and that the lords and gentlemen of Scotland shall comport themselves

·elves after the same manner, for such things as have passed between them and the Frenchmen in this country. Moreover, if by false reports, or by other means, their majesties have conceived sinister thoughts of any of their subjects, they shall forget and change the same : neither shall they denude or deprive any of their subjects of their offices, benefices, or estates, which they held formerly within this kingdom, upon account of their having had any meddling in the things which have fallen out since the 6th day of March foresaid ; nor yet assume a -pretext or colour from any thing else, to deal so by their subjects, but esteem and treat them in all time coming as good and obedient subjects : provided also that the saids nobles and the rest of the subjects render unto their majesties such an entire obedience as is due from faithful and natural subjects to their proper sovereigns.

XII. 'Tis agreed and concluded, that it shall not be lawful for the nobles nor any other persons to convene together in arms, except in such cases as are approved by the laws and customs of the land ; nor yet to invite and bring in foreign soldiers, nor to enterprize any thing against the authority of the queen, the council, or any inferior magistrates, under the pains of rebellion and other penalties contained in the laws of the country. And if it happen that any persons whatsoever should pretend, that they had occasion given them to complain of injuries, and to take up arms ; in that case it shall be free to them to present a supplication to their majesties, but not until they have first communicated the same to the council within the kingdom. And all in general shall bind themselves to perform this and all other things which belong to good and loyal subjects, for the peace and tranquillity of the country, under the pains foresaid, and to do every thing that lies in their power for the preservation of the kingdom and the rights of their sovereign.

XIII. 'Tis agreed and concluded, that if any bishops, abbots, or other ecclesiastical persons, shall make complaint, that they have received any harm either in their persons or goods, these complaints shall be taken into consideration by the estates in parliament ; and such reparation shall be appointed, as to the saids estates shall appear to be reasonable. And in the mean time it shall not be lawful for any person to give them any disturbance in the enjoyment of their goods, nor to do them any wrong, injury,

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or violence. And whosoever shall act in contravention to this article, shall be pursued by the nobility as a disturber of the public weal and tranquillity.

XIV. 'Tis agreed and concluded, that the nobility shall bind and oblige themselves to observe, and to cause to be observed all the several points and articles comprehended in and granted by this treaty : and if it should so happen, that any one among them, or any other person or persons shall contravene the same, in that case all the rest of the nobility and people shall become enemies to them, and shall pursue them until they be punished according to their deservings.

XV. And to the end the whole kingdom may perceive that the king and queen are willing to retain no remembrance of all the by-past troubles and differences, and how desirous they are to treat in a favourable manner the nobility and the other subjects of this kingdom, the lords deputies have agreed, that the duke of Chastelherault, the earl of Arran his son, and all other Scottish gentlemen, shall be reinstated in the lands, goods, estates, and benefices which they formerly held within the kingdom of France, and possess and enjoy them after the same manner as they did before the commencement of the troubles on the 6th day of March 1558, and as if those troubles had never fallen out. And likewise 'tis agreed, that all the capitulations made in times past, shall be maintained and observed as well by their majesties as by the nobility and people of Scotland ; and in particular that which was made and agreed at the marriage of the king and queen. And the lord David, son to the duke of Chastelherault, who is now [prisoner] in the castle of Bois de Vincennes, shall be set at liberty to return into Scotland, or to dispose of himself at his own pleasure.

XVI. And whereas the lords deputies have signified, that the king may have use for his artillery in France ; 'tis advised and concluded, that no other artillery shall be transported out of Scotland, than what was sent thither since the death of the late king Francis ; and that all other pieces, but especially those which are marked with the arms of Scotland, shall be restored to the places from whence they were taken : And for the distinguishing of these several pieces of artillery, four commissioners shall be appointed, before the embarkation of the troops, viz. two Scottish and two French gentlemen.

XVII.

XVII. Whereas on the part of the nobles and people of Scotland, there have been presented certain articles concerning religion, and certain other points in which the lords deputies would by no means meddle, as being of such importance, that they judged them proper to be remitted to the king and queen. Therefore the said nobles of Scotland have engaged, that in the ensuing convention of estates, some persons of quality shall be chosen for to repair to their majesties, and remonstrate to them the state of their affairs, particularly these last mentioned, and such others as could not be decided by the lords deputies; and to understand their intention and pleasure concerning what remonstrances shall be made to them on the part of the kingdom of Scotland: and those gentlemen shall carry along with them to the king and queen the confirmation and ratification made by the estates, of the several articles which are presently granted by the lords deputies, at which time they shall get delivered to them the confirmation and ratification done by their majesties, and even sooner, if the estates shall transmit their own ratification before that time. In witness whereof, the said lords deputies have signed these present articles, at Edinburgh, the 6th day of July 1560.

No. XXI.

The treaty of peace at Edinburgh.*

'TIS appointed, agreed, and concluded, that all the military forces pertaining to either party by sea or land, shall depart out of Scotland, after the manner and upon the terms as shall be agreed by particular articles signed and sealed by the respective commotioners; such a certain number of French soldiers excepted, as shall be condescended upon by the commissioners of France and the lords of Scotland, to remain in the castle of Dunbar and fort of Inch-keith.

Item, 'Tis appointed, agreed, and concluded, that all manner of warlike preparations in England and Ireland against the French or Scots; and in

* Rymer. The articles confirming the treaty of Cambray are omitted in this transcript.

France against the English, Irish, or Scots, shall hereafter cease : so that no ship having on board any soldiers or warlike instruments, or preparations for war, shall be allowed to pass from England or Ireland, or from any other part, into France or Scotland, by and with the consent of Elizabeth queen of England ; nor from France, nor any other part, to England, Ireland or Scotland, by and with the consent of Francis and Mary king and queen of France and Scotland.

Item, Seeing in the forementioned treaty of Cambray, it was agreed and concluded, that the fort built at Aymouth in the kingdom of Scotland, should have been demolished within three months after the date of the said treaty, razed to the ground, and nothing ever thereafter to have been built there : and although the said fort be in some sort demolished, yet not so as was agreed upon ; therefore 'tis now appointed, agreed, and concluded, that the said fort of Aymouth shall be utterly demolished and razed, before the end of four days after the demolition of Leith shall begin. And in the demolishing of the said fort, such Scottish men as shall be deputed thereunto by the commissioners, shall be at freedom to make use of the labour of English pioneers.

Item, Seeing the kingdoms of England and Ireland do by right pertain to the most serene lady and princess Elizabeth ; upon which account it is not lawful for any other persons to call, write, name or entitle themselves, nor yet to order themselves to be called, written, named or entitled king and queen of England or Ireland, nor to use or take to themselves the ensigns armorial, or arms of the kingdom of England or Ireland : therefore 'tis appointed, agreed, and concluded, that the said most Christian king and queen Mary, and both of them, shall in all times coming, abstain from using and bearing the said title and arms of the kingdom of England or Ireland, and shall strictly prohibit and forbid their subjects in France and Scotland, and the provinces thereof, from using the said title and arms any manner of way ; and shall likewise prohibit and take care, so far as in them lyes, that no person quarter the said ensigns armorial with the arms of the kingdoms of France or Scotland. And if there be any public letters or writings which carry in them the title of the kingdoms of England or Ireland, or be sealed with the seal of the said kingdoms, or either of them ; the same shall be renewed, without the adjection of the title and arms of

England and Ireland ; and all letters and writings containing the said title, or sealed with the seals of the saids arms, which shall not be renewed within six months after the publication of this present treaty, shall be void and of no avail. Finally, they shall take care so far as they can, that in the saids kingdoms of France and Scotland, the saids arms be no where extant, seen, or found mixed with the arms of the saids king or queen Mary ; and that the said title be no where extant, seen or found ascribed to the saids king or queen Mary.

Item, Whereas the commissioners of the most serene queen Elisabeth did require, that the foregoing caution and provision contained in the close of the article immediately preceding, should be published by open proclamation ; and did likewise insist on a farther compensation and reparation for the injuries which they alledged were done to the said most serene queen Elisabeth, by the saids most serene king and queen Mary : and whereas the commissioners of France, after having replied sundry things in answer thereunto, did farther add, that they had no authority to treat or conclude any thing concerning these particulars ; and if they should wait until a return shall come from France, not only would there arise from thence a great loss of time, but moreover strong impediments may come in the way of compleating the present treaty of peace and amity : therefore it is appointed, agreed, and concluded, that this disceptation concerning the above demands, namely, concerning the publication of the foresaid caution, and concerning a farther reparation, shall be remitted to another meeting at London between the saids commissioners of both parties, to be assembled as quickly as conveniently may be. And if nothing can be got concluded concerning the said disceptation before the end of three months, to be reckoned from the date of this present treaty ; in that case the said disceptation shall, by consent of both parties, be referred to the arbitration of the most mighty prince Philip the Catholick king of Spain, to whose sentence and award both parties shall stand. And if the said Catholick king shall not find it convenient for him to pronounce a final decree in writing concerning these matters, within a year after the foresaid three months are elapsed, excepting still if the term shall not chance to be prolonged by consent of both parties ; whether there be no such prolongation of the time, or the said Catholick king do not put an end to the said disceptation :

ception within the time so prolonged : in either of these cases, the said most serene queen Elisabeth's right of suing for these things shall be reserved entire to her, in the same state and condition it was in before the commencement of this treaty.

Item, Seeing it hath pleased Almighty God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, so to incline the minds of the saids most christian king and queen Mary, that they have largely manifested their clemency and benignity towards their nobility and people of their kingdom of Scotland, and that reciprocally the saids nobility and people have willingly, and of their own accord, acknowledged, professed, and promised all duty and obedience to the saids most christian king and queen their sovereigns : for the better preservation, cherishing, and continuance whereof, the saids most christian king and queen have, by their saids commissioners, granted their assent to certain supplicatory petitions presented by the saids nobility and people to the saids king and queen, tending to the honour of the saids king and queen, to the public benefit of the said kingdom, and to the continuation of their obedience. And the saids most christian king and queen being desirous to have their said benignity towards their said subjects attributed to the good offices of the said most serene queen Elisabeth, their most dear sister and confederate, at whose intercession and request the saids king and queen have been more propensely moved hereunto ; therefore 'tis agreed between the foresaid commissioners of both parties, that the saids most christian king and queen Mary shall fulfil all those things which by their saids commissioners they have granted to the saids nobility and people of Scotland at Edinburgh the 6th day of July, in this present year 1560, provided the saids nobility and people of Scotland shall fulfil and observe all those things that are contained in the saids articles and conventions to be performed on their part.

Item, In this treaty of peace and amity is comprehended on the part of the saids most serene princes Francis the most christian king of France and queen Mary, as likewise on the part of the most serene Elisabeth queen of England, the most potent prince Philip the catholick king of Spain, conformable to the force and effect of treaties subsisting between the saids kings and queens, their kingdoms, territories, countries, and dominions.

Item, 'Tis appointed, agreed, and concluded, that this present treaty, with all and severall the conventions and contents thereof, shall be ratified and confirmed by the saids most mighty and illustrious Francis and Mary, and Elisabeth, and each of them, within the space of sixty days after the date of this treaty, and shall be turn'd by them into letters patents, with their great seals appended, and their proper manual subscriptions adjoined: and the saids princes, and each of them, shall deliver the saids confirmatory authentick letters, so subscribed and sealed, to the commissioner or commissioners of the other prince, having authority to this effect.

Item, 'Tis appointed, agreed, and concluded, that the saids most illustrious and most mighty princes, Francis and Mary, and Elisabeth, and every of them, shall in the presence of the commissioner or commissioners of the other prince, having sufficient authority for this effect, if required by him or them, promise on their royal word, and swear upon God's holy gospel; and every of them shall so swear, that they shall truly, inviolably, and in good faith, observe for their part, all and every the articles, conventions, provisions, and pacts comprehended in this present league and treaty.

Here follow the tenors of the commissions.

IN faith and testimony of all which and singular the premisses, we the foresaids commissioners and ambassadors have caused these letters patents subscribed with our hands, to be fortified and corroborated by our seals.

These things were done at Edinburgh within the said kingdom of Scotland, the 6th day of July, 1560.

J. MONLUCIUS Ep. Valentinus.

J. RANDAN.

W. CECIL.

N. WOTTON.

No.

No. XXII.

The supplication of the congregation to the parliament.*

The barons, gentlemen, burgesſes, and other true ſubjects of this realm,
profeſſing the Lord Jeſus within the ſame,

To the nobilitie and ſtates of parliament preſently aſſembled within the
ſaid realm, deſire grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father of our
Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the increaſe of his Holy Spirit.

PLEASE your honours to call to remembrance, how divers and
fundry times, we (with ſome of your ſelves) moſt humbly petitioned, at
the feet of the late queen regent, for freedom and liberty of conſcience,
with a godly reformation of abuſes, which by the malice of Satan and
negligence of men, are crept into the religion of God, and are maintained
by ſuch as take upon them the name of clergie. And albeit that our
godly and moſt reaſonable ſuit was then diſdainfully rejected, whereof
no ſmall troubles have enſued, as your honours well know, yet ſeeing
that the ſame neceſſity yet remaineth, that then moved us; and more-
over, that God of his mercy hath now put into your hands, to take ſuch
order; as God thereby may be glorified; this common-wealth quieted;
and the policy thereof eſtabliſhed: we cannot ceaſe to crave of your ho-
nours the redreſſe of ſuch enormities, as manifeſtly are (and of long time
have been) committed by the place-holders of the miniſterie, and others
of the clergie within this realm. And firſt, ſeeing that God of his great
mercy hath by the light of his word manifeſted to no ſmall number of
this realme, that the doctrine of the Romane church, received by the
ſaid clergie, and maintained through their tyrannie by fire and ſword,
contained in itſelfe many peſtiferous errours, which cannot but bring
damnation to the ſouls of ſuch as therewith ſhall be infected; ſuch as are
the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation; of the adoration of Chriſt's body, un-
der the form of bread, as they terme it; of the merits of works, and
juſtification.

justification that they alleadge commeth thereby : together with the doctrine of the papistcally indulgences, purgatory, pilgrimage, and praying to saints departed, which all either repugne to the plain scriptures, or else have no ground in the doctrine of our Master Jesus Christ, his prophets and apostles.

1. We humbly therefore crave of your honours, that such doctrine and idolatry as by God's word are both condemned, so may they be abolished by act of this present parliament, and punishment appointed for the transgressors.

Secondarily, Seeing that the sacraments of Jesus Christ are most shamefully abused and profaned by that Romane harlot and her sworne vassals ; and also because that the true discipline of the ancient church is utterly now amongst that sect extinguished : for who within the realme are more corrupt in life and manners than are they that are called the clergie, living in whoredom, adultery, deflouring virgins, corrupting matrons, and doing all abomination, without fear of punishment. We humbly therefore desire your honors to finde remedy against the one and the other.

3. Thirdly, because that man of sin falsly claimeth to himselfe the titles of, the Vicar of Christ, the Successor of Peter, the Head of the Church, that he cannot erre, that all power is granted unto him, &c. By the which usurped authority, he taketh upon him the distribution and possession of the whole patrimony of the church, whereby the true ministry of the word of God long time hath been altogether neglected, the godly learning despised, the schools not provided, and the poor not only frauded of their portion, but also most tyrannously oppressed : we likewise hereof desire remedy. And lest that your honors should doubt in any of these premises, we offer ourselves evidently to prove, that in all the rabble of the clergie there is not one lawfull minister, if God's word, the practices of the apostles, the sincerity of the primitive church, and their own ancient laws, shall judge of lawfull election. We further offer to prove them all thieves and murtherers, yea, rebels and traytors to the lawfull authority of emperors, kings, and priaces, and therefore unworthy to be suffered in any reformed common-wealth. How maliciously they murdered our brethren, for no other cause, but for that they offered to us

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the light of God's word, your honours cannot be ignorant; and into what hazard their tyranny hath brought this whole realm, the ages after will consider. If ye look for other fruit in times to come, then ye have seen in them whom we accuse, we are assured ye shall be deceived. Now hath God, beyond all expectation of man, made you, who sometimes were suppliants with us for reformation, judges, as it were, in the cause of God: at least, he hath so subdued your enemies unto you, that by violence they are not able to suppress the verity, as heretofore they have done. We therefore, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, crave of your honours, that either they may be compelled to answer to our former accusations, and unto such others as justly we have to lay to their charges; or else that all affection laid aside, ye pronounce them such by censure of this parliament, and cause them to be so reputed, as by us most justly they are accused: especially, that they may be discerned unworthy of honour, authority, charge or cure in the church of God, and so from henceforth never to enjoy voice in parliament: which if ye do not, then in the fear of God, and by assurance of his word we forewarn you, that as ye leave a grievous yoke, and a burden intolerable upon the church of God in this realm, so shall they be thorns in your eyes, and pricks in your sides, whom after, when ye would, ye shall have no power to remove. God the father of our Lord Jesus Christ give you upright hearts, seeking his glory, and true understanding, what this day he who hath delivered you from bondage both spirituall and temporall, craveth of you by his servants and your honours answer most humbly require.

No. XXIII.

*The abolition of the mass *.*

IN the parliament holden at Edinburgh; the tenth of July, the year God 1560. The said parliament being continued to the first of August next thereafter following, with continuation of dayes, upon the twenty

* Knox.

fourth day of the said moneth of August, the three states then being present: the which day, forso much as Almighty God, by his most true and blessed word, hath declared the reverence and honour which should be given to him; and by his Son Jesus Christ hath declared the true use of the sacraments, willing the same to be used according to his will and word; by the which it is notorious, and perfectly knowne, that the sacraments of baptisme, and of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, hath been this long time past, corrupted by the papificall church, and by their ministers. And at this present time, notwithstanding the reformation already made according to God's word; yet neverthelesse, there is some of the same popes church that stubbornly persevereth in their wicked idolatry, saying masse, and baptizing conform to the popes church, profaning therethrough the sacraments aforesaid in quiet secret places, regarding therein neither God nor his word:

Therefore it is decreed and ordained in this present parliament, that no manner of person or persons, in any time coming, administrate any of the sacraments secretly, in any manner of way, but they that are admitted, and having power to that effect; nor say masse, nor yet heare masse, nor be present thereat, under the pain of confiscation of all their goods, and punishing of their bodies at the discretion of the magistrates within whose jurisdiction such persons happeneth to be apprehended for the first fault; banishing out of the realme for the second fault, and chastising by death for the third fault. And ordaineth all sheriffs, stewards, baylies, and their deputies, provosts and bayliffs of burroughs, and other judges within this realm, to make diligent sute and inquisition within their bounds, where any such usurped ministry is used, masse-saying, or they that be present at the doing thereof, ratifying, and approving the same, and take and apprehend them, to the effect, that the pains above written may be executed upon them.

Extractum de libro parliamenti, per me, &c.

Sic subscribitur,

JACOBUS MAGILL.

No. XXIV.

The abolition of the authority of the pope.*

I N the parliament holden at Edinburgh the tenth of July, the year of God 1560. And thereafter continued to the first day of August next thereafter following, with continuation of dayes upon the 24 of the said moneth of August, the three states then being present, understanding that the jurisdiction and authority of the bishop of Rome, called the pope, used in this realm in times past hath been very hurtfome and prejudiciall to our soveraigns authority and common-weale of this realm. Therefore hath decreed and ordained, that the bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction nor authority of this realm in times comming. And that none of our said soveraigns subjects, claim, and desire in any time hereafter title or right by the said bishop of Rome, or his sect, to any thing within this realm, under the pains of baratrie, that is to say, proscription, banishment, and never to brook and enjoy honour, office, nor dignity within this realm; and the contraveners hereof to be called before the justice, or his deputies, or before the lords of the session, and punished therefore, confirm to the laws of this realm; and the furnishers of them with fynance of money, and purchasers of their title of right, or maintainers or defenders of them, shall incur the same pains: and that no bishop, nor other prelat of this realm, use any jurisdiction in times to come, by the said bishop of Romes authority, under the pain aforesaid.

Extractum de libro parliamenti, per me,

Ut supra.

* Knox.

F I N I S.

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