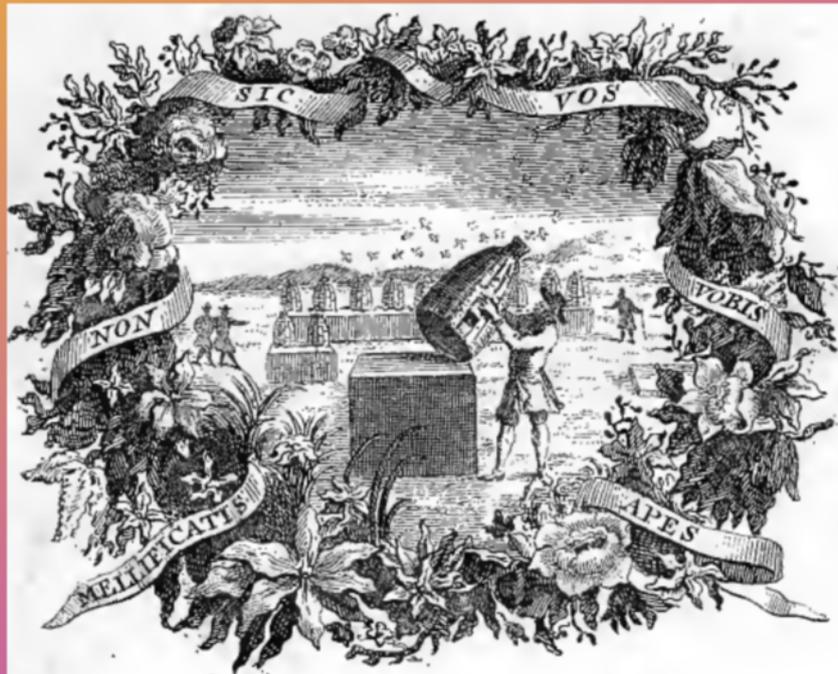


Rapin's History of England



Book 17 (Vol. 2)

**The Reign of Queen Elizabeth:
Containing the space of forty four years,
and four months.**

**The History
of
England
Written in French
By
Mr. Rapin de Thoyras**

Translated from French

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Of

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Book Seventeen

Queen Elizabeth I



Queen Elizabeth and The Spanish Armada



The earl Essex was brought to the scaffold on Tower Green, London, and beheaded. It took three blows to sever his head, but was killed by the first



Elizabeth I

**Born 7 September 1533 - Died 18 March 1603
(aged 69)**



Signature



The Blair's Memorial Portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots.

Signature



Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley
King consort of Mary Queen of Scots



David Rizzo, private secretary of Mary, Queen of Scots. Contemporary accounts describe him as ugly, short and hunch-backed



**Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex Favourite of
Queen Elizabeth**



BOOK XVII

The Reign of Queen Elizabeth: Containing The Space of Forty Four Years, And Four Months

Chapter I Queen Elizabeth

Queen Mary's Death Concealed For Some Time 1558



THE Death of Mary, though foreseen, struck the counsellors and ministers with astonishment. They were all of the prevailing religion; and had advised, or at least approved the persecution which the protestants lately groaned under, and now, in all likelihood, the protestants were going in their turn to govern.

Mary's death was therefore concealed for some hours, to give time to consult what was to be done. But as the Parliament was sitting, it was not in their power to decide any thing concerning the succession, especially as it was clearly settled by the will of Henry VIII, authorized by an act of Parliament which had never been repealed. Their consultation therefore ended only in a message to inform the Parliament of the Queen's death. This was all that could be done on this occasion.

The House of Lords Deliberate Upon The Succession

The news was first communicated to the House of Lords, who immediately considered the rights of the persons who might pretend to the crown. If this affair had been left, to the decision of the Civil or Common Law, there would have been no small difficulty, so much had Henry perplexed it by his divorces, and by contradictory acts of Parliament. But in England, the Parliament, which includes the King, Lords, and Commons, is the supreme legislator, and, when force does not interpose, the validity of its laws are unquestionable.

Henry VIII. obtained an act, empowering him to settle the line of succession as he should think proper. He placed Elizabeth next to her sister Mary, though both had been declared bastards. This sufficed to give Elizabeth a right, which the Parliament could not contest, since it was a parliamentary right, as founded in the act to empower Henry to settle the succession.

Besides, every one knew the dissolution of that Prince's marriage with Ann Boleyn, and the act, which, in consequence of the divorce, declared Elizabeth illegitimate, was the pure effect of the King's caprice, and of the compliance, rather than justice, of the Parliament. But though the Lords should have thought to exclude Elizabeth from the succession, on what other person could they

have fixed, without exposing the Kingdom to great danger? It will be proper, briefly to explain this, as a thing very requisite to the sequel of this reign.

Two Competitors to Queen Elizabeth and The Reasons Both For and Against Them

Upon Mary's death, three Princesses could pretend to the Crown, namely, Elizabeth sister of the late Queen; Mary Queen of Scotland, grand daughter to Margaret, eldest sister of Henry VIII; and Frances Duchess of Suffolk. Daughter of Mary, younger sister of the same Prince. Elizabeth supported her right upon the will of the King her father, authorized by act of Parliament.

Mary could object, that Elizabeth had been declared a bastard by an act still un-repealed:—

That no bastard had ever ascended the throne of England:

That the laws of the country gave bastards no share in the inheritance of their fathers, and consequently the succession was devolved to the posterity of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII.

It could be alleged for the Duchess of Suffolk, that Elizabeth being a bastard, and the Queen of Scotland a foreigner, and not even placed in the order of succession by the will of Henry VIII. The Crown ought to fall to the posterity of Mary, second daughter of Henry VII. It is not necessary to examine here these several pretension, because, probably the Parliament, which made the decision, proceeded not so much upon the laws, as upon policy, and the interests of the Kingdom.

The Queen of Scotland had married the dauphin, heir-apparent to the crown of France. In adjudging the crown to her, England would have been in danger of subjection to, or dependency on France. This alone was sufficient to exclude her. The Duchess of Suffolk could not have been placed on the Throne with any colour of Justice, since she only derived her right from the will of Henry VIII, which was equally favourable to Elizabeth.

The House of Lords Declares for Elizabeth

Besides such a choice would have infallibly thrown the Kingdom into a civil war. It was, probably, for these reasons that the House of Lords declared for Elizabeth. It seems, however, that a great difficulty was to occur. All England, and particularly the House of Lords, made profession of the Romish religion, and it was scarce to be questioned, that Elizabeth was a Protestant in her heart.

But two things, doubtless, conspired to remove this obstacle. The first was, that the bishops and Catholic Lords were persuaded, that Elizabeth, should she desire it, would find it difficult to change the established religion. They even believed her of a temper so complying, that she would rather conform to the rites of the Romish religion, as she had done for some years, than hazard the causing of disturbances, which might be fatal to her.

If Camden's testimony is to be entirely credited, Elizabeth made no scruple to declare herself a Catholic, during the reign of her sister. The Lady Elizabeth, (says this historian) now guiding herself as a ship in tempestuous weather, both heard divine service after the Romish manner, and was frequently confessed, and at the pressing instances and menaces of Cardinal Pole, through fear of death, professed herself a Roman Catholic.

The second reason which, probably, prevented the Lords from insisting on her exclusion, was, that though they all professed the Catholic religion, they were not however all Catholics. Many, and perhaps the greatest number, had only dissembled their sentiments during Mary's reign. But

being freed from all danger by her death, they could speak boldly, and oppose those who pretended to exclude Elizabeth on account of her religion; this reason not being of more force against her, than it was against Mary, after Edward's, death.

The Commons Concur with The Lords in Owning The Rights of Elizabeth, Who is Proclaimed

However this be, the House of Lords declaring for Elizabeth, the Commons were sent for, and acquainted by the chancellor with the Queen's death, and their resolution, which was readily and unanimously embraced. The same day Elizabeth was proclaimed Queen at the usual places, with the acclamations of the people.

The Protestants thanked God that he had at last delivered them from persecution, in placing on the throne a Princess, who, very likely, would be favourable to them. It is true, that among the Papists some looked on the death of Mary, and the advancement of Elizabeth, as a mortal wound to their religion; but others were not sorry to see a stop put to those barbarities, which dishonoured it. As for those who made not religion the chief object of their thoughts, they were easily comforted for the loss of a Queen, under whom England had not much flourished, and who had lost the only place which commanded respect from France. They believed to have reason to expect better things from the new reign.

Elizabeth Comes to London

Elizabeth being informed of the resolution of both Houses in her favour, left Hatfield (1) the 19th of November, and came to London with a numerous train of Lords and Ladies (2), and an infinite crowd of people, testifying their joy by the loudest acclamations. She was twenty five years old, tolerably handsome, of an air great, noble, and majestic. But she was still more agreeable to the people, by a certain natural affability, which commanded the esteem and affection of all who approached her.

As she had a large share of sense and Judgment, she knew perfectly how necessary the love of her people was to her, since it was to be the strongest support of her throne, as will hereafter appear. Wherefore, instead of losing this affability, in being raised from a subject to a Queen, she studiously increased it to such a degree, that some accused her of playing the comedian, and over-acting her part.

Ambassadors Sent to Divers Courts

Her first care, after receiving the compliments on her accession, was to dispatch ambassadors to the principal courts of Europe, to give notice of the late change in England (3). Lord Cobham (4.) was sent to Philip, whom, she esteemed her friend, and who was moreover her ally in the war against France, the treaty of Cambray not being yet concluded.

Sir Thomas Chaloner was sent to the imperial court. Lord Howard of Effingham was joined in commission with Thirelby Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton, plenipotentiaries for negotiating a peace. Sir Henry Killigrew went into Germany, to assure the Protestant Princes of the Queen's affection. Karne, who was still at Rome, where he had been resident ever since the death of Edward VI, had orders to notify to the Pope Mary's death, and Elizabeth's accession to the crown (5). The Kings of Sweden and Denmark had the same notifications.

These envoys being dispatched, the Queen formed a council, in which she left thirteen of Mary's counsellors all zealous Roman Catholics, to whom she added eight new ones, equally attached to the Protestant religion (6). With some of these last she secretly consulted about the means to

restore the Reformation in England. But before I speak of the result of these consultations, a new project of the King of Spain must briefly be mentioned.

Philip Desires to Marry Elizabeth But is Rejected

When this Prince received the news of the death of his Queen, whether, on account of Elizabeth's inclination to the Protestant religion, or by her marrying some Prince of that religion, against which he had himself openly declared, he looked upon England as lost to him. He was not even without fear, that the King of France asserting the Queen of Scotland's claim upon England, would seize that Kingdom, and unite it, as well as Scotland and Ireland, to the French monarchy.

Wherefore, to free himself from these fears, and preserve the advantages of his alliance with England, he sent instructions to the Condé de Feria (lately arrived at London, to pay his compliments to the late Queen) to congratulate Elizabeth on her accession, and propose his design of uniting himself with her in marriage. Elizabeth received the offer with marks of a particular esteem for the King of Spain, but objected their affinity as an impediment to this marriage.

Her Reasons For The Refusal of The Offer

This objection was foreseen, and immediately replied to by the ambassador, that his master would undertake to procure the Pope's dispensation. The Queen not caring to express her little regard of such a dispensation, civilly dismissed the ambassador, to have time to consider of the proposal.

Three great reasons hindered her from accepting Philip's offer:—

First, her persuasion that such marriages were contrary to the law of God, and her father's example a parallel case, reminded her of her Duty.

Secondly, nothing was more contrary to her intention of openly professing and restoring the Protestant religion in England, as established in the reign of Edward VI.

Lastly, to make use of a dispensation to marry a brother-in-law, would have been an acknowledgment of the invalidity of her father's divorce with Catherine of Aragon, and of her own illegitimacy. If Paul IV. could grant such a dispensation, Julius II. might have granted the same to Henry VIII, to marry Catherine of Aragon, from whence it necessarily followed, that Henry's second marriage with Ann Boleyn was null.

But on the other hand, Elizabeth had strong reasons to preserve the King of Spain's friendship. To him she owed her life, or at least, her not being excluded by her sister from the succession. Mary would never have left Elizabeth in a condition of one day mounting the Throne, if the interest and solicitations of the King her Husband had not strongly resisted her zeal for her religion.

In the second place, Elizabeth was informed, that the King of France was using all his credit at Rome to have her declared illegitimate, in order to procure the crown of England for his daughter-in-law, the Queen of Scotland.

Lastly, England was in a very ill state. The loss of Calais, Guisnes, and Hames, the crown debts contracted by Henry VIII, and increased by the guardians of Edward VI, and an exhausted treasury, gave Elizabeth just cause to fear, she should be unable to oppose a vigorous attack. To this may be added, she was engaged in a war with France and Scotland, unsupported by any other alliance than that of Spain, so unmindful had Mary been of every thing where religion was

not concerned.

Her business therefore was to end these two wars with honour; but this was not to be done without Philip's assistance, and consequently it was not proper to give him any just cause of complaint, for fear of his deserting England in the negotiation of peace. These reflections threw the Queen into great perplexity. She was fully resolved, to refuse the King of Spain's proposal, but was uneasy about the manner.

Though she alleged scruples of conscience, it did not free her from the importunities of the Condé de Feria, who persisted, that a dispensation from the Pope was more than sufficient to remove them. He told her likewise, that as his master had made this overture purely from his extraordinary esteem for her, he would be the more displeas'd if it was rejected.

At last, the Queen being thus pressed, found no surer or readier way to extricate herself out of this difficulty, than by hastening the execution of her design, to make a change in religion, not doubting that this once effected, the King of Spain would cease his importunities. This resolution being taken, she caused to be examined before her cabinet council, the proper methods to execute it, the inconveniences it might be attended with, and the means to prevent them. The greatest obstacles to this affair, were to arise either at Rome or abroad.

At home, from the great number of Catholics, and the opposition of the bishops and inferior clergy. Abroad, from the Pope, who, in all likelihood, would thunder his censures against the Queen, and expose the Kingdom a prey to the first invader. This might give cause to fear, that the Kings of France and Spain would use this pretence to make war upon the English, as excommunicated heretics, and to stir up Scotland, which was entirely directed by the King of France.

Upon the inconveniences at home, it was considered, that though the Kingdom appeared wholly Catholic, it was far from being really so:—

That the fear of punishment ceasing, the greatest part of the People were manifestly inclined, to return to the religion which they had been forced to forsake in the last reign; but however, it would not be very difficult to have a Parliament favourable to the Queen's intentions, by employing means which rarely fail of success, when used with discretion:

That for this purpose, the magistrates of the counties and towns were to be removed, and Protestants put in their places, who would use their credit and authority to have such representatives returned, as were proper for the execution of the intended design:

Lastly, That it was absolutely necessary not to leave any zealous Catholic in the council, or in any other office which influenced the subject:

That when the Reformation should be once established by public authority, it would be easy to subdue the clergy, by depriving the Bishops and most obstinate ecclesiastics, and by removing in the universities, the masters and professors, who were most averse to the new establishment.

As for the obstacles from abroad, it was considered, that the Pope was not formidable in himself, and his thunders were thrown away upon those who despised them. That a contempt of him was the ready way to conquer, provided the Kingdom was put in a posture of defence. That indeed it was to be feared, the King of France would assert the claim of the Queen of Scotland, but that the King of Spain was too wise to suffer so great an accession to the monarchy of France, as England and Ireland: That from whatever quarter the mischief came, whether from France or

Spain, Henry and Philip would always be jealous of each other, and the assistance of one of them might be safely relied on: That if the King of France offered peace it ought to be embraced on any terms, as Scotland would be included in the league, but if he was for continuing the war, all the danger would be, his powerfully assisting the Scots to invade England.

That therefore, the northern frontiers were to be secured, after which, a good fleet would so endanger any succours sent from France, that without doubt that Kingdom would soon grow weary of so burdensome a war. That besides, it was unlikely that Philip, in the negotiation of peace, would abandon England to the King of France's ambition. That a Peace thus concluded with France and Scotland, would afford time at least to provide against their attacks[7].

The Queen Summons A Parliament

Such was the result of this council, after which the Queen summoned a Parliament to meet the 23rd of January, according to the resolution taken therein. At the same time, Doctor Parker was entrusted with the care of revising the liturgy of Edward VI, and was ordered to communicate his labours only to some chosen persons[8].

Meantime, the Protestants growing impatient, and preaching publicly in several places, the Queen took, occasion to publish a proclamation, which clearly showed her intentions. She allowed the Gospels and Epistles, with the Lord's Prayer, Creed, Litany, and Ten Commandments to be read in English, but forbid all preaching on controversial subjects, or any change in the Romish rites, till it should be otherwise appointed by the Parliament. In this she followed the steps of the deceased Queen.

Queen Mary Buried

Queen Mary's Funeral, which was solemnized with great pomp, finished this year[9]. But before we proceed to the events of the next, it is necessary for clearness sake, to describe the affairs of the neighbouring states.

The Affairs of Spain and France

The war between France and Spain was manifestly drawing to a conclusion. The two Kings equally weary of a war from which neither could expect any advantage, had kept their armies all the campaign in a state of inaction, for fear of obstructing a peace. At last the constable of Montmorency, who had been prisoner in the Low-Countries ever since the battle of St. Quintin, having made some overtures of peace to Philip, the principal articles were settled, after which, the two Kings sent their plenipotentiaries to Cercamp, and then to Cambray.

The principal obstacle to a peace was the King of France's resolution to keep Calais, and Philip and Mary's insisting upon its being restored. But Mary dying, Philip no longer supported the interests of England with the same ardour as before, at least when he despaired of marrying Elizabeth. It was that expectation which caused him to stand out some time, and delay the conclusion of the peace till the following year.

The Death of Charles V

The 14th of March, Ferdinand I. was declared Emperor by the voluntary resignation of Charles V. his brother, who enjoyed but two years, the repose he had chosen in relinquishing the care of his worldly concerns. He died the 17th of September[10].

The Affairs of Scotland

As Scotland is to afford materials for great part of Elizabeth's history, a very particular account must be given of the affairs of that Kingdom. Without an accurate knowledge of what passed in Scotland, Elizabeth's conduct and policy cannot be understood.

The Queen Dowager of Scotland, mother of the Queen Dauphiness, obtained the regency of that Kingdom by the interest of the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal of Lorraine her brothers; but was supported only by the Protestants. The Earl of Arran Chief of the House of Hamilton, had unwillingly resigned the regency, though, his resignation procured him the Duchy of Chaterault in France[11], with twelve thousand livres a year in land.

The Archbishop of St. Andrews, his natural brother, incessantly blamed his imprudence, and by his cabals amongst the clergy, gave disturbance to the regent. To break the measures of this prelate, she turned to the Protestants, who were now grown considerable. This method succeeded, but withal she was obliged to connive at the meetings of the Protestants, and this indulgence greatly increased their number and strength.

Things remained in this state till the breach between France and Spain. As England espoused the cause of Philip II, and the Regent of Scotland could not possibly induce the Scots to declare war with Mary, she advised the King of France to hasten the Dauphin's marriage with the young Queen, and accordingly it was solemnized in April, 1558.

This gave a considerable turn to the affairs of Scotland. The clergy, knowing how the court of France stood affected to the followers of the new religion, did not question to be supported in their attempt to reduce the Protestants within the pale of the Romish church. On the other hand, the regent no longer wanting the Protestants, began to look more coldly on them.

To begin the work, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's having summoned before him an aged priest[12], who had discontinued the Mass, ordered him to be burnt alive in his Archiepiscopal City, to the great grief and discontent of the inhabitants. This affray being made, the bishops cited a minister called Paul Messan with design to make him suffer the same punishment, but as they saw the people began to be moved, the trial was deferred to another opportunity.

Some time after, a procession annually made at Edinburgh[13] raised a sort of commotion, which shewed that the Protestants were no more afraid to appear. The regent had a farther conviction, when she was told that Messan, condemned for non-appearance, was openly protected in the county of Fife.

These were as preludes to what was to follow. In fine, some gentlemen of Fife and Angus, dispersing themselves through the counties, encouraged the Protestants to stand upon their defence, and not suffer their lives to be taken away on pretence of religion, demonstrating to them that their number was greater in Scotland than that of the Catholics. This occasioned an association under the hands and seals of the associators, and was the first that was formed in Scotland in defence of the new religion.

The Protestants perceiving themselves stronger since this association, which was called the Congregation sent to the regent a petition, that the worship of God might be in the vulgar tongue, and the communion given in both kinds, which was strongly opposed by the bishops. But the Regent being told, that an absolute refusal might throw all Scotland into a flame, she endeavoured to soften the Bishops, by a promise of her protection at a more reasonable juncture.

Meantime, she permitted the Protestants to celebrate divine service in their own tongue, provided this was done without tumults, or public assemblies in Edinburgh and Leith[14]. But the clergy not liking this politic circumspection of the Regent, met together to consult upon this affair, and

resolved to prosecute the heretics with the extremist rigour. The Protestants deputed John Areskin, afterwards Earl of Mar, to the Bishops assembled, to demand of them, that divine service might be performed in the vulgar tongue; but this was unanimously rejected.

Such was the situation of the affairs in Scotland, when Elizabeth ascended the throne of England, and till the end of the year 1558.

Several Peers Created

1559 AD] In the beginning of the following year, Elizabeth conferred honours on some persons, whom she was pleased to distinguish, whether on account of their merit, or because she expected some important services from them. William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, who had been sentenced death in the reign of Mary, and afterwards pardoned, was restored to his honours.

Edward Seymour, eldest son of the late Duke of Somerset, was created Earl of Hertford, notwithstanding all the precautions of the Duke his father, to cause his titles to descend to the children of his second marriage. Thomas Howard, second son of the Duke of Norfolk, was created Viscount Bindon. Henry Carey, the Queen's cousin[15], and Oliver St. John, were raised to the dignity of Barons. All these peers were Protestants, and consequently very proper to promote the Queen's designs in the House of Lords.

The Queen's Coronation

These promotions being over, the Queen was crowned in Westminster Abbey[16], with the usual ceremonies. The See of Canterbury being vacant, this office belonged to the Archbishop of York, but he, with the other bishops, refused to assist at the solemnity, because Elizabeth by proclamation, and by admitting into her council, men who passed not for good Catholics, had sufficiently declared against the Church of Rome.

Oglethorp of Carlisle was the only bishop that at last was persuaded to do the office, notwithstanding the murmurs of his brethren. It seems, that the bishops thought the ministry of a Bishop so essential to a coronation, that, in refusing to perform the ceremony, they could deprive the Queen of her dignity.

The Parliament Meets and is Opened by a Speech of Bacon Keeper of The Great Seal

The Parliament meeting the 25th of January[17], Sir Nicolas Bacon keeper of the Great Seal[18] (6), opened it with a speech, in which he displayed the merits of the new Queen, with bitter reflections on the late ministry for the loss of Calais. He told them, that the Queen desired an immediate application to the affairs of religion; that a disunion in that respect, was one of the evils which called for the most speedy redress. He exhorted the Parliament to proceed between the two extremes of superstition and irreligion, which might re-unite the adherents of both religions in the same public worship.

Dr. Burnet has so largely described in his history, the manner of restoring the Reformation in England by the Parliament, that I believe I may be excused descending to particulars, and the more, as this subject chiefly relates to church history. I shall content myself therefore with only pointing to the acts made in this session, to spare the reader the trouble of turning over this history.

I shall however observe, that this author seems to have been mistaken in placing the acts, (most of which were made in February and March) after the peace, which was not concluded till April. But this is not very material.

At first, to try how the Parliament was inclined, a motion was made in the Lower House, for restoring to the crown the tenths, first fruits, and impropriations, (for the Crown rendered by Queen Mary). This motion was immediately approved; and the House of Lords consented to it, notwithstanding the opposition of the bishops[19].

The 4th of February, the House of Commons addressed the Queen in a very dutiful manner, and represented to her, how necessary it was for the happiness of the nation, that she should think of marrying. The Queen graciously thanked the Commons, and told them how much she was pleased, that they had neither limited time nor place. She added, that by the ceremony of her inauguration she was married to her people, and her subjects were to her instead of children: They would not want a successor when she died; and for her part, she would be well contented, that the marble should tell posterity, **here LIES A Queen that reigned so long, and LIVED AND DIED A VIRGIN.**

An Act to Recognise The Queen's Right to The Crown

Some days after, the Lords passed a bill to recognize Elizabeth for lawful Queen, in virtue of an act of the 35th of Henry VIII. Some thought it strange that the sentence of her mother's divorce, and the subsequent act declaring Elizabeth illegitimate, were not annulled. Camden says, this omission was with design, and Burnet reports the reasons which determined the House of Lords to be silent on this point.

The first was, that the possession of the crown purged all defects, according to a received maxim, when Henry VII mounted the throne. But this reason had not appeared sufficient to Mary, who was in the same case with Elizabeth, and yet had procured a repeal of that act, which declared her illegitimate.

The second reason was, that this act could not be repealed, without calling some dishonour on the memory of Henry VIII, and it was the Queen's interest rather to conceal than publicly expose her father's weakness.

I own, this reason appears to me very unsatisfactory, For why was the reputation of Henry VIII. to be spared, if it could not be done without endangering the safety of the reigning Queen? Besides, it was not exposing faults which till then had been concealed, but faults known to all the world.

The third reason was, that too scrupulous an inquiry on this head, would render the Queen's right more uncertain, instead of making it less disputable.

This, probably, was the prevailing reason, though to suffer the sentence and act to subsist, seems to have been equally dangerous. It was establishing a precedent in favour of bastards, which might have ill consequences. And who knows but it may still affect future ages. Besides, this regard for the honour of Henry, left an eternal blot upon the memory of Elizabeth. At least her enemies, and particularly the Queen of Scotland, were thereby furnished with a plausible pretence to wrest the sceptre from her, if a favourable opportunity offered.

Acts Concerning Religion

Dr. Burnet thinks the conduct of this Parliament equally pious and wise. I allow the first: But the continued endeavours to dethrone Elizabeth, wholly founded on the sentence of her mother's divorce, and the subsequent act, will not permit me to believe it wisdom to leave them un-repealed.

The act to recognize the Queen's title being passed, the Parliament turned to the affairs of religion, and made divers statutes, which I shall but just mention.

The first appointed the public worship to be performed in the vulgar tongue[20].

The second restored the Queen to her right of supremacy in the Church of England.

The third renewed and confirmed all the acts made in this reign of Edward VI, concerning religion. And in this many others were included.

The fourth restored to the Queen the nomination of the bishops. By this statute likewise many others were confirmed, made in the reign of Henry VIII. against the Pope. The Queen was empowered to put the exercise of her supremacy into what hands she should think proper.

Moreover, all persons in public employments were obliged to swear, that they acknowledged the Queen to be the supreme governor in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal; that they renounced all foreign jurisdiction, and should bear the Queen true allegiance. Whosoever refused this oath, was declared incapable of holding any public Office.

Lastly, divers penalties were enabled against any, who, by word or writing, tended to set forth or advance any foreign power in the Kingdom.

The fifth Act established uniformity in divine worship[21].

By a sixth, the Parliament empowered the Queen to reserve to herself the lands belonging to the bishoprics, as they became void, giving in lieu of them their full value in impropriated tythes.

By a seventh act, all religious Houses were annexed to the Crown.

By an eighth, the deprivation of Popish Bishops in King Edward's Reign was declared valid.

In a word, the Parliament, in this session, restored religion to the same state as in Edward VI's reign, and after a grant of a subsidy, (two tenths, and two fifteenths, with tunnage and poundage for the Queen's life) it was dissolved the 8th of May[22].

Some Opposition Made by Popish Bishops

Among the bishops then in England, some there were, who had complied with all the changes in religion since Henry's breach with the Pope. Of this number were Heath Archbishop of York, Tostal Bishop of Durham, Thirleby Bishop of Ely, and some others. These chose to absent themselves from the Parliament, because, as they saw the Queen's intention, they durst neither openly oppose it, nor assist in restoring the Reformation, after so public a desertion of it in the last reign.

Both appeared to them equally incommodious. Other bishops strongly opposed these acts, but with no success. Some of the lay peers also endeavoured to stem the torrent, and even entered their protests, but their number was very small.

To say all in a word, the same thing happened in this, as in the Parliament under Henry, Edward, and Mary, that is, the Court caused to be enabled almost whatever they pleased. This is not very strange, with regard to the House of Commons, where the members may be changed every new Parliament. But the readiness wherewith the House of Lords consented, one while to acts

favouring the Reformation, another while, to those establishing the Romish religion, is much more surprising.

The High Commission Erected

The Supremacy with which the Queen was lately invested, with power to depute any persons to exercise it in her name, gave rise to a new court, called the High Commission Court. It was composed of a certain number of commissioners, who exercised the same power, which had been formerly lodged by Henry VIII. in a single person, with the title of Vicegerent.

While the Parliament was taken up with affairs of religion, some preachers having in divers places delivered doctrines from the pulpit, tending to overthrow the Reformation, the Queen, following the precedent set her by Edward and Mary, forbid all preaching without a special licence under the Great Seal.

This fired the Lower House of convocation, and produced a petition to the Queen, in which were boldly asserted the doctrines of the Church of Rome. This gave occasion to a proposition for a conference between nine doctors, on each side, to examine the reasons of both. This conference was held the beginning of April. But the Roman Catholics reflecting, that they had undertaken more than they could answer, in thus bringing the doctrines of their religion into question, without being authorized by the Pope, refused to give their reasons in writing, though that had been agreed.

At last, they plainly declared, it was not in their power to dispute on points already decided[23]. They had not been so scrupulous in the reign of Mary, because then the success of the conference was known beforehand. This gave the Protestants cause to triumph, and pretend that their adversaries durst not enter the lists.

To finish what I have to say at present on religion, I shall only add, that the Reformation having been established by public authority, of 9400 beneficed clergymen in the Kingdom, only fourteen bishops[24], twelve Archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, fifty canons, and about eighty parochial priests, chose to quit their preferments, rather than their religion. Their places being filled with Protestants, England became entirely reformed, very shortly after having seen the Reformed sent to the flames. It is now time to return to political affairs.

Elizabeth's Reasons for a Peace with France

While Philip had any hopes of marrying Elizabeth, his plenipotentiaries assembled with those of England France at Cateau in Cambresis, insisted upon the restitution of Calais to the crown of England. But when his expectations were disappointed by the change in England with regard to religion, he deserted Elizabeth, and made a separate peace, or at least settled, with France, the principal articles.

It is pretended that in this Treaty, by which France resigned 198 places to Spain, or her allies, in exchange for three only, there was a secret article of a mutual promise between the two Kings to extirpate heretics. This done, the Spaniards, from parties, as they were before, became mediators between France and England. But they acted so faintly, that it was plain, they did not much concern themselves in Elizabeth's affairs.

Philip's defection therefore obliged the Queen to conclude a peace on any terms, the continuation of the war being no way favourable to her affairs, or to the measures she was now taking to introduce the Reformation into England. By a treaty therefore signed the 2nd of April, it was agreed:—

That the King of France should have Calais, and the other places in Picardy conquered upon the English, eight years; after which, he should be obliged to restore them to the Queen of England.

That within the space of six months, seven foreign merchants, not subjects of the French King, should engage for the payment of 500,000 crowns of gold to Elizabeth, as a penal fine, in case the restitution of the places within the time limited, was either refused or delayed by Henry or his successors.

And that notwithstanding, whether the said sum was paid or not paid, the King of France and his successors should remain under the obligation to restore Calais and the other places, as they engaged by this Treaty.

Moreover that the King of France should deliver to the Queen, as hostages till the promised security was given. Ferry de Foix Count of Candale, and Captal of Bueh, Lewis de St. Maure Marquis of Nesle and Count of Laval, Gaston de Foix Marquis of Trans, Antoine du Prat President of the Parliament of Paris, and the Lord Nantouillet.

A Remark Upon an Article of This Treaty

These are the express words of the treaty, of which the French historians give us only the pretended meaning by turning them after their own manner. Mezerai says,

“It was covenanted that Henry should either restore Calais and the other conquests, or if he liked it better, the sum of 500,000 crowns, which being referred to his opinion, there was no doubt he would keep this place, which was the key of his Kingdom.”

Neither has father Daniel given us the very terms of the treaty, which perhaps he had never seen. He contents himself with relating the sense, adding an explication which entirely changes the nature of the treaty. Elizabeth, says this historian, could not without giving offence to the English, make an absolute surrender of Calais to France.

Besides, she saw the King determined not to part with it; a middle way was therefore taken, which left this Prince in possession of Calais for eight years, at the end of which he promised to restore it, on forfeiture of 500,000 crowns to the English. That notwithstanding this payment, which was to be made on a refusal or delay of restitution, the English were allowed to use force for the recovery of Calais.

By these last words he explains the sense of those in the original treaty:—

THAT whether the sum was paid or not paid, the King of France and his successors should be bound to the restitution of Calais, as they engaged by this treaty.

This shews how we ought to be upon our guard against the national partiality of historians. I shall add here upon this article, that Calais never was restored, that the 500000 crowns were never paid, and when Elizabeth demanded Calais, at the expiration of the term, the court of France founded their refusal upon some generalities, and not upon the treaty itself, as they might have done, supposing what these two historians have related.

Continuation of The Treaty of Cateau

Another article of the treaty was, that neither the King of France, nor the King and Queen of Scotland, nor Queen of England, should attempt any thing against one another, directly or indirectly, in prejudice of this treaty.

That if the Queen of England violated this article, the King of France, and the King and Queen of Scotland should be freed from their engagements, and their hostages and securities be discharged. In like manner, if the violation came from the King of France, he should be obliged to restore Calais, and the other places, as if the eight years were expired; and if he refused to make this restitution, the securities and hostages should still remain bound.

That the fortifications of Aymouth, and all others made in Scotland since the treaty of Boulogne, should be demolished.

That all the other pretensions of the King of France, of the King and Queen of Scotland, and of the Queen of England, with all their exceptions, should remain entire, in the expectation that Providence would produce some good opportunity to terminate them by a peace.

That the forementioned Princes or Princesses should not afford a retreat or protection to each other's rebels, but reciprocally deliver them to one another.

A Treaty with Scotland

The same day, a treaty was signed between the Queen of England and the King and Queen of Scotland, of which these are the principal articles:—

That neither of the parties should fall upon the dominions now possessed by the other, neither in person or otherwise.

That they should give no aid to attack the dominions of one another, to any person, in whatsoever degree of consanguinity or affinity he might be related to them, or whatever might be his quality.

That they should not receive or entertain rebels, fugitives, malefactors, &c.

That in three months, the fortifications of Aymouth, and all others erected in Scotland since the treaty of 1549 should be razed.

That all other mutual claims and pretensions should remain entire.

That in two months, commissioners should be appointed on both sides, to settle certain articles, concerning which the ambassadors of France were not sufficiently instructed.

Francis and Mary ratified this treaty the 18th of April; and the 31st of May the commissioners of the two Kingdoms at Upsalinton, signed a second treaty upon the articles left undecided in the first.

Elizabeth having concluded a peace with France and Scotland with more ease and honour than she had reason to expect, flattered herself, she was going to enjoy a settled tranquillity. But she quickly perceived, she had little cause to triumph. Henry II had made a peace with her, only because Philip II. who had engaged Mary his Queen in this war, was resolved not to sign the peace before Elizabeth had concluded her's.

It was of little moment to Philip, that she found great advantages in the peace, or the King of France observed his treaty with her, provided it appeared to the world that Spain had not deserted England. This was all he desired, and probably what facilitated the peace. Henry II. granted, no doubt, more than he intended to perform, as well to give this satisfaction to the King of Spain, as to disengage him from the interest of England. He soon discovered he had no other intention,

Henry II Orders The Dauphin and His Spouse to Take The Arms of England

Ambassadors from France being come to Brussels to see the peace sworn, Secretary Ardoy, who was there from the dauphin King, and the Queen dauphiness, gave them the arms the titles of King and Queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland.

Shortly after, Elizabeth heard, that the King of France had ordered Francis and Mary to assume the same titles, and quarter the arms of England in their seal, their furniture, that no one might be ignorant of their pretensions. Sir Nicolas Throckmorton the English ambassador in France, complained of this usurpation with great freedom, but the frivolous answer to his complaints let him see the little regard France had for his mistress.

Mezerai says, the ambassador was told. That this was agreeable to the custom of Germany, where the cadets, or younger branches, bore the title and arms of the chief of their family[25]. Camden adds, that the court of France pretended, that all Princes and Princesses had a right to bear the arms of their house with a bar, But, besides that, Francis and Mary bore them without any such distinction, they moreover assumed the title of King and Queen of England[26].

In short, the court of France being pressed upon this affair, answered the ambassador, that the King and Queen of Scotland had only taken the arms of England to oblige Elizabeth to quit those of France.

To this Throckmorton replied. That twelve Kings of England carried the arms and title of Kings of France, without being obliged by any treaty to quit them. But his reasons were not heard, and notwithstanding all his complaints, Francis and Mary still bore the title they had usurped. Camden affirms, the constable of Montmorency, by his arguments induced them to relinquish it, but assuredly he is mistaken.

Thus though the court of France would not openly declare their thoughts of Elizabeth, it was manifest, she was regarded as a bastard, and the crown of England was pretended to be devolved upon Mary, Accordingly, Elizabeth did not suffer herself to be deceived.

From this time she considered Mary as a dangerous rival, and the Princes of Lorraine her uncles, the authors of this usurpation, as her most mortal enemies. The death of Henry, a little after, instead of discouraging the design to place Mary on the throne of England, only gave it fresh vigour.

The Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, governing all under Francis II, successor to Henry, never ceased inciting the young King to send forces into Scotland, to render himself absolute master of that Kingdom, and then attack Elizabeth from that quarter. But because this project was founded upon the present situation of the Scotch affairs, it is necessary to resume the recital at the place where I left off the last year.

Sequel of The Affairs of Scotland

Shortly after the marriage of the young Queen with the Dauphin, the affairs of Scotland began to be terribly embroiled. The Princes of Lorraine having formed the design to attack England by

Scotland, believed it impracticable, till the King and Queen were rendered absolute in their Kingdom.

They knew, it would be difficult to persuade the States of Scotland to be the instruments of their ambition, in making war upon Elizabeth, in order to place the Crown of England on the head of their Queen. The number of Protestants was now so considerable in Scotland, that they were almost masters in the assemblies of the States. consequently, it appeared impossible, to draw them into the project of dethroning a Protestant Queen, who was establishing their religion in England, to place a Catholic Queen on that throne, who would thereby be enabled to destroy the Reformation in both Kingdoms. It was therefore necessary to find an excuse for sending an army into Scotland to strengthen the Catholic party, which, probably, would be more ready and zealous to favour the enterprise.

It was with this view, that they obtained of Henry II. an order to the Queen-Regent, and to d' Oysel, Commander of the French and Scotch forces in the pay of France, to suffer no other religion in Scotland than the Roman Catholic[27]. They easily foresaw, this order would produce troubles in Scotland, and furnish them with a pretence to send thither an army.

The Regent, upon the receipt of this order, began to execute it, with publishing an edict[28] conformable to the King's will, or rather of the two Princes his brothers, who, as will afterwards be seen, had not discovered their whole project to the King. The Protestants, in several deputations to the Queen-Regent, represented to her the un-seasonableness of rigour, considering their number, but she would hearken to nothing.

At this time, the City of Perth, alias St. John's Town, having publicly embraced the reformed religion, the Regent summoned the States to Sterling, and cited thither the reformed ministers, in order to banish them the Kingdom by a solemn decree[29].

The ministers appeared at Sterling to defend their cause, being attended with infinite crowds of people unarmed, who were come to assist them in their defence, agreeably to the custom of Scotland[30]. The Regent, astonished at the sight, prayed John Areskin to prevail with the multitudes to retire, promising that nothing should be decreed in the States against the Ministers.

Areskin succeeded, and the ministers, with all their attendants, withdrew. But they were no sooner gone, than they were condemned for nonappearance, according to the Citation. Areskin was so enraged, to be made the Queen's instrument to deceive the Protestants, that he resolved to be revenged. For this purpose, he went to the nobility of Strathern, Angus, and Mernis, who were assembled upon the news of what passed at Sterling, and persuaded them to take arms.

This news being brought to Perth, Knox the minister, a celebrated preacher, animated the people by a sermon, which, while the principal citizens were at dinner, sent the rabble into the churches, who broke the images, and entirely destroyed the monastery of the Carthusians. The inhabitants of Cuper immediately followed the example of the people of Perth.

The regent vexed to see her edict contemned, and willing to prevent the consequences of this disobedience, resolved to chastise the inhabitants of Perth. To this end, she assembled some forces, and, attended by the Earls Argyle and Athol, marched directly to Perth. But approaching the town, she was informed, the Earl of Glencorne[31] was encamped in the neighbourhood with seven thousand men.

This news determined her to offer the Earl and his associates certain conditions, which were accepted. Amongst other articles it was agreed:—

That the Scotch forces on both sides should be dismissed, and the French removed at a certain distance from Perth[32]:

That the Queen should be respectfully received into the City, and suffered to lodge in it some days, provided she would make no alterations:

Lastly, that the differences concerning religion should be referred to the decision of the States.

The Confederates having dismissed their forces, the Regent came to Perth, and entered, with some Scotch troops in the pay of France, which was considered by the Confederates, as a violation of the treaty[33]. But this was not all they had cause to complain of. The Regent restored the Mass in Perth, and resolving to make it a place of arms, left a garrison in the town.

Hence the Earl of Argyle and James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, and natural son to James V, took occasion to declare against the regent, and levy forces to support the Protestants. They had some time before embraced the Reformation, though hitherto they had adhered to the regent.

Shortly after, the inhabitants of St. Andrews and some other towns, declaring themselves Protestants, committed several disorders in the Catholic churches. Whereupon the Regent assembled an army, composed of two thousand French, and one thousand Scots, and, giving the command to the Duke of Chateleraut, sent him to chastise the inhabitants of Cupper, who had declared next after those of Perth. But the Duke hearing, the Confederates were marching with superior forces, to give him battle, informed the Regent of it, who was then at Falkland.

She tried at first to amuse them with new propositions, till she had reinforced her army. But the Confederates perceiving her artifice, marched to Perth, and became masters of the town in a few days. Afterwards, Scone, Sterling, and Linlithgo, were secured by them, and as their army daily increased, the regent and d' Oysel were obliged to withdraw to Dunbar.

Meantime, the Regent had writ to the court of France, that James, prior of St. Andrews, was the principal author of the troubles of Scotland, and that, being natural son of James V, he designed to seize the crown. The Princes of Lorraine, brothers to the regent, embraced this occasion to insinuate to Henry II, that religion was not concerned in the troubles of Scotland, and was only made the pretence to wrest the crown from the Dauphin and the Queen his spouse.

By this insinuation, they had inspired the King with the resolution of sending a good army into Scotland, and he had now begun his levies in Germany. But the constable of Montmorency having discovered the design of these Princes, to engage him in very difficult projects, prevailed with him to proceed no farther, till he was more particularly informed of the Scotch troubles. The business was only to find a person in whom the King could confide.

The constable offered, for this purpose, James Melvil, a Scotch gentleman, his domestic, and gave him his instructions, in the presence of the King himself. These instructions were, as he says himself in his memoirs:—

“That the King had been informed by the Cardinal of Lorraine, that James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, pretended, under colour of religion, to usurp the Kingdom unto himself; and that the King desired to know certainly, if this was the source from whence the troubles in that Kingdom flowed or whether Stuart was moved to take arms only for conscience sake, in defence of his religion, himself, his dependants and associates.

In the first case, the King was resolved to hazard his Crown, and all that he had, rather than that the Queen his daughter-in-law should be robbed of her right; and he resolved to send an army to Scotland for that effect, though he would gladly shun the trouble thereof, if it were possible.

That in the second case, if it was only religion that moved the Scots, the King would have no concern in their affairs, but committed their souls unto God, for he had difficulty enough to rule the consciences of Frenchmen. And it was the obedience due unto their lawful Queen, with the body, that the King desired.

That finally, he could not persuade himself, that the Scots had made an insurrection against the Regent without cause, and therefore desired to know if the Regent had broke her word with them; if so, by whom, and at whose instance.

That if d' Oysel, who was reported to be choleric, hasty, and too passionate, was not acceptable to the Scots, he would send some other in his room, who, he hoped, should please them."

This shews, the King had been ill informed by the Cardinal of Lorraine, to engage him to send an army into Scotland, and of this, probably, the constable meant to give him a demonstration, by the report Melvil was to make him. In effect. Melvil having had a conference with the Queen Regent at Falkland, and afterwards with the prior of St. Andrews, reported to the King, that the prior was so far from the thoughts of aspiring to the crown, that he was ready to banish himself perpetually out of Scotland, on the first orders from his Majesty[34].

Henry II being dead before Melvil returned to Paris[35], the confederate Scots preposterously imagined, there was no farther danger, and most of them returned to their homes. The Regent and d' Oysel being informed of it, resolved to improve this negligence, and marched with some troops to Edinburgh, hoping to surprise those who remained there. But the Duke of Chateleraut and the Earl of Morton knowing, the Confederates were arming again with all possible diligence, waited on the regent, and persuaded her to consent to a truce from the 24th of July to the 10th of January.

This truce was equally necessary to both parties. The Confederates wanted to put themselves in a posture of defence; and the Regent hoped, that: in this interval, she should receive a powerful aid from her Son-in-law the King of France. Accordingly, at the solicitation of the Princes of Lorraine, he immediately sent her a thousand foot, with the promise of a more considerable Supply.

During these transactions, the Earl of Arran, son to Buchanan, the Duke of Chateleraut, being at the court of France, and receiving notice that he was to be arrested on some pretence, made his escape, and came for Scotland.

As he was, after the Duke his father, next heir to the young Queen, he believed, upon some well or ill grounded advices, that the Duke of Guise and Cardinal of Lorraine designed to secure, and perhaps murder him, for fear, if the Queen died, he should mount the throne, for he had declared himself a Protestant. He was no sooner in Scotland than he gained his father to the Confederates, who put him at their head.

Meantime, the Regent and d' Oysel were busy in fortifying Leith, and storing it with all sorts of provisions, designing to make it a place of arms, and to expect there, the supplies that were to come from France. The Confederates pretended this to be a breach of the truce, whether they proceeded upon some general maxim, or on some particular articles of the late treaty.

However this be, after some fruitless complaints to the Regent, they assembled their forces, and marched to besiege Leith. But as they suffered themselves to be amused for some time, they came too late, and finding the place in a state of defence, desisted from the siege. Shortly after, the Regent having received a new supply of two thousand men commanded by La Brosse, continued the fortifications of Leith, with greater application than ever.

The Confederates once more desire her to give over the work: but were not heard. As she saw herself sufficiently strong, she only answered by sending a herald, with an order to lay down

their arms. Their indignation to be thus deceived by the Regent, induced them at last to publish, that they would treat as enemies all that obeyed her orders. But they were little able to make good this bravado. The Regent knowing, they were at Edinburgh in small number, marched, the beginning of November, with all her forces to attack them, and so surprised them by her unexpected arrival, that they deserted Edinburgh, and retired to Sterling. When they were there, they sent William Maitland of Lidington to desire her assistance. Indeed the French troops still continuing to pursue them, obliged them also to quit Sterling, and retire to the mountains where they divided into two bodies, to embarrass their enemies, who gave them no rest.

Some time after, they received letters from William Maitland, giving them hopes of a good Success of his negotiation. Such was the origin of the Scotch troubles, on which I have been forced to enlarge, the better to show what concerns Elizabeth was to have in them, since she was their principal object. As this is a material point in the history of this Queen, and as, upon the knowledge of the designs formed against her repose, she regulated her conduct, I ought to support this truth by the testimony of a French historian, who cannot be suspected in this affair.

Histoire de France - Extract

Father Daniel thus expresses himself in the reign of Francis II:—

I observed, that before the conspiracy of Amboise broke out, la Renaudie had been sent by the admiral into England, to engage Elizabeth to make a diversion in Scotland, while the Calvinistical party revolted in France, and she knew her interest too well, to neglect so favourable an opportunity of kindling or fomenting a civil war in the two Kingdoms.

Whatever care she had taken to bridle the Catholics of her Kingdom, she was always apprehensive of a party forming against her in favour of the Queen of France, who carried herself as heiress of the Crown of England, and had quartered the arms with those of Scotland, when she was only Queen Dauphiness; and if France and Scotland had remained in tranquillity, England, was in danger of being attacked from two quarters at once, and disturbed at home by the still numerous adherents of the old religion.

Hence may be seen, what was the design of the Princes of Lorraine, in sending a French army into Scotland. It was to preserve the peace of that Kingdom, that is, render it entirely subject to France, in order to attack England from that side. This must be ever remembered, if it is desired to understand perfectly Elizabeth's history.

Let us now mention the affairs of France.

After Henry II had concluded a peace with Spain, he resolved to relinquish entirely the affairs of Italy, and apply himself solely to his project of uniting England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the monarchy of France. His haste to cause the dauphin his son, and the Queen of Scotland his daughter-in-law, to assume the title of King and Queen of England, immediately after the conclusion of the peace, clearly shows, he had the thing in his head, though he was not yet perhaps resolved how to execute it.

Elizabeth, who was on the throne of England, was but a woman, and might be considered as a bastard: She had no ally: had lately made a great many enemies amongst her subjects, by her innovations in religion: The King of Spain no longer concerned himself with her affairs; and the Pope desired nothing more passionately than to dethrone her, and place a Catholic Prince, in her room.

All these circumstances doubtless gave Henry hopes of success in his design. To effect which, he was to show a great zeal for the Catholic religion, to gain the professors of it, Princes and

subjects, to his interest, The persecution renewed in France immediately after the peace of Cateau, flowed perhaps as much from this as any other cause, though the King's disposition, the Pope's solicitations, the suggestions of the Duke of Guise and Cardinal of Lorraine, and the secret Treaty made with Spain, had but too large a share in that tragedy.

Death of King Henry II of France

This Prince was taken out of the world the 10th of July, in the midst of his vast projects, by a death sudden and tragical[36], leaving for successor a young Prince incapable to govern of himself The two Princes of Lorraine, uncles to the young Queen, were entrusted with the Administration of the Government under the new Reign.

Francis II His Successor puts The Government into The Hands of The Guises

They removed the Constable of Montmorency immediately from the court, and recalled the Cardinal of Tournon, sworn enemy of the Protestant Religion. When the affairs of the court were settled, their next care was to erect courts of justice called ardent, for condemning Protestants to the flames, This threw the reformed into an inevitable necessity, of either suffering themselves to be burnt one by one, or of taking arms In their own defence, and so furnishing their enemies with the desired pretence, to extirpate them all at once.

Francis's Pursues The Design of Attacking Elizabeth Through Scotland

On the other hand, they sent two thousand men into Scotland, under the command of La Brosse, with orders to join the Catholics of England for dethroning Elizabeth. Thus, their boundless ambition engaged a young Prince, not yet seventeen years of age, to throw his own Kingdom into a flame, and withal to undertake the conquest of England, which of all the countries of the world is the most difficult to be conquered.

The Affairs of The Low Countries

At the same time appeared the seeds of troubles in the Low-countries, which soon ripened, and which it will not be improper to mention, in order to show their rise. Charles V had always a great affection for the Low-Countries where he was born, and had governed them with great lenity. Indeed, after the victory of Pavia, he had formed the project of changing their government, and of making of the seventeen provinces one state, dependent on the Crown of Spain.

He was incited to this by the Spaniards, who would have found their advantage in seeing him absolute master of these provinces, where his authority was very much limited by their privileges. But after mature deliberation, he relinquished this project, whether to avoid the oppressions with which the execution would have been infallibly attended, or because he believed it impracticable, by reason of the different Laws and customs of these provinces, each of which had been a separate State.

Philip II his son and successor, resumed much the same design, and resolved to rule independent of the laws and privileges, incessantly alleged by these States. To this he added the project of extirpating the Protestants, then very numerous in these provinces. For this purpose, he obtained from the court of Rome the erection of several archbishoprics and bishoprics, to the great detriment of the abbots, part of whose revenues were to be given to these new sees.

But besides the interest of the Protestants and abbots, there was another thing of universal concern. Philip had put Spanish garrisons into the principal towns, contrary to the privileges of the provinces, and thereby plainly discovered his intention of reducing them to slavery. In fine, when he departed in September, 1559, for Spain, he committed the government of the Low-Countries to Margaret Duchess of Parma his Aunt[37], to the great disgust of William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, and of Count Egmont, who had both aspired to that dignity.

But what gave them the last provocation, was his leaving with the governess the Cardinal of Granvelle their enemy, and who was considered as the author of the pernicious counsels, tending to deprive the country of its liberty. Philip was no sooner arrived in Spain, than he caused a great number of Protestants to be burnt, and by these inhuman executions, showed the subjects of the Low-Countries what they were afterwards to expect.

Death of Pope Paul VI Succeeded by Pius IV

Pope Paul VI. dying in the course of this year, was succeeded by Cardinal Angela de Medici, a Milanese, by the name of Pius IV[38].

1560 AD] To understand the sequel of this reign, it is absolutely necessary to have a distinct idea of the situation of the English affairs, as well with regard to the Queen's person, England, as to the people of England, and foreigners. The wonder of this reign lies not in the memorable events which happened in England, while Elizabeth was on the throne, but in the tranquillity which she caused her subjects to enjoy, amidst the secret and open attacks of her own and their enemies, both at home and abroad.

State of Affairs in England

To understand therefore the motives of Elizabeth's conduct, and the maxims by which she established her government, these enemies, their characters, their views, their interests, are to be distinctly shown. Hence also will be seen and admired the address, with which she freed herself from all the embarrassments and snares to which she was continually exposed.

For this purpose, it must be observed, that her right to the crown was always contested openly or tacitly; that the Papists in general considering her but as a Queen *de facto*, believed they might with a safe conscience assist in dethroning her, whenever an opportunity offered. As the uncertainty of her right was the foundation on which her enemies built, I cannot help enlarging a little on what has been said above on this subject.

The Parliament of England, consisting of the King and both houses, which represent the whole nation, there is no Englishman but what is subject to its laws, were it only for this reason, that every man is supposed to give his consent either in person, or by his representatives. It was upon this foundation that Mary and Elizabeth ascended the throne, I mean, in virtue of an act of Parliament, empowering their father to settle the succession.

But it may be doubted, whether foreign Princes concerned in such acts of Parliament, are obliged to the same submission, when they believe them manifestly unjust to themselves. I shall not undertake to decide this question, which is more usually determined by arms than by laws. I shall only remark, that formerly Edward III. did not think himself obliged to abide by the decision of the French nation, which had placed Philip of Valois on the throne.

However this be, Mary Queen of France and Scotland believed herself injured, as well by the act empowering Henry VIII. to interrupt the order of succession according to his humour, as by the will of that Prince. She alleged, that neither King nor Parliament had any right to place on the throne two daughters declared illegitimate by solemn acts, and still less to overlook the

posterity of the eldest daughter of Henry VII, even without assigning any reason, and place in the line of the succession, bastards, and the children of the younger.

To these two grievances it was answered, that the English in acknowledging successively Mary and Elizabeth for Queens of England, had not followed the caprice of Henry VIII, but the order of nature, and the law of succession; that the caprice of this Prince lay not in his placing his two daughters next after his son Edward, but in his intention to exclude these two Princesses really born in wedlock: That in restoring them to their due place, Henry corrected his error, and left no room for any alteration: That the not revoking the sentence of divorce against him Boleyn, and the subsequent act against Elizabeth, was not without good reasons, and at most, was but a defect of formality, which altered not the thing itself.

As to Mary's, second grievance, that Henry had not mentioned the posterity of his eldest sister, it must be owned, the generality of the English were convinced of the injustice of that proceeding. But as the case which might breed a dispute on this subject did not yet offer, this point was left undetermined, in hopes of the Queen's marriage, and her having children to succeed her.

Let us now proceed to another reflection with respect to the foreign Princes. Mary, eldest daughter of Henry VIII, ascended the throne without any disturbance from abroad, whereas after her death the principal sovereigns of Europe endeavoured to wrest the sceptre from Elizabeth.

It is not difficult to assign many /natural causes of the different conduct of the Princes with regard to these two Queens. The first is, that when Mary mounted the throne, there was not a Prince in Europe, who could with any colour dispute her right. It is true, the young Queen of Scotland was in France, and destined for the Dauphin, but was not yet married. This marriage was only projected, and could not be executed for some years, by reason of the tender age of the parties.

But supposing Henry II. should have then asserted the claim of this Queen, he must have drawn upon himself all the forces of the Emperor, and England. The second cause is no less natural, namely, that by the principles of the Roman Catholics, they could not contest Mary's right without a renunciation or the Papal authority, since the dispensation for the marriage of Henry VIII with Catherine of Aragon was granted by a Pope.

But Henry II was very far from any such thought, and as for the Emperor Charles V, he was particularly concerned to support Mary's title, who was his cousin German. As for the Pope, he maintained his own rights in supporting those of Mary. Lastly, as Mary was zealous for her religion, the Pope, the Emperor, the King of France found a great, advantage in this zeal. The Pope expected to see the Catholic religion restored by her means in England.

The Emperor immediately projected her marriage with his son Philip. Besides a Catholic Queen in England, removed all apprehensions of the aid the German Protestants might receive from the English. In a word, his zeal for his religion gave him the satisfaction, of seeing England about to return into the pale of the Roman Church. For the same reason, Henry II, who burnt the Protestants in France, could not but be pleased to see them deprived of the protection they might have expected from England, if that Kingdom had continued Protestant.

Thus every thing conspired to render Mary's reign peaceable and secure. It was also this, doubtless, which induced that Queen to carry the persecution against the Protestants to such a height, well knowing they could have no hopes of assistance from abroad.

But when, after Mary's death, Elizabeth mounted the throne, there was a change in the interests of the Princes, as often happens by the death of a sovereign. The Empire and Spain were no longer under the dominion of the same Prince. The Dauphin had married the Queen of Scotland, and by that marriage acquired a claim to England, which he had not before. Besides, the Duke

of Guise and Cardinal of Lorraine were become more powerful in the court of France, by the absence of the Constable of Montmorency, who was prisoner in the Low Countries.

After the death of Henry II, they became still more powerful, and showed by their conduct, they had nothing more at heart than the placing of the Queen their niece on the throne of England. Elizabeth could not doubt it, since she saw Francis II. and Mary still usurping the Arms of England, which they seemed to have taken at first only in obedience to the orders of Henry II. On the other hand, Philip II, who despaired of marrying Elizabeth, had entirely deferred the interests of England, and appeared by no means disposed to support that Kingdom, which was become Protestant. Lastly, the Pope saw his authority banished in England, and no hope of gaining Elizabeth, who was evidently concerned to maintain what she had done.

Thus France, Spain, the court of Rome, not only had no reason to incline them to support Elizabeth, but it was even their interest to dethrone her. It is very true, Philip II would not willingly have seen England and Ireland in the hands of the King of France; but he would not have been sorry that France was to conquer England, because from so difficult an undertaking, he would have received the satisfaction of seeing two powers most formidable to him, weakening each other.

Besides, his zeal for the Catholic religion, and his projects in relation to the Low-Countries, would have made him with great pleasure behold these two Kingdoms incapable to assist those provinces, which already bore their yoke with impatience.

As to the new Emperor, Elizabeth, if she had nothing to fear, had at least nothing to hope, from him. As for the Protestants of Germany, they then lived in a tranquillity which they would not willingly have disturbed for the assistance of England. They had found in the reign of Henry VIII, that under the pretence of maintaining their religion, it was designed to engage them in a war by no means agreeable to their interests. Wherefore, content with their present condition, they were not willing to be oppressed for supporting the rights of Elizabeth, though otherwise they with pleasure saw a Protestant Queen on the throne of England.

I have already shown the situation of the Scotch affairs, Elizabeth was so far from expecting any assistance from Scotland, that she saw herself under an indispensable necessity to support the Protestant party there, well knowing, it was the intention of France to attack her from that quarter.

Besides the two thousand men already sent to the regent, another more considerable reinforcement was preparing in France, to be conduced into Scotland by the Marquis of Elbeus[39]. This sufficiently discovered, that the court of France, sensible of the difficulty of attacking England by sea, was resolved to push the war on the northern frontiers, by a junction of their forces with those of Scotland.

Thus the design of the French court to subdue the Scotch rebels, was only the first step by which they hoped to rise to the conquest of England.

The Disposition of The Irish to Elizabeth

On the other side, Ireland gave no less uneasiness to Elizabeth. That island was inhabited by native Irish, and English families transplanted thither since the conquest of it by Henry II. It was governed by a Viceroy or Lord-Lieutenant, in the name of the Queen; but his authority was very far from being so regarded, as to keep the Irish in submission.

They had amongst them many great men, who indeed outwardly acknowledged the Queen's sovereignty, but believed they had a right to do themselves justice for the wrongs they pretended to have received. They made war upon one another, regardless of the lieutenant's orders, who

having but few English Forces, was unable to make himself feared. As often as there was any pressing occasion to chastise a rebellion, or prevent the strong from oppressing the weak.

New forces were to arrive from England. But as this could not be done without expense, very often it was not determined till the last extremity. So, most of the lieutenants finding themselves destitute of the means to force an obedience, they held their commissions, and left it to their successors to repress the insolence of the Irish.

This conduct had rendered the Lords of the country so fierce and arrogant, that they acknowledged the Royal authority no farther than it was necessary to protect them against their enemies. Besides the natural aversion of the Irish for the English, who helped not, by their conduct, to gain their affection, there was, at this time, another reason, which contributed to increase this aversion, namely, the change which the Queen had lately made in religion. The Irish had for the Pope an attachment equal to their ignorance, which was extreme.

This disposed them to hasten to the solicitations of the Romish emissaries, who were continually inciting them against the government. Elizabeth was therefore obliged to have a constant eye upon the transactions of that island, knowing what credit the Pope her enemy had there.

The Disposition of The Irish to Elizabeth

It remains now to speak of the disposition of the English to Elizabeth. When the Queen designed to establish the Reformation, her first care was to change the magistrates in the towns and counties, and fill their places with Protestants. Then, she called a Parliament, whose members were chosen according to her desires.

This Parliament revived the laws made by Edward VI concerning religion. These laws by the care of the magistrates were punctually observed. So, a few months after Mary's death, the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was not less criminal, than the exercise of the Protestant had been in the last reign. The Clergy, who refused obedience to the new laws, were deprived of their benefices, and the vacancies supplied by zealous Protestants.

To say all in a word, the Reformation rose under Elizabeth just as the Romish religion had been established under Mary, with this difference, that no person was put to death by Elizabeth on account of religion. We are not however to imagine that this external change produced a real one in the mind. There are very few, who, in point of religion, implicitly obey their Sovereigns.

Those, who were good Catholics under Mary, remained such under Elizabeth; as those who really embraced the Reformation under Edward VI, continued in Mary's reign reformed in their hearts, under an outward compliance. If it is therefore considered, that all the changes in religion under this and the foregoing reigns, had been made in the same manner, it will not be difficult to comprehend, that the Roman Catholics were still very numerous in the Kingdom.

Little more than twenty years had passed since the Reformation began, and in this interval, the public worship had been changed four times. Now it is improbable, that a whole nation so frequently changed their opinion according to the caprice of the governors, though, outwardly, they submit to the public authority.

It is certain, the number of Roman Catholics in the Kingdom was very great, even after Elizabeth had established the Reformation, though it is likely, the reformed were still more numerous. It is therefore very natural to imagine, that those who persisted in their antient sentiments were secret enemies of the Queen: that they desired the re-establishment of the old religion and were disposed to embrace all opportunities to place a Catholic Queen on the throne. It was not one of the least of Elizabeth's cares to watch her own subjects.

Elizabeth's Maxims of Government

Let us briefly recapitulate what has been said. Elizabeth had for enemies, France, the Queen of Scotland, the Pope, and all the Catholic Powers. For though Philip II had not yet declared himself, she knew he was not her friend, and the sequel clearly proved it. On the other hand, she had the Irish, and a great part of her English subjects to guard against, without having one ally to assist her. She was therefore to seek in herself, in her prudence, in her good conduct, and in her own subjects, the assistance she would have vainly sought elsewhere. To obtain speedily and willingly the aid, she foresaw would be frequently wanted, she had but one way, and that was to make herself beloved by her people.

Accordingly, this was the governing maxim of her conduct. Happily for her, the qualities of her heart and mind were so disposed, that she never once deviated from so necessary a rule. Wherefore it may be affirmed, that no King of England was ever more sincerely beloved by his people than Elizabeth. But to demonstrate this elegy not to be groundless, it is necessary to be more particular upon this subject.

It is certain, that her truly Protestant subjects were much more numerous than the Catholics. What therefore could she do better than to favour the Protestant religion, especially, as being herself of that religion, she could, without reluctance, act so agreeably to her interests. Another thing which greatly contributes to procure a sovereign the affection of his people, is so to manage the treasury, that she be not forced to load them with unnecessary taxes.

No Prince had ever this quality in greater perfection than Elizabeth. Nay, she carried this economy so far, that she sometimes gave occasion to her own ministers, to charge her with avarice. However this be, her expenses were so well regulated, that she was never seen to lavish her treasures upon her favourites, or expend them in things of no use. Nevertheless, this frugal inclination, whether owing to nature or policy, hindered her not from being profuse of her money, when she thought it necessary.

France, Spain, and Scotland, experienced, in their turns, how well she knew to be lavish of her treasures. Her people had so good an opinion of her economy, that through the whole course of her reign, she was never once denied by the parliament, the supplies she wanted, or complained of by her subjects for the taxes they were charged with.

She had also another quality which won her the esteem of the English. She would not be induced by her ministers to bestow offices or honours upon undeserving persons. She was apprehensive of nothing more, than to render contemptible, dignities destined for the recompense of merit and virtue. By this wise conduct she avoided the disobliging of men, who might have aspired to honours, had they seen them bestowed on others of no greater merit than themselves.

This was a maxim from which she rarely departed, during the whole course of her reign. Lastly, she used her constant endeavours to cause justice to be impartially administered. Her greatest favourites felt her severity when they abused her kindness, and wandered from their duty. There is no doubt, her great interest to be beloved by her People, induced her to employ all possible means to that end. But it cannot be, as some have inferred from hence, that her whole conduct was all dissimulation, since it is by no means impossible for the inclinations of men to tally with their interests.

Elizabeth had a true esteem for the Reformed religion, and her interest required her to support it with all her power. She was naturally an economist, and such was the situation of her affairs, that no Prince ever had more occasion to be so.

As she had true merit herself, she esteemed it in others, and therefore could never resolve to confer dignities upon men who had not merited them. In fine, had she been never so little remiss

with respect to justice, there would have been danger of her sex being despised, and of the great men growing by degrees too licentious.

Such were the principal means made use of by Elizabeth to gain the affection of her subjects. Their love was so necessary, that she had no other resource. Without it, her reign would, probably, have been very unhappy, considering the number and quality of her enemies. The reader therefore is to consider most of her actions, as flowing from the maxim she had prescribed to herself, to neglect nothing which might procure the affection of her people.

There was also another maxim which no less influenced her conduct than this I have mentioned. She saw herself threatened on all sides. The Pope, France, and afterwards Spain, never ceased their open or secret attacks. It was not without reason that she feared an union of all these powers for her ruin. In this belief, she laboured to the utmost to cherish the troubles of the neighbouring states, and particularly of France, Scotland, and the Low-Countries; that her enemies being employed at home, might be less able to invade her.

I shall not pretend to decide, whether this way of defence against enemies so powerful and dangerous, was agreeable to the rules of justice. It cannot however be denied, that this was excellent policy, and that her own security justified this method, as she had no other to divert their attacks. Accordingly, she made frequent use of this maxim, as will hereafter appear.

Different Opinions Concerning Elizabeth

I thought it necessary to prepare the reader for the sequel of this reign, by these reflections, which are solely designed to suspend in his mind, the prejudices inspired by the historians of all nations and religions, for and against this renowned Queen. It is no small difficulty to fix the judgment, amidst all the contrarieties which occur in the historians.

Some have considered her as the most accomplished Queen the world ever saw. They have found no fault in her. All her actions were the results of prudence, justice and equity, and had no other motive than the glory of God, and the happiness of her people. They have pretended, that her love for her subjects was so ardent, that she forgot her own interest, and thought only of rendering them happy.

Not content to excuse some of her actions which deserve censure, they have even in some measure fantasised them, by insinuating, that they were the effects of her zeal for the Glory of God, and the Protestant religion. Others have aspersed her with all the calumnies it is possible to invent. According to these, she exceeded the most famous tyrants in cruelty and barbarity. She was extremely deceitful, and her whole conduct was one continued dissimulation, from the beginning to the end of her reign, notwithstanding her affectation of an outward show of religion and virtue.

To these accusations concerning her public administration, they have added horrid slanders upon her private life. They have represented her as a dissolute woman, who constantly refused to marry, in order more freely to continue her lewd practices. To efface both these impressions, and incline the reader, (if religious prejudices will suffer him) to suspend his judgment, I have previously shown the motives of her conduct, and the maxims by which she was, and, with respect to policy only, ought to have been governed.

Her principal aim was to secure a tottering crown, and to succeed, she followed the above-mentioned Maxims.

Is it to be thought strange, that on certain occasions she a little overacted her tenderness for her people, wherein lay her only support? But it would be just cause of wonder, that by an irregular life, and other excesses of which she is accused, she would have acted directly contrary to what could only procure her the love and esteem of her people, of which she had so great occasion.

This suffices, as I imagine, to dispel some of those clouds by which her reputation has been darkened. On the other hand, as she saw herself assaulted from all parts, by powerful enemies, who were continually infusing a spirit of rebellion into her subjects, when we shall see her fomenting the troubles of Scotland, and assisting the Huguenots of France, and the malcontents of the Low-Countries, it will be easily known to what this conduct is owing, notwithstanding the flatteries of some of her admirers.

Apply but the two maxims, I have mentioned, to her actions; and remember the necessity of her always having them in view, nothing almost in her conduct will then appear, the true motive whereof may not easily be discovered. After this long, though, I think, absolutely necessary, digression, it is time to proceed to the events of the year 1560.

A Treaty Between Elizabeth and The Malcontents of Scotland

Maitland, who was sent into England from the confederate Scots, at last concluded the treaty, which was signed at Berwick the 27th of February 1560[40]. Elizabeth seeing the great preparations which were making in France, and not doubting of their being designed against Scotland, thought herself, above all things, obliged to provide for the safety of that nation, and prevent the French from being too powerful there.

She had cause to fear, that if Queen Mary had children by the King her husband, France and Scotland would be united under one head, which it was her great interest to hinder. She concluded therefore a treaty with Maitland, which shows her fears with regard to Scotland. The treaty ran:—

That she took under her protection the Duke of Chateleraut, and all the nobility and subjects of Scotland, to maintain that Kingdom in its liberties and privileges, during the marriage of the Queen of Scotland with the King of France, and one year after.

That she promised to send, with all speed, a convenient aid of men into Scotland, and continue them there till the French were entirely expelled the Kingdom.

That she would come to no agreement with France, but on condition of leaving Scotland in full liberty.

That she would never abandon the Confederates, while they acknowledged Mary for their Sovereign, and endeavoured to maintain the liberty of their country, and the estate of the crown of Scotland.

That if the English took any places in Scotland, they should be either demolished by the Scots, or delivered to the Duke of Chateleraut, at his own option; but that the English should erect no fortification in the Kingdom, without the advice of the said Duke, and his party.

That the Duke and all his party should join the English forces.

That they should declare themselves enemies of those of their countrymen, who should serve France against England.

That if England was attacked in the South, the confederates should send to the Queen's assistance two thousand foot, and two thousand horse at the least; but if in the north, they should join the English army with all their forces.

That if the Earl of Argyle, Lord Chief-Justice of Scotland, should join with the confederates, he should be obliged to use his endeavours to reduce the north of Ireland under the dominion of England, agreeably to a treaty to be made betwixt him and the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

That the Duke of Chateleraut and his party should give hostages to Elizabeth, to remain in England[41] during the time that the marriage between Mary Queen of Scots, and the King of France, should subsist.

Lastly, The Duke of Chateleraut and his party, protested, that their intention was to be faithful to their Queen in every thing, not contrary to the laws and liberties of Scotland, and not tending to their subversion.

Sequel of The Affairs of Scotland

From this treaty it is plain, Elizabeth's sole aim was to keep the King of France from becoming master of Scotland, knowing it was intended to invade her from that quarter.

While this treaty was negotiating, the French forces which were in Scotland, continued their pursuit of the confederate Scots into the mountains contrary to the opinion of Martigues of the House of Luxemburg. This Lord, who had brought the last succours from France[42], was for an immediate invasion of England, imagining, that on his approach, the English Catholics would all rise and join him.

But the regent, better informed of the state of England, judged it not proper to enter upon so great a design with so small an army. some time after, while the French were exulting at the fight of a flying enemy, they discovered from a mountain a fleet at sea, which they at first took to be the Marquis of Elbeus's. But perceiving afterwards it was an English fleet[43], they were of opinion that the forces sent to the Confederates by Land were not very distant.

This made them retire to Leith, with design to assemble there all their forces, and wait the arrival of the Marquis d' Elbeus. But he was expected in vain, for a violent tempest dispersed his fleet, and forced him to fall back to France to refit his ships. Afterwards the troubles in France, calling for the assistance of these forces which were sending into Scotland, and of those already there, this expedition was entirely blasted.

The French forces being retired to Leith, the Confederates assembled from all places, where they were dispersed, in order to join the English army marching to their relief under the command of the Lord Grey[44]. At length they came to Haddington the first of April, being six thousand strong in foot, and two thousand in horse, and there expedited the so much desired English succours, which were advancing with all possible speed.

The Regent Retires to Edinburgh

The Queen-Regent fearing to be shut up in Leith, chose rather to retire to the castle of Edinburgh, which was committed by the States to the care of John Areskin, with the express condition not to resign it without their order. Areskin received the Regent with honour, but still preserved the command of the castle.

The English Army Enters Scotland

Shortly after, the Lord Grey entering Scotland[45] with an army of six or seven thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, was joined by the Confederates, after which, they marched together to Leith, where the enemies were retired. It was no inconsiderable work to besiege a place which

had an army within its walls; and yet, it was undertaken, because there was no other way to drive the French out of Scotland.

While they were employed in this siege, all possible endeavours were used by the French King, to prevail with Elizabeth to recall her forces out of Scotland, But she knew her interest too well to be imposed upon. When de Sevre, the French ambassador, first mentioned it, she answered, her Troops should be readily recalled, provided the French were so too, since France had no more right than England to send forces into Scotland.

Protest of The French Ambassador

At last the Ambassador finding, after many attempts, he could not prevail, declared, in the presence of the Spanish ambassador, that by sending forces into Scotland she had violated the treaty of Cateau: to which she calmly answered, that the King of France had first infringed that treaty, by his endeavours to render himself master of Scotland. Some time before, she had published a manifesto, declaring her reasons, for concerning herself in the affairs of Scotland: She there charged in plain terms the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, with being the authors of the troubles in that Kingdom, in order to effect more easily their designs against England.

To them also she wholly ascribed the injury done her by the King and Queen of France, in assuming her title and Arms.

Before de Sevre had made his declaration, Monluc, Bishop of Valence, was come into England, to press the Queen to recall her forces from Scotland, and would have even persuaded her, that Francis II and Mary had assumed her title on purpose to do her honour. This excuse was more provoking than the injury.

France Offers to Restore Calais

At last Monluc seeing he could not divert her from her resolution to support the Scots, told her, the King of France would restore Calais, if she would draw her forces out of Scotland. But she answered, that she did not value that fish town so much as the quiet of Britain.

Meantime, she dispatched Montague[46] to Philip II, to inform him of her reasons to assist Scotland. That ambassador was to represent to him, that the Guises had projected an union of the crowns of France and Scotland, and not to be disappointed, had concerted the murder of the Earl of Arran, who had happily escaped out of their snares[47], and that she therefore desired him to consider if such an union would be advantageous to Spain.

During these negotiations, the siege of Leith was continued, but with no great success, because of the numerous garrison. The 15th of April, the French made a sally, and nailed three great pieces of cannon[48]. The 30th, the English were fiercely repulsed at an assault. The 1st of May they stormed again, but with no better success.

France Defers Peace

The length and difficulties of this siege began now to discourage them, when the Duke of Norfolk, warden of the northern marches of England, sent a powerful reinforcement, and came to the English camp himself, to encourage the continuation of the siege. They would nevertheless have hardly taken the place, had not the conspiracy of Amboise[49], which was then discovered in France, convinced the Princes of Lorraine, that the season was not proper for the execution of their designs against England.

So, instead of sending new forces into Scotland, they thought of recalling those already there, imagining they might want them in France. It was to this end that Monluc Bishop of Valence, and the Comte de Randan were sent into Scotland, with full powers from the King to conclude a peace. Elizabeth hearing of it, sent likewise secretary Cecil, and Dr. Wotton, with the same powers[50].

A Peace Negotiated

The plenipotentiaries immediately agreed to meet at Edinburgh in July, and, in the mean time, concluded a truce, which was to last till the end of their conferences. During this truce, the Queen regent died in the castle of Edinburgh, the 10th of June.

When the peace came to be negotiated, the French plenipotentiaries absolutely refused to treat with the Scotch Confederates, saying, it would be an injury to the royal authority, because they were rebels. This refusal might have put an end to the congress, but, as both sides were desirous of peace, an expedient at last was contrived, namely, Francis and Mary should grant certain conditions to the Confederates, not by way of treaty, but as of pure grace, and that nevertheless they should promise to observe them, in their treaty with the Queen of England.

This was in effect the same thing, but the ambassadors, probably, with a view to some advantage, preferred this expedient. Most historians confound, in the treaty shortly after concluded at Edinburgh, two things, which, however, ought to be distinguished; namely, the concessions of Francis and Mary to their Scotch subjects, and the treaty between France and England.

As of these two things one was observed, and the other not, it is necessary to have a distinct idea of them. The promises made to the Scots were:—

:

That the French Forces should leave Scotland in twenty four days, and return to France, in ships to be furnished by Elizabeth.

That the City of Leith should be restored to Scotland, and the fortifications demolished.

That the works made by the French at Dunbar should be razed.

That the King and Queen of France and Scotland should grant an act of oblivion to the Confederates, for every thing done, from the 10th of March 1559, to the 1st of August 1560, and that this act should be approved and confirmed by the states of Scotland, to be assembled the following August, with the consent of the King and Queen.

That the French should have liberty to leave sixty men in the Isle of Keith[51].

But with regard to the interests of Elizabeth, a real treaty was concluded, which will be often mentioned hereafter by the name of the Treaty of Edinburgh, containing,

That for the future, the King and Queen of Scotland should not assume the title of King and Queen of England and Ireland, nor bear the Arms of these Kingdoms.

That the patents and other acts which had been dispatched with that title, should be altered, or remain of no force.

That the farther satisfaction required by the Queen of England, for the injury done her, should be referred to a conference at London, between the commissioners of the two crowns.

That if the commissioners could not agree, the decision should be left to the King of Spain.

That the King and Queen of France and Scotland should perform the promises made to the Scots at Edinburgh, by the Plenipotentiaries of France.

It must be observed, that Buchanan in his history, has only mentioned the articles granted to the confederate Scots; and Camden, in his annals of Elizabeth, takes notice only of the treaty between the two crowns. This causes some obscurity in their respective accounts of the following events.

The Treaty as it is Related in Scotland

After the conclusion of the treaty, the French and English quitted Scotland; the fortifications of Leith and Dunbar were demolished, and the act of oblivion sent over into Scotland, and confirmed by the States. These same States, assembled in August, made laws favourable to the Reformation, and sent them to the King and Queen for their approbation, rather to discover their sentiments, than with any hopes of obtaining their desires, and yet, they caused these new laws to be punctually observed.

Mary Refuses to Ratify The Treaty

But as to the Treaty concluded between the crowns, Francis and Mary refused to ratify it, for a reason, the force of which is not easily conceived. It was, they said, because the Scots falsely styling themselves faithful subjects, had made a treaty with Elizabeth in their own private names, without any warrant from the royal authority.

If this refusal had only concerned the articles granted to the Scots, Elizabeth might have believed, that the court of France repented of their concessions, and then the reason alleged might have had some colour. But whatever related to the Scots being already performed, their pretended encroachment could not render invalid a treaty, about a difference between Elizabeth and Mary, in which the conduct of the Scots was entirely unconcerned.

It was therefore easy to infer, that this weak reason was but a pretence used by Francis and Mary, to elude what they had promised in the treaty with prefect to Elizabeth. Accordingly, Elizabeth was convinced, that the Princes of Lorraine still persisted in the design to wrest the crown from her; and this belief was ever rooted in her mind. Mary's uncles did not then foresee how dear this proceeding would one day cost their niece, whose grandeur they so passionately desired.

The Queen Sought in Marriage by Several Princes and Nobles

While Elizabeth was employed in these affairs, her court was attentive to watch her motions, her conduct, and inclinations with regard to marriage. Though she told her Parliament, she was resolved to remain single, such resolutions were known to be liable to change, and the more, as there were many Princes, and some Lords, who despaired not to make her alter her mind.

Charles Archduke of Austria, second son of the Emperor Ferdinand, the King of Sweden, the Duke of Holstein, had already made their addresses. The Earl of Arran, son of the Duke of Chateleraut, relying on the barrenness of Queen Mary, and his succession to the crown of Scotland, flattered himself, that Elizabeth would prefer him to any other, in order to unite the two Kingdoms[52]!

To these were added others, who being her subjects, and not daring to declare their minds so openly, were contented to leave her to guess their inclinations, or to disclose them by means of some of her ladies. One proceeded upon his birth, another upon his merit, a third upon his mien

and outward accomplishments, apt to kindle the flames of love in the fair sex. In short, she was indirectly assaulted on all the sides which are generally thought weakest in a woman. The Earl of Arundel[53], of a noble and antient race, though a little advanced in years, imagined, the Queen would marry a subject, rather than a sovereign, and if so, that no man deserved that honour better than he.

Robert Dudley in Great Favour

Sir William Pickering[54], having received some particular mark of the Queen's esteem, despaired not that these first favours would be extended much farther. But no man believed he had better grounds to flatter his hopes, than Robert Dudley, son of the late Duke of Northumberland. The Queen visibly preferred him to all who had the honour to approach her, and gave him so many proofs of the inclination she had for him, that for some time it was believed she intended to marry him.

Bacon and Cecil Made First Ministers

At her accession to the crown, she made him master of the horse, and Knight of the Garter. From thenceforward, she took a pleasure to distribute her favours through him. So that by this distinction, she discovered, that she had more than a bare esteem for him. He was at court called only, *My Lord*, without any other addition, which demonstrated her preference of him to all the nobility.

And yet, when his pretensions to such distinguishing favours were examined, no qualities were found in him capable to make an impression upon so discerning a Queen. His vices far surpassing his virtues, recourse was had to the planets which ruled his birth, and occasioned this sympathy of thoughts. However this be, he was a favourite at court. All affairs were imparted to him. Ambassadors gave account to him of their negotiations: Every one applied to him for his affairs at court, and woe to those who addressed to any other. That was an unpardonable Fault.

The Queen had two favourites more, but of a different kind from Dudley, as they were only for the affairs of the Government. These were Nicolas Bacon, and William Cecil. The first was made keeper of the Great Seal, with all the privileges of Lord Chancellor.

William Cecil had been Secretary of State to Edward VI, and discharged the office so well, that if his religion had not stood in the way, he would have been continued under Mary. He was not however exposed to persecution, whether he so artfully managed as to give no advantages against him, or his particular merit procured him a distinction above all other Protestants.

He had an uncommon genius, a sound judgment, a capacity for great affairs, an unwearied application, and an impenetrable secrecy, with a constant tendency to his sole view, the welfare and advantage of the Queen. It is not therefore strange if he preserved, all his life, the favour of a Queen, who so perfectly knew her own interest. When able Princes are blest with such ministers, they do not easily part with them.

Philip Receives Elizabeth's Embassy

In the situation of Elizabeth's affairs, she wanted able and disinterested ministers to guide her. Wherever she turned her eyes out of her Kingdom, she saw not one friend who was really concerned for her welfare. She had at first relied on the King of Spain; but Montague's report of his embassy to that Prince, disappointed all her expectations from him. When this ambassador, after discoursing with Philip about the Scotch affairs, demanded, agreeably to his instructions, the renewing of the ancient alliance between England and the House of Burgundy, he found him very cold.

Philip in his answer lamented the changes made in England, with regard to religion, and signified his concern for them. He complained, he had received no intelligence of the sending an English army into Scotland till it was too late, and yet he advised the Queen to have it inserted in the future treaty between her and Mary, that if France sent forces into Scotland, she should also have the same liberty, and to stipulate positively the restitution of Calais.

He added, he had till then prevented Elizabeth's excommunication, and obtained from the Pope a promise, that nothing should be done in that affair without his knowledge. As to the renewing of the treaty, he coldly answered, it was needless. In fine, he returned, by the ambassador, the collar of the order of the garter.

This convinced Elizabeth, that Philip was no longer her friend, and that his advice, which came too late, was more the effect of his jealousy of the growing greatness of France, than of his affection for her. Some time after, she gave him a small mortification, in refusing her permission to certain English Catholics[55] to reside in the Low-Countries, and preserve their effects in England. Amongst these was Jane Dormer, grandmother of the Condé de Feria's lady, whom he married in England, during his embassy[56].

This so provoked the Condé, that he used all his credit with Philip to exasperate him against Elizabeth. He even found an opportunity to force into the inquisition, a servant of Chamberlain the English ambassador in ordinary for Spain. He also strongly solicited the Pope to excommunicate her, but without success. Pius IV was for trying other means, which appeared to him more proper to gain the Queen, and were not prejudicial to his censures, which he could thunder against her whenever he pleased.

The Pope Endeavours to Gain Elizabeth

It was with this view, that he sent Vincenzo Parpaglia Abbot of St. Saviour into England with certain instructions, and a letter to the Queen, exhorting her to return into the pale of the Church, and promising to continue the general council[57], as soon as possible. It is pretended, this nuncio had likewise a power to offer the Queen, that the Pope would annul the sentence of Henry's divorce with Ann Boleyn, and the subsequent act of Parliament; confirm the English liturgy, and permit the English to communicate in both kinds.

But these offers were not capable of moving Elizabeth and the rather, as, probably, they were not sincere, at least, in what concerned religion. Hence it may be observed, what opinion the court of Rome, and all Catholics, had of Elizabeth's birth, since it was offered as a great favour to own her for legitimate daughter of Henry VIII.

Meantime, Elizabeth very closely applied herself to the affairs of the government, in order to render her subjects as happy as possible, well knowing, her greatest assistance was to show from them, in case of an invasion, which she had reason to expect. This year, she was obliged to restore the coin to its ancient standard, which had been extremely debased in the reign of Henry VIII, although no King had ever drawn so much Money from his Subjects[58].

If Cardinal Pole may be credited, this Prince alone drew, more money from the people, than all the Kings together since the conquest. The monastery of Westminster was this year turned into a collegiate church[59]. These were the most remarkable events in England in 1560. But before we proceed to the following year, it is necessary, briefly to mention the affairs of the neighbouring States.

The Affairs of France

The affairs of France tended to confusion the beginning of the year. The Protestants seeing themselves persecuted, and condemned to the flames without mercy, thought it time to provide

for their common defence. To this end, some of them, after a private conference, formed a conspiracy against the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, the King's ministers, and their declared enemies. They had no leader who openly appeared, but very likely the Prince of Condé, jealous of these two foreign Princes, had, among the reformed, emissaries, who intimated to them, that; when things were ripe, they should not want a support.

However this be, a gentleman, named La Renaudie, projected to carry off the Lorraine Princes, then with the King at Amboise. This attempt miscarrying, was interpreted as a conspiracy against the King himself, and twelve hundred persons, either guilty, or only suspected to be concerned in it, were put to death. The two Lorraine Princes would have been glad, on this pretence, to have dispatched the Prince of Condé, but their measures not being yet well taken, they waited a more favourable opportunity.

Death of Francis II

Some time after, the States being assembled at Orleans, the King of Navarre and Prince of Condé, indiscreetly came thither, though they had intimation of the Court's ill designs against them. The King of Navarre indeed was not arrested, but was so carefully watched, that an escape was impossible. The Prince of Condé was imprisoned, and shortly after condemned to die. But the death of Francis[60] about the same time, the Prince was released.

Affairs of The Low Countries

This same year, Philip II having carried war into Africk, against the Corsair Dragut, who had made himself King of Tripoli, his arms were so unsuccessful, that he was forced to recall the Spanish troops left in the Netherlands.

The inhabitants of those provinces saw the departure of the Spaniards with great satisfaction, which would have been much increased, had Cardinal Granvelle been also recalled, for they mortally hated him, and was encouraged in their hate by the Prince of Orange, and the counts of Egmont and Horn, his sworn enemies.

Sequel to The Affairs of France - Charles IX Succeeds His Brother

The death of Francis II. caused great alterations in the court of France. Charles IX, his brother and successor, being yet a minor, Catherine de Medici, his Mother, had the address and influence to prevail with the King of Navarre, first Prince of the blood, to yield the regency to her, and content himself with the title of Lieutenant General. Meanwhile, as she was not entirely without fear, that he might one day think of resuming the rank due to his Birth, she fomented, with all her art, the dissensions which had begun to appear in the late Reign.

By this means, she at last formed two parties in the court and Kingdom, which improved her security, as she was necessary to Both. The first was headed by the Duke of Guise, the Constable of Montmorency, and the Marshal of St. Andre. These three Lords were called the Triumvirs.

On their side were all the Catholics of the Kingdom, into whom a belief was infused, that the chiefs had only in view the maintenance of the Catholic religion. At the head of the other party, wholly consisting of Huguenots, (so the French Protestants[61] were called) were the Prince of Condé, the admiral of Coligny or Chatillon, and his brother d' Andelot. The King of Navarre fluctuated between the two parties, without being able to resolve, and the Queen-Regent reaped great advantages from this division among the great Men.

The affairs of France being in this situation, Elizabeth seemed to be out of danger from them. Francis's successor had no pretence to concern himself with the affairs of Scotland, any farther than as a common ally, and he had no manner of demand upon England.

On the other hand, the Queen-Regent, who had no great affection for her daughter-in-law, was far from engaging in a war for her sake: Though she could have hoped to place her on the throne of England, it was not her interest to render the house of Guise more powerful than it was. In fine, the Princes of Lorraine, employed in struggling with their enemies at court, were not in condition to prosecute the rights of the Queen their niece.

Mary Quits The Title Queen of England

Wherefore, immediately after the death of Francis II, Mary, by the advice of her uncles, quitted the title of Queen of England, which she had here ever since the treaty of Cateau. But this was not sufficient to satisfy Elizabeth. Mary being still very young, might marry some powerful Prince, and transfer to him her pretensions.

Therefore to make Elizabeth easy, this young Queen was solemnly to declare, she had no right to this title, otherwise, she might have resumed it, when she pleased; a bare interruption being not sufficient to invalidate her claim. By the way, Elizabeth, like her grandfather Henry VII, was, all her life, so jealous of her crown, that she was for ever uneasy on that account.

Mary Pressed by Elizabeth To Ratify The Treaty of Edinburgh

When she heard of Francis's death, she sent the Earl of Bedford into France, with her compliments of condolence and congratulation to the new King, and ordered him to press Mary to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh. The ambassador discharged his commission, and was answered by Mary, that this affair not concerning her as Queen of France, but as Queen of Scotland, she would not confirm it without the advice of the Scottish nobility[62].

Meantime, as she knew her mother-in-law, the Queen regent, loved her not, she left the court of France, and retired to Rheims, where her uncle the cardinal was archbishop, to spend part of the winter there, and afterwards, she went to reside at Nancy. While she was at Rheims, she received a visit from Martigues, la Brosse, d' Oysel, and the Bishop of Amiens, who being acquainted with the affairs of Scotland, and knowing her intention to return thither, believed it incumbent on them to give her some instructions.

She came from thence so young, that she was utterly ignorant of the Kingdom she was going to govern. Melvil says, they advised her to gain by her favours, James Stewart prior of St. Andrew's, her natural brother, the Earl of Argyle, who had married Jane Stewart her natural sister, Sir William Maitland of Lethington, and Sir William Kirkaldy Laird of Grange, and to rely on the Protestants rather than the Catholics, as the former were in all respects superior.

Some time after, on her way to Nancy, she gave audience to John Lesley, sent to her from her Catholic subjects. Lesley says himself, in his *History of Scotland*, that he advised her, agreeably to his Instructions, not to confide in the prior of St. Andrew's, and to repair to Aberdeen, where she might be at the head of a good body of Catholic troops, to restore religion to the state it was in before the late changes. But she was too wise to follow such dangerous counsel.

The next day, the prior of St. Andrew's, who was also come to France to pay her his respects, met her at Joinville, and gave her counsels more suitable to the situation of her affairs. He confirmed her resolution to return into Scotland, and advised her to reign like her predecessors, with the concurrence of the States, assuring her, it was the only way to live happy and peaceable[63].

The Queen, agreeable to this advice, ordered him to return to Scotland, and prepare all things for her reception. Moreover, she put into his hands a patent, empowering the States to meet and ordain whatever they should judge convenient for the good of the Kingdom.

Thus, Lesley's pains to prejudice her against Stewart, were for once ineffectual. This Lesley, afterwards Bishop of Ross, greatly contributed, by his intrigues and violent counsels, to the misfortunes which at last fell on the head of the Queen his mistress. Stewart arriving in Scotland, notwithstanding Lesley's endeavours to have him arrested in France, delivered to the States the Patent which the Queen had sent by him.

The States of Scotland Establish The Reformation

As almost all Scotland was then Protestant, the States employed the general power, granted them by the Queen, to establish the Reformation by public authority. This was followed with an order to demolish all the monasteries, which was immediately put in execution.

Elizabeth Rejects a Safe Conduct to Mary

Mean time, Mary preparing to sail for Scotland, sent to Elizabeth for a safe-conduct. Elizabeth answered, she hoped the Queen would ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh, after which, she should not only have a safe conduct but also, without being exposed to the dangers and fatigues of the sea, might pass through England, where she should be received with all the marks of affection she could expect from a good sister[64].

Mary complained of this answer to Throckmorton the English ambassador, so as to show him she was extremely offended at it. She told him:—

“As she came into France, in spite of Edward she could return into Scotland notwithstanding Elizabeth's opposition. She was heartily vexed, for asking a favour, she could so well be without:

That this refusal and the assistance given by Elizabeth to the Scotch rebels, was a clear evidence, how little she desired to preserve a good understanding between the two Kingdoms:

That it was matter of astonishment to her, that the Queen of England should obstruct the return of her near relation, and most certainly presumptive heir, into her own Country:

That she could have no pretence for this, since she could not accuse her of meddling with the affairs of England, though the discontent of the English gave her an opportunity. She added, she was a Queen as well as Elizabeth, and not destitute of friends when they should be wanted:

That the Treaty of Edinburgh was made in the life-time of her husband, and if he delayed to sign it, he alone ought to bear the blame:

That since she was a widow, neither the council of France, nor her uncles had concerned themselves with the affairs of Scotland:

That the Scots about her were private persons, whom she neither could nor ought to consult in so important an affair. But as soon as she had advised with the States of Scotland, she would return a suitable answer:

That therefore she was hastening her return into Scotland, but Elizabeth intended to stop her journey, and so alone was the cause of the delay she complained of. She concluded with saying she had never offended Elizabeth, and prayed the ambassador to tell her the reason of her anger."

Throckmorton replied, his order was only to receive her answer concerning the treaty of Edinburgh: but since she desired it, he would for a moment lay aside the ambassador, and give her his sentiments as a private man. Then he told her, the Queen his mistress was very much offended at her affirming the title and arms of England which she had not done in Queen Mary's reign, and left her to judge, whether a greater indignity could be offered to a crowned head.

Mary answered, she did it by the express command of Henry II her Father-in-law, and of Francis her Husband, whom she was obliged to obey; but upon the death of her husband, she had, when mistress of herself, quitted both the title and arms. That however, she being a Queen, and Grand-Daughter to Henry VIII's eldest sister, did not believe it injurious to any person to bear the arms of England, which had been done by others more remotely allied without any noise.

Camden, from whom this is taken, does not mention Throckmorton's reply. It would however be strange, that he should be satisfied with such weak reasons. Elizabeth did not only demand that Mary should quit the title and arms of England, but also should declare in the most express manner, that she never had any right to assume them.

Nay she expected a solemn reparation for this encroachment, as appears by the treaty of Edinburgh. Now Mary's quitting the title and arms of England, without owning she had no right to assume them, was very far from contenting Elizabeth, who would not have had any other person but herself, pretend to the title of Queen of England.

Mary's alleging that others had borne the same arms without any offence, pointed to the Marquis of Exeter, and the Duchess of Suffolk. But there were three remarkable differences between them and Mary. The first was, they bore these arms by the King's special grant. The second, that they did it with a limb or border for distinction. The third, that they never assumed the title of King and Queen of England.

Elizabeth Suspicious of Mary

All this made Elizabeth suspect, the Queen of Scotland was forming some dangerous design, and in quitting the title and arms of England, intended only to amuse her, since she refused to own the injustice of assuming them.

In short, Mary, being determined to return into Scotland without Elizabeth's safe conduct, sent for Throckmorton to Abbeville, and demanded of him what was to be done to satisfy Elizabeth. Throckmorton answered, she had only to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh, as he had often told her before. She replied, she could not conceive why she was thus urged to ratify a treaty already executed:—

That the articles concerning the Scots had been really performed:

That as she had quitted the title and arms of England, she could not be accused of seeking evasions not to ratify the Treaty, since a treaty already executed did not want a ratification:

That the Scots could not complain of being treated with too much rigour, but that she perceived, the person who would prevent her return into Scotland, would prevent their enjoying the effects of her clemency.

She added, she would write to the Queen of England with her own hand, and desired the ambassador rather to compose than aggravate matters. But the letter she writ on this occasion, did not give Elizabeth the satisfaction she believed to have reason to expect. As the usurpation of the arms and title of Elizabeth, and the refusal to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, were the basis and foundation of the differences between these two Queens, and had a constant influence upon

this reign, it will not be unnecessary to add some observations to what has been said, in order to set in a clearer light the reasons and interests of both.

The Views of The Two Queens With Regard to The Treaty of Edinburgh

Elizabeth, in France and all the Catholic countries, was deemed illegitimate. It was upon this foundation, that Henry II. obliged the dauphin his son, and the Queen of Scotland the dauphin's wife, to assume the title of King and Queen of England, and that, after his death, they continued to bear the same. Elizabeth was not so void of understanding as not to perceive that this pretence would be more than sufficient to deprive her of the crown, should it ever come to be supported by force.

On the other hand, she could not doubt that such a design was formed by Mary and her friends. Of this, her having assumed the title of Queen of England was a clear indication. It was therefore necessary to provide for her safety. The civil war in Scotland naturally presenting itself, she assisted the malcontents, and, whereas France was resolved to invade her from that quarter, gave Francis and Mary cause to apprehend she would deprive them of Scotland.

1561 AD] This produced the Treaty of Edinburgh, which was never ratified by Francis, and after his death, Mary persisted in her refusal, contenting herself with only quitting the title of Queen of England. But this was not a sufficient security for Elizabeth. As Mary had quitted the title without giving any reason, she could resume it the first opportunity; and this was what Elizabeth desired to prevent, and the more, as Mary's obstinate refusal gave her cause to believe it was really intended.

Mary Had Strong Reason to Elude Ratifying The Treaty of Edinburgh

Mary on her side had strong reasons to elude this ratification. She was persuaded, Elizabeth was not the legitimate daughter of Henry VIII, and that neither his will nor an act of Parliament could give her a right which nature denied.

Upon this supposition, Mary believed the crown of England was fallen to her, as next heir to the deceased Queen, and though Elizabeth had possession, she did not despair of wresting it from her, with the assistance of France, Spain, the Pope, and the English Catholics. But if, by ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, she owned herself in the wrong to assume the title of Queen of England, and promised with an oath never to bear it more, she had cause to fear, her friends would grow very cool.

To what purpose then did Francis order his plenipotentiaries to sign a treaty, which he did not intend to ratify? To this the answer is easy. He could not otherwise draw his forces out of Scotland, where they were besieged, nor oblige Elizabeth to recall her's. As to the breach of his word, it did not then much trouble the French court. Now as Mary was at that time in subjection to a husband, she threw upon him whatever was amiss in this conduct.

The second reason Mary had to refuse the ratification was still of more force. The plenipotentiaries of France, in signing the treaty, made a wrong step, for want of sufficient knowledge of the English affairs. They suffered to be inferred in the treaty, without any restriction, this general clause;—

That for the future Francis and Mary should not assume the title of King and Queen of England.

Now Mary had reason to fear, that these words, for the future, might be a snare to make her renounce for ever the crown of England, on account of her religion. This fear seemed the more just, as the English had sufficiently discovered their intention, to regulate the succession by Henry the Eighth's will, where the posterity of Margaret Queen of Scotland was omitted, and the Duchess of Suffolk placed next to Elizabeth.

It seemed therefore to her, that a ratification of the Treaty of Edinburgh would give occasion to say, she complied with the will of Henry VIII which could not but be to her extremely prejudicial.

It is scarce to be doubted, that Elizabeth thought the same thing, since afterwards, when Mary, pressed by the necessity of her affairs, offered to ratify the treaty with this alteration of the clause in dispute. That during the Life of Elizabeth she would not take the title of Queen of England, Elizabeth was not satisfied.

This is an evident sign, that her intention was to make use of the ratification to deprive Mary of her birthright, or at least, to hold her in subjection, by keeping her in a perpetual uneasiness concerning her succession. There was then insincerity in both their proceedings.

Mary, in evading the ratification of the treaty, on pretence of the prejudice it might do her, refused in effect to acknowledge she had done amiss in assuming the title of Queen of England, during the life of Elizabeth, and thereby preserved all her claim to be inserted on occasion; for it was not till some years after, that she offered the forementioned restriction.

On the other hand, Elizabeth, under colour of desiring Mary only to renounce a right which she had assumed to her prejudice, meant to engage her to sign an equivocal clause, which might have deprived her of all her rights. These remarks will hereafter appear not to be entirely useless.

Mary Arrives in Scotland

Mary, though she had no safe conduct from Elizabeth, put to sea, and happily arrived in Scotland. Some say, she escaped the English fleet in a fog, which waited to intercept her[65]. But this is only a bare conjecture without any proof[66]. It is however very likely, that as affairs stood between her and Elizabeth, if she had been taken she would have been detained in England, at least till she had ratified the Treaty of Edinburgh.

She was received in her Kingdom with great demonstrations of joy, both by the nobles and People [67]. But she had the mortification to see the Reformation established by Laws so severe, that only herself was allowed the liberty to have Mass in her own chapel, but without any pomp or ostentation.

Nevertheless, some Lords still persisted in the old religion, and hoping to restore it by her authority, made their court to her with great application. Of this number were George Gordon, Earl of Huntley, the Earls of Athol, Crawford, Sutherland, with some bishops. It was not possible to determine, what was the religion of the Duke of Chateleraut, his conduct had been hitherto so ambiguous. The Lords I have named were very considerable by their birth, their riches, and their vassals.

And yet, they would never, perhaps, have thought of restoring the ancient religion, had they not depended upon the Queen's favour, who could alone balance the power of the Protestants. Their first project was to try to alienate her from those of the Protestants, who had the most credit with her, and in the Kingdom. James Stewart her natural brother was the principal object of their hatred, on account of his adherence to the Protestant religion.

Besides, the Queen having, at her arrival, committed to him the administration of affairs, it would be very difficult for them to undertake any thing, without opposition from him, while he continued

in that post. For this reason, they omitted nothing that could serve to ruin him with the Queen. But it is not necessary to be more circumstantial in these intrigues; it suffices to shew the situation of the court of Scotland, because this is absolutely necessary for the Sequel.

Mary's Error in Falling Out With Elizabeth

The haughtiness with which Mary talked to the English ambassador before she left France, was not only unsuitable to her present circumstances, but even contrary to her Elizabeth, measures, and the projects she had formed with her uncles. Whilst Francis II. was alive, these Princes believed that the forces of France would be sufficient to subdue Scotland, under colour of extirpating heresy, and afterwards in conjunction with the Scotch troops, it would be easy to enter England, and, with the assistance of the English Catholics, dethrone Elizabeth.

But the war they had excited in Scotland, taking a very different turn from what they expected, and the death of Francis following immediately upon it, they found that other measures were to be taken, and the execution of their projects deferred for some time.

They therefore advised the Queen their niece, voluntarily to quit the title of Queen of England to return into Scotland, to enter, if possible, into a strict friendship with Elizabeth, to endeavour to be declared her presumptive heir, and under colour of that correspondence, to form a party in England, where there was no want of malcontents, to be serviceable on occasion.

The whole course of this history shows this to have been Mary's plan, and I shall hereafter give convincing proofs of it. Nothing therefore was more contrary to these measures, then her quarrel with Elizabeth, whose friendship she ought to have courted, in order to obtain the declaration she desired, by means of which she was to strengthen her party in England.

She Sends an Ambassador to Elizabeth and Desires to be Declared Her Heir

When she arrived in Scotland, she endeavoured to correct this error, by sending Maitland to Elizabeth, to notify her safe arrival at Edinburgh, and to desire her friendship. The ambassador carried likewise a letter from the principal noblemen to Elizabeth, which, after many compliments, signified to her, that the best way to preserve a good understanding between the two kingdoms, was for her to declare the Queen her presumptive heir.

Elizabeth Demands Ratification of The Treaty of Edinburgh

Elizabeth was so much upon her guard against whatever came from Mary, that it was not easy to surprise her. She answered the ambassador, that the Queen of Scotland, while in France, promised to give her satisfaction concerning the treaty of Edinburgh, as soon as she should arrive in her kingdom, it could not therefore but surprise her to find no notice taken of that article.

The ambassador excused the Queen his mistress, that the short time since her arrival, had not allowed her to think of any important affair. Elizabeth seemed satisfied with this excuse, but to the letter from the Lords, answered plainly, that she would not run the hazard seeing her subjects adore the rising Sun. And raising her voice added, she would not suffer the Queen of Scotland to rob her of the crown during her life. Neither did she intend to do anything that might prejudice that Queen after her death, though she had usurped the arms of England, for which she ought in justice to make reparation.

This was the substance of what passed in relation to this embassy, from which Mary drew the advantage she desired, as it gave her an opportunity to renew a correspondence with Elizabeth. I am persuaded, Melvil is mistaken, when he says in his memoirs, that after Mary's return into

Scotland, there was so close friendship between the two queens, that they wrote to one another every week, and testified of extreme desire to deliver by word-of-mouth what they committed to writing. Nothing till then had passed between them that could serve to form or cement this pretended reciprocal friendship.

Stewart and Areskin Made Earls

On the contrary, many things contributed to alienate their hearts from each other. But if Melvil who was then in Germany, was rightly informed, one cannot help thinking they were both very great dissemblers,. About the end of the year, Mary gave the Prior of St Andrews the title Earl of Murray, and created John Areskin, Earl of Marr.

The Pope Desirous of Sending a Nuncio to Elizabeth

So the answer given last year to the Abbot of Parpaglio, was by no means proper to inspire the Pope with any great hopes of the restoration of the ancient religion in England, he sent a Nuncio this year to Elizabeth, to notify, that the Council of Trent which had been interrupted, will be continued in the same place, and to desire her to send thither some English bishops.

The Abbot Martinengo, who was charged with this commission, arriving in Flanders, and sending for leave to pursue his journey into England[68], could never obtain it, whereupon, the Nuncio at Paris prayed Throgmortan. To write to the Queen; who coldly answered, she heartedly desired an ecumenical council, but a Popish one she would never honour with an ambassador; that she had no business with the Bishop of Rome, who had no more power than other bishops.

Philip Separates At a Still Greater Distance from Elizabeth

After such an answer, Elizabeth might depend upon continual disturbance from the court of Rome, and the more, as, since the death of Francis II, the King of Spain was entirely estranged from her, because he no longer dreaded the union of Great Britain, with the monarchy of France. This fear was the only band that had to then attached them to England.

Meantime, Elizabeth, seeing herself without any ally, and in danger from all sides, took care in time of her defence. She employed this whole year in preparations, which convinced her enemies, she would not be easily surprised. Her great care was to have always a good fleet in readiness, knowing that her navy was the best bulwark of England. At the same time, she ordered all the forts and castles of the northern borders to be well fortified, and particularly Berwick as the place from whence she might be attacked with most ease.

As the English had till this time been obliged to have all their gunpowder from abroad, she was afraid of wanting it, and, to prevent that inconvenience, ordered it to be made in her own Kingdom [69]. Moreover, she increased the pay of the soldiers, to encourage them to serve her faithfully, and be ready upon occasion. This same year, was happily discovered in Cumberland a mine of pure copper[70], which had been neglected many ages, and at the same time, was found, in great abundance, the stone called lapis calaminaris, so necessary for brass works,

The cares of war did not divert Elizabeth from the affairs of justice, and the civil administration. She had her eye every where, and laboured effectually for the reformation of abuses, and the bringing things into good order. Information being made, that the officers of the exchequer reserved the pensions assigned to those ecclesiastics, who had been turned out of their abbeys, she ordered that all who were living, and unprovided with benefices should be paid to a farthing [71].

Thus every man relying on the Queen's justice and equity, England saw the revival of a happiness she had long wanted. The people had the more reason to be pleased with the government, as the Queen, without demanding any subsidies, discharged all the extraordinary expenses out of the crown revenues[72], for she did not lavish her money upon the court leeches, like her predecessors. Her maxim was, to injure none, but to be extremely sparing of her favours and treasures, remembering in what want, by excessive profusion many of her predecessors had lived, with great revenues. This was what forced them to have frequent recourse to the parliaments, look to have the public occasions, but their own extravagances, supplied[73].

Elizabeth is Suspicious of The Countess of Lenox

1962 AD] It was not without reason that Elizabeth took so much pains to gain the love of her subjects, by the good order she introduced into the kingdom, since at the same time endeavours were used to corrupt and draw them into rebellion. The Catholics began to meet, and plot to restore their religion by arms.

Elizabeth having some information of these cabals, was desirous to know from whence they sprung, and at last found it was the Queen of Scotland that was to serve for pretence to the revolt, on account of her title to the Crown of England. The countess of Lenox, born from the second marriage of Margaret Queen of Scotland with the Earl of Angus, held a secret correspondence with Mary.

Here the first discovery was made. As this countess had the same interest with Mary, since they both descended from the eldest daughter of Henry VIII, the Queen imagined this correspondence was not without mystery, and therefore sent the Earl and Countess of Lennox to the tower[74].

A Conspiracy Against The Queen Discovered

Soon after, she discovered that Arthur Pole, and his brother, descended from a princess of the house of York[75], and Sir Anthony Fortescue, who had married their sister, began to form a party in the kingdom. Upon this intelligence, they were sent to prison, and afterwards tried. They confessed a design of withdrawing into France to the Duke of Guise, of returning from thence into Wales with the French army, to proclaim Mary Queen of Scots, Queen of England, and Arthur Pole Duke of Clarence.

They protested however, that they meant not to execute their project during the Queen's life, who, they believed, would die before the end of the year, having been told so by some pretenders to astrology. Their own confession condemned them; but the Queen, in confederation of their illustrious descent, forgave their offence.

The Queen's Severity Towards Jane Grey

Catherine Grey, daughter to the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk and sister of Jane Grey, beheaded in the last reign, was not used with the same lenity as the persons just mentioned, though she was less criminal, and the Queen's near relation. She was called to account for a crime, in the punishment of which Elisabeth less showed her zeal for justice, than her jealousy and desire to find a pretence to secure this sort of rival, who gave her some uneasiness.

Catherine had been married to Henry, eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke[76], who had procured a Divorce, because he could not live with her. Afterwards, the Earl of Hertford privately married her, and then went into France. In his absence the Queen being informed of this clandestine marriage, sent Catherine to the tower, though she was very big with child. The Earl returning, and owning his marriage, was committed to the same place. After this, the Archbishop of Canterbury annulled their pretended marriage, because it was not sufficiently proved, and they

both remained prisoners in the tower. While they were there, the Earl found means to come to her, and she again proved with Child.

Whereupon he was accused of three capital crimes; namely, of breaking prison; of debauching a virgin of the blood royal; and of abusing her a second time; and for each offence, was fined five thousand pounds[77]. At last, after a long imprisonment, and several fruitless attempts to have his sentence reverted, he was forced to forsake her by an authentic act.

But the Queen remaining implacable to the lady, she died in prison. Before she expired, she prayed the lieutenant of the tower to tell the Queen, that she begged her pardon for contracting marriage without her permission, thereby showing, she had ever considered the Earl of Hertford as her lawful husband[78]. This excessive rigour does Elizabeth no credit, since it is plain, Catherine Grey's right to the Crown, whether well or ill grounded, was her greatest offence.

The Queen Distrusts The Courts of France and Spain

But it was not from the house of Suffolk that Elizabeth had most to fear. The Queen of Scotland was a rival, much more dangerous, as being powerfully supported. Her friends still thought of placing her on the throne of England, and only waited a favourable opportunity to execute their design. Elizabeth had occasion to be convinced of this by her intelligence, that the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, to engage the King of Navarre[79] in their party, offered him the marriage of their niece, and promised him possession of the throne of England, by the assistance of the Pope and King of Spain.

Though this Prince had a wife, they minded not the difficulty of annulling his marriage, because his Queen Jane was a heretic[80]. This satisfied Elizabeth, that the Princes of Lorraine had not laid aside their first design, and that Philip II. was coming into the plot. Whereupon, she dispatched Sidney[81] into France on some pretence, to inform himself exactly of the affairs of that Kingdom, and of what was contriving against her, that she might take her measures accordingly.

The Affairs of France

Catherine de Medici still continued to foment the dissension between the two factions, and seemed to incline to the side of the Huguenots, who were the weakest. As the Guises had artfully persuaded the Catholics, that their differences with the Prince of Condé concerned only religion, she feared to see herself once more at their discretion, as she had been in the last reign, if the Huguenots were oppressed.

For this reason she supported them, and procured them a very favourable edict, called the edict of January. The Duke of Guise, penetrating her design, believed it time to break her measures, by engaging, on a sudden, both parties in a war.

He accomplished his design by the massacre of Vassy, committed under his eyes, upon a very slight occasion. Then the Huguenots, unable to contain any longer, began the war by surprising Orleans, with the more reason, as the Queen regent had applied to the Prince of Condé for his assistance, to free her and the King from the captivity in which they were held by the Guises.

Elizabeth Concludes a Treaty with The Huguenots

I shall not descend to the particulars of this war, which may be seen in all the histories of France. I shall only say, that the Huguenots, unsuccessful in the first campaign, sent the Vidame of Chartres to Elizabeth, to desire her assistance. Shortly after his arrival at London, he concluded a treaty with Elizabeth, by which she promised to furnish the Huguenot leaders, with a hundred

thousand Crowns, and an aid of six thousand foot, half to be employed in the defence of Dieppe and Rouen, and half to be put into garrison at Havre de Grace. The Huguenots, on their side, engaged to put the Queen in possession of this last place, to be kept till the restitution of Calais.

Queen Elizabeth Publishes a Manifesto

The same day the treaty was signed, Elizabeth published a manifesto, declaring the reasons which obliged her to assist the Huguenots. She said:—

"Her intention in sending troops into Normandy, was not to recover that province, the antient patrimony of her ancestors, and unjustly wrested from them, but to preserve it for the King of France during his minority, and rescue it from the ambition and tyranny of the Princes of Lorrain.

That she was the more concerned to endeavour to prevent that province falling into their hands, as it was manifest their design was to seize the ports of Normandy, and from thence invade her dominions, after the extirpation of the reformed in France.

That for these reasons she thought herself obliged to assist the young King; hinder his subject from being oppressed by the Guises protest the professors of the Reformed religion, and provide for her own safety".

Elizabeth's True Motives

This last article concerning her security, was the chief, or rather the only one, which justified her assisting the Huguenots. In all appearance, she would not have liked that a foreign Prince should have used the other pretences, alleged in her manifesto, to aid the English Catholics, had they taken arms against her. But she looked upon the Duke of Guise as her most mortal enemy, and the principal protector of the Queen of Scotland, for whom, it manifestly appeared, he would have procured the crown of England.

This Duke was at the head of the Catholic party, which was infinitely more powerful than that of the Huguenots. It might therefore very easily happen, that these would be extirpated, or at least, entirely disabled; and the Duke of Guise become absolute master of the court and Kingdom, and employ all the forces of France to execute his project in favour of the Queen of Scotland his niece.

The French Ambassador Complains But Receives No Satisfaction

It is easy to conceive the necessity, Elizabeth was under, to oppose the advancement of so formidable an enemy, which was not to be done more successfully than by assisting the Huguenots. In maintaining the war in France, she held the Duke of Guise employed, and rendered him incapable to attempt anything against England.

Paul de Foix, the French ambassador, having notice of this treaty, required her, in virtue of the treaty of Cateau, to deliver to him the Vidame and all his attendants: But she excused herself, and told him, she would write to the King of France about it. She did so indeed, but not obtaining any thing for that Lord, she did not think herself obliged to deliver him to the King.

The English put in Possession of Havre de Grace

The six thousand English not embarking till September, found the King of Navarre, on their arrival, before Roan. This was the reason of their dividing themselves into two bodies only, of which one entered Dieppe[82]), and the other took possession of Havre de Grace, according to

the Treaty of London. The Earl of Warwick[83], General of these forces, had been made governor of this last place by the Queen.

The Battle of Dreux

Meantime, the city of Roan was taken by assault, and the King of Navarre, who was wounded at the siege, died on his return to Paris. In the close of this year, the Battle of Dreux was fought between the Catholics and Huguenots, with almost equal loss. The Prince of Condé and the Constable de Montmorency, who commanded the two Armies, were both taken prisoners, but the King's forces kept the field of battle. The Prince of Condé not being able to head his party, Admiral de Chatillon took upon him the command of the army, I must now speak of the transitions of Scotland this year.

The Affairs of Scotland

James Stewart created Earl of Murray, held still the first rank in the management of affairs, not so much from any affection the Queen had for him, as from her being advised to keep him always attached to her interest. It was indeed almost impossible for Mary, who had been educated in a court so averse to the Reformation, to have any great friendship for the Earl her brother, whom she considered as the head of the Reformed.

Besides, his severe temper he did not agree with the luxury which was introducing into the court by the young Queen. The Preachers exclaimed from the pulpit against these worldly vanities, as very opposite to true religion. On the other hand, the Earl of Murray, as well to support his interest amongst the reformed, as to follow his own inclination, signified often to the Queen, that this way of life would at last forfeit her the esteem and affection of her subjects.

A Design Discovered Against The Duke of Murray

This furnished his enemies with a pretence to insinuate to the Queen, that Murray meant to keep her in servitude, and it would be impossible to restore the old religion, while he had the direction of affairs. But if Buchanan is worthy of belief, they were not content with using secret artifices to ruin him in the Queen's favour. This historian pretends, the Duke of Chaterault, and the Earls of Huntley and Bothwell conspired to assassinate him, but their plot was discovered by the Earl of Arran.

He adds, that the Duke was punished with the loss of his government of Dunbarton, and Bothwell imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, from whence he found means to escape.

But these were not Murray's most dangerous enemies. Buchanan says, the Cardinal of Lorrain went to the Queen his niece, to incite her to dispatch the Earl, and some other zealous Protestants, out of the way, for which she might depend upon a powerful aid from the Pope, to restore the Catholic religion in Scotland.

According to this historian, the Queen resolved to comply with the desires of the Pope and the Cardinal, and communicated her intentions to the Earl of Huntley, who approved of them, and promised his assistance. It was for this purpose, that the Queen took a progress into the north, where lay the Earl of Huntley's estate[84], and where the Catholics were numerous. But at the same time Huntley finding the Queen, in order to execute her project, was going to a country which almost wholly depended on him, formed himself the design to carry her away, and force her to marry George Gordon his eldest son.

Murray accompanying the Queen in her progress, several obstacles occurred, which caused the execution of the plot against him to be delayed, from day to day. Meanwhile, the Earl of Huntley

and his son improved the occasion to execute their project. One day, when the court was in a small and ill-fortified town, George Gordon appeared near it with some forces, in order to surprise the Queen's person. But the Earl of Murray, by unexpected good fortune, found means to save her. This important service effaced for some time the disadvantageous impressions she had received of him.

Huntley Continues in His Designs

The discovery of this plot was not capable to make the Earl of Huntley desist from his enterprise. He still kept in arms with intent to surprise the court, where the Earl of Sutherland was his spy, and informed him of what passed there. But an intercepted letter discovering all, Sutherland fled into Flanders, and the Earl of Murray at the head of some forces marched against the Earl of Huntley, who bravely expected him.

George His Son Condemned to Die

In a battle fought on this occasion, Huntley was defeated and taken prisoner, but died within a few days[85]. George his son escaping, the Duke of Chateleraut his father-in-law very earnestly sued for his pardon, and upon some good hope given him by the Queen, put him into her hands. He was however conducted to Dunbar, tried and sentenced to die: But the sentence was not executed[86].

A Project of Marriage Between Queen Mary and Archbishop Melvil

While these things were transacting in Scotland, James Melvil, author of the memoirs under his name, was employed at Innsbruck to found the inclinations of the Imperial Court concerning the marriage of Queen Mary with the Archduke Charles, second son of the Emperor Ferdinand.

The first overture of this design had been made by the Cardinal of Lorraine, in his way through Innsbruck to the Council of Trent, with the offer of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for a portion. This occasioned Maximilian, eldest brother of Charles, to ask Melvil, speaking of this marriage, whether the Scots would be willing to assist their Queen in obtaining the Crown of England.

1553 AD] Hence it is plain, that the Guises had still this design and were incessantly labouring to execute it. We must not therefore wonder, that Elizabeth had always an eye upon the Queen of Scots as upon a very dangerous rival[87]

The Affairs of France

In the beginning of the year 1563, the Duke of Guise laid Siege to Orleans, which was the magazine of the Huguenots, and where D' Anàelot brother of the admiral was shut up with a numerous garrison. The place was now reduced to the last extremity, when the Duke of Guise was killed with a pistol ball by a gentleman named Poltrot.

The Huguenots Make a Peace Without Any Notice Taken of Elizabeth

The Duke perceiving his end approaching, testified an extreme concern for having kindled the civil war, and sent his serious advice to the Queen Regent to make a peace on any terms. The admiral being accused of this murder, endeavoured to clear himself, but the relations of the deceased persisted in their belief of his Guilt.

Meanwhile, the Peace between the King and the Huguenots closely followed the death of the Duke of Guise, without any care taken by the Prince of Condé[88], to have his generous friend the Queen of England included. Nor was this all. For Charles IX, besieging Havre de Grace, the Huguenots distinguished themselves by driving the English out of a place which themselves had put into their hands.

A Truce Between France and England

If their conduct on this occasion showed them good Frenchmen, it was also a demonstration of their being very ill politicians. Indeed they could not have done any thing more prejudicial to their own interest, or more agreeable to their enemies than thus to quarrel with England. The Earl of Warwick defended the place some time with great bravery and intrepidity[89], but the plague which raged in the town, daily swept away fifty of his men[90], and reduced him to the necessity of a capitulation, by which the town was restored to the King of France.

After Havre was taken, a peace was concluded between the two crowns. The English forces which had served in France bringing the plague with them into England[91], it made terrible ravages, above twenty thousand dying in London only[92].

The death of the Duke of Guise made some alteration in the affairs of the Queen of Scotland. Charles IX. declaring himself of age to govern, was under the influence of the Queen his mother, who not loving her daughter-in-law, gave her some mortifications. The payment of her dowry was discontinued, the Scotch Guard dismissed, and the Duke of Chateleraut denied his revenues.

Duke of Guise left a son, who was too young to have any share in the government, and the Cardinal of Lorraine had no longer the same credit as during the life of his brother. Mary complaining of her ill treatment from the court of France, the Cardinal her uncle fearing she might be provoked to turn to Elizabeth, was more pressing than ever for her marriage with the Archduke, and did his utmost to accomplish it.

Mary Asks Advice of Elizabeth Relating to This Marriage

Melvil says, however, in his memoirs, that he perceived at the Imperial Court, it was not relished by Maximilian, eldest son of the Emperor. Be this as it will, Mary readily received the proposition. But as the death of the Duke of Guise had removed at a great distance the near prospect she had of mounting the throne of England, she believed it necessary to manage Elizabeth, and desire her advice concerning the proposed marriage. Elizabeth was alarmed at the design of allying the Queen of Scotland with the House of Austria, not being ignorant, with what view the Cardinal of Lorraine offered such a marriage to his niece.

She therefore told Mary, by Randolph her ambassador, that having for her the tenderness of a sister, and regarding her interests as her own, she desired her to consider, that such an alliance would remove her for ever from the throne of England, since the English would never run the hazard of falling under the dominion of the House of Austria: That England was not without persons who had their pretensions to the crown as well as herself, and might greatly embarrass her.

It was therefore her interest to gain the affection of the English, by a marriage which would not be uneasy to them; That if any English nobleman was so happy as to please her, such a marriage would doubtless remove the difficulties which lay in the way of her desire to be declared her presumptive heir. This was the substance of what Randolph was ordered to represent to the Queen of Scotland, without naming however the Lord, Elizabeth wished to give her for husband. But he had a secret commission to intimate to the Earl of Murray, and Secretary Lidington, that he believed she had cast her eyes on the Lord Dudley[93].

Mary's Difficulty

Elizabeth's answer threw Mary into great perplexity. She believed herself at least the lawful heir of Elizabeth by her birthright; but Henry VIII, having not placed her in the line of the succession, an act of Parliament was necessary to restore her to her right. Without this, she was in danger that, if Elizabeth died without heirs, the will of Henry would be punctually complied with. On the other hand, the uncertainty whether Elizabeth would call such an act to be passed in her favour, and get her declared her heir, made her unwilling to relinquish the hope given by her uncle the Cardinal, of being placed on the throne of England by the assistance of the Pope, France, Spain, and the English Catholics.

In this perplexity, she chose to inform the Cardinal of the representation made to her by Elizabeth, and of the Queen's design to marry her to Dudley. The Cardinal answered, that Dudley was not a fit match for her, and that Elizabeth only abused her, pretending to marry her to a man whom she intended for her own bed. That as to the hope she was flattered with, of being declared her presumptive heir, it was not much to be relied on, since, though she kept her word, she might have children, which would render the act of no use, or might, on the least pretence, cause it to be repealed. That it was therefore more agreeable to her interest, to depend upon the assistance of her real friends, than on such uncertain hopes.

She Desists From The Archduke's Marriage.

This did not prevent Mary, after a mature examination of what had been offered on both sides, for resolving to desist from the design of marrying the Archduke, for fear of doing herself a prejudice in England. But withal, she determined to evade the proposal, Elizabeth intended to make, concerning Dudley, without breaking however with her.

The Politics of The Two Queens

It was absolutely necessary to show a regard for Elizabeth, in order to continue with more ease her intrigues in England, and increase there the number of her friends, which was already considerable. Besides that Catholics were all for her, many Protestants were persuaded, that the Crown, if Elizabeth died without children, could not be refused her without injustice, and the least discontent was capable to create a belief, that Mary had even a better title than Elizabeth herself.

This gave great uneasiness to Elizabeth, who feared, that Mary by a marriage with a catholic Prince, would be enabled to support her pretensions. Therefore she did all that lay within her power to divert her from any such design. To this end, she told Melvil, in his return through England, how much it would offend her, if Mary married without her advice.

She added, as it was their common interests to live with a good understanding, she decided to make her two offers, that, by embracing either, she might avoid the jealousy, which her marriage with a foreign prince would raise in the English. The treaty of Edinburgh was all this while and unmentioned, the conjecture not being proper to press that affair.

The Duchess of Suffolk Dies

Frances Brandon Duchess of Suffolk, so often mentioned, died this year[94]. She had accepted for her third husband Adrian Stokes, a private gentleman, by whom she had no children. Of her three daughters by her former marriage with Grey Marquis of Dorset and afterwards Duke of Suffolk, Jane the eldest had been proclaimed Queen after the death of Edward, and lost her life on a scaffold. Catherine was in the tower, or perhaps dead.

Mary the third had be given in marriage to a man so little distinguished, that there was no likelihood of her being put in competition with the Queen of Scotland. Thus by the death of the Duchess of Suffolk, Mary saw herself delivered from one rival, who was grand daughter of Henry VIII[95].

Peace Made Between France and England

1546 AD] The truce between France and England ended at last in a peace, signed at Troye in Champagne 11th April 1564. By this treaty, the King of France and the Queen of England preserved entire all their pretensions, without mentioning any in particular, not even the restitution of Calais.

There were only some separate articles, which were left unsigned till the next day, concerning the hostages delivered to Elizabeth after the Treaty of Cateau, which she was willing to restore for a very small sum[96]. Throgmorton, who had been arrested in France on some pretence[97], was set at liberty. After this Elizabeth sent to King Charles the order of the Garter by the Lord Husdon[98], who was sent into France to see the peace was sworn to.

Disturbances Between England and The Low Countries

At this time, the commerce between England and the Netherlands was entirely broke, by the artifices of Cardinal Granvelle. As he foresaw, a war was going to be kindled in the Low-Countries, he was willing to remove the English, and for that purpose, had prevailed with the governess to forbid the importation of English cloths.

This prohibition obliged the English to set up a staple for their cloths at Embden, a town of east Friesland. But a new ambassador[99] sent into England by Philip, in the room of the Bishop of Aquila, who was dead, considering, that his master's subjects would, from this interruption of commerce, receive no less damage than the English, brought this affair to a negotiation.

As there occurred great difficulties, it was mutually agreed, that the Treaty of Commerce, called the great intercourse, made in the time of Maximilian, should subsist till one of the parties notified the contrary to the other, with the allowances of forty days to the merchants to withdraw their effects. This affair was very important to both nations. Camden says, that in his time the commerce between England and the Netherlands, rose yearly to above twelve millions of gold, and that the woollen trade alone amounted to above five millions[100].

This affair being finished, Elizabeth visited the university of Cambridge, where she was received with great pomp and magnificence. She testified her satisfaction in an elegant Latin oration, wherein she afforded the university of her protection, and intention to encourage learning to the utmost of her power.

A Difference Between The Two Queens

The tranquillity which the Queen, then enjoyed would have been complete, if her suspicions of the Queen of Scotland had not given her perpetual uneasiness. It was on her she was always reflecting, as on her most dangerous enemy. She considered, that the marriage of this Queen might prove to her a fountain of troubles and cares, and draw upon her the greatest misfortunes. So, her whole policy tended either to obstruct all marriages offered to Mary, or at least, to effect that she should espouse a man, from whom England should have nothing to fear.

With this view she writ her a letter, wherein, after many demonstrations of friendship, she gave her advice concerning her marriage, telling her, the marrying with out her consent would ruin her affairs. Notwithstanding Mary's resolution to live in friendship with Elizabeth, she was

provoked at her thus taking upon her to advise her, and even with an air of superiority, which was but too manifest[101].

Forgetting therefore her resolution, and thinking only of making herself satisfaction[102], she returned such an answer to the letter, as greatly offended Elizabeth. But some time after, reflecting that she herself broke her own measures, in quarrelling with Elizabeth, she dispatched Sir James Melvil and to endeavour to mend what had been, spoiled by her impatience. Elizabeth received her compliments with equal dissimulation. After telling Melvil, how much cause she had to be offended with the letter, she tore it[103] in his, presence, testifying her readiness to be reconciled, and expressing an affection for her good sister, which assuredly she had not.

Elizabeth's Politics With Regard to Mary

It was not her interest to quarrel, for fear of inducing Mary to marry some Prince, who would not have patience to wait the time of enjoying her succession. She therefore embraced this occasion to renew her instances to Mary for her choice of a husband, proper to preserve their friendship, and a good intelligence between the two Kingdoms. All this tended only to a setting forth of several reasons to persuade Mary to accept the Lord Dudley, though she did not directly name him.

It is, however, uncertain, whether this marriage was sincerely intended by Elizabeth, or only designed to amuse Mary, and prevent her thinking on others. Nay, it is very likely, Dudley, who depended upon Elizabeth, was only proposed to prolong the affair. This seems to be confirmed, by the permission afterwards granted by Elizabeth to the Lord Darnly, son of the Countess of Lenox, to go into Scotland, though she was not ignorant that Mary had some thought of marrying that Lord, as she intimated to Melvil.

Mary Resolves to Marry Lord Darnly

Indeed, Mary had now resolved it, not in compliance with the counsels of Elizabeth, to espouse a lord little capable to give her uneasiness, but in hopes of receiving a considerable advantage from this marriage.

It had been frequently hinted to her, that there was room to doubt, whether her title to the Crown of England was as good as the Duchess of Suffolk's, which was supported by the will of Henry III, and that this was a point to be decided by English lawyers. This was to keep her in submission, and prevent her disobliging Elizabeth.

When this uneasiness was removed by the death of the Duchess of Suffolk, and Catherine her Daughter, the rights of the Countess of Lenox, daughter of Margaret Queen of Scotland, by her second husband Archibald Earl of Angus, began to be whispered. Henry VIII, her Uncle, had given her in marriage to Mathew Stewart Earl of Lenox, who had withdrawn into England, as was said in the reign of that Prince.

The Countess of Lenox could not indeed, with any seeming justice, enter into competition with Mary, since she was born only of Margaret's second marriage, whereas Mary came from the first. But it could be alleged in her favour, that she was one degree nearer, and it was to be feared for Mary, that this reason would prevail, if supported by Elizabeth.

Mary Draws The Earl of Lenox into Scotland

So, to avoid this competition, Mary had resolved to unite the titles of the two Families, by her marriage with the Lord Darnly, son to the Countess of Lenox, and thereby disable Elizabeth to

give her any disturbance. Elizabeth had for the same reason resolved to obstruct this Marriage, not from any fear of the Lord Darnly, but with intent to keep Mary always in awe and submission.

The reconciliation between the two Queens being made, as I before said, Mary seriously thought of executing her design. But as she was prepossessed with a belief, Elizabeth only sought to amuse her and prevent her from marrying, she saw it necessary to use some art, to draw the Earl of Lenox and his son into Scotland.

She began with the father, and pretended to recall him in order to restore him to his estate, forfeited during the regency of the Duke of Chateleraut. Elizabeth did not think it right to oppose the Earl of Lenox's return into his own country, upon a motive so just and reasonable. In this whole affair the two Queens behaved with equal dissimulation.

Dudley Made Earl of Leicester

At the very time, Mary was taking measures to marry the Lord Darnly, unknown to Elizabeth, she pretended a readiness to be directed by her counsels. She even consented to a congress of commissioners of both the Kingdoms, concerning her marriage, though she was not ignorant of Elizabeth's intentions to propose to her Dudley, lately created Earl of Leicester[104].

On the other hand, Elizabeth, not acquainted with Mary's design to marry the Lord Darnly, seemed not to perceive it, being well pleased to have her fix her thoughts upon a subject, whom she believed to be at her disposal, because the Earl his father had great possessions in England. She hoped therefore to have it always in her power to break off or delay this marriage, as she should judge proper, her sole aim being to gain time, and amuse the Queen of Scotland.

Conference at Berwick on The Subject of Mary's Marriage

Sometime after, the Earl of Bedford[105] for England, and the Earl of Murray with Lidington for Scotland, at a conference at Berwick[106], where the Earl of Bedford, according to his instructions, proposed a marriage of the Queen of Scotland to the Earl of Leicester. But the two Scotch commissioners, who had likewise their orders, received the proposal with such coldness, that the Earl of Bedford thought it not proper to insist much of it.

Nay it is pretended, that the Earl of Leicester, who had some hope to marry Elizabeth[107] had desire to not to press it.

Mary Distrusts Elizabeth

Meantime, Melville being returned, freely told Mary, in laying his negotiation before her, that the Queen of England's friendship was far from being sincere. This caused Mary, who had already no good opinion of Elizabeth to regard her as a secret enemy, who, though she always called her good sister, did not mean her well. Sometimes she thought Elizabeth only proposed the Earl of Leicester to her, that she herself might marry him with the less dishonour, after his having been encouraged by a Queen; and sometimes, that this proposal was only an artifice, to waste time in fruitless negotiations.

Death of The Emperor Ferdinand - Succeeded by His Son Maximilian

Thus was spent the year 1564, in which Ferdinand I died, leaving the imperial dignity, and his hereditary dominions, to his son Maximilian.

Rise and Fortune of David Rizzo

The Queen of Scotland had for some time entertained David Rizzo, an Italian, who governed her absolutely. As this Queen entirely changed both her conduct and character, after this stranger was received into her confidence, and as he was the first cause of the troubles of Scotland, and the misfortunes of his mistress, it is necessary to say something of him.

David Rizzo, son of a musician in Turin, the servant to the Count de Mureto, ambassador to Scotland, attended his master into that country. As he perfectly understood music^[108] and a good bass, he got acquainted with the court musicians and was introduced to the Queen, who wanting to get bass for her concert, desired the ambassador to leave him with her. His fine voice often procuring him the honour of seeing and talking with the Queen, who so artfully insinuated himself into her good graces, that he daily increased in favour and credit.

Rizzo Becomes The Queen's Favourite

At last the secretary of the French dispatches being gone into France, Rizzo was chosen for that office during his absence. From this time he pushed his fortune so successfully, that he became in a manner the first Minister, nothing of moment being transacted at court but by him. Buchanan, the Queen's great enemy, often insinuates, that David's influence over her was not confined to public affairs.

He says, she admitted him to her table, and frequently dined at his, by such uncommon familiarity's gave occasion to scandalous suspicions. In a word, he says enough to incline those who pay entire credit to him, to believe that the Queen's conduct was not free from crime. But as Buchanan may justly be suspected of aggravation, it is better to adhere to Melvil's account.

Melvil's Account of David Rizzo

He can be accused of no design to asperse the Queen's reputation, since he rather, on all occasions, shews a great zeal for her, without however concealing her faults. At the same time when Rizzo was most in favour with the Queen, she had so an entire confidence in Melvil, as even to allow, or rather command him to admonish her of her faults. See what this author in his memoirs says of Rizzo:—

As he entered in greater credit, so he had Dr Prudence to manage the same rightly. For frequently, in preference of the nobility, he would be publicly speaking to the Queen, even when there was the greatest conventions of the states. This made him to be much envied and hated especially when he became so great, that he presented all signatures to be subscribed by her Majesty. So that some of the nobility would frown upon him, others would shoulder him and shut him by, when they entered the Queen's chamber, and found him always speaking with her.

All who had any business at court addressing themselves to him, and depending upon him, in short time he became very rich.— As he was a known minion, suspected to be a pensioner, of the Pope, he gave ground of suspicion, that some design would be by him contrived against the reformed religion.

The same author adds, that having himself represented to the Queen the injury which her favours upon this stranger now did, and might afterwards do her, his remonstrance was very ill received, the Queen telling him, she would not be so far restrained, but that she might dispense her favours to start so she pleased. He says farther, that having remonstrated to Rizzo how much she offended the nobility by his affection to appear so great with the Queen, he seemed to pay some regard to his advice, but within a few days, told him, he had the Queen's order to behave as he was wont, without minding anything. This testimony, added to Camden's silence, who, having undertaken

in his annuals of Elizabeth to justify the Queen of Scots, says nothing of Rizzo, shows that this Minister or favourite entirely governed the Queen.

1565 AD] So, the Lord Darnly being a Catholic, and Rizzo the Pope's pensioner, as Melville affirms, it is not to be doubted, that the Queen was determined to this marriage by her favourites advice. It was therefore to have an opportunity of drawing that young Lord into Scotland, that she restored to his father to the possession of his estate.

Lord Darnly Obtained Leave to go into Scotland

As this was to be done in the assembly of the states, summoned to meet in January, Darnly demanded leave to be absent three months, in order to be at the Scotch parliament, and obtained the by the intercession of Cecil, who never imagined he would venture to espouse Mary, without the Queen's permission. Probably he was permitted to go into Scotland, only with the intent to amuse the Queen, and perhaps to give her an opportunity to entertain for that handsome young Lord, a passion, which would hinder her from thinking of any other.

However this be, he was well received by the Queen, who immediately gave him great marks of her esteem, and shortly after, it was perceived she designed him for her husband. Rizzo instantly contracted so close a friendship with him that they both lay in the same bed.

After Rizzo had engrossed the Queen's favour, the Earl of Murray saw his credit daily decline. This, added to the intended marriage, and the great union between Darnly and Rizzo, convinced him, it was time to retire. and to hasten him, the Queen recalled all his enemies to court.

The Earl of Bothwell's return from France, the Earl of Sutherland from Flanders, and George Gordon, who was imprisoned at Dunbar, and under sentence of death, was released, and after obtaining his pardon, took the title of Earl of Huntley. Murray could not see Bothwell, who would have murdered him, without resentment. He impeached him in a legal manner, and prevailed to have a day assigned for his trial.

The Queen, according to Buchanan, used her utmost endeavours to oblige Murray to desist from his prosecution, and not succeeding, tried to corrupt his judges. Notwithstanding so powerful a protection, Bothwell thought it not proper to appear, but withdrew. Afterwards, the Queen obtained from the Earl of Murray a sort of reconciliation with Bothwell. The same historian pretends, the Queen had conceived so violent hatred against Murray, that, jointly with Darnly and Rizzo.

She formed a design to have him murdered in a journey she made on purpose to Perth, but Murray having some notice of it, retired to his mother's at Lochleven. He says further, that the Queen being in Perth, a report was industriously raised, that Murray intended to surprise her and the Lord Darnly, in their return to Edinburgh.

To make this report the more credible, scouts were sent out on the road, and the Queen came to Edinburgh, with a precipitation apt to create a belief of the greatness of her danger. It must however be owned, that Melvil speaks of a conspiracy to seize the Lord Darnly, as something real, though Buchanan will have it to be all imaginary; but Melvil does not ascribe it to Murray alone, since the Duke of Chateleraut, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Rothes were likewise concerned.

The Earl of Murray had a double interest the one private, the other public. I have already taken notice of the first, which engaged him to alter the state of the court, Murray could no longer support himself. The public outcry flowed, first from the danger into which the Queen Mary's

Murray is Adverse to The Queen's Marriage With Darnly

marriage with a catholic Lord might throw the reformed religion. In the next place, it was to be feared, that this marriage, being made without the Queen of England's participation, or any care for the preservation and support of the reformed religion, would set a foundation for troubles, in which it was almost impossible for England and France not to be concerned, to the great prejudice of the kingdom.

The Earl of Moray was not the only person who disliked this marriage. The Duke of Chateleraut sworn enemy of the House of Lenox, the earls of Argyle, Rothes, Marr, Glencairn, and many others, some from private views, others from more honest motives, believed it time to apply effectual remedies to the impending mischief, by making a league to oppose the designs of the court.

It is not easy to decide whether these lords took arms before, or after, the Queen's marriage. Buchanan intimates this was not till after, upon the courts intending to press them. Melvil speaks of an insurrection of these lords after failing to seize the Lord Darnly, and then proceeds to the recital of the Queen's marriage.

Camden positively asserts that the Queen, to celebrate the marriage with more safety, was obliged to march with some forces against the confederate Lords, and forced them to fly into England. If this be true, she doubtless surprised them before they were prepared. This is not the only disagreement between Camden and Buchanan.

Mary Has Her Marriage Approved by The Lords of Her Court

However that this be, Mary, having resolved on her marriage, and now applied to the Pope for a dispensation[109]. When she knew it was granted, she assembled the great men to her court, who were all devoted to her, and asked their advice concerning her marriage, which was unanimously approved. Only it was added, not to exasperate the people, that care was to be taken of the Protestant religion.

The first part of this approbation was gladly accepted, but as for the restriction, it was no more heard of. Buchanan says, the Earl of Murray undertook to procure the supposed consent, provided the Protestant religion was secured. But this was not the intention of the court, who perceive this security would be the guaranty of Elizabeth, which agreed neither with the interests of the Queen, nor those of Rizzo, and the Lords newly taken into favour.

Meantime, the people began to murmur by the secret instigation of the confederate lords. It was debated in private conversations, whether the Queen could marry without the consent of the States. Some said, she could not be denied a natural right enjoyed by all her subjects. Others maintained, that the condition of the Queen and her subjects was not the same, because the Queen, by her marriage, gave a sovereign to her subjects, which she could not do without their consent.

Mary Seeks The Approbation of Elizabeth

These freedoms convinced the Queen, that she must hasten her marriage, not to be any longer exposed to the difficulties which might be started, whilst there was hope to obstruct it. She believed, however, that she could not avoid asking, not the advice, but the approbation, of Elizabeth, whom it was, as I said, her interest to manage.

She writ to her therefore[110], Mary to communicate her design as a thing already resolved. Elizabeth, on sight of the letter, assembled her Council, who examined this affair with great attention. The result was, that the marriage of the Queen of Scotland with Darnly was dangerous

to religion and the Kingdom. To religion, because that Queen, in chousing a Catholic Lord, intended, it was to be feared, to restore her religion in Scotland, which would be very prejudicial to that of the Protestants. To the Kingdom, as Mary uniting by this marriage the interests of the two houses, who could pretend to the crown of England, seemed to have a design of forming a powerful party in the Kingdom and preventing the interruption of her cabals, by opposing against her the House of Lenox.

For these reasons, some of the counsellors were for sending immediately an army into Scotland, to support the malcontents. But Elizabeth thought it not proper to be so hasty, and the more, as the alleging that her marriage might be dangerous to England, was but a weak pretence to make war upon the Queen of Scots[111].

She contented herself therefore, with sending Sir Nicolas Throckmorton, to make her sensible of the hazard she ran of losing her expectation of mounting the throne of England, by a marriage so disagreeable to the English. Mary answer was, that the affair was too far advanced to be recalled, nor had Elizabeth any reason to disapprove this marriage, since by her advice she had now chose an Englishman, descended from the Royal blood of both Kingdoms, and the first nobleman of all Britain.

Elizabeth Recalls The Earl of Lenox and His Son

Throckmorton, unable to prevail with Mary, signified to the Earl of Lenox and the Lord Darnly, that their licence being expired, they were to return to England, or their estates would be forfeited[112]. This menace was incapable to command their obedience in such a conjuncture. However, they both writ very submissively to the Queen, and Darnly in particular protested, that he only accepted the honour done him by the Queen of Scotland, with intent to preserve a perfect harmony between the two Kingdoms.

The Marriage of Mary

But this was not the only commission the Ambassador of England was charged with. He had also instructions to encourage the discontented Lords, and give them hopes of the Queen's protection. It was probably from this encouragement that they took arms to oppose the marriage. But the Queen prevented them, by having it solemnized the 29th of July, in her own chapel, after the manner of the Church of Rome.

Buchanan says, she had two other reasons to hasten her marriage. The first was, her fear of the Cardinal of Lorrain's opposition, who wished her to make a more considerable alliance. The other was, that Rizzo was willing to recommend himself to the Pope, by giving the Queen a Catholic husband, without any security for the Protestant religion.

Meantime, the confederate Lords being cited, and not appearing, the Queen, whether before or after her marriage, put herself at the head of four thousand men, and pursuing them from place to place, forced them at last to retire into England. There they found a safe retreat[113], notwithstanding the treaty of the year 1560, by which the two Queens mutually promised to deliver the fugitive rebels. But such articles are usually very ill observed.

Some Lords Take Arms And are Forced to Fly into England

Melvil relates a particular which deserves notice. The Scotch fugitive Lords having deputed to Elizabeth the Earl of Murray, to desire her protection, she politically induced him to own, before the ambassadors of France and Spain, that she was not concerned in their rebellion. But the words were no sooner out of Murray's, mouth, than she called them Rebels and traitors, and forbid them her presence. This was to clear herself to the ambassadors: but it was all a farce, since she still

granted the fugitives a safe retreat in her Kingdom: Nay, privately supplied them with money by the Duke of Bedford[114].

The People Scotland Discontented

Mary's marriage with a catholic, the great credit of Rizzo, and the concern of many for the fate of the fugitive Lord's, produced a discontent about the Scots, which daily increased, by these secret intrigues of the relations and friends of the fugitives. The preachers still greatly inflamed it, by insinuating to the people, that the religion was in extreme danger. Notwithstanding all this, the court, now prosperous and elated, resolved, contrary to the rules of policy, and at a time when the kingdom was dissatisfied, to degrade and banish the fugitive Lords by a decree of the state.

The Court Drives The Fugitive Lords to Extremities

To this end, the states were summoned to meet in February the next year. Melville says, in his memoirs that having represented to the Queen the mischief this rigour might produce, she at first seemed to mind him, but however, persisted in her resolution for two reasons. The first was, the avarice of Rizzo, who had an eye to the confiscation of the exiles estates. The second was, the powerful solicitation of the Cardinal of Lorrain against them.

He still thought of placing the Queen his niece on the throne of England, and therefore judged if the fugitives of Scotland, as they were the heads of the Protestants, where once ruined, it would be easy to restore the Romish religion into Scotland, and afterwards, invade Elizabeth from thence.

Rizzo, the Pope's creature, acted doubtless from the same motive, and in all appearance, the new king was no enemy to the design. If Elizabeth is to be credited, in what she wrote to her ambassador in France some years after, Mary and the Lord Darnly, from the moment of their marriage, never ceased to cabal against England. On this supposition, it will not appear strange, that Elizabeth fomented the troubles in Scotland, to put it out of the power of her enemies to invade her.

Mary Gives an Ill Reception To Elizabeth's Ambassador

In the meantime, Elizabeth sent into Scotland, Tamworth, a gentleman (of her privy chamber), with a letter written with her own hand, wherein she demanded of Mary, that the Lord Darnly, to whom she vouchsafed to give the title of King, should be delivered up to her, according to the tenor of their treaty. Mary refused to give the ambassador audience; but was willing to receive the letter.

Whilst she was reading it to the presence of some Lords, Rizzo came in, and snatching it out of her hands, hindered her from proceeding[115]. He judged that Elizabeth demanded the king, only to oblige the Queen to pardon the exiles, to which she could not agree, being determined to ruin them, though the Earl of Murray had sent him a very submissive letter, with a fine diamond enclosed.

Mary's Letter to Elizabeth

Mary answered Elizabeth, that she would not attempt anything against England so long as she lived, provided she was declared her presumptive heir by act of Parliament. As to the fugitive Lords, she desired her to leave her at liberty, to dispose of them as she pleased, as she did not meddle with what passed in England.

Whilst Rizzo was employed in taking measures to execute his projects, the Queen conceived an extreme aversion to her new spouse, which soon became public, because she took no care to conceal it. She was not contented with grievously mortifying him in private, but was pleased all the world should know how little she valued him.

When they were first married, she had caused the king's name to be set with her own in all public acts, and the coin[116], but presently after she ordered her own to be placed before the Kings, and even caused it to be left out in the stamp for money. Meanwhile, she continued without any reserve, her scandalous familiarity with Rizzo, if we may believe Buchanan.

Melville says not so much on this subject, but, besides his plain intimations, he manifestly supposes it, otherwise there would be no coherence in what he relates. As for Camden, who makes it his business to vindicate Queen Mary upon all occasions, he scarce mentions Rizzo, and for the Queen's aversion to the King, he accuses the Earl of Murray, then a fugitive in England, of having caused it by his letters and friends. He pretends, Murray took occasion, from the alteration enjoined by the Queen, with respect to the acts and the coin, to sow discord between them; so assigning for cause, what was only the effect, of the Queen's aversion.

The King Receives Many Mortifications

Buchanan must be copied, to represent fully all the mortifications the Queen made the King undergo, the affronts she put upon him, and the little discretion she observed in her familiarities with Rizzo[117]. Perhaps this historian is guilty of great aggravation. But however, it cannot be denied, that the king was jealous. The question is to know, whether the Queen gave occasion for this jealousy, as Buchanan pretends; or whether, as Camden affirms, the Earl of Murray, though absent, instilled into the King, without any foundation, by his letters and friends[118].

Melville who may be considered as an unsuspected evidence, plainly supposes the Kings jealousy, without any mention of the cause, and it may be almost affirmed, that if he had thought the Queen entirely innocent, he would not have failed to clear her. He adds, that the friends of the fugitive Lords improving the visible discord between the King and the Queen, and the disposition of the King with regard to Rizzo, induced him to resolve to take away the life of that favourite, in order, by his death, to put a stop to the prosecution of the fugitives, who properly had no other adversary but him.

This seems to confirm what Buchanan says, since Melville supposes the Kings jealousy, and since the friends of the fugitives only made use of the Kings disposition. On the other hand, Camden seemed to have said justly, that the Earl of Murray's friends inspired the king with the design to dispatch Rizzo out of the way. But we shall see presently, that by the friends of the fugitive Lords, Melville did not mean the Earl of Murray's particular friends, but rather those of the other Lords, who, like him, had taken refuge in England.

The King Privately Recalls The Exiles

The King having taken this resolution, and consulted some of his domestics how to execute it, the Queen who was informed of it, was so enraged with him, as to make him still more sensible how much she was concerned for that unworthy favourite.

As the design was discovered, the King was afraid of his own life, and not knowing what course to take, asked advice of his father the Earl of Lennox, who was of opinion, privately to recall the fugitive Lords, and strengthen himself, by their aid, against Rizzo's attempts. Probably, it was then, the king sent to these Lords, that they might return to Scotland, whether he only gave them some general hopes of a revolution to their advantage, or informed them of his most secret designs.

Interview of France and Spain at Bayonne

In July, this year, was the famous interview of Bayonne, where the two courts of France and Spain resolve to use their utmost endeavours to extirpate the heretics, as it afterwards appeared. Very likely, Queen Elizabeth was not forgot on this occasion.

Pope Pius IV died in September, his successor took the name of Pius V. I return to the affairs of Scotland which are very material to clear the history of Elizabeth[119].

1566 AD] The members of the Parliament of Scotland daily repaired to Edinburgh in the beginning of the year 1566. As they arrived, Rizzo openly solicited them to obtain the condemnation of the fugitive Lords, notwithstanding the warm instances of the English ambassador, who conjured the Queen to pardon them, or at least, delay the trial.

These instances were so far from removing her, that they rather helped to confirm her resolution, because she considered Elizabeth as an enemy, against whom she was to be on guard. These Lords being the heads of the Protestants, it was probable the Queen of England demanded their pardon, only to have so many powerful friends when they should return to their country.

But this was what the Queen and Rizzo were resolved to prevent it at any rate, knowing their projects would be very difficult to accomplish, when these Lords were in Scotland. And therefore, they were to be deprived of all hopes to return.

Meanwhile, the King consulted with the Earl of Morton, and some other friends how to dispatch Rizzo. In short, his death was determined, the King having first signed a writing, declaring himself to be the Author[120].

His instruments were, the Lord Ruthven, and George Dauglass, natural son to the Earl of Angus[121], Morton only advising the thing, without lending his assistance, and it was executed in this manner. The Queen being at table, and Rizzo in her chamber, the King came up by a private pair of stairs, and stood some time leaning upon her chair. Presently after, the Lord Ruthven and George Douglass entered all armed, and attended with some of their accomplices, the rest having posted themselves in several parts of the palace to prevent assistance.

These men entered so abruptly, that the table was overturned. The Queen asking Ruthven what his design was, he made her no answer, but speaking to Rizzo, boldly commanded him to go out of the room, saying, the place he sat in was not fit for him. It seems by that, Rizzo was at table with the Queen. Be that as it will, Rizzo perceiving he was the mark they aimed at, trembled for fear, and took hold of the Queen's robe, to put himself, as it were, under her protection, who did all she could to interpose herself between him and the conspirators.

But the King taking her in his arms, and telling her she had nothing to fear, hindered her from exposing herself to the danger, and withal, from screening Rizzo. Meantime, George Douglass taking the King's dagger from his side, drew it, and stabbed Rizzo, who was immediately dragged into another room[122], and there slain[123]. The Queen was then above five months gone with child, and it may be easily judged, that the committing such a deed in her pretence must have made her likely to miscarry[124].

The Queen is Put Under Guard

Rizzo being dead, a guard was set upon the Queen, who found means however to tell Melvil to go instantly to the provost of Edinburgh, and bid him draw the people together and come to her relief. Melvil having discharged his commission, the Provost answered, he would do his

endeavour to serve the Queen, but there was not much to be expected from the people, who were extremely displeased with the Government.

Some however appearing in arms before the palace, the King shewed himself out of a window, and assuring them that Rizzo was slain by his command, ordered them to retire, which they did immediately[125].

Vindication of The Earl of Murray Against Camden's Accusations

Meanwhile, the Queen not doubting, Rizzo's murder was committed in favour of the fugitive Lords, and that they would soon return into Scotland, sent to Melvil by one of her Ladies, that he would endeavour to prepossess the Earl of Murray, and entreat him from her not to join with her enemies, for which he might depend upon her love and favour for ever.

Murray and the other fugitive Lords arrived indeed two days after Rizzo's death, having had notice of the change which was to happen at court. Camden draws this conjecture from the sudden arrival of the fugitives, that Rizzo's murder must have been committed for the sake of the Earl of Murray, who was to be condemned two days after by the Parliament.

But it appears, on the contrary, in Melvil's memoirs, that the Earl of Murray's particular friends had no hand in the deed, since he did not think himself at all obliged to the actors. What Melvil says upon this occasion, shews that the consequence drawn by Camden against the Earl of Murray from the sudden arrival of the fugitives, is not just. His words are these:—

Which commission (to persuade Murray not to join with her Enemies), did not fail to execute at his coming upon Monday, but he was more moved at his meeting with her Majesty, who embraced and kissed him, alleging that if he had been at home, he would not have suffered her to have been so un-courteously handled. Which so much moved him, that the tears ran from his eyes. He knew sufficiently well that it was not for his cause, but their own particular ends, that the greatest part who had made that enterprise had therein engaged, which made him the less concerned in them.

Can any thing be more opposite to Camden's inference? This historian will have Rizzo to be slain on the Earl of Murray's account, and in order to prevent his condemnation, without mentioning the other fugitive lords, as if their friends had not been concerned in the deed. And yet Melvil, who was then present in the court, and writ long before him, says positively, that the friends of the other fugitive Lords were the sole authors of the murder, and that the Earl of Murray's were not engaged in it.

By such strokes as this, and by perpetual invectives against Murray, Camden has disfigured the Scotch history of those days, and withal, that of England, in what it has in common with this neighbouring Kingdom.

Relating to Rizzo's Death

While the Queen was kept in confinement, Scotland, was in a real anarchy, which however did not last. The King quickly began to repent of following such violent counsels, and the Queen, who perceived it, managed him artfully, that she persuaded him to abandon Rizzo's murderers [126].

This unexpected turn astonished them, especially as they saw, contrary to their expectation, that the Earl of Murray would not join with them. The Queen embracing so fair an opportunity, proposed an agreement, to which they readily consented, unable as they were to support

themselves. But she had the address to cause the writing to be so penned, that there was occasion to make several alterations before it could be settled.

The Queen Deceives Them and Escapes to Dunbar

This was done to gain time, and give the Queen leisure to take necessary measures to free herself from captivity. When the writing was drawn to the satisfaction of the parties, she represented to the King, that if she signed it whilst a prisoner, it would be of no force, and by that means she got her guard to be dismissed. But instead of signing the writing, she found means to escape[127] and retire to Dunbar, where she brought the King along with her[128].

When she was going away, she ordered Melvil (by one of her Ladies,) to use his utmost endeavours to keep the Earl of Murray in his good resolution, and Melvil says, Murray and his Friends assured him of their constant fidelity to the Queen.

Mary Resumes Her Authority

Mary being come to Dunbar and resuming her authority, granted a pardon to the Earl of Murray, and afterwards the Earls of Argyle, Rothes and Glencairn obtained the same favour. As the Duke of Chateleraut, he had withdrawn from them before they were constrained to fly into England.

The Queen's anger was wholly turned against Rizzo's murderers: But Morton, Ruthven and Douglass being fled into England, she could punish only some of their complices, who were executed. Buchanan affirms, she caused Rizzo's body to be removed from the obscure place where it was buried, and laid in the Sepulchre of the Kings, close by Magdalen of France, daughter of Francis I.

It is easy to guess that the deed lately committed by the King, greatly increased the Queen's aversion to him. She put a constraint upon herself whilst a prisoner; but as soon as she saw herself at liberty, she mortified him beyond all patience. Buchanan is very circumstantial, and what he relates is in a manner confirmed by Melvil. This last, says:—

The Queen could not bear the King in her sight; she fled from his company; and he went up and down all alone, seeing few durst bear him company. He was disliked by the Queen, and by all such as secretly favoured the late banished lords: So that it was a great pity to see that good young Prince cast off, who failed rather for want of good counsel and experience, than from any bad inclinations.

In a word, the Queen, who had resolved to lie in at Sterling, seeing the King arrive there, retired without him to the Castle of Edinburgh, to expect the time of her Delivery.

The Earl of Bothwell is in Great Credit

Now began the Earl of Bothwell to hold in the Queen's affection the place, Rizzo had possessed. As the new favourite found the Queen had a great regard for the Earl of Murray, who had lately given her convincing proofs of his fidelity, he joined with the Earl of Huntley, and John Lesley, Bishop of Ross to destroy him.

To this end, they intimated to the Queen, that he intended to get the Earl of Morton, and the rest of Rizzo's murderers re-called, in order to form a party against her whilst she was in childbed [129]: But she would not believe it, and Melvil entirely undeceived her. Thus Murray was always exposed to his enemies, to whom the Queen, to her own misfortune, gave but too much access to her person.

Elizabeth being fully informed of what passed at the Court of Scotland, was not sorry to see her good sister, (for so she called Mary) pursue a course contrary to her true interest, in trusting to men who could not but ruin her. She knew Mary could not relinquish her project of dethroning her, and that the Pope, the Cardinal of Lorrain, and the Courts of France and Spain, took great care to keep her in this resolution.

Elizabeth Discovers Mary's Designs by Help of a Spy

So, the better to discover her secrets, she had sent one Ruxby[130] into Scotland, who feigning to fly out of England, and to hate Elizabeth mortally, had insinuated himself into Mary's favour, and by degrees, got out of her some important secrets, which he communicated to secretary Cecil.

Elizabeth Assures The Scotch Fugitives of Her Protection

These discoveries having confirmed Elizabeth's suspicions, were the reason, that though she had by proclamation commanded all the fugitive Lords of Scotland to depart out of her dominions, she gave them private assurances of her protection, designing, when occasion arose, to make them her instruments to raise Mary disturbances, which should prevent her from thinking of England.

The Spy is Discovered

Meanwhile. Sir Robert Melvil, the Scotch ambassador in England, having found that Ruxby was Cecil's spy, gave notice of it to the court of Scotland, who ordered him to be arrested with all his papers, among which were found some of Cecil's letters in cipher[131]. He was kept with such care, that it could not be known why he was apprehended. Shortly after, Elizabeth sending Killigrew into Scotland about some affairs, ordered him to demand Ruxby as an English fugitive.

The Two Queens Look Upon Each as Enemies

Mary, feigning to be ignorant of Ruxby's business in Scotland, replied, she was ready to deliver him to any person, whom the Queen her sister should commission to receive him. But Elizabeth understanding, he had been arrested, and suspecting the reason, said no more of the matter. Thus these two Queens, amidst their mutual demonstrations of friendship, looked upon one another, however, as real enemies, and not without cause.

Mary was privately labouring, by her emissaries, to corrupt Elizabeth's subjects, and inspire them with a spirit of rebellion. Elizabeth, on her part, countenanced the malcontents of Scotland, with secret intimations, that they should always find in her powerful protection.

Birth of James Mary's Son

Whilst these things were transacting, the Queen of Scotland was delivered of a Prince, on the 19th of June, and immediately James Melvil was sent to Elizabeth, to carry her the news, and desire her to stand godmother to the newborn infant. Melvil says, in his memoirs, that secretary Cecil having brought the news to the Queen, who was then at a ball, the dancing immediately ended, and the Queen sat down in her chair, leaning her head upon her hand, without speaking a word; that one of her ladies asking the reason of her sudden melancholy, she replied:—

“The Queen of Scots was mother of a son, while she was but a barren stock”.

However, next morning, when she gave audience to the envoy, she appeared better dressed, and more gay than usually, expressing very great joy that the Queen her good sister was safely

delivered. At this audience, Melvil insinuating to her, that in this juncture she could not better shew her concern for what related to the Queen of Scotland, than by declaring her presumptive heir to the crown of England; she coldly answered, the affair was in the hands of the lawyers, and she heartily wished her title might be found well grounded.

Mary's Friends Try to Dispel Elizabeth's Suspicions

Whilst Melvil was at London, Mary's principal friends thought it absolutely necessary to remove the court of England's suspicions occasioned by Ruxby's intelligence; and that, for this purpose, it would be proper for Queen Mary to write two letters, one to her ambassador in ordinary, to be shewn to Elizabeth, another to Secretary Cecil[132], and draughts were sent to her.

These Letters were writ accordingly. In that to her ambassador, Mary protested, she expected nothing, but by the favour and friendship of her good sifter. She enjoined her ambassador, not to hearken to any proposal of the malcontents, but to threaten to discover their plots if they came to his knowledge.

The other letter, directed to the Secretary of State, contained much the same protestations. By these letters, adds Melvil, Ruxby's intelligence was suppressed, and my brother suffered to stay in England, whereby the Queen's friends so increased, that many whole shires were ready to rebel, and their captains already named by the election of the nobility.

The Two Queens Lay Snares for One Another

This confession of a man, who, probably, was well informed, since he was brother of the ambassador in ordinary, shews what were Mary's designs. Can it be thought, that the ambassador undertook to incite the nobles and counties of England to rebel, contrary to the will of the Queen his mistress, or without her knowledge?

There are in Melvil's memoirs several passages to the like effect, which shew, that Mary and her friends were perpetually striving to increase her adherents in England, and to keep them disposed to take arms against Elizabeth, when it should be deemed proper. It is therefore no wonder if Mary refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. That ratification would have discouraged her friends in England and other countries.

Elizabeth was not ignorant of Mary's aim, which, in short, was to dethrone her, if she could possibly find means. This was the reason of her pressing her so earnestly to take the first step of ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, in order to break her measures. On the other hand, at the very time Mary was making protestations of friendship to her good sister, and entreating her to stand godmother to her son, she was endeavouring to ensnare her, by persuading her to get her declared heir to the Crown.

She knew, could she once obtain that advantage, her party, which was already very great in England, would become more numerous and powerful. But they both knew their interests too well, to fall into the snares, they laid for each other. So, Mary never ratified the treaty of Edinburgh, neither did Elizabeth ever declare her next heir. It may, however, be justly presumed, that if Mary had not lost herself another way, as we shall see presently, she would have thrown Elizabeth into difficulties, which, with all her policy, she would have hardly got clear of.

Mary Lives in a Scandalous Manner With Bothwell

In the interval between Mary's childbed, and the Prince's baptism, she was seen to treat the King with so great contempt, and to put such grievous affronts upon him, that it was the talk of the whole Kingdom. Buchanan is not content with enlarging upon this subject; but speaks moreover

of the Queen's amours with Bothwell, in a manner that shews she had lost all shame, and no longer regarded what the world said of her. It might be thought, Buchanan, who hated the Queen, has used aggravation, if, what happened afterwards, did not too evidently confirm what he has said.

Camden says nothing of the Queen's amours with Bothwell, and speaks but lightly of her aversion for the King, calling it only a difference between them, because these were things directly contrary to his design of an entire vindication. Melvil found himself embarrassed.

He durst not say all; but the sequel and connection of his memoirs, necessarily requiring he should say something of the Queen's amours, he contents himself with intimating, in several places, that Bothwell was at that time absolute at court, and entirely governed the Queen[133]. He was not so reserved with respect to the Queen's aversion for the King, since he does not scruple to shew it was extreme.

The Princes Baptism

The Prince's baptism being to be celebrated at Sterling, the ambassadors of France, England, and Savoy, who were to stand Godfathers, repaired thither, and the Court was very numerous. It was the Earl of Bedford, whom Elizabeth sent to stand in her place [134]. The Prince was named James, and the Queen prevailed, though with much difficulty, that he should be baptized after the manner of the Romish Church, intending to educate him in the Catholic's religion.

The King's Many Mortifications

Whilst the court was at Sterling, the King was exposed to unheard of indignities, not daring to shew himself, by reason of the extreme want he was reduced to, whilst Bothwell appeared with a royal magnificence, to the great scandal of the world. But without insisting upon what Buchanan says, since he is not thought impartial, I shall content myself with the testimony of Melvil.

The Queen, says that author, being at Sterling, seemed very melancholy, and complained to me of Rizzo's murder, as of an outrage which could not be blotted out of her mind. I endeavoured to comfort her, and to persuade her to recall the banished lords, that she might enjoy a peaceable government. I had now somewhat prevailed with her; but, alas, she had bad company about her, for the Earl of Bothwell, who had a mark of his own that he shot at, as soon as he understood of her wife and merciful deliberations, took occasion to bring in the Earl of Morton, and his associates, thereby to make them friends, and by them to fortify his faction.

For apparently, he had already in his head the resolution of performing the foul murder of the King, which he afterwards put into execution, that he might marry the Queen. He adds further, that the Earl of Bedford being upon the point of returning to England, desired him to tell the Queen from him, that for her own honour, she should entertain the King as she had done at the beginning.

Melvil discharged his commission, but without any effect. What Buchanan relates, is much better confirmed by these testimonies, than confuted by Camden's silence.

After the ceremony of the baptism, the Earl of Bedford, pursuant to Elizabeth's orders, pressed the Queen of Scotland to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. Hitherto she had only used pretences and excuses to evade this demand; but now she spoke more freely.

She answered, there was an article in the treaty expressed in ambiguous terms, which she could not ratify, without great prejudice to herself. That however, she offered to send commissioners to the borders, to agree with those of the Queen of England upon a new treaty, wherein she would

promise to assume neither the title nor arms of England, so long as Elizabeth and her heirs should live.

Thus the difficulty was at length unravelled, and indeed, Elizabeth could not with justice require more of her. Nevertheless, she took this answer for a refusal, which, in my opinion, is a clear evidence of what I have said elsewhere, that Elizabeth intended to make use of this absolute ratification, if Mary had been so unwise as to give it, against Mary herself, and thereby prove she had no title to the crown of England. It is extremely probable, that most of the English Protestants, after having been so cruelly persecuted in the foregoing reign, wanted only a pretence to exclude a Catholic Princess from the succession.

The court of Scotland being returned to Edinburgh after the Prince's baptism, the King was treated there in so injurious a manner, that he resolved at last to retire to Glasgow to the Earl his father, who had left the court, not to be a witness of the base indignities offered to the King his son. Just as he was going, some of the Queen's officers took away all his plate, and gave him a set of pewter.

He was hardly a mile from Edinburgh, when he felt himself seized with a very violent illness, caused by poison, given him before his departure[135]. He went on, however, to Glasgow, where physic, and the strength of his constitution, overcame the violence of his distemper, though with great difficulty. Not to interrupt the thread of the affairs of Scotland, I have run over at once what of moment happened in that Kingdom, in the year 1566. We must now proceed to other matters.

Charles IX Gives Elizabeth Marks of His Esteem

In the beginning of this year, Charles IX. sent Mr. de Rambouillet into England, with two collars of the Order Charles IX of St. Michael, which he desired Elizabeth to confer on what two noblemen she pleased. She made choice of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Leicester, and honoured the bearer with the order of the Garter[136]. But we must not be deceived by these external marks of mutual esteem and friendship between the two courts, for they were far from being sincere.

Elizabeth had broke the measures of the Court of France, by driving the French out of Scotland. Moreover, she was looked upon as the head and protectress of the Protestants, whose destruction had been determined in the conference of Bayonne. So, in all appearance, it was only to amuse her, that the court of France gave her this equivocal mark of their esteem.

Elizabeth was not ignorant, that the French court, which was extremely bigoted, and where the Queen of Scotland had such powerful friends, had no affection for her. Nay, supposing she had received no intelligence of the resolution taken at Bayonne, which was, however, known or guessed by the Huguenots of France, she could never trust that Court.

The Earl of Arundel Quits England

This year, the Earl of Arundel departed the Kingdom with the Queen's leave, under colour of changing the air for the recovery of his health. It was thought, the real motive of his retreat, was, his despair of marrying with the Queen, with which he had vainly flattered himself [137].

Shortly after Elizabeth's receiving the news of the Queen of Scotland's delivery, she visited the University of Oxford, where she was received in the same manner as at Cambridge. She also shewed here, by her discourse and courteous behaviour, an extraordinary regard for that university [138]. Never was Prince greater master than herself of the art of gaining the love of her subjects, by kind and affectionate expressions, which seemed to flow from her heart [139].

A Plot to Cause The Queen of Scotland to be Declared Elizabeth's Heir

Notwithstanding all this, a terrible storm was gathering against her. The Queen of Scotland having been delivered of a Prince, her friends began to stir, and scrupled not to all openly, in order to have her declared the Queen's heir. The Parliament met in November[140] with that resolution. Those who managed the affair were Mary's chief friends, and had only her in view: but the public good was pretended by all. Among the Lords there were, who seeing Elizabeth unmarried, and the Queen of Scots inclined to a divorce, flattered themselves with marrying one or other.

To this end they kept behind the curtain, and set their friends to work, in order to strike in the most critical minute. At length, the party being made, it was moved in the Upper-House, to address the Queen, and pray her to marry, or appoint a successor.

Among the reasons alleged for this request, some were contradictory; but all arguments were good to those who had formed the project, provided they could engage the majority on their side. To gain those who had only the public good in view, they were told, if the Queen died without issue, the Kingdom would be exposed to great troubles, because nothing yet was settled about the succession.

The zealous Protestants were made to fear, that the Queen of Scotland having a claim to the crown, there was danger of seeing the late reign acted over again, if the Queen did not take a Husband, and with the blessing of God, get a successor. Many fell into the snare, imagining the Queen, who had so great an affection for her subjects, would comply with their desires, and resolve at length to marry, and they hoped, by that means, to see the Kingdom in perfect tranquillity.

The Queen of Scotland was not mentioned, and yet it was she alone, the heads of the plot had in view. They knew the Queen had resolved never to marry: Nay, it was believed, she could not do it without hazarding her life, and that her physicians had told her the same[141]. But feigning ignorance, they resolved she should be pressed to marry, that they might from her refusal, have a pretence to oblige her to name a successor.

This could be only the Queen of Scotland, there being no other person that could dispute her title. The Duchess of Suffolk, and her two eldest daughters were dead. The third was very deformed, and had married a man of a very mean condition: Nay, I do not know whether she was yet alive. As for the children of Catherine Grey, the second of the three sisters by the Earl of Hertford, Elizabeth had caused them to be declared bastards by a legal sentence. Consequently they could not pretend to the throne.

As for the Countess of Lenox's title, Mary had taken care to unite it with her own, by her marriage with the Lord Darnly. It was necessary therefore, either to call to the succession some descendents from the females of the House of York, to which the Queen and Parliament would not have willingly agreed, or to nominate Mary Stewart to fill the throne after the Queen.

The House of Lords Presses The Queen to Mary

The combination was so strong in the Upper House, that some of the Lords were of opinion, it was not sufficient to entreat the Queen, but that she ought to be obliged to marry, or in case of a refusal, a successor be declared by act of Parliament, even against the Queen's will[142]. At last, it was resolved to send the Lord Keeper Bacon, to beseech her, in the name of the House, to chuse a husband, and to lay the reasons before her[143].

The Commons are Still More Warm

Things were managed with still less temper in the Lower House. It was openly maintained, that since the Queen would not marry, she ought to be constrained to appoint a successor:—

That by neglecting so necessary a precaution, she shewed that her pretended affection for her people was all dissimulation, since she preferred her own interest to the welfare of the nation:

That she could deny what was desired of her, only out of fear of her successor, which fear could be entertained by none but timorous Princes or fainthearted women [144].

The Queen's Perplexity

The Queen took some time to return an answer to the Lords, and seemed to be ignorant of, or overlooked, what passed in the House of Commons. She was however extremely mortified, that her enemies had credit enough to turn both Houses of Parliament against her, and to see those whom she had most favoured, prevailed with to act so directly contrary to her interest. As she knew, very many of her subjects were not fully convinced of the justice of her title to the crown, she plainly perceived, to appoint the Queen of Scotland for her presumptive heir, was really increasing and strengthening the right of that dangerous rival.

Among the sovereign Princes, she had no ally, or true friend. On the contrary, she could not doubt that the Pope, France, and Spain, would readily assist to deprive her of the crown. Her whole dependence was upon the affection of her people, whose representatives she beheld combined, as I may say, against her, to oblige her to take a step so opposite to her true interest.

It is not easy to guess what she would have resolved, if the Lords had persisted in their demand, and been seconded by the Commons. Till she could more fully discover the intrigues which influenced the Parliament, she made use of an expedient which succeeded, delaying to take other measures, according as her enemies should proceed.

She Sends for Thirty Deputies From Each House

The expedient was, to order thirty of each House to come to her. These she diverted, by the most obliging expressions, mixed with a gentle reproof from their resolution, and promised them to manage things, not only with the care of a Prince, but the tenderness of a parent. And whereas the House had offered greater subsidies than usual[145], on condition she would declare a successor, she refused those extraordinary grants[146], and accepted a smaller sum, saying:—

That money in her subjects purse, was as good as in her own exchequer[147].

The Queen's Speech to Them

The last day of the session, she made the following speech to both Houses,] to let them know, or rather to disguise, her intentions, and evade their request:—

MY Lords, and others the Commons of this assembly, although the Lord-Keeper hath, according to order, very well answered in my name, yet as a periphrasis, I have a few words farther to speak unto you. Notwithstanding I have not been used, nor love to do it, in such open assemblies; yet now (not to the end to amend his talk) but remembering that commonly a Prince's own words be better printed in the hearers memory, than those spoken by her command, I mean to say thus much unto you. I

have in this assembly found so much dissimulation, where I always professed plainness, that I marvel thereat, yea two faces under one hood, and the body rotten, being covered with two visors, succession and liberty, which they determined must be either presently granted, denied or deferred.

In granting whereof they had their desires, and denying and deferring thereof (those things being so laudable, as indeed to all men they are) they thought to work me that mischief which never foreign enemy could bring to pass, which is the hatred of my Commons. But alas! they began to pierce the vessel before the wine was fined, and began a thing not foreseeing the end; now by this means I have seen my well wishers from my enemies, and can, as me seemeth, very well divide the House into four:—

First the broachers and workers thereof, who are in the greatest faults:—

Secondly, the speakers, who by eloquent tales persuaded others, are in the next degree:

Thirdly, the agreers, who being so light of credit that the eloquence of the tales so overcame them, that they gave more credit thereunto than to their own wits:

And lastly, those that sat still, mute, and meddled not therewith, but rather wondered, disallowing the matter; who, in my opinion, are most to be excused.

But do you think, that either I am unmindful of your surety by succession wherein is all my care, considering I know myself to be mortal? No, I warrant you; Or that I went about to break your liberty?

No, it was never my meaning, but to stay you before you fell into the ditch. For all things have their time; and although perhaps you may have after me one better learned, or wiser; yet I assure you, none more careful over you; and therefore henceforth, whether I live to see the like Assembly or no, or whoever it be, yet beware however you prove your Prince's patience, as you have now done mine.

And now to conclude, all this notwithstanding (not meaning to make a Lent of Christmas) the most part of you may assure themselves, that you depart in your Prince's grace.

It is not easy to comprehend what the Queen would have intimated to the Parliament when she said, whether I live to see the like assembly or no: For these are ambiguous words, which may be taken in various senses. Besides, they are put in where they have not much connection with the preceding or following words.

However this be, after this confused speech, the Parliament was immediately dissolved. But this was only a palliative remedy, which was not capable of allaying the fermentation already raised among the people[148]. If it gave the Queen time to take other measures, it afforded also her enemies leisure more strongly to erect their batteries.

Very probably, this affair would have been debated again in the next Parliament, if in the mean while the Queen of Scotland had not lost herself, by her ill-conduct, and visibly lessened her party in England[149]. This is what I am going to shew, after closing the year 1566 with a brief account of the affairs of the Netherlands.

The Affairs of The Low-Countries

After Philip II. had quitted these Provinces in 1559, in order to reside in Spain, the discontent of the nobles the people was grown to that height, that it was not possible the affairs of that country should remain any longer in their present situation. This universal dissatisfaction flowed from several causes; namely:—

- I. The people's belief, that the King had formed a design to abolish their liberties and privileges, and establish an arbitrary power.
- II. The erection of the Bishoprics, which greatly lessened the jurisdiction and revenues of the abbeys, in which many families were concerned.
- III. The inquisition which was intended to be set up in these provinces, and which was little less abhorred by the Catholics than by the Protestants themselves.
- IV. The prohibition to assemble the States.
- V. The King's project to extirpate the heretics, who were now very numerous in the country.
- VI. and lastly. The interest of the great men, who plainly saw, how fatal to them the execution of the King's designs would be.

They had in vain for several years besought their Governess to assemble the states, and prevent the calamities with which they foresaw their country was soon going to be afflicted. Their request was constantly rejected. This rigour had at length obliged the Prince of Orange, Count d' Egmont, Count Horn, and several other lords to withdraw from the Council of State, and write to the King, that Cardinal de Granville had rendered himself so odious, that the worst was to be feared, if he continued any longer in the Low-Countries.

Philip not thinking proper to recall the cardinal directly, advised him however to withdraw. As soon as Granville was gone, the great men went and resumed their places in the Council.

Meanwhile, the inquisition being universal abhorred, the people began to stir, and shew their resolution to free themselves from that yoke. The great men supported this resolution with two motives:—

First, because they perceived the inquisition must prove destructive of liberty.

In the second place, because they were informed the King had taken terrible resolutions against them, on account of what had passed about Cardinal de Granvelle.

Whereupon they formed a confederacy against the inquisition, and Lewis Count of Nassau, Brother to the Prince of Orange, with four hundred attendants, presented a petition to the Governess. On this occasion it was that the Protestants received the name of Gueux or beggars.

The governess not having power to grant their request, the Protestants, of their own accord, took the liberty to preach publicly, and the governess was forced to suffer it, and at length to allow it expressly. From that time, Philip considered the people of the Low-Countries as rebels, and they for the most part looked upon him but as an unjust and cruel sovereign, who aspired to be absolute master of their estates, their bodies and their souls.

I shall enter no farther into these affairs.

The Affairs of Scotland

It suffices to have briefly shown the spring of the troubles of the Netherlands, which I shall have occasion to speak of sometimes in the sequel. I return to the affairs of Scotland, which more nearly relate to England[150].

Remarks on The Tragical Death of The King of Scotland

1567 AD] I am now going to give an account of an event which has been rendered obscure, as well by religious prejudices, as for the sake of the Prince of Scotland, whose birth I lately mentioned. This Prince, coming to the Crown of England after Queen Elizabeth's death, thought it his duty to try to vindicate the Queen his mother from the horrible crime she was accused of during her life. I mean of murdering the King her husband. In all likelihood, he made use of Camden's pen for that purpose.

The Queen Accused by Some and Cleared by Others

It is agreed, that Henry Stewart King of Scotland, husband of Queen Mary, was assassinated the beginning of the year 1567. It cannot be denied, that this murder was committed by the Earl of Bothwell, or his order; that the Earl was then in great credit with the Queen, and that she married him a few months after the tragical death of the King her spouse.

This, added to her aversion for the King, forms a strong prejudice against her. On the other hand, almost all the Roman Catholic writers who mention this murder, make it their business to justify the Queen, and throw it on the Earl of Murray. They seem to have taken this course with the more reason, as Camden a Protestant author in his *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, has openly undertaken Mary's defence, and represented the Earl of Murray as the author, not only of the crime, but even of all the troubles which happened in Scotland, after the marriage of Queen Mary with Francis II.

The Necessity of Clearing This Fact

It will be asked perhaps, where is the necessity of clearing this fact in a History of England? I answer. There is an absolute necessity, because otherwise Queen Elizabeth's conduct will be either inconceivable or misunderstood.

The history therefore, as well as truth, requires a distinct knowledge of the foundation of Queen Elizabeth's politics, and of the real cause of the events which will be related hereafter. This fact is as the hinge on which all the affairs of England and Scotland turn for several years. They who, under colour of clearing it, have laboured to darken it as much as they could, were very sensible, how contrary the truth was to the idea they desired to give of the affairs of this reign. So, to set it in a true light, it will be absolutely necessary to follow a quite different course.

To succeed in what I propose, I must largely treat of the affairs of Scotland. Some grave authors of an established reputation have endeavoured to disguise the facts they have related, by curtailing, and altering them, by suppressing material truths, and supposing things which have not even the least probability.

To oppose to them a bare narration, containing only the naked truth, would not be the way to satisfy the reader, who would be still at a loss to know whom he ought most to credit. It is necessary therefore to prove what I advance, and in matter of fact, there are no better proofs than the mutual connection of these same facts, and the testimonies of unsuspected persons. But it is almost impossible to shew where the truth has been altered, without running into some reasonings which indeed do not always fuse with history, but which, on this occasion, seem to me unavoidable.

The Testimonies of The Historians

Three historians who may be considered as originals, have related what passed in Scotland during the reign of Elizabeth, namely, George Buchanan, William Camden, and James Melvil. Some remarks on these three authors will help to give the reader a true notion.

Buchanan

Buchanan, a Scotchman and Protestant, was a man of great learning, and much esteemed by all the learned in Europe. If he had not penned the History of Scotland, he would perhaps have been neither envied nor hated. But as, in the recital of the frequent quarrels between England and Scotland, he does not always agree with the English historians, a prejudice is formed against him in England, as if he endeavoured to falsify whatever might be to the advantage of the English.

This difference would have been little regarded by other nations, if what Buchanan says of Queen Mary Stewart had not stirred up all the Roman Catholics in Europe against him. His aim was to shew, that Queen Mary was the sole cause of the troubles of Scotland, and particularly, the author of the King her husband's death; and his history is full of circumstantial facts, which have a visible connection, and tend all to the end he proposed.

He does not cite testimonies to confirm what he says, because he writ at the very time the things were transacted, or shortly after. On the other hand, he was Murray's creature, and deemed revengeful. It is chiefly upon these prejudices that his History has been discredited, without however any express endeavours to confute him in any material assertion.

Camden

Camden, an English Author and Protestant, wrote the *Annals of The Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, in the time of James I, son of Queen Mary. He was eminent for his knowledge in the antiquities of England, and, if I mistake not, he was [Clarenceux] King at Arms. The History of England is indebted to him for several good works, which have greatly served to illustrate it.

But it manifestly appears, that in writing the Annals of Elizabeth, his only aim was to vindicate the Queen of Scots, under colour that the history of Elizabeth cannot be compiled, without a particular account of the affairs of Scotland. He speaks extremely well of Elizabeth when Mary is not concerned.

But in the places where the two Queens must be necessarily put in opposition, he does it so artfully, that Elizabeth is shewn to be in the wrong. It is not the same, where he can praise or excuse Mary, without wounding Elizabeth; for then he makes no scruple to represent the former as a pattern of virtue.

He entirely passes over in silence whatever may injure her reputation, or contents himself with confuting what she is accused of, by a bare and directly opposite narration, without alleging the least proof. So, when a man reads the histories of Camden and Buchanan, he would think these two writers are speaking of two different Queens, who reigned at the same time in Scotland.

Buchanan's design was to blacken Mary's reputation; and Camden's, to vindicate or praise her. Wherefore, Camden, who wrote last, has taken care to warn his readers, that no credit is to be given to Buchanan, because he was the Earl of Murray's creature, a mercenary writer, and his works were condemned by the States of Scotland: Nay, he pretends, that before his death he repented of his malice[151]; but, according to custom supports what he advances with no proof, neither does he take up Buchanan in any remarkable circumstance, only, as I said, by giving a contrary account.

Having thus removed the testimony of the Scotch historian, he adds:—

For his part, he proposes, to the end both sides may be heard, to relate the affair (the King's murder) without any mixture of love or hate, as far as he can come to the knowledge of it, from writings, published at the very time, but soon suppressed in favour to the Earl of Murray, and in hatred to the Queen, or from letters of ambassadors, and of other persons worthy of credit.

It must be observed, that he cites in his annals no passage from these suppressed books, gives neither the titles nor authors, neither does he name the ambassadors, and persons of credit, on whose Testimony he builds his account. He alleges but one single paper, which I shall speak of in its place, and which carries all possible marks of forgery.

Thus, after a caution not to believe Buchanan, who writ of what passed in his own time, and before his own eyes, he will have us believe him who did not write till above forty years after the event, upon his bare word, and upon the testimony of persons and books unknown[152].

Camden's Account of The King's Death

After this preamble, he enters upon the thing, and, in order to relate the King's death, begins with a character of the Earl of Murray, and represents him as a man of a boundless ambition, and aspiring to the crown. It has been seen, that this was the accusation brought against him before Henry II, by the Queen-dowager and the Cardinal of Lorrain, and of which Melvil has fully cleared him.

Camden adds:—

That, with this view, Murray did all he could to hinder the Queen's marriage, and not succeeding, took arms against her, and was at length forced to fly into England:

That, during her absence, by his letters and friends, he sowed discord between the King and Queen, and, to hinder his condemnation, the Earl of Morton, his friend, persuaded the King to cause Rizzo, secretary for the French dispatches, to be assassinated:

That the King coming to a sense of the heinousness of this crime, conceived such an aversion to Murray, that he resolved to make him away; but that Murray having notice of it, was immediately reconciled to Bothwell, and determined with him to kill the King, with design to cast the deed on the Queen, ruin her in the affection of her subjects, and withal, destroy the Earl of Bothwell, in order to seize the government.

Remarks on This Account

This is the substance of the story forged by Camden to justify the Queen, and cast the murder of the King upon the Earl of Murray. I call it a forged story, because, indeed, it is impossible to reconcile it with the *History of Scotland*, the principal circumstances whereof this author has been pleased to commit. For instance, he says nothing of the favour Rizzo was in with the Queen, or of his great credit at Court, neither does he mention that Princess's amours with Bothwell, and yet in his very narrative, these two facts must be necessarily supposed.

For how can it be conceived, that, to save the Honour and estates of the Earl of Murray, there was a necessity of making away a with the secretary for the French dispatches, if this secretary had not been in great credit with the Queen? Again, why must Murray destroy Bothwell, in order to usurp the government, if Bothwell had not been in possession of it?

It is very visible, that otherwise Camden's account has neither coherence nor foundation. In short, this author was not ignorant, that the Queen of Scots had been publicly accused of the King her husband's death; that all Scotland and all England were full of it, and that it passed for a certain fact in both Kingdoms.

Can therefore facts publicly known, if I may so say, be overthrown forty years after, by a bare contrary account, without the least proof of what is advanced? But to confirm what I have been saying with regard to Camden, I need only observe, that Melvil's memoirs, penned before Camden's annals, but which appeared not till long after, are entirely opposite to what that author has said, and perfectly agree with Buchanan's History, a few circumstances excepted.

Remarks on Melvil's Memoirs

Melvil is the third author I am to speak of. He was a person of distinction, who was employed in several embassies, and concerned in what passed at the court of Scotland. Nay, it appears in his memoirs, that he was very much in the Queen's favour, since she chose him to advise her about her behaviour, and tell her of her faults. A sovereign can hardly give a subject greater marks of esteem.

If Buchanan has not mentioned him in his history, it was probably, because he loved him not. Melvil on his part has drawn in his memoirs a character of Buchanan, which though it does justice to his sense and great knowledge, gives no very advantageous idea of the qualities of his mind. This suffices to know he has not copied that historian, and that they did not correspond.

He has writ what passed before his eyes, from the year 1563, when he returned to his own country, to the year 1594. Consequently he cannot be said, to be ill informed. He may be still less suspected by the Queen's friends, since it is plain in his memoirs, that he was always attached to the interest of that Princess. Accordingly he speaks of her every where with great caution, contenting himself with briefly intimating some things which Buchanan has not scrupled to insist upon more largely.

He has not thought fit however to conceal the principal facts, because these same facts serve for foundation to his Memoirs, which otherwise would have no connection. He has not writ earlier to justify, or accuse the Queen, but purely for the instruction of his son in what passed in his own time. If we compare his memoirs with Buchanan's history, and Camden's annals, we shall soon be convinced, it is impossible to reconcile them with what Camden says, but that on the contrary they agree in the principal facts related by Buchanan.

All the difference is, Melvil has cleared many things which Buchanan did not well know. And on the other hand, Buchanan, has enlarged much more upon every thing that can reflect on the Queen, whereas Melvil very slightly touches upon such passages. By that he shows he speaks of them with regret, and so far only as to carry on the thread of his Memoirs.

After these remarks upon three historians, of whom two were contemporaries, eyewitnesses of what they relate, and agree together in the main, without having writ by concert, and without one at least being liable to be suspected of disguising the truth, and of whom the third writ forty years after, and is directly contrary to the two others, without supporting his story with any testimony or known Author. I think I cannot be blamed if I take the two first for guides, preferably to the last[153].

The Queen Orders The Prince to be Carried to Edinburgh

Whilst the King was taking remedies to expel the poison, the Queen removed the young Prince her son from Sterling, and ordered him to be carried to Edinburgh, though it was in the midst of winter[154]. Shortly after she heard the King had resolved to withdraw into France or Spain,

and that there was an English ship ready to receive him, as soon as he could bear the fatigue of the voyage. This precaution making her apprehensive he would get away, and so break all her measures with Bothwell, she expressed an intention to be reconciled to him. To that purpose, she sent several tender and affectionate letters to convince him of her sincerity.

At last, she went to see him at Glasgow [155](4), and so artfully managed him, that she prevailed with him to return to Edinburgh in a litter. Melvil does not mention the Queen's journey to Glasgow, but necessarily supposes a reconciliation, since he speaks of the King's voluntary return to Edinburgh[156].

As soon as he came there, he was lodged in a lonesome house[157] near the walls of the city, on pretence he would be disturbed by the noise in the palace. For some days the Queen made him frequent visits, and even caused her own bed to be brought into a room underneath the King's. In a word, she omitted nothing to persuade him, she did not bear him the least ill will.

The Earl of Murray Leaves The Court

At that time, the Earl of Murray, upon news that his wife was likely to die of a miscarriage, desired leave to go and see her, and went away accordingly, notwithstanding the Queens instances to the contrary. This circumstance makes equally for Buchanan and Camden. Buchanan infers from it, that the Earl of Murray had no hand in the King's murder, who was killed the night following, since he absented himself the day before the deed[158].

Camden draws a quite contrary inference, saying the motive of his going away was to hinder his being suspended. Buchanan and Melvil affirm, many knew there was a design to kill the King, but no man durst warn him of it, because he told all again to the Queen, or some of his servants, v/ho betrayed him. However, the Earl of Orkney half-brother to the Earl of Murray, gave him notice of it, which he telling again to the Queen, she sent for the Earl of Orkney to examine him; but he denied in her presence, he had ever said any such thing[159]

The Tragical Death of The King

At length, the time appointed for the deed being come, the Queen left the King to go and put to bed one of her women[160] who had been married that day. I omit numberless circumstances whereby Buchanan insinuates the Queen was in the plot. Indeed, those circumstances would be so many proofs, if they were confirmed by an unsuspected author. But as Melvil says nothing of them,

I chuse to pass them over in silence. Be it as it will, the King was strangled that night[161], with one of his servants who lay in his room. As soon as he was dead, his body was carried into a garden belonging to a neighbouring house, where his slippers were also brought. Then fire was set to some barrels of powder placed in the room where the Queen's bed was, and the house was blown up.

A Report is Spread That The Earl of Murray Killed The King

The people who came running in at the noise, were told at first, that the violence of the gunpowder had thrown the King into the garden. But as his slippers were found by him, as his shirt was not singed by the fire, and as some black and blue marks were seen round his neck, the people were not so credulous. The same night it was rumoured about the city, that the Earls of Morton and Murray had caused the King to be assassinated, and this report spread immediately as far as the borders of England.

Bothwell is Accused of It

Camden infers from hence, that the Earl of Murray must have been concerned in the murder, since he was presently accused by the voice of the public. But this voice of the public consisted doubtless of some people who were suborned to spread the report. Melvil affirms on the contrary, it was whispered at court that Bothwell had caused the King to be murdered, and that he was strangled with a napkin.

He adds, I came to the door of the Queen's chamber the next morning after the murder, and the Earl of Bothwell said, that her Majesty was sorrowful and quiet, which occasioned him to come forth. He said, the strangest accident had fallen out which ever was heard of, for thunder had come out of the sky, and had burnt the King's house, and himself was found dead lying a little distance from the house under a tree.

The King is Buried Near Rizzo

He desired me to go up and see him, how that there was not a hurt nor a mark on all his body. But when I went up to see him, he had been taken into a chamber, and kept by one Alexander Durham, but I could not get a sight of him. Buchanan adds, the Queen ordered the body to be brought to her on the wrong side of a bench, and after viewing it some time without any signs of joy or grief, commanded it to be interred near Rizzo, in the sepulchre of the Kings[162].

It is strange that Camden, who attempts to strip Buchanan of all credit, should not undertake withal to confute any of the circumstances related by that historian, though they are many in number, and very dishonourable to the Queen.

The Queen's Scandalous Behaviour

The Earl of Murray, though sick, and notwithstanding the rumour about him, came to court two days after, and appeared without fear. This shows he was in no dread of the accusations of his enemies; and indeed he was never questioned for the fact[163]. The Queen keeping her chamber but a few days, resumed her usual way of life, having always the Earl of Bothwell with her.

Meanwhile, the people murmured exceedingly that there was no inquiry concerning the King's death, of which they openly accused Bothwell. These murmurs were so public, that Bothwell could not help taking some step to show he was willing to clear himself.

He went therefore in company with some friends, to the Earl of Argyle, chief justice of the Kingdom, and requested him to make inquisition concerning the murder of the King. Upon his request, a proceeding was begun, and the depositions of several persons were taken; but all was suppressed on a sudden.

The Court was contented with offering a reward to any person that should discover the authors of the King's death. But as all believed the Queen and Bothwell guilty, no one was so bold as to accuse them. It would have been very dangerous to take such a step[164]. However, libels and ballads were published, wherein Bothwell was still accused. Whereupon he caused it to be fixed up in several places, that he would fight any person that should dare to maintain this accusation. He was answered by another paper, posted up without a name, that his challenge was accepted, provided he would appoint a neutral place for the duel; but this came to nothing.

The Queen Gets The Castle of Edinburgh into Her Hands

The Queen perceiving at length, that the murmurs and complaints of the people might be attended with ill consequences, was desirous of having the castle of Edinburgh in her hands, the custody

whereof was committed to the Earl of Marr by the States. The Earl was unwilling to comply with the Queen's desire. But at length, imagining a civil war was at hand, he offered to deliver the castle, provided he was suffered to carry the young Prince to Sterling, of which he was Governor also.

He thought it more advantageous to be master of the Prince's person, than of the castle of Edinburgh, and the Queen agreed to the exchange.

The Earl of Lenox of Demands Justice for The Kings Death

Hitherto People were contented with liberally publishing their suspicions of Bothwell, without any adversary appearing against him. But at last, the Earl of Lenox finding the Queen very slow to punish the crime lately committed, solicited her by letters for Justice upon Bothwell, charging him with being the author of the King his son's murder.

Bothwell is Acquitted

This Letter threw the Queen into great perplexity. She could not deny a father the satisfaction he demanded, especially in a case concerning the death of a King who had been her husband. I shall not relate here all her artifices to evade this prosecution, and to get Bothwell acquitted, because Buchanan, who has given the particulars, may be suspected. I shall content myself with transcribing what Melvil says upon this subject:—

Everybody suspected the Earl of Bothwell, and those who durst speak freely to others, said plainly that it was he. Whereupon he drew together a number of Lords of his dependers to be an assize, which cleared and acquitted him; some for fear, some for favour, and the greatest part in expectation of advantage. This way being assailed, he remained the greatest favourite at court.

This testimony of a man who cannot be suspected of slandering her is very strong against the Queen. She not only could not part with a man publicly accused of the murder of the King her husband, but even made him her prime minister and favourite. Though she had believed him innocent, it was renouncing the laws of decency, which a woman seldom does, unless carried away by the violence of passion. But these are trifles in comparison of what she did afterwards[165]

Fruitless Representations to The Queen About Marrying Bothwell

The report of the Queen's intending to marry the Earl of Bothwell, flying from the Court over all the Kingdom, the Lord Hennis came to Edinburgh. He took so seasonable a time, that he accosted the Queen in Bothwell's absence, and casting himself at her feet, freely told her, it would be an everlasting dishonour to her, if she married her husband's Murderer.

The Queen feigning a surprise, answered, she did not know from whence he had this intelligence, and very coldly added, that hitherto her heart had dictated nothing to her in favour of Bothwell.

A few days after, Melvil received a letter from England about the same thing, but expressed in much stronger terms than the Lord Hennis's remonstrance, which he showed to the Queen, who said it was a device of his own. Melvil assured her the letter came from the person whose name was subscribed, and contained nothing but what he himself had designed to represent to her as he was in duty bound. Thus the Queen, in resolving to marry Bothwell, sinned not out of ignorance, since she was fully informed of the people's opinion concerning the author of the King's death.

The Queen Suffers Herself to Be Carried off by Bothwell

A few days after, she went to Sterling to see the Prince her son. If Buchanan is to be credited, her intent was, on some pretence to get him out of the hands of the Earl of Marr, who plainly refused to deliver him. In her return to Edinburgh, she was met by the Earl of Bothwell, with a company of armed men[166], who carried her away, and conducted her to Dunbar.

Melvil, who was present, and was himself arrested, says Bothwell only took her Majesty's horse by the bridle, and adds not a word which may insinuate that the Queen seemed surprised at this violence, or that she offered to make the least resistance[167]. He says on the contrary, that Captain Blachater who seized him, assured him all was done with the Queen's own's consent.

Bothwell Puts Away His Wife

When Bothwell came to Dunbar, he procured a divorce from his wife, daughter of the Earl of Huntley, whom he had married but ix months before. This divorce was decreed by two sentences, one in the ecclesiastical and the other in the Civil Court, and both at the suit of the Countess of Bothwell.

In the first trial, before the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, Bothwell was accused of a criminal commerce with a kinswoman of his wife, and upon his confession, the archbishop pronounced the sentence of divorce[168]. In the second, his wife accused him of adultery, and as he did not deny it, the marriage was annulled.

He was forced to make use of these two means, by reason of the different rules the two courts observe, with regard to the causes for annulling a marriage. The process was commenced and ended in less than ten days. In all appearance, the Earl of Huntley, Bothwell's, great friend, persuaded his daughter himself to sue for a divorce. This is Buchanan's account, but Melvil says, he cannot tell how nor by what law he parted with his wife, because having been released, he had left Dunbar. Hence it is plain at least, he had not read Buchanan's History, when he writ his memoirs, nor did copy that historian, though they agree in the principal facts.

The Queen's Marriage With Bothwell

Bothwell being thus parted from his wife, carried the Queen to Edinburgh, and the next day she appeared in the courts of justice, and declared she was entirely free. This was done to prevent an objection, which might be taken from her captivity, to null the marriage she intended to contract with Bothwell. This Marriage was so odious in all its circumstances, that, it was very difficult to find any pretence to lessen the horror of it.

The only method, the Queen and Bothwell could find, was to make the lords of the court accomplices of the same crime. To that end, Bothwell having invited them to dinner, presented to them, and caused them to subscribe, a paper, the purport whereof was. That they judged it was much the Queen's interest to marry Bothwell, he having many friends in Lothian and upon the borders, which would cause good order to be kept.

And then the Queen could not but marry him, seeing he had run away and lain with her against her will. One of Camden's artifices, among many others, is to speak of this paper or approbation of the great men, in a very loose manner, and later it entirely, under colour of relating the substance. Moreover he speaks of it before he relates the Queen's rape, that this rape might be considered as a consequence of the approbation of the great men, whereas it was just the contrary, as may be seen by the very writing in Melvil[169]. However the marriage was solemnized[170] after the manner of the Protestants, by the Bishop of Orkney, who was very ready to do so odious an office.

Whatever suspicion the Queen had given of herself, by her neglect to punish the authors of the King's Murder, there were some, however, who still doubted whether she was guilty. But when they saw her publicly espouse the Earl of Bothwell, hardly was there a man who durst undertake her defence[171].

It was easy for her to perceive the change in the hearts of her subjects, so visible was their discontent. For this reason, she resolved to strengthen herself with the assistance of the great men, by forming a league with them, for the defence of herself and new spouse. All those that depended on Bothwell readily signed the league; but herein lay not all the difficulty.

There was another very considerable party which was to be gained, otherwise the league of the court would be of little power. To that end, the Queen and Bothwell thought it necessary to begin with the Earl of Murray, that he might influence all the rest. The Confederacy therefore was brought him to sign. But he answered, that to oblige him to serve the Queen, it was needless to make him sign the paper; and for the Earl of Bothwell, since the Queen had desired he would be reconciled to him, he should punctually observe whatever he had promised.

However, fearing, after this refusal, to be exposed to the resentment of the court, he desired leave to withdraw to St. Andrew's, but perceiving the Queen made some scruple, prayed her to permit him to pass some time in France; to which she readily consented, and he departed within a few days[172].

The Earl of Murray Retires into France

Camden has taken care not to mention the reason of Murray's retiring into France. That very ill agrees with his scheme. For, had that Lord associated with Bothwell to kill the King, why should he quit the court, at a time when, instead of having anything to fear, he might have expected every thing, from the great credit of his pretended friend?

A Confederacy to Punish The King's Murderers And Dissolve The Queen's Marriage

Meanwhile, all Scotland loudly complained that no vengeance was taken for the King's death, and still seeing the Queen married to the man, who was universally considered as the murderer. The King of France even writ to Du Crocq his ambassador, to signify his astonishment at it, and his letter was shown to several Lords. In short, the Earls of Argyle, Morton, Marr, Athol, Glenegrn and the Baron of Boyd, meeting at Sterling, signed a confederacy, the intent whereof, was to bring the murderers of the King to condign punishment, and to cause the Queen's late marriage to be dissolved[173].

They hoped to effect this the more easily, as they had room to believe, the Queen herself would not be sorry to be compelled, considering the unworthy treatment she had now received from her new spouse. Melvil says, he heard her one day call for a knife to stab herself, not being able to bear his brutish usage.

The Queen and Bothwell Retire to Dunbar

As the confederates did not question, that the people of Edinburgh would countenance their undertaking, they had projected to invest the city, that the Queen and Bothwell, who were there without troops, might not escape. But Bothwell, having notice of their design, retired with the Queen to Borthwick. They were pursued by the confederates; but it was in vain, the Queen and Bothwell being now gone to Dunbar.

Edinburgh Declares for The Confederates

Having missed their aim, Edinburgh the confederates marched to Edinburgh, where the gates were opened to them, notwithstanding the endeavours of the Earl of Huntley, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's and the Bishop of Ross to the contrary, who were even forced to withdraw into the castle, from whence Sir James Balfour, whom the Queen had made Governor, afforded them means to escape elsewhere. He gave also the confederates to understand, he would not give up the castle, but intended to stand neuter.

The Queen and Bothwell March to Edinburgh

Meantime, the Queen and Bothwell drew together some forces at Dunbar, with all possible diligence. But the confederates were extremely embarrassed. They had no Money: Balfour refused to give them any artillery or ammunition; and by reason of the ill success of the enterprise of Borthwick, part of their troops had deserted them. So, after several consultations, they had almost resolved to give over their projects, and return to their homes.

The Queen and Bothwell being informed of their condition, marched immediately towards Edinburgh, in hopes of surprising them before they came to any resolution. This news being brought to the confederates in the night, instead of flying, they resolved to meet the Queen, and decide the affair by a battle.

This resolution stopped their enemies, who finding things take a quite different turn from what they expected, suffered them to pass the Esk without opposition, after which the two armies stood very near each other. Then it was, the Queen perceived her troops did not serve her heartily, and that but few of her officers and soldiers were willing to fight in her quarrel.

The knowledge of this inspiring her with great fear, she desired to speak with William Kircaldie Laird of Grange, one of the heads of the confederates, who commanded a small body, more advanced than the rest of the army. Kircaldie waiting on her, told her plainly, there was no hopes of agreement, unless she would put away Bothwell, who was reckoned the late King's murderer, and moreover, was married to another woman; but on that condition, the confederates would honour and obey her as they ought.

The Queen Capitulates and Puts Herself into Hands of The Lords

The Queen asking him, whether she could rely upon his word, he returned to the confederates, and brought a full power to treat with the Queen upon that same condition. Whereupon Bothwell seeing no remedy, chose to retire to Dunbar, and the Queen put herself into the hands of Kircaldie, who conducted her to the confederate army.

The Queen is Conducted to Edinburgh

The heads received her with more respect than she expected; but it was with great difficulty the soldiers were retrained, who cried out against her very irreverently. She was conducted that night to Edinburgh, and lodged in the provost's house, where a guard was set on her, so that she was really a prisoner.

It is likely, the heads were not yet fully determined what to do with her; but he afforded them herself an occasion to be resolved. The very night she came to Edinburgh, she bribed one of her guard, and gave him a letter for Bothwell, full of tender and affectionate expressions, calling him, "Her dear Heart", and promising never to forsake him. This Letter falling into the hands of the confederate Lords, made them resolve to be more watchful over her, and afforded a pretence to shut her up in the castle of Lochleven, under the custody of the Earl of Murray's Mother.

The Queen complained bitterly of this usage, and writ to Kircaldie, reproaching him, that what had been promised her was not performed. Kircaldie answered, he had already upbraided the Lords for the same; but they had showed him a letter under her own hand, which had stopped his mouth.

He ended his letter with saying, he could do nothing for her, but advise her to think no more of a man who was married to another, and accused of killing her husband. The Queen, as she read the letter, shed a flood of tears. But a thing which happened a few days after, was still more prejudicial to her.

Bothwell's Casket With Some Papers in it is Intercepted

Bothwell coming to Dunbar, sent a man to Balfour, Governor of Edinburgh castle, for a casket which he had entrusted with him. It was a silver casket, presented to the Queen by Francis II, which she had given to Bothwell. Balfour delivered it to the messenger; but if we may believe Buchanan, gave notice of it to the confederate Lords, who took it from the Bearer.

However this be, it fell into their hands. They opened it, and found a great many love verses and letters, and among the rest, some that contained the whole plot against the late King, and the manner it was to be executed[174]. But this was not all, Buchanan says, there were also three contracts of marriage between the Queen and Bothwell, one of which was written in the Queen's hand before the King's death.

Another was written in the Earl of Huntley's hand, in the interval between the King's death, and the Queen's third marriage[175]; and the last was a contracts in form, made at the time of the nuptials. Probably, the two first were only draughts, supposing Buchanan speaks the truth; for Melvil says nothing of the casket or contrasts.

Camden says, however, on another occasion, that certain verses and love letters were produced against the Queen; but mentions not the casket spoken of by Buchanan.

Bothwell Retires to The Isles of Orkney

The Queen's captivity, and the seizing of her papers, having made Bothwell sensible it would not be proper for him to be in Scotland, he retired to the Isles of Orkney[176], where he turned pirate for some time, either for his subsistence, or to be revenged of the Scots.

The Queen Persuaded to Resign The Crown

Meanwhile, the chiefs of the confederates conferring together upon their affairs, considered, that if they should put the Queen again in possession of the government, they could not rely on her promises, or be secure against her[177]. They concluded, therefore, that it was absolutely necessary to deprive her of the administration, and to that end, sent the Earl of Lindsay[178], to persuade her to resign the crown to the Prince her son. Camden says, to oblige her to this, she was threatened to be brought to a public trial for the murder of the King her husband, for incontinency, and for breach of promise on the account of religion.

And Melvil affirms, the Earl of Lindsay had orders to threaten her if he thought it necessary. The Queen was strangely surprised at this proposition: but rightly judging, it was not in her power to deny what was demanded, and that an obstinate refusal might draw upon her worse troubles, she gave her consent. She did it the more readily, as she was privately told by some of the confederates, and Throckmorton the English ambassador, that whatever she signed in prison would not be of any force, but might be revoked when she should be at liberty.

The Queen is Allowed to Appoint a Regent

The confederate Lords willingly agreed, she herself should nominate one or more regents, to govern the Kingdom during the Prince's minority. She appointed the Earl of Murray, either of her own choice[179], or because it was hinted to her, that he was desired for Regent; and, in case he refused the office, she substituted the Duke of Chateleraut, the Earl of Argyle, and some other Lords[180].

Then, she was made to sign all the acts necessary for the resignation of the crown; and notice being sent to the Earl of Murray, who was in France, the preparations were made for the inauguration of the new King, who was but a year old. The Queen's resignation was signed the 24th of June, and the young King was inaugurated the 28th of the same month, by the Bishop of Orkney.

A Party is Formed For The Queen

Shortly after, some Lords[181], who were not of the confederacy, met at Hamilton castle, to consult what was to be done at this juncture. The Confederates having notice thereof, sent James Melvil, author of the memoirs, to know the reason of their being assembled.

They replied, they could not but think it strange, that the King should be crowned, without their being called to the ceremony, since they had no less zeal than the rest of the Lords, for the good of their country, and they believed to have cause to fear there were ill designs against them, since such important resolutions had been taken without consulting them; that therefore they were met, not with intent to offend any person, but only to provide for their own safety.

Melvil says, the wisest of the confederates were for admitting these Lords to their consultations, but the others resolved to exclude them, and that this advice prevailed, to the great detriment of the Kingdom. Indeed, from this small number of Lords assembled at Hamilton, rose a party, which declared at length for the Queen, and served long to foment the troubles of the Kingdom.

The chiefs of the confederates had not all the same views. Some acted only out of private interest, and made use of the present juncture to ruin their enemies. Others, in signing the confederacy, intended, to remove the scandal which the Queen's marriage had given, to get rid of Bothwell, to put the Queen again in possession of the government, and, perhaps, to limit her authority by means of the States.

These last knowing the Earl of Murray was returning to Scotland[182], sent James Melvil to inform him of the situation of affairs, and to exhort him to behave with great moderation, and above all things, to avoid an entire rupture with the Queen. They represented to him, that his interest required it, because he would be much more master of his own party, so long as he left the Queen some hopes, than if he reduced her affairs to such a state, that her enemies would have nothing more to fear from her.

Murray perceived, that indeed such a conduct would be advantageous to him, and promised to follow their advice. But he was no sooner arrived, than he suffered himself to be swayed by the violent men of Murray party, who persuaded him to put affairs beyond the power of being ever restored.

The Earl of Murray Arrives and Ill Treats The Queen

This is the representation Melvil gives of the Earl of Murray's conduct. A few days after his arrival, he waited on the Queen, and instead of comforting her, as he had done formerly, when

she was under confinement at Edinburgh, he loaded her with reproaches. This was likely to break her heart; for till then, she was in hopes the Earl of Murray would labour to restore her.

The Earl of Murray is Owned for Regent

Meanwhile, the Confederates praying him to accept of the Regency, he seemed inclined to refuse it, and desired a few days to consider of it: but this was all grimace, and at length, he accepted it[183]. Before the States, which had been convened in his absence, met, he writ to the Hamiltonians, (for so were called the Lords assembled at Hamilton) to desire them to come and join with the rest of the States, in what should be deemed necessary for the good of the Kingdom: but they refused to come.

An agreement was talked of some time, but there occurred insuperable difficulties. Buchanan casts the whole blame upon the Hamiltonians; and Melvil, on the contrary, upon the violent party of the confederates, with whom the Regent was joined. All that can be conjectured, is, that those who had procured the Assembly at Hamilton, intended to serve the Queen, and wanted only a pretence to declare, which the Earl of Murray furnished them with, perhaps, very imprudently. However this be, Murray not thinking fit to defer the convention of the States, in expectation of an agreement with the Hamiltonians, which to him still seemed more remote, the Regency was confirmed by a decree, subscribed by above two hundred Lords and Gentlemen of the greatest distinction, as well Catholics as Protestants.

Grange Made Governor of Edinburgh Castle

The new Regent's first care was to remove Balfour, who had rendered himself suspected, from the government of Edinburgh castle, and to confer it on the Laird of Grange.

Meanwhile, the Hamiltonians, at the head of whom was the Earl of Argyle, loudly complained of their being neglected, and refused to acknowledge the Earl of Murray for Regent. It was easy to perceive, their aim, on that pretence, was to form a party for the Queen.

Association in Favour of The Queen

And indeed, some time after they met at Dunbarton, and signed an association, the intent whereof was to release the Queen, and replace her on the throne. Twelve Lords[184] of whom the Earl of Argyle and the Bishop of St. Andrew's were the first that subscribed the bond of association. But the Earl of Argyle deserted this Party presently after, and came to the Parliament.

This Lord, who frequently changed sides, did not remain long with the party he had espoused. As for the Duke of Chateleraut he was then in France about his own private concerns. This association was not at first very formidable to the Regent; but it became so afterwards, because all the malcontents of the King's party joined it by degrees, it not being easy for the Regent to please all.

The Regent Takes Possession of All The Fortresses

During the rest of the year, the Regent took into his hands all the strong places of the Kingdom, and bestowed the offices and governments as he judged necessary for the preservation of the public peace. He took care, above all things to cause justice to be administered punctually and impartially.

Melvil blames him only for one thing; namely, his not being so diligent as he might have been, in gaining the Hamiltonians. But it must be considered, Melvil himself manifestly leaned to that party. The Queen valued and loved him, and consequently it was natural to wish her restoration.

He plainly shews in his memoirs, that he heartily desired she might be replaced on the throne, which made him blame those who opposed it.

The knowledge of the affairs of Scotland, is so absolutely necessary for understanding the motives of Queen Elizabeth's conduct and politics, that it is not to be thought strange, that I have given so particular an account of what passed in that Kingdom. The sequel will justify, as I hope, this long digression. I return now to the affairs of England.

Elizabeth Demands Calais

The term for the restitution of Calais being expired, Elizabeth sent into France Sir Thomas Smith Secretary of State, and Sir William Winter master of the naval stores, to demand that place of the King, according to the Treaty of Cateau. But nothing was farther from the King of France thoughts.

He appointed commissioners to treat with the English ambassadors, as if it was to be considered again to whom that place was to belong, and as if the Treaty of Cateau was to be reckoned as nothing. Michael Hospital Chancellor, who was first commissioner, made, on this occasion, a long speech, of which it will be sufficient to relate the substance, to shew how groundless were the reasons with which he supported the refusal of Calais. He said:—

"By the same right the English demand Calais, they may as well claim Paris; for the one, as well as the other, was won and lost by arms[185]. The English plead a new title to Calais, whereas the King of France's title is of the same date with the monarchy itself.

Though the English had it in possession above two hundred years, yet the right was as much in the Kings of France, as were the Dukedoms of Guienne and Normandy, which the English detained a long time by force. And therefore it could not be said, the French had conquered Calais and those Dukedoms, but only recovered what belonged to them.

Prescription of time is of no consideration among Princes, but right always takes place, and by the Law of the Twelve Tables, the Authority remains perpetual against an enemy. Though the English undertook the late war for the sake of Calais, yet that place was not mentioned in the Treaty of Troye, and thereby they owned they had no farther pretensions to it.

The clause inserted in the Treaty of Troye, relating to the reservation of rights, concerns only small and insignificant matters, and not the restitution of Calais, which is an article of the greatest importance.

The pretended attempts of Francis II in Scotland, could by no means affect the right of Charles IX, his successor. Indeed, the very intentions of private persons are in some respects liable to the laws; but the case of Princes is quite different. The late King, in aiding the Queen of Scotland his wife, did no more than the English themselves had done in seizing Havre de Grace, under colour of keeping it for the King. Moreover, they furnished the Prince of Condé with money, and therefore have forfeited their claim to Calais.

When it pleased God that the French should recover Calais, he set the natural bounds between the Kingdoms of France and England, according to the Poet

"Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos,"

In a word, if any one had the assurance to propose to the King the restitution of Calais, he would deserve not only death, but a worse punishment, damnation.”

The English Ambassador's Answer

Smith replied:—

“He would not stay to shew the weakness of the arguments alleged by the chancellor, because he could not believe, the refusing to restore Calais would in good earnest be founded upon reasons so little plausible.

There was a treaty made expressly on this account, which the Chancellor never mentioned, as if he had forgot, that upon this treaty, signed, ratified, and sworn to by the King of France, the Queen of England's demand was grounded. Neither did he intend to lose time in combating maxims, which, if admitted, would render all treaties between Sovereigns of no effect: but would content himself with answering two objections, which were the most specious.

As for the Treaty of Troye, he appealed to some of the commissioners, who were present at the conclusion of that treaty, whether it was not agreed, that the restitution of Calais should be comprised in the general reservation of rights, and that the reason which they alleged to hinder the town of Calais from being reserved by name was, because the eight years were not yet expired.

As for Havre de Grace, the English made a peaceable entry, being invited by the inhabitants and the people of Normandy. In short, as for the money lent to the Prince of Condé, the King of France himself owned it was for his service, since it was to pay the German soldiers, who threatened to ravage the Kingdom”.

But all these reasons were to no purpose, France being resolved not to part with Calais. I shall observe here by the way, that the Chancellor of France did not use, in order to evade the restitution of Calais, the arguments taken from the treaty itself of Cateau, as he might have justly done, if that treaty were expressed in the terms, or after the manner mentioned by the French historians.

Elizabeth's Dissimulation

It was not the Chancellor's arguments that hindered Elizabeth from asserting her right to Calais; but the situation of her affairs, which permitted her not to enter into a war with France. Her intention was not to invade, but to defend and maintain herself on the throne, in spite of the endeavours of her enemies. This was her only care, during the whole course of her reign. Hence it was that she sometimes seemed willing to marry, though, in all appearance, she had no such desire.

The first she decoyed with this hope, was the Archduke Charles of Austria, the same that was proposed to the Queen of Scotland by the Cardinal of Lorrain. She carried her dissimulation so far, as to send Thomas Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex in embassy to the Emperor Maximilian, to settle the marriage articles, the Emperor on his part having dispatched Count Stolberg to keep her in this good resolution.

The Earl of Sussex stayed five months at Vienna about this negotiation, going thither under colour of carrying the Emperor the Order of the Garter. But he was accompanied with the Lord North, the Earl of Leicester's creature, who was ordered by his patron to defeat the negotiation as much as possible, by tacitly hinting to the imperial court, that the Queen had no design to marry, whatever she pretended.

The Emperor found afterwards, that North was better informed than the ambassador, who, fearing the Queen would espouse the Earl of Leicester, did his utmost to adjust all differences and remove the objections. The main difficulty was to find expedients upon the article of religion, which should satisfy both Courts.

The Emperor relaxed as much as he could, and the Earl, on his part, did all that lay in his power to remove this obstacle. They were now agreed, that the Archduke should have the title of King of England, and guardianship of the children, in case the Queen died first. As to religion, after the Emperor had often, but in vain, demanded the privilege of a public church for the Archduke, he consented at length, that he should be satisfied with a private chapel in some part of the Royal Palace, where no Englishman should be admitted; and if his way of worship happened to give any offence, he should forbear it for a time, and be present with the Queen at the service of the Church of England.

The Negotiation is Broken Off

But this affair being debated in the Council of England, the Queen sent the Earl of Sussex word, that she could not admit even of this. So the negotiation was broken off though without noise, with marks of esteem and friendship mutually given by the Emperor and the Queen.

By the way, this obstacle concerning religion, was the means the Queen always used to break off all the negotiations about her marriage. And therefore she ever treated with Catholic Princes, because she was sure of breaking off the negotiation whenever she pleased. As for the Protestant Princes, who offered themselves whilst she was of age to marry, she took care to let them soon know, they had nothing to hope for.

This behaviour confirms the suspicion which had been always entertained, that she had made a settled resolution never to submit to the matrimonial yoke, although her affairs obliged her sometimes to pretend the contrary.

Embassy From Muscovy

This year arrived at London. The ambassadors from John Basliowitz, Grand Duke of Muscovy. Their public Commission was, to confirm and renew the favours which the Czar their Master had granted to the English merchants, associated by the name of the Muscovy Company. But with these ambassadors returned Anthony Jenkinson an Englishman, who had made a long stay in that country, and was charged with some private instructions[186].

The Czar's design was to make with Elisabeth a league offensive and defensive, with a mutual obligation to afford each other a safe retreat, in case either should be driven out of their dominions. This Prince, who was a great tyrant, was willing to provide for his safety, being apprehensive his subjects would not always suffer his tyranny.

The Queen returned him a doubtful answer, which he had no reason to be pleased with, and yet he granted, two years after, to the English merchants, privileges which very much conduced to render their trade with Muscovy flourishing.

Troubles in Ireland

About this time there were commotions in Ireland, occasioned by the rebellion of Shan-Oneal, a lord of great interest in the north; but which ended with the death of the rebel, who was slain by his own people.

Death of The Duchess of Norfolk

The Duke of Norfolk, who was one of those that were most in the Queen's favour, lost his Duchess this year[187], and by that means unfortunately saw himself in a condition to form projects which proved his destruction[188].

Affairs of The Low Countries

The affairs of the Low-Countries were very much altered during this year. The great men were divided, and several had betrayed the common cause. The Prince of Orange was withdrawn to his Governments, Count Horn to his own House, and Count Egmont continued with the Governess, who improving this dissension, revoked whatever she had been forced to grant to the reformed.

Then she sent for forces out of Germany, and raised some Walloon regiments. Shortly after Philip II. resolved to send the Duke of Alva into the Low-Countries, with an army of native Spaniards, to chastise both the nobles and people. Whereupon, the Prince of Orange retiring into Germany, the Duke of Alva entered the country at the head of his army, without any opposition.

At his arrival at Brussels, the Duchess of Parma put the government into his hands, and then the Duke exercised cruelties which it is needless to relate, since they are universally known. The counts of Egmont[189] and Horn lost their lives by the hand of the Hangman, whilst Montigny suffered the same punishment in Spain, and all the Prince of Orange's lands were confiscated.

The Affairs of France

On the other hand, the Court of France, under colour France of fearing the Duke of Alva, who was to pass near the borders, levied six thousand Switzers, with design to extirpate the Huguenots, whilst the Duke of Alva should do the same in the Netherlands, pursuant to the agreement at Bayonne. It is easy to see, that in such a juncture, Elizabeth could not attempt the recovery of Calais. It was sufficient if she could avert the flames which threatened England.

Meanwhile, the Prince of Condé, having with difficulty escaped the snares of the court, re-assembled the Huguenots by the admiral's help, and was very likely to have succeeded in his design of carrying away the King at Meaux. After this disappointment, he went and blocked up Paris. In short, on the 10th of November was fought at the gates of Paris a battle, wherein the Constable Montmorency was slain.

This action not being decisive, the Prince marched to meet Casimir, Count Palatine, who was bringing him an aid of three thousand foot, and six thousand five hundred horse. In September, La Nouc, one of the chief of the Huguenots, took Orleans. Thus all the neighbouring countries of England, namely, Scotland, France, and the Low-Countries, were in trouble and confusion, whilst the English, by the wise management of the Queen, enjoyed a profound peace.

Elizabeth Concerns Herself With The Huguenots of France

1568 AD] It was however at the expense of her own, that Elizabeth secured the repose of her people. She had to fear both at home and abroad, and consequently was obliged to attend perpetually as well to foreign as domestic affairs, in order to prevent the designs of her enemies.

The state of the Huguenots in France made her very uneasy. Their enemies were likewise her's, and as there was little appearance of their withstanding the Catholics, who were a hundred to one, and supported by the authority Royal, she was apprehensive, that after their extirpation, the storm would fall upon England. It was scarce to be doubted, that the war, which was waging at

once with the Protestants of France and the Low-Countries, was the effect of the mutual counsels of the French and Spanish courts, and that the destruction of the Protestant religion was the principal object these two courts had in view.

Elizabeth therefore thought it absolutely necessary, to let the King of France know, she was concerned for the preservation of the Huguenots, whatever reason she might have to complain of their behaviour to her. To that purpose she ordered Norris, her ambassador to Charles IX, to intercede earnestly for them, and give to understand, she knew her own interest too well to suffer them to be entirely ruined.

These threats from England, the resolution of the Huguenots, and their assistance from Germany, produced a good effect, and procured them a peace. But it was only a treacherous peace, wherein the court intended only to deceive them, and which for that reason was called afterwards the *Lame Peace*. Catherine de Medici knowing it would not be long before the war would re-kindle, resolved to be beforehand, to prevent Elizabeth from assisting the Huguenots.

To that end she began now to hint to the English ambassador a marriage betwixt Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, who was but sixteen years of age. I shall speak elsewhere of the sequel of this project.

Quarrel Between Philip and Elizabeth

At the same time Philip II shewed his spite against Elizabeth, by confining her ambassador^[190] (5) to a country village. On the other hand, Sir John Hawkins, an English merchant, who was gone to trade in the Bay of Mexico with five ships, by virtue of the treaty between Charles V and Henry VIII was insulted by the Spanish fleet, which took and rifled three of his ships. These outrages were very grievous to Elizabeth, especially as the merchants loudly murmured, and were importunate for a war with Spain.

But she did not think proper then to shew her resentment, for fear of being engaged farther than the situation of her affairs would permit. She had the more reason not to enter into a war of this nature, as at the same time the affairs of Scotland, which touched her more nearly, took a new turn, and might be to her of very great consequence.

The Affairs of Scotland

Queen Mary was prisoner at Lochleven: but that did not hinder her from having still a strong party consisting of all the Catholics, with those that envied and hated the Earl of Murray, or such as were in credit about him. Indeed, most of those men little regarded the Queen, but thought she could afford them a plausible pretence to act against the regent, and it was this that caused them to declare for her.

On the other side, in the regent's party itself, which was called the King's, there were some who were engaged in it purely to ruin Bothwell, whom they hated and feared. These imagined, if they could get him out of the way, things would return to their proper channel, and the Queen might marry some Prince, who would cause Scotland to flourish again.

Kircaldie, who was of this number, being informed, that Bothwell was playing the pirate near the Isles of Shetland, equipped two vessels, and resolved to go in chase of him, believing all troubles would cease with his death. He was so fortunate as to meet with him. He pursued and obliged him at length to run his ship ashore, and escape to land in his boat. But his ship was taken with his servants, who, it is said, gave information of many things concerning the late King's murder, which reflected on the Queen. But there is no relying upon such sort of public reports.

Bothwell having the good fortune to escape, but not knowing which way to fly, resolved at last to retire into Denmark, where he was taken up and thrown into prison. He lived there ten years in extreme misery, which turned his Brains. Camden affirms, that before his death, he solemnly protested the Queen in no degree privy to the murder of the King her husband [191]. But, according to custom, this author does not say from whence he had this particular[192].

Several of The Regent's Party Leave Him

Bothwell being no longer to be feared, all those that had declared against the Queen from their hatred to him, forsook the King's party, some privately, others openly. Lidington and the Lord Boyd were amongst those who feigned to be still attached to the Regent, in order to have a fairer opportunity to do the Queen service. The Earl of Argyle wavered for a time, but at last quitted the Earl of Murray, and joined the other party.

The Queen Escapes From Prison

Meanwhile, the Regent being gone to Glasgow, heard a few days after, that the Queen had made her escape from Lochleven[193], and was at Hamilton castle, but twelve miles from Glasgow. This news quickly spreading, the Lord Boyd, who was of the Regent's council, forsook him immediately and went to the Queen.

She Marches Against The Regent

The Regent was extremely perplexed, especially as he learned at the same time, that the Queen's friends were drawing people together from all sides, and flocked to her in great numbers. This made him sensible, he must either forsake the party, or try the fortune of a battle. He chose the last, and assembling some forces, though in number very inferior to the Queen's, he departed from Glasgow, at the very time the Queen was marching to give him battle.

Melvil says, the Queen's design at first was not to fight, having left Hamilton castle only to retire to Dunbarton, but that the Archbishops of St. Andrew's and the rest of the heads of the party[194] were for hazarding a battle, trusting to their numbers, and hoping to govern in the Queen's name, when the Regent was vanquished. Be it as it will, this Army, six thousand strong[195], advancing towards Glasgow, met the Regent who had but four thousand men, and the battle began.

The Battle Wherein The Queen was Defeated

It is needless to give a description of it here[196]. It suffices to say in a word, the Queen lost the day, and, for fear of falling into the hands of her enemies, fled towards the borders of England. She chose for her first retreat the house of Maxwell Baron of Herreris[197]. But a few days after, not thinking herself safe there, or in any other place in the Kingdom, she resolved to retire into England.

Upon the least attention to what had passed hitherto between Elizabeth and Mary, and to the just reasons they had to distrust, and consider each other as real enemies, notwithstanding their external demonstrations of a mutual friendship, which was all dissimulation, it will not be thought, that Mary would have voluntarily taken refuge in England, had it been in her choice to retire elsewhere. But there was a necessity either of falling once more into the hands of the Scots her enemies, or of throwing herself into the arms of Elizabeth.

Of the two dangers, one was near and infallible: the other was yet distant, and not so certain, as to destroy all hopes of finding assistance in that Queen's generosity. However this be, she sent one of her servants, John Beton, to Elizabeth, to desire her protection and leave to retire into England.

The Queen Retires into England

Camden says, she sent by the same messenger a diamond, which she had received from her as a pledge of her friendship, and promise to assist her to the utmost of her power, when there should be occasion. And yet this same author has inserted, under the year 1582 of his Annals, a letter of Mary to Elizabeth, wherein it appears this diamond was sent back before the battle of Glasgow. Besides, though Elizabeth may possibly have added to her present of the diamond some tender and affectionate expressions, with some general promises, it is not likely she intended to oblige herself so far as Camden would insinuate. This is what I believe for several reasons.

First, it is certain Elizabeth was never so well affected to Mary.

Secondly, such an engagement was directly contrary to her interest, which required not she should be so careful of her Rival's prosperity.

Lastly, no time can be assigned, when Elizabeth was under any necessity to carry her dissimulation to that height.

Camden adds, Elizabeth sent word to Mary by the same Beton, that she would give her all the proofs of friendship which could be expected from a sister. But as I have often hinted, it is not always safe to rely wholly on the testimony of this author[198]. However, before this answer arrived, Mary fearing to be discovered in her retreat, took boat[199], and came to Wirkinton in Cumberland, attended only by the Lords Herris and Fleming, and a few servants.

Mary's Arrival in England

The same day she writ to Elizabeth, acquainting her with her arrival in England. She told her in the letter, that having escaped out of prison, and intending to go to Dunbarton, her enemies came against her to dispute her passage[200], and defeated her army: That this misfortune obliged her to quit her Kingdom, where she could not be with safety, to come and implore her protection, and she entreated her to cause her to be conducted to her presence.

She said also in the same letter, that her enemies, after murdering her servant before her face, had committed a new crime, which they pretended to charge her with, though themselves had plotted it, as appears by a writing under their own hands and seals. It is this doubtless which gave Camden occasion to say under the year 1567, that the Earls of Murray and Morton bound themselves by a writing to support Bothwell when he should have killed the King[201].

If this writing, which never appeared, were really true, it would evidently follow that Mary was not ignorant of Bothwell, being author of the King her husband's murder, since she knew Murray and Morton had promised to screen him. But it is not likely, she would have made such a confession to Elizabeth.

Besides, on supposition that Mary's letter was such as Camden represents it, she does not name the Earl of Murray. She only imputes to her enemies the crime she herself was accused of. Hereafter we shall see hereafter how she maintained what she had advanced, and after what manner she made her defence.

Elizabeth Refuses to See Mary Until She Justified Herself

Elizabeth being informed the Queen of Scots was in England after the loss of a battle, sent Sir Francis Knolles to comfort her, and ordered her to be lodged at a Gentleman's House, where she was treated as a Queen. After that, she was conducted to Carlisle[202]. Here Mary writes a second Letter, according to Camden, entreating her either to admit her to her presence, or give

her leave to depart elsewhere. Camden says that Elizabeth was touched with compassion[203], because the Queen of Scots offered to debate her cause before her, and engaged to prove her adversaries guilty of the crime they loaded her with.

But this historian stretches a little, too far what Mary said in her letter, since she did not offer to prove her adversaries guilty, as indeed she never attempted it. There is not a single word in Camden's *Annals* concerning the Queen of Scots, but what must be guarded against. We are going to see Elizabeth's compassion for this Queen.

She sent her word, that as she stood charged by the voice of the public, with being privy to the murder of the King her husband, or at least with not inquiring after the murderers, and with keeping still in her service, and in her very house such as were accused of being accomplices, she could not see her till she had cleared herself of so heinous an accusation, and desired to know in what manner she intended to justify herself. Whereupon, it was agreed, that Elizabeth should hear her defence, and protect her if innocent.

It is very probable, or rather certain, that herein Elizabeth intended only to gain time, and have a pretence to detain her till she had determined what was to be done, which her council was at no small loss to know.

Sundry Opinions in The Council About Mary

There were on this occasion several ways to be taken, and each had its difficulties. But, as it is very usual in the councils of Princes, the star by which the ministers and counsellors were guided, was not justice or equity, but the Queen's safety. In much the same case Henry IV stayed the King of Scotland's eldest son, who was afterwards King himself, under colour that he was come into his dominions without his leave, and that Prince was detained till the reign Henry VI.

It cannot be denied, that a Sovereign has power to seize a foreign Prince, who enters his territories without a safe conduct. But there are cases wherein strict right becomes the greatest injustice. Such was that of Henry IV with regard to the Prince of Scotland. But in Mary's case, the circumstances appeared still more favourable.

It was a woman, vanquished by her own subjects, whose violence she feared, and who, far from being suspected of any ill design against England, was come only for refuge, and to implore the protection of a Queen her near relation, who had always affected to give her marks of her friendship. So to consider the Queen's fault, only as a sort of breach of the law of nations, she did not deserve to be detained in captivity. But as I said, it is not always by these maxims that sovereigns are guided. The point in debate in the English council, was, not to search for what was most consonant to justice or generosity, but what was most advantageous[204].

The various courses therefore which might be taken with respect to the Queen of Scots were examined, in order to chuse the most beneficial to Elizabeth. The first was to restore her to the throne, for an example, that subjects shall not expel their Sovereigns with Impunity.

But though this was what Elizabeth should have done as a Sovereign, yet other more particular considerations hindered her from endeavouring to restore and render more powerful, a Queen whom she justly looked upon as a dangerous rival.

For the same reason it was to be feared, if she sent her back to Scotland, though without succours, her faction would revive, and one victory, which was not impossible, might render her absolute. In that case she might recall the French into Scotland, and pursue the execution of the projects formed in France, in the reign of Francis II, her husband. On the other hand, if she were sent over to France, there was no certainty that she would not return to Scotland. Besides, if the King of France, and the Princes of Lorraine, were masters of her person.

It was very likely they would make use of her name to invade England, and the Pope and King of Spain join with them. There was no way therefore but to keep her in England, either free or in prison. But to leave her at liberty was running a manifest hazard.

Her title to the crown of England would draw to her court all the Catholics, and disaffected persons in the Kingdom, as well as the French and Spanish ambassadors, to assist her with their counsels. That if, being absent, she had been able to form a strong party in England, how much more might her presence render the same party more numerous and powerful. It is certain, though Elizabeth and her ministers pretended to think it very strange, Mary should claim the Crown of England, they knew however the grounds of her title, and that many people were convinced, it was even more lawful than the Queen's.

Elizabeth Resolves to Detain Mary in Prison

Finally, in detaining her in prison, there was no question, Elizabeth would incur the indignation of all Europe, by this excessive severity, the motives whereof would not be generally known. This was however the course which Elizabeth took, by the advice of her council, and without doubt, by her own inclination. It is certain, besides the reasons of state which induced her thereto, she was also moved by a personal jealousy of the Queen of Scots, who was handsomer and younger than herself, though she was very far behind her in other respects.

However, to colour in some measure the severity which was to be used to the Queen, Elizabeth resolved to appear extremely concerned for her misfortune, and very desirous to be convinced of her innocence, that she might afterwards give her a powerful assistance, without fear of reproach. But withal, she took a resolution to delay the methods to be used for this purpose, till time and opportunity should afford room for other measures.

From thenceforward she constantly refused to hear those who spoke against the Queen of Scots, but then she was not sorry that divers accusations were publicly spread against her, that it might not be thought strange, this affair could not be cleared in a short time. So, Camden had reason to say, Elizabeth seemed touched with a sense of the Queen of Scot's misfortune, and openly detested the behaviour of the Scots.

But it does not follow, these were her real sentiments. Her aim being only to prolong the affair, under colour of labouring the justification of her prisoner, it was not proper, she should, by her discourses, declare herself a party against her. She ought rather to shew, she inclined to her side.

Mary herself was long deceived by this policy. She imagined Elizabeth really intended to serve her. But discovering the artifice at last, she resolved to take such measures as furnished her enemy with a plausible pretence to detain her in prison. I will venture to affirm, this is the true key of the affair, which will never be well understood, if we stand to what is said by the historians of either side.

The Affairs of Scotland

Whilst these things passed in England, the Earl of Murray called a Parliament at Edinburgh, to get those condemned who had taken Arms against the King in favour of the Queen. The opposite faction seeing they were like to be oppressed by the decree of the state, used all their endeavours to prevent their assembling.

They even demanded aid of the French, who resolved to send an army into Scotland, under the conduct of Martigues. In the meantime, the Queen's friends met at Glasgow, to consult how to hinder the session of the Parliament, but as they could not agree, the Earl of Argyle withdrew to his house.

The Earl of Huntley more fiery than the rest, assembled some troops, and posted himself at Perth, to alarm the regent, till the arrival of the French succours. But the civil war which re-kindled in France, obliging the King to keep the forces designed for Scotland, the Earl of Huntley was constrained to retire.

This resource failing, the Queen's friends applied to Elizabeth, representing to her, that the Regent, by an unseasonable session of a parliament, was going to drive the principal Lords of Scotland to despair, and offered to take her for umpire of their differences with the Regent.

Elizabeth Takes Great Advantage of The Troubles in Scotland

This offer was very grateful to Elizabeth, because she could thereby render herself mistress of the affair, and prolong it as she pleased. She therefore let Murray know, he would oblige her in deferring the Parliament, till she was better informed of the reasons, which had induced the Scots to deprive their Queen of the government of the Kingdom. But he desired to be excused, and held the Parliament on the day appointed.

Buchanan pretends, Lidington, who feigned to be attached to the Regent, managed it so by his intrigues, that the States resolved to punish only some of the most guilty, and that this indulgence was a great means to strengthen the Queen's Party.

The Parliament breaking up, the Regent raised an army to pursue those who were condemned. He reduced several places to the obedience of the King, and very probably, would have over-run the whole Kingdom, if the Court of England had not interrupted the execution of his designs.

Elizabeth Becomes Umpire of The Differences Between The Parties

Elizabeth found so great an advantage in becoming umpire of the affairs of Scotland, that she took care not to let slip the present opportunity, without improving it. To compass her ends the more easily, she plainly intimated, that she believed the Queen of Scots innocent; that she herself was concerned in this quarrel, which all sovereigns ought to espouse, and that it was their interest to chastise rebellious subjects, who might give a dangerous example to others.

In a word, she so artfully disguised her sentiments, that the Scotch Queen's friends, blinded by these appearances, persuaded the unfortunate Queen, to offer to appoint commissioners to defend her cause before Elizabeth, and so fell into the snare Elizabeth had laid for her.

She had no sooner made this imprudent offer, but Elizabeth writ to the Earl of Murray, that the proceedings of the Scots in deposing their Queen, were so extraordinary, that she could not approve them, unless they shewed by very good reasons, that they could not have done otherwise. That if their Queen were innocent, she thought herself bound by all sorts of considerations to protect her, and restore her to the throne, but was willing, before she came to any resolution, to hear what they had to say in vindication of their conduct.

Elizabeth Desires The Regent to Send Deputies into England

That therefore, she desired the regent would send some well informed persons to York where she would order commissioners to hear what the Scots had to allege against their Queen. That it was necessary he should in person clear himself of the crimes he was accused of. In short, she gave him to understand, she should take his refusal as an authentic proof of Mary's innocence.

Elizabeth must have talked something high, to oblige the Regent to take so extraordinary a step. Besides, it was no less necessary to keep by that means the Queen of Scots in the belief, that

Elizabeth sought only to cause her to come off honourably, for fear she should revoke the consent she had given. Elizabeth's, real aim was to have a pretence to detain the Queen of Scots, till the affair should be cleared, well knowing she should not want means to prolong it as she pleased.

Besides, how much soever she pretended not to be fully informed, she knew enough to judge, that the Scots would bring good evidence against Mary, and thereby furnish her with a very natural excuse, to require a farther examination. All this was extremely agreeable to the scheme she had laid, and afforded her means to silence the French and Spanish ambassadors, who pressed her continually in behalf of the captive Queen.

She told them, she intended to assist Mary with all her forces, and restore her to her former dignity; but that decency required the Queen should first be cleared, in the eyes of the public, of the crime she was charged with, and that all possible expedition was using to make her innocence appear.

The Regent is Determined to go Himself

The Earl of Murray was very much at a loss what answer he should return to Elizabeth's summons. It was dangerous for a regent of Scotland to put to arbitration an affair already decided by the Parliament, and dishonourable to answer before a foreign power. But on the other hand, he could support himself only by the assistance of England; how much less, if Elizabeth should resolve to restore Mary to the throne.

Besides, he was afraid his refusal would be construed as a sign, he mistrusted the justice of his cause. So, after consulting his friends upon so nice a point, he resolved to go himself to York with eleven deputies, who were appointed to assist him (1).

These were, James Douglas Earl of Morton, Adam Bishop of Orkney, Robert Commendator of Dunfermlin, and Patrick Lord Lindsay. Mary nominated the Lords Camden, Herris, Levingston, Boyd, Gavin Commendator of Kylwyning, John Gordon of Locheinvarr, James Cockburne of Skirling, Knight, and the Bishop of Ross.

Elizabeth commissioned Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Ratcliff Earl of Suffolk, and Sir Ralph Sadler (2), to hear what both parties had to say, whether for or against. All these Lords came to York on the same day, namely, the 4th of October.

In order to understand fully what passed at the conference of York, and at another afterwards at Hampton Court, it will be necessary to know what is said upon this occasion in Melvil's memoirs. Without this key, there is no comprehending anything by Buchanan's account, and still less by Camden's, who endeavoured rather to darken, than clear the affair. What Melvil relates is a secret, equally unknown to Buchanan and Camden.

Account of a Private Affair Which Passed at The Conference of York

Very likely, the Duke of Norfolk, who had lost his Duchess last year, had now formed the project of marrying the Queen of Scots, before he repaired to York. At least, it may be affirmed, this Lord was Mary's principal friend in England. For which reason, he accepted the commission of presiding at the York conference, only to hinder the success Elizabeth expected, and to break her measures.

However secret the Queen's project was, the Duke of Norfolk, it seems, had entire knowledge of it. courtiers having usually a wonderful sagacity, to discover what the Prince would keep most private. Nay, it is said he had ordered the Earl of Westmoreland, his Lieutenant in the

presidentship of the north, to kill the Earl of Murray when he came upon the borders, and seize all his papers, in order to destroy the proofs he was bringing against the Queen of Scots, but altering his mind, had revoked the order.

In the beginning of the conference, he started several incidents to retard the conclusion of the Melvil. affair in debate. But at last, perceiving all his endeavours would only for a delay of a few days, he opened his mind to Lidington, who, though suspected by all the King's party, had attended the regent as deputy and secretary of State.

The Duke told this Lord, that he could not imagine what had induced the Scots to come and accuse their Queen before English commissioners; that they greatly dishonoured their nation, and would one day be responsible for it. Lidington replied, he was very glad to find him of this opinion, that for his part, he had done his utmost to hinder the Regent from taking this step; that Kircaldie had done the same, but to no purpose: and if he had accompanied the Regent, it was only in hopes to succeed better in England and desired him to talk with the Regent, and try to dissuade him from accusing the Queen.

The Duke of Norfolk knowing by this, the Earl of Murray's proceedings were not approved by all his party, and that even remonstrances had been made to him upon this occasion, hoped, by speaking to him himself, to prevail with him in some measure.

He talked with him therefore in private, and representing to him what he had before said to Lidington, added, he was much mistaken, if he imagined Elizabeth intended to give sentence upon the difference he and his party had with the Queen of Scots: but that her sole aim was to make them subservient to her own ends:—

That if he desired to be convinced of this, he had only to require a promise under her own hand, to give sentence as soon as the proofs should be produced, and to support the King of Scotland's party, in case the Queen his mother was found guilty.

He added, the Queen would never give any such promise in writing, and thereby demonstrate, she sought only to amuse them. In short, he so managed the Regent, that, before they parted, they agreed, that when he was called upon to produce his evidences, he should demand a previous engagement from the Queen, such as the Duke had suggested to him. The Earl of Murray imparted this agreement to none but Lidington and Sir James Melvil, who liked it extremely (3).

At the next meeting, the Regent being pressed to give in his proofs against the Queen of Scots, replied, as he had agreed with the Duke of Norfolk, to the great surprise of the hearers, except those who were in the secret. It was resolved therefore to write to the Queen, to inform her of this new and unexpected difficulty, and to know whether she would give the Regent of Scotland the engagement he demanded.

Her answer was, she thought it very strange her word could not be taken, but that a writing under her own hand should be required, and prayed the Earl of Murray to send two deputies to acquaint her with his reasons. The Regent chose for this purpose Lidington (4), and Macgil, to the great amazement of the rest of the deputies, who could not conceive that he should trust with such a commission secretary Lidington, of whom the whole party were so jealous.

Shortly after, the Queen desired the Regent to come himself to London with the other deputies (5), to which he consented. When they were arrived, she appointed other commissioners to confer with them, namely. Sir Nicholas Bacon, Cecil, the Earl of Leicester, the Lord High Admiral (6), and Sir William Sadler (7).

Probably, she suspected the Duke of Norfolk of some prevarication, and this suspicion was not groundless. She earnestly wished, upon several accounts, to have in her hands the proofs intended

to be used, in support of the accusation against the Queen of Scots. First, to silence such as murmured at her not endeavouring to restore that Princess. And indeed, it was manifest, if Mary were guilty of the crime laid to her charge, she was unworthy of her protection.

Secondly, having these proofs in her power, she would not only have the management of this affair, but might also cause all delays to be considered as so many favours to Mary, who, in all appearance, would not dare to press her to give sentence.

Spite and Jealousy might possibly be a third reason, Elizabeth being secretly pleased with her rival's shame. In the first conferences at Hampton Court, the English commissioners were very urgent with the Earl of Murray, to give in his proofs against the Queen of Scots. He answered, it was with extreme reluctance that he could resolve to accuse the Queen his sister, and should never proceed to this extremity, unless it were for the real good and welfare of all Scotland:—

That therefore he required the Queen of England's written promise, to protect the King, in case the Queen his mother were found guilty.

The affair standing thus, and the Earl of Murray still persisting in his demand, the Earl of Morton happened to be informed of his agreement with the Duke of Norfolk, by some one whom Mary had trusted with the secret (8). Then it was, Morton came to know the true motive of the Regent's conduct, which hitherto seemed to him incomprehensible, since he refused to accuse the Queen, though he was come into England for that very purpose.

He imparted the secret to some of his colleagues, and they resolved to acquaint secretary Cecil with it. What passed afterwards between Cecil and the Earl of Murray is not known; but it may be conjectured by what followed, that Murray suffered himself to be prevailed with, to act quite contrary to his engagement with the Duke of Norfolk.

At the first meeting after this discovery, the English commissioners demanding that the proofs against the Queen should be given in, and the Regent refusing it, all the Scots, except Lidington, were for producing them. Then Wood, Secretary to the Regent, pretending a zeal for his master, said, it was not from a spirit of cavil, as some thought, that the Regent would not give in the accusation, but because the Queen of England refused the promise required:—

That this promise being given, he would immediately deliver the accusation and proofs which he had all ready; and with that, he took the papers out of his bosom, and showed them to every body. But whilst he was holding them up, the Bishop of Orkney easily snatched them out of his hand, and gave them to the English commissioners.

It is evident, Murray had been gained by Elizabeth's ministers, and took this way, only to save in some manner his promise to the Duke of Norfolk. With this key it will be easy to understand what Buchanan and Camden say about the York conferences, which I shall but just mention, because as these two historians were ignorant of the Duke of Norfolk's secret intentions, and the motives of the Regent's conduct, what they have related cannot be of much service towards clearing this part of the history.

An Account of The York Conference According to Camden and Buchanan

At the York conferences, Mary's deputies were heard first. They protested^[213], that the present proceedings should not be prejudicial to the rights of Scotland, since Queen Elizabeth had no power to meddle with the affairs of that Kingdom.

Then they set forth at large the injuries received by the Queen of Scots from her own subjects, and craved Elizabeth's assistance to recover her throne.

The Earl of Murray answered:—

That Bothwell was author of the King's murder:

That he carried away the Queen with her own consent, and publicly married her:

That afterwards, she resigned the Crown to the Prince her Son:

That this resignation was confirmed by the States, and it was not in his power to alter what the States had ratified.

Mary's Deputies replied:—

That the Queen's marriage with Bothwell was not a sufficient reason to depose her, because Bothwell was legally acquitted:

That besides, it was manifest, Bothwell was only a pretence made use of by the rebels to act against the Queen, since they might have taken him if they had pleased; but they let him escape, because the Queen alone was what they aimed at. Then they made appear, that the resignation of the crown was extorted by force, since it was not in the Queen's power to refuse it.

Both Parties being heard upon these general points, the English commissioners declared, they could not admit of the protestation against the Queen's being a competent judge, by reason of her right of Sovereignty over the Kingdom of Scotland.

As to the Regent's answer, they said, the Queen having commissioned them to hear what the deputies of Scotland had to say against their Queen, they could not allow the determination of the States to be valid, because the question was to know, whether they had just grounds to determine in the manner they had done, which could not be known till the reasons, on which their determination was built, were examined. Then they appointed the 7th of October to examine the proofs.

At this same meeting[214], the Duke of Norfolk, who sought only to gain time, required, that the Regent should do homage to the Queen for the Kingdom of Scotland. But Lidington answered for him, and affirmed, the Kingdom of Scotland owed no homage to England; that if the Kings of Scotland had formerly done any, it was only for the Earldom of Huntington and some other lands, which were since fallen into the hands of the English[215].

Between this, and the next meeting, on the 7th of October, it was that the Earl of Murray made the fore-mentioned agreement with the Duke of Norfolk. Lidington opened this session with a speech directed to the Regent and deputies of Scotland, telling them:—

That whereas it appeared, by the authority granted by the Queen of England to her commissioners, that her whole design was to engage the Scots to throw a blemish on the reputation of their King's mother, they would therefore do well to consider carefully beforehand, what hazard they exposed themselves to, and how they would draw upon themselves the resentment of the Queen, her relations, and friends, and the indignation of all Europe, should they impeach her of a crime which must stain her honour, and in so public a manner, before the English, the professed enemies of Scotland.

What account would they be able to give their King when he came of age, of a charge so bold and dishonourable to the King, to his mother, and to the whole nation? He therefore, for his part, thought it necessary to waive so scandalous an accusation; or if they would proceed, it was requisite, at least, that the Queen of England should expressly engage to defend them against such as should hereafter give them any disturbance upon this account.

He concluded, with saying, that he thought it his duty to give them this advice, as he was Secretary of Scotland.

It is easy to perceive, that the drift of this speech was to give the Regent an excuse to drop the accusation, according to his agreement with the Duke of Norfolk. He was come from Scotland on purpose to accuse the Queen, being provided with all the proofs he intended to use; but by the Duke of Norfolk's suggestion, had altered his mind.

It was necessary therefore to find a pretence for this change, and this pretence Lidington furnished him with, by laying before him such plausible reasons. Camden and Buchanan were at a loss for the reason of the Earl of Murray's sudden change. Camden would insinuate, that the engagement he demanded of Elizabeth, was only a cavil, to hide his mistrust of the justice of his cause.

He says, the English commissioners pressed him very much to give proofs of the accusation, which as yet appeared to be founded only upon a few letters from the Queen, so much the more suspicious, as Lidington had privately intimated, he himself had often counterfeited her hand. But I believe Camden would have been puzzled to prove, that any of the articles of the accusation were examined at York. Buchanan, who knew as little of the secret as Camden, though he was one of the Scotch deputies[216], pretends, the Regent, purely out of conscience, scrupled to accuse his sister before foreigners.

The York Conference Broken Off

The York conference breaking off, and being, as I said, removed to Hampton Court[217] before new commissioners, the Regent, or Wood his Secretary, suffered the accusation, with the proofs, to be snatched out of his hand. which done, a day was appointed for the Scots to enlarge upon their proofs.

The Regent agreed to it, and demanded that Mary's deputies should be present, that they might urge their objections, and matters be more fully cleared[218]. But when the day came, Mary's deputies produced a formal revocation of their commission, and an exception against the English commissioners, unless the French and Spanish ambassadors were joined with them. Mary demanded farther, that the Earl of Murray should be sent to prison, affirming, she could convince him of being author of the King's murder.

This revocation, just at the critical time, when the proofs against Mary were going to be examined, gave occasion to suspect, she thought herself unable to answer to the purpose. Whilst she was made to hope that matters would not come to the producing and examining the proofs, she had left a full power with her deputies.

But as soon as he found Elizabeth, instead of serving her as she expected, sought to bring to light what was capable of dishonouring her, she believed it absolutely necessary to avoid such an examination. For this reason, she revoked the commission to her deputies, excepted against the English commissioners, and required an impossible condition, knowing the French and Spanish ambassadors would not receive a commission from Elizabeth, and that the Queen would not suffer them to be concerned in the affair.

In short, she did not offer to prove the Earl of Murray guilty of the King's death, till she had revoked the power of those who were to have accused him in her name. All these things give occasion to believe, she dreaded the event of this examination, though by her letters to Elizabeth, it should seem, she most earnestly desired to have an opportunity to make her innocence appear before her.

Elizabeth did not much trouble herself about these acts. Her design was not to judge the Queen of Scots, but to draw from her accusation and the proofs, a pretence to detain her till the affair should be fully cleared, being resolved never to think it sufficiently explained either for or against, but to testify, however, she should be very glad to find her innocent.

I say only to testify, for certainly she was pleased to have in her hands proper proofs to show, upon occasion, that she could not justify her. She acted this part a good while.

In fine, though Mary had excepted against the English commissioners, they proceeded however to the examination of the proofs. The Earl of Murray produced the confessions of those who were executed for being concerned in the King's murder. Then he read the decree of the States, confirming the Queen's resignation of the Crown to the King her son. After which, he produced the fatal casket, which Bothwell would have taken from the Castle of Edinburgh, and showed the letters, verses, and contracts before mentioned. This is what Buchanan, who was present, attests [219].

But Camden, without descending to any particulars, contents himself with saying, The Earl of Murray endeavoured to prove her guilty of her husband's murder, by conjectural proofs and circumstances, by some few affidavits, by certain love letters and verses writ, as he affirmed, with the Queen's own hand. But these letters and verses were little regarded, there being no name or date to them.

Buchanan's History was published when Camden writ his Annals. The first attests, that in the casket were found letters containing the whole conspiracy against the King, and the Queen's rape, besides the contrasts. Camden in fills upon some letters and verses, and even insinuates they were forged.

Had he writ first, he might have supposed his assertions would not be questioned. But as he wrote forty years after Buchanan, he ought, in my opinion, either to have positively denied or explained the facts related by that historian. And therefore, as he does confute them, it is plain he had nothing material to object to them. He farther adds, Murray gave the commissioners a book of Buchanan's, entitled, *The Detection*, wherein was a particular account of the King's death, with the vouchers: But that it found little credit with the commissioners, because the author was a mercenary writer.

As to the confessions of those that were put to death, he says in another place, that all declared the Queen innocent with their last breath. Here he owns, the depositions of these same people were produced against her, but answers them not. He adds however, that Elizabeth was very well pleased that these accusations were something which impaired the Queen of Scots's reputation [220].

But if the commissioners gave no credit to the proofs as he would insinuate, Mary's reputation could not be impaired, but on the contrary, she would have been fully cleared[221].

Elizabeth Will Not Decide The Matter

The examination being ended, Elizabeth forbore to decide either for or against, as she had resolved. Meanwhile, as Mary's friends were endeavouring to raise troubles in Scotland, and the Regent's presence was necessary, Elizabeth took occasion to put off the conclusion of the affair

till a more convenient time. Thus she obtained her desires, that is, a pretence to detain Mary till the affair was more fully cleared, and withal, proofs which would very probably hinder the Queen and her friends from soliciting a decision.

Buchanan affirms, she caused the Scotch deputies to be told, that thus far she did not see anything blamable in the conduct of the Scots. Camden says, on the contrary, she abhorred their insolence. Melvil adds, she acquainted Mary, that she believed her wrongfully accused, and could not enough detest the insolence of her accusers; nor should the accusation be ever made public.

The difference between Camden and Melvil is, that Melvil relates this only to show to what height Elizabeth carried her dissimulation; but Camden pretends to infer from thence, she believed her innocent. After all, the accounts of these three authors may be equally true, because Elizabeth's scheme was to leave the affair undetermined, and to put both parties in hopes of her favour.

Buchanan says, before the conference ended, Murray offered to clear himself of the King's murder before Mary's deputies: But that they thought proper to drop their accusation[222]. They could hardly do otherwise, for though they might have hoped to convict him, their commission was revoked.

Murray Informs Elizabeth What Passed With The Duke of Norfolk

Though, according to Melvil, Elizabeth said she would not see the Earl of Murray any more, she had however private conferences with him. In these conferences between her it was, that he informed her of all that had passed between him and the Duke of Norfolk[223], and showed her letters from Mary, which had been intercepted in Scotland, wherein she complained in very harsh terms, of the treatment she received since her coming to England.

Mary Removed to Tutbury Castle

Moreover, she hinted to her friends, that they should not be discouraged at what had passed at York and Hampton Court, and that she expected a powerful aid from a certain place which she would not name. These letters, added to what was discovered at the same time, that the Pope was labouring to raise a rebellion in England, by means of Ridolfi a Florentine merchant, and to Lidington's frequent conferences with the Duke of Norfolk[224], who was become very suspected, obliged Elizabeth to order the Queen of Scots to be removed to Tutbury Castle[225].

The Duke of Norfolk was so exasperated against the Earl of Murray, that he had resolved to have him murdered in his return to Scotland. But Throckmorton having reconciled them, the Duke desisted from his design. Melvil affirms, Murray promised Elizabeth to send her the letters the Duke should write to him, and that he performed his promise[226].

The Affairs of France

Whilst these things passed in England, the French court was thinking of executing their design of carrying away by force the Prince of Condé from his House at Noyers. The peace granted to the Huguenots was only to amuse them. Happily for the Prince, he had notice of it time enough to escape to Rochelle. This stratagem failing, the persecution against the Huguenots was renewed with greater fury than ever.

The King forbid them the exercise of their religion, and banished all their ministers. Whereupon, they sued for aid to Elizabeth, who sent them a hundred thousand crowns of gold, with a good train of artillery. She saw plainly this was a consequence of the councils held at Bayonne, and that if she suffered the Huguenots to be oppressed, the flames would soon reach England.

What confirmed her in this opinion was, that the Duke of Alva proceeded in the same manner in the Low-Countries, and plainly showed, he intended utterly to destroy the Protestant religion in these provinces and make the King absolute.

An Abundance of Flemings Settle in England

The Prince of Orange had brought an army from Germany to try to stop the execution of this design, but for want of money to pay it, was forced to retire among the Huguenots of France. This accident compelling many Flemish families to fly to England for refuge, the Queen gave them leave to settle in several good towns, where they contributed very much to cause trade to flourish([227]).

About the close of the year an accident happened, which occasioned a quarrel between the Queen, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Alva. The Genoa merchants, and some others of Italy, having a great sum of money in Spain, and resolving to send it into the Low-Countries[228] obtained a passport of the King of Spain, and put the money on board some vessels of Biscay. These ships being attacked in their passage by French pirates, did with great difficulty escape into Plymouth, Falmouth and Southampton.

As soon as the Queen had notice of it she ordered the Magistrates of those places to treat the Spaniards civilly, and assist them in case the pirates attempted anything against them. The Spanish ambassador telling her the money belonged to the King his master, obtained leave to have it landed.

His design was to carry it by land to some port nearer the Low-Countries. But, at the same time, Cardinal de Chatillon, who was then in England[229], informed the Queen that the money belonged to some merchants, and that the Duke of Alva was to seize it to help him to carry on the war. This was also confirmed by other people. So, to deprive the Duke of Alva of this assistance, he took the money by way of loan, and gave security for the payment.

Some time after, the Duke of Alva demanding the money, the Queen replied, she would punctually return it, as soon as it appeared by good proofs that it was the King of Spain's. Upon this refusal, the Duke seized the effects of the English, and sent the owners to prison; and the Queen did the like by the Flemings.

A few days after, she issued a proclamation upon this occasion, which the Spanish ambassador answered in print. But this did not satisfy him; he dispersed very insolent libels, containing grating reflections upon the Queen's reputation[230]. For this he was kept under a guard for a day or two. The Queen complained to the King of Spain of his ambassador's insolence; but could obtain no satisfaction[231].

Plot Against Cecil and The Occasion Thereof

1559 AD] This difference between the Queen and Philip II was quickly followed by a disturbance at court. Among all Elizabeth's ministers and counsellors, there was not one so heartily attached to his Mistress's interest as Cecil, who was Secretary of State. All the rest had their private views, to which they strove to adapt the Queen's and the Nation's interests. But Cecil minded only the Queen's, and was in great favour with her.

Therefore to him chiefly she imparted her most secret thoughts with respect to the government of the state. Several Privy Counsellors were engaged in the Queen of Scots party; That is, they wished the Crown of England was secured to her, in case Elizabeth died without issue. They were of opinion, it was a thing agreeable to equity, justice, and the laws of the land; and pretended it was the only way to prevent the troubles which might happen after the Queen's decease.

But Elizabeth thought, that when they considered the public advantages, they did not sufficiently attend to her safety.

Mary did not pretend only to be Elizabeth's, presumptive heir: It was well known her pretensions reached much farther, and that many were persuaded, her title was preferable to the Queen's, If therefore she was appointed Elizabeth's successor, it could be only in virtue of her birthright, and not in consequence of Henry VIII's will, where she was not so much as named, whereas many thought Elizabeth derived her title solely from thence.

So, in taking this course, the titles of the two queens would have been put in opposition, very much to Elizabeth's disadvantage. consequently her fear was, this nomination would increase the number of Mary's friends, and in the end endeavours would be used to set her on the throne before the time appointed.

All who were displeas'd with the government thought the nation would get by the change. The Catholics heartily wish'd it, and amongst the Protestants themselves, there were many to whom it was indifferent which Queen was on the throne, because they made no great conscience of conforming to all the changes which might be made in religion, as was the case more than once.

It was therefore of great moment to Elizabeth, to hinder Mary from being nominated to succeed her. So, she could not but have a great regard for those, whom she saw sincerely attached to her private interest. Among these Cecil was the chief, and it was he also whom Mary's friends considered as her most dangerous enemy, and rather, as he had frequently shown his inclination to the House of Suffolk, before the death of the Duchess of that name.

This was the real motive of a plot laid in the beginning of the year 1569, to ruin that minister. The Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Arundel, Pembroke, Leicester, and others[232], entered into this sort of conspiracy.

They accus'd Cecil of being the cause of the Queen's detaining the Spanish money, and by that of her running a manifest risk of a war with Spain, which could not but be very prejudicial to trade.

They flatter'd themselves, that upon this charge the Queen would send the Secretary to prison, and then they made no question they should find ways enough to effect his ruin. But the Queen being too quick sighted not to see into their aim and the motive of their plot, command'd them silence in such a manner, as destroy'd all their hopes of success either then or for the future. We shall see presently with what view they projected to deprive the Queen of this minister.

An Englishman is Carried Away by Force From The Low-Countries

The sudden quarrel between the Queen and the King of Spain, obliging the English merchants to send their effects to Hamburgh, the Duke of Alva prohibited all commerce with England. Then he appointed certain spies in all the seaports, to give him information of those that acted contrary to the prohibition. Of this number was one story an English Roman Catholic, who was very busy in discovering the private trade still driven by several persons with the English, notwithstanding the prohibition.

A Sort of War Between England and Spain

But his diligence cost him dear[233], Some time after, being drawn on board a vessel, which he was told had brought over English goods, and some heretical books, he was carried to England, where he languish'd in prison some years, and at last was condemn'd to die.

The English merchants met with no better treatment in Spain than in the Netherlands. Philip ordered all their effects to be seized, by way of reprisals for the money stopped in England. But this did not satisfy him.

To be more fully revenged of Elizabeth, he endeavoured to bribe the Duke of Norfolk to raise a rebellion in England, and the Earl of Ormond to do the same in Ireland; but these two Lords discovered it to the Queen. On the other hand, though there was no war proclaimed between England and Spain, the English, on pretence of the injury done to their countrymen, fell upon all the merchant ships belonging to the Spaniards.

They did so much damage to Philip's subjects, by these continual cruisings, that the Queen fearing to be involved in a formal war, was forced to restrain them by proclamation.

Elizabeth Makes an Alliance With The Czar

Whilst the English trade suffered in Spain and the Netherlands, it was likely to be quite lost in Muscovy, by the avarice of the English Merchants, who had angered the Czar. But the Queen speedily sent thither Sir Thomas Randolph, who so managed the Czar, that he obtained divers privileges for the Russia Company[234].

Shortly after, the Czar sent an ambassador to the Queen, to offer a personal alliance. Though it was no great honour to be allied with a Prince so notorious for his cruelties, she thought proper however, for the benefit of her subjects, to make a treaty with him, mutually promising to afford one another refuge, in case either should be dethroned.

A Project of a Marriage a Marriage Between The Duke of Norfolk and The Queen of Scots

Whilst Elizabeth was treating; with the Russian ambassador. Plots were forming in England, which might have proved fatal to her, had they not been prevented, Some of the Queen of Scots chief Friends, the same who would have destroyed Cecil, had projected to marry her to the Duke of Norfolk. The Earl of Leicester himself was in the plot; but in all appearance, he was only to be let into the secret, and discover every thing to the Queen.

It hardly to be doubted, that they who undertook this affair, were set to work by the Duke of Norfolk himself, though he let his friends proceed, without appearing in it himself. The occasion or pretence of this project was this:—

It was said, Elizabeth intending never to marry, the Queen of Scotland might happen to espouse a foreign Prince and a Papist, in which case the Protestant religion would be liable to great danger, since it was not impossible that the young King her Son should die before her. It was therefore necessary, to think betimes of marrying Mary to a Protestant husband, that she might be restrained, in case she should attempt any thing against religion, when she came to the Crown of England.

It was said further, no English Lord was more worthy of this honour than the Duke of Norfolk, who was a sincere Protestant. But to curb the Duke's ambition, in case he should think of carrying it too far, it was resolved he should give his daughter in marriage to the King of Scotland, that he might be concerned, in the young Prince's preservation.

Such was the project, which did not seem to have any thing criminal, especially as it was agreed, it should not be executed without the Queen's approbation. But, very probably, the managers of this affair had farther views. For, if they intended only the good and welfare of the Kingdom,

why did they desire to hide their designs from the Queen, till they had so well taken their measures, that it should be impossible for her to hinder the execution?

But however, without staying to examine whether it was the Earl of Murray that, first inspired the Duke of Norfolk with the thought of this marriage as Camden affirms contrary to all appearance[235], the Queen of Scots was informed of the project by the Bishop of Ross, who was very diligent in all her concerns. At the same time, she was promised to be restored to the throne of Scotland, and declared presumptive heir to Elizabeth, on the following terms:—

The Terms of Marriage

THAT as to the succession to the Crown of England, she should attempt nothing to the prejudice of Queen Elizabeth and her issue.

THAT she should consent to a league offensive and defensive between the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland.

THAT she should confirm the Establishment of the Protestant religion in Scotland.

THAT she should pardon such of her subjects as had acted or appeared in arms against her.

THAT she should revoke the assignment of her right to the Kingdom of England, which she had made to the Duke of Anjou, the King of France's brother.

THAT she should marry the Duke of Norfolk.

Mary very readily accepted the offer with the conditions annexed, all but the league, which she scrupled at a little, because she was willing before she entered into it, to consult the French King. she denied she had made any assignment to the Duke of Anjou, and yet offered to procure his renunciation, if required, for the greater security.

It is easy to perceive, the proposers of these terms had taken great care to screen themselves from the law, since they seemed very just in themselves, and advantageous to both Kingdoms. But they supposed the restoration of Mary to the throne of Scotland, and her nomination to succeed to the crown of England. This was to be done first, and then the execution of what she promised on her part, was left to, her honour. It was in this the artifice consisted.

The Project Carries On

As soon as Mary's consent was gained, several Lords and Gentlemen were sounded, who not perceiving the venom of the project, approved it, but with this proviso, that nothing should be done without the Queen's consent. It was also communicated to the Kings of France and Spain, who were very well pleased with it, though it be evident, they would have had no reason to be so, if they had believed, the conditions would be punctually performed.

Elizabeth is Informed of It

The proceedings of those who had framed such a project, without consulting the Queen, plainly shew, their design was to put the affair in such a state, that it should not be in her power to hinder the execution, when proposed to her. The Duke of Norfolk thought himself so secure of success, that the Earl of Northumberland having acquainted him, that Leonard Dacres intended to carry away the Queen of Scots[236], he desired the Earl to hinder it, being apprehensive she would be conducted into Spain.

This affair passing through so many hands, and being hardly any longer a secret, the Duke of Norfolk justly feared, the Queen would be offended that she was not informed of it, and therefore, not to incense her more, he desired the Earl of Leicester to speak of it to her.

Leicester promised to do it the first opportunity, and yet delayed it from day to day, so that all knew it, except the Queen, who, it is likely, feigned ignorance. However, she was willing to give the Duke occasion to disclose his secret, by telling him one day[237], to beware upon what pillow he laid his head; but he pretended not to understand what she meant, chousing rather that the Earl of Leicester should speak to her first, because he thought him his friend[238].

But it is said, the Earl had acted in this affair only to ruin him, because he considered him as a dangerous rival in the Queen's favour. However this be, the court being at Titchfield, the Earl of Leicester feigns himself very ill, and the Queen going to see him, he shewed signs of fear and trouble, which she easily perceiving, asked him the reason. Then begging her pardon for having so long concealed from her a secret which he ought to have told her, he discovered all that had passed concerning the Duke of Norfolk's marriage with the Queen of Scots.

After which, the Queen called the Duke into a gallery, and taxing him with imprudence and rashness for attempting this marriage, without vouchsafing to impart his design to her, commanded him to desist from this project.

The Duke owned, such a proposal had been made to him, and had consented to it; but shewed himself so regardless of it, that he told the Queen, his revenues were not much less than those of the whole Kingdom of Scotland, drained by civil wars; and that when he was at his tennis court in Norwich, he thought himself as good as some Kings. In short, he promised the Queen to think no more of the marriage.

Meanwhile, as afterwards he perceived she did not look upon him with the same eye as before, that the Earl of Leicester was against him, and the courtiers shunned him, he withdrew from court, without taking his leave of the Queen, and came to London.

The same day the Bishop of Ross[239] suing for the engagement of the Queen of Scots, Elizabeth, in great disgust, told him, that his mistress had nothing to do but to rest satisfied, unless she had a mind to fee those, on whom she most relied, shorter by the head.

This affair being entirely divulged, the Queen endeavoured by all ways to get information of such particulars, as might have escaped the Earl of Leicester's knowledge. As she knew the Duke had frequent conferences with the Earl of Murray, she sent Sir George Carey[240] into Scotland, to desire him to acquaint her with what he knew of the matter.

The Duke of Norfolk is Sent to The Tower

Meanwhile, the Duke being privately warned by a message from the Earl of Leicester, that a resolution was taken to send him to the tower, retired into Norfolk. But repenting of this hasty step, which might render him suspected, he returns to court, after writing to the Queen to beg her pardon, and to his friends, to entreat them to speak to the Queen in his behalf.

Some days after, the Queen received letters from Scotland[241], informing her of some things which had not come to her knowledge, and which made her sign a warrant to send the Duke of Norfolk to the tower. Then the Bishop of Ross, who acted as the Queen of Scots ambassador, was examined, and Ridolfi the Florentine was delivered to the custody of Sir Francis Walsingham.

The Lord Lumley was arrested, the Earl of Pembroke was confined to his own house, and all the rest who were concerned in the project of the Duke of Norfolk's marriage, were banished the court, except the Earl of Leicester. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland made their

submission to the Earl of Sussex, Lord President of the North. All these Lords endeavoured to excuse themselves, by declaring, they had approved the project of the Duke's marriage, on the express condition, it should not be consummated without the Queen's consent.

Conspiracy and Rebellion in The North

Elizabeth did not think to publish all she knew of this affair, wherein the prime Lords of the Kingdom were concerned. Besides, she had received, some time since, advice of a conspiracy ready to break out, and consequently, it might be very dangerous to use too great a severity at such a juncture.

The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, both very powerful in the north, had held together several conferences, of which the Queen had notice, and which caused her to order them to repair to court. They made some dilatory excuses, but the Queen sent them a more express order, to put them under a necessity of relinquishing their enterprise, or engaging in an open rebellion, before they had taken proper measures.

This second order produced the effect she expected. The two Earls knowing themselves guilty, and not daring to trust to the Queen's mercy, took arms, and drew some forces together[242].

The Rebels Publish a Manifesto

The rebels design was to free the Queen of Scots, though they mentioned her not in their manifesto, They said only, their intent was, to restore the religion of their forefathers, remove evil counsellors from the Queen, and cause justice to be done to the Duke of Norfolk, and the other Lords now in prison, or under disgrace.

At the same time, they writ circular letters to the Catholics, inviting them to come and join with them. But most sent the letters, they received, to the Queen[243], whether they were not willing to disturb the peace of the realm, or were discouraged by the Duke of Norfolk's imprisonment.

Meanwhile, the rebels coming to Durham, burn all the English Bibles and Common-Prayer-Books, and openly say Mass. Then they marched to Clifford Moor, where they took a muster, and found their army amounted to four thousand foot, and six hundred horse.

Mary Removed to Coventry

Their chief design was to free the Queen of Scots, in order to set her at their head; but upon the first news of this rebellion, she was conveyed to Coventry[244], a strong city in the middle of the Kingdom, not to be taken without a formal siege, for which the rebels were by no means prepared. Besides, in marching thither, they would have gone into a country, where the inhabitants were not their friends.

The Rebels Disperse Themselves

Meantime, forces were levying for the Queen in several parts. The Earl of Suffolk had now seven thousand men[245], the Lord Clinton was at the head of twelve thousand, and the Earl of Cumberland, with the Lord Scroop, were near Carlisle with a good body of troops, besides the garrison which they had thrown into that city.

So, the rebels finding their number not increased, thought proper to retire to the borders of the north[246] where they took Barnard Castle, but, presently after, fearing to be surrounded, dispersed themselves. The Earl of Northumberland concealed himself at Harclaw, in Scotland[247].

Some Rebels are Punished

The Earl of Westmorland escaped into the Netherlands, where he spent the residue of his days, living upon a slender pension allowed him by the King of Spain. The rebels being thus dispersed, some were hanged for an example[248]. Forty others, who were fled out of the Kingdom, were convicted of high treason and out-lawed, and their sentence was confirmed by the next parliament.

Some Rebels are Pardoned

Of this number were, Charles Nevil Earl of Westmoreland, Thomas Percy Earl of Northumberland, with his Countess, and Egremont Ratcliff, brother to the Earl of Sussex[249]. The Queen pardoned the rest, who did not fly out of the land. Some time before this rebellion, the Duke of Alva sent to the Queen Ciapine Vitelli, a famous captain, to demand the money which had been stopped. But his commission was so limited, that he was forced to write to the Duke of Alva for a more ample power.

The real design of this embassy was to have in England an experienced leader to command the rebels, and the forces the Duke of Alva was to send over. Lamothe governor of Dunkirk, disguised like a sailor, had already sounded the ports, as he himself confessed afterwards. But the Queen broke all these measures, by compelling the two heads of the rebels to take arms sooner than they had resolved.

Dacres Rebellion

This rebellion was quickly followed by another, of which Leonard Dacres, a gentleman of the north[250], was the head. He had some business at court, which he was soliciting when the first rebellion broke out.

Upon the news, he went and offered his service to the Queen, who accepted it, because she knew he had a great interest in the northern parts. Having received a commission from the Queen to raise forces, he sent to the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, that the troops he should raise by virtue of his Commission, should be at their service.

Dacres is Defeated and Flees to Flanders

He even put them in hopes of foreign succours, as certain ambassadors at London had assured him. His chief design was to carry away the Queen of Scots; but he was disappointed, by her being sent to Coventry. So, finding himself at the head of three thousand men, after taking some castles[251], he resolved to expect the Lord Hunsdon, February 22. who was marching towards him with the garrison of Berwick[252].

The battle was fought near the little River Gelt. Dacres behaved very gallantly, but being vanquished, fled into Flanders, where he died. The Queen pardoned all his followers.

Commotions in Ireland

At the same time, there were commotions in Ireland, Ireland, in which, it appeared, the King of Spain was concerned, since he had dispatched thither Juan Mendoza, an officer, to foment them. But they were easily allayed[253].

It is uncertain, whether the Duke of Norfolk was concerned in the late rebellion in England. Several circumstances made against him. First, as most insurrections necessarily require some preparations, it might be thought the rebels were getting ready, at the very time the Duke of

Norfolk and his friends were preparing every thing, to obtain the Queen's consent to the projected marriage.

In this expectation, he had hindered Dacres from attempting to free the Queen of Scots, as he had intended. Secondly, all the motions of the rebels tended to Mary's deliverance, and most of her friends were discouraged, when they heard the Duke of Norfolk was in the tower.

Lastly, the rebels themselves said in their manifesto, they had taken arms to release him. But on the other hand, it is certain this Lord was never called to an account, and the Queen was contented with keeping him in prison till September the next year. Hence, it seems, it may be inferred, there was no proof against him. But perhaps the Queen did not think it advisable to let the people know, the first Lords of the realm were concerned in the conspiracy.

Affairs of Scotland

I left, about the end of the last year, the Earl of Murray in England, where he had played several and very opposite parts. Upon his arrival in Scotland, he assembled all the Lords of the King's Party at Sterling[254], to communicate what he had done in England, and his conduct was approved.

The Duke of Chateleraut was come from France to London, a little before the Earl of Murray's departure. He forthwith demanded Queen Elizabeth's aid and protection, to obtain the regency of Scotland, being the young King's nearest relation. But the Queen knew her interest too well to fall into such a snare, and to favour a Lord, whose conduct had ever been very equivocal, and who, in all appearance, had not imbibed at the court of France favourable notions of the King's party.

The Duke not being able to obtain his desire, let the Earl of Murray depart, and came not to Scotland till some time after him. He brought a patent from Queen Mary, wherein it appeared, that by a new and unheard of right, she had adopted him for her father, and as such, committed to him the regency of the Kingdom.

The Earl of Murray hearing the Duke affirmed the title of Regent in virtue of this patent, immediately assembled an army, to compel him to submit to the government, resolving no other authority but the King's should be acknowledged in Scotland. Since the Queen's defeat and flight, her party was grown so weak, that the Duke of Chateleraut was unable to resist.

All his dependence was upon the good success of the project, which was then forming in favour of the Duke of Norfolk, after which he did not question to gain the advantage of the Earl of Murray. But as it was not in his power to hasten the execution of the project in England, he was forced to confine himself to the endeavouring to gain time, by proposing an agreement. He plainly perceived, the way of arms could not be successful in his present circumstances.

He set therefore his friends to talk with the Regent, and it was agreed, he should come to Glasgow, acknowledge the King's authority, and renounce the Queen's; for which some advantages he had required were granted him. Notwithstanding this agreement, he raised fresh difficulties to attain his end. But the Regent not being satisfied with all his evasions, began to march with his army to attack him.

Then the Duke having no other refuge, was constrained to go to the Regent with the Lord Herreris. A few days after, the Regent having assembled at Glasgow the lords of the King's party, it was resolved that a proclamation should be published, offering to all who had hitherto refused to own the King's authority, to receive their submissions, and restore them to the enjoyments of their lands.

But the Earls of Argyle and Huntley would not accept of these terms, being extremely displeas'd at the Duke of Chateleraut putting himself into the hands of the Earl of Murray. At the same time, Queen Mary writ letter upon letter to her friends, exhorting them to stand firm, and giving them hopes of a speedy and happy revolution in her affairs. She was then in expectation of the success of the projects concerning her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk.

The Regent's proclamation not meeting with the expected success, and no one appearing to accept the offer'd favour, he departed for Edinburgh, carrying with him the Duke of Chateleraut and the Lord Herry. He had delay'd thus long to press them to make their submission to the King, because he was desirous it might be a general affair.

But at last, finding the Queen's Friends were in no haste to make their submission, he resolv'd to incite them by the Duke of Chateleraut's example, who was the head of the party, and summon'd him to perform the agreement made at Glasgow. The Duke seeing himself press'd foug't excuses, saying he did not mean to treat for himself alone, but for the Queen's whole party, and therefore could do nothing without the concurrence of the other Lords, and the Queen's approbation.

Whereupon, the Regent asking him what he intended to do if the Queen approv'd not the agreement of Glasgow? He replied, that he believ'd himself bound to nothing. The circumstances of the Duke of Norfolk's plot, the success whereof he expected every moment, made him think it not very dangerous to talk thus. However, the Regent finding himself thus amus'd, sent him and the Lord Herry prisoners to the castle.

The Duke of Chateleraut Sent to Prison

This is Buchanan's account of the occasion of the Duke of Chateleraut's imprisonment, an account which the circumstances of affairs renders very probable. But Camden and his followers have been pleas'd to say only, the Regent having summon'd at Edinburgh the Lords of both parties, to labour an agreement, the Duke of Chateleraut and the Lord Herry first repair'd thither, and were order'd to prison.

In this manner has Camden maim'd and disfigur'd the history of Scotland, to give some colour to his invectives against the Earl of Murray. I am going to relate another instance, either of his prejudice or unfaithfulness. I have reserv'd it till now, though it be not its proper place, because it would have been impossible to convince the reader of my assertion, if he was not first inform'd of what has been said concerning the affairs of the Queen of Scots.

I hope I shall be pardon'd this sort of digression. Camden, after a very brief account of the murder of King Henry Darnly, in the year 1567, and an insinuation that the Earl of Murray was the real author of it, says, that the same Murray earnestly press'd the Queen to marry the Earl of Bothwell, to which she consented at last, after much difficulty. Then he immediately adds:—

"I shall willingly insert here what George Earl of Huntley and the Earl of Argyle, who were the principal Lords of Scotland, protest'd soon after, as I have taken it from an original sign'd with their own hands, which they sent to Queen Elizabeth".

Anderson's Collection

Forasmuch as the Earl of Murray and others, to colour their rebellion against the Queen, whose authority they usurp, do openly slander her, as guilty of the murder of her husband; we do publicly protest and witness these things following. In the month of December[155] 1566, when the Queen was at Craigmillar, Murray and Lidington acknowledg'd before us, that Morton, Lindsay and Ruthven slew David Rizzo, with no other intent than to save Murray, who was at that very

time to be proscribed. Therefore, that they might not appear ungrateful, they greatly desired, that Morton and the rest who were banished for Rizzo's Murder, might be recalled.

But this they said could not be done, unless the Queen were divorced from her husband, which they promised to accomplish, would we but give our consent. Afterwards Murray promised to me (Huntley,) that my antient inheritance should be restored to me, and should be an everlasting favourite with the exiles, if I would but countenance the divorce.

Then we applied to Bothwell for his consent also. And lastly, we came to the Queen, and Lidington, in the name of us all, earnestly entreated her to reverse the banishment of Morton, Lindsay, and Ruthven.

The King's faults and offences against the Queen and the Realm, he aggravated with very great bitterness; and showed how much it concerned the Queen and State, that the divorce should be made out of hand, it being impossible for the King and Queen to live together in Scotland with safety. She answered, she had rather withdraw for a time into France, till her husband should be sensible of the errors of his youth, being unwilling anything should be done to her son's prejudice, or her own dishonour.

To this Lidington replied, we who are of your council will look to that. But I command you, says she, to do nothing that may blemish my honour, or offend my conscience. Let the thing remain as it is, till God pleases to provide a remedy from above. That which you imagine will be for my good, may, I fear, turn to my hurt.

To which Lidington said, please to leave matters to us, and you shall find nothing will be done but what is just, and what the Parliament will approve of.

A few days after, the King happening to be murdered in an execrable manner, we do from the inward testimonies of our consciences, hold it for certain, that Murray and Lidington were the authors, contrivers, and abettors of this regicide, whoever were the actors.

This protestation, as may be easily observed, squares exactly with Camden's design in his **Annals of Queen Elizabeth**, namely, to clear the Queen of Scots from the crime of murdering the King her husband, and to accuse the Earl of Murray. But withal, it is directly contrary to the testimony of Melvil, an eye-witness, who, in his memoirs, says not a single word which can give occasion to suspect, the Earl of Murray was thought guilty of the murder.

If this protestation therefore be true, Melvil's memoirs must be only a heap of fables, which no man of sense will ever believe. But to shew that this writing is counterfeit, it will be proper to examine it particularly, and make some remarks which will discover the forgery.

Camden begins with saying: I shall willingly insert here what George Earl of Huntley, and the Earl of Murray, who were the principal Lords of Scotland, protested soon after.

This soon after must have been two whole years at least, as I shall demonstrate hereafter.

As I have taken it from an original signed with their own hands.

Camden has not set these two Lords hands to the writing, it may be, because he did not know in what order they were to be placed. In a certificate however, one would think the signature is a material thing[156], which they sent to Queen Elizabeth. Supposing the truth of this protestation, it could not be sent to Queen Elizabeth till the latter end of the year 1568 at the very soonest, when the Earl of Murray went to York to accuse the Queen before the English commissioners.

This remark discovers Camden's artifice, who designedly neglecting to date the writing, places it in his Annals the beginning of the year 1567, immediately after the King's murder, as if at that very time Murray had been accused of killing that Prince; whereas it was not till after the Queen's flight into England that she thought of casting the crime upon him. It was not therefore out of pure negligence that Camden avoided dating the protestation.

Forasmuch as the Earl of Murray and others, to colour their rebellion against the Queen, whose authority they usurp, do openly slander her as guilty of the Murder of her husband.

The Earl of Murray cannot be said to usurp the Queen's authority, till after he was declared Regent, or the Queen to accuse him publicly of killing the King, till the York conference, or rather till that of Hampton Court, that is in October or November 1568.

Now at that time the two factions were both formed. Murray was head of the one, and Huntley of the other. So, supposing this writing not to be forged, what opinion can a man have of the attestation of one sworn enemy against another?

As to the Earl of Argyle, Buchanan affirms, he was retired a little before to his own house; so that it is not probable he should join with the Earl of Huntley to frame this certificate at the time it must be supposed to be drawn. If it was dated, we might speak of it with more certainty.

We do openly protest and witness these things following. In the month of December 1566.

This way of beginning argues it was now some time since the things they are going to mention were transacted.

When the Queen was at Craigmillar, Murray and Lidington acknowledged before us, that Morton, Lindsay and Ruthven, saw David Rizzo, with no other intent than to save Murray, who was at that very time to be proscribed.

I have already made appear by the testimony of Melvil, that the Earl of Murray, far from owning that Rizzo was killed on his account, would not join with the party of the murderers, but remained constantly attached to the Queen.

Besides, the Earl of Argyle, author of this protestation, was then a fugitive as well as Murray, and was no less to be condemned than he. And yet, he speaks here of this affair, as if he were a stranger to it, though he was the most considerable of those who were to be banished, and though Melvil affirms, it was for his and the others sake, who had taken arms against the Queen, Murray excepted, that Rizzo was murdered.

Therefore that they might not appear ungrateful, they greatly desired that Morton, and the rest who were banished for Rizzo's murder, might be recalled.

What has Lidington to do here, when he was never concerned in Rizzo's affair, and wherein consisted his ingratitude, if the exiles were not recalled?

But this they said could not be done unless the seen were divorced from her Husband. Rizzo was killed by the King's order, and in his presence, and solely, according to the author of the protestation, to save the Earl of Murray. The point was to get the murderers recalled, who had been banished for this murder committed by the King's order, and these exiles cannot be recalled by the Queen, the only person offended, unless she is divorced from the King.

Let this consequence be well examined, and it will never be thought, that the Earls of Huntley and Argyle were so weak as to reason in so wretched a manner. In December 1566[257], that is,

about the time of the Prince's baptism, the King was looked upon as a cipher, and exposed to all sorts of insults from the Queen.

Which they promised to accomplish, would we but give our consent.

At that time the Earl of Murray had no credit at court. It was Bothwell that ruled all. I don't know how it stood then with Lidington. However, Murray and Lidington are represented here as the persons that were to be the chief agents in accomplishing the Queen's divorce, and as wanting for that purpose only the bare consent of the Earls of Huntley and Argyle. This is by no means probable.

Afterwards Murray promised to me (Huntley) that my ancient inheritance should be restored to me, and I should be an everlasting favourite with the exiles, if I should but countenance the divorce.

The author of the protestation has confounded the times. Murray having then no power, could not make any such promise to the Earl of Huntley. None but Bothwell was able to make and perform it. Besides, it is not likely the Queen, when she recalled the Earl of Huntley, who was condemned to die, should still detain his ancient inheritance which had been confiscated.

Then we applied to Bothwell for his consent also.

This confounds the whole *History of Scotland*. Murray and Lidington are made authors of the project of the Queen's Divorce, and the Earl of Bothwell, as one who is only to give his consent, though it is certain, he had then an absolute sway over the Queen, who married him very soon after.

And lastly, we came to the Queen, and Lidington in the name of us all, earnestly entreated her to reverse the banishment of Morton, Lindsay, and Ruthven. The King's faults and offences against the Queen and the Realm, he aggravated with very great bitterness; and shewed how much it concerned the Queen and State, that the Divorce should be made out of hand, it being impossible for the King and Queen to live together in Scotland with safety.

Can it be conceived, that to induce the Queen to pardon men who had killed her favourite in her presence, and by the King her husband's express order, there should be occasion to aggravate the King's faults, and demonstrate to the Queen, that she must be divorced from him?

She answered, she had rather withdraw for a time into France, till her husband should be sensible of the errors of his youth, being unwilling anything should be done to her son's prejudice, or her own dishonour.

The Author of this protestation represents the Queen in December 1566, as being under oppression, and speaking of retiring into France till the King should be pleased to amend his errors. This suffices to shew, that the whole is a forgery; for it is not likely, the Earls of Huntley and Argyle should talk in this manner.

To this Lidington replied. We who are of your council will look to that. But I command you, says he, to do nothing that may blemish my honour or offend my conscience. Let the thing remain as it is, till God pleases to provide a remedy from above: That which you imagine will be for my good, may, I fear, turn to my hurt.

The artifice of these words which the Queen is made to speak, consists in this: The Queen having commanded all these Lords to do nothing with respect to her divorce, Murray and Lidington found no other way to get the exiles recalled, but by causing the King to be murdered. As if the

King alone was an invincible obstacle to the recalling of the banished Lords, who killed Rizzo by his orders, and in his presence. I confess this reasoning appears to me incomprehensible.

A few days after, the King happening to be murdered in an execrable manner.

What has been just related passed in December 1566, according to the protestation, and the King was killed in February 1567, that is, two months after. Now can it be supposed, that the Earls of Huntley and Argyle could possibly be so mistaken, as to call two months a few days?

We do, from the inward testimonies of our consciences, hold it for certain, that Murray and Lidington were the authors, Contrivers, and Abettors of this Regicide.

The inference the author of this paper would draw, that the Earls of Murray and Lidington were the contrivers of the King's murder, from their having projected the Queen's divorce, appearing to him, without doubt, liable to strong objections, he seems to give it up in part, when he grounds it wholly upon the inward testimony of Huntley's and Argyle's consciences.

Whoever were the actors?

It was notorious that Bothwell was the contriver of the King's murder, and Camden himself makes no scruple to own it, joining however the Earl of Murray with him. But the author of the protestation durst not name him, because it was giving a sensible wound to the Queen's honour, who, within a few months, married the murderer.

I shall only add one remark, which to me seems decisive to demonstrate the forgery of this paper. Lidington was never accused but in this writing only, of being concerned in King Henry's murder [258]. On the other hand, so far was he from being considered as an enemy to the Queen, that he was rather very much suspected by the young King and the Earl of Murray's party, and not without reason.

What' Melvil says of him, and of the occasion of the York and Hampton Court conferences, is a clear evidence that he continued in the regent's party, only to have opportunities to serve the Queen. Buchanan confirms Melvil's testimony, in a book, entitled, *The Chameleon*, wherein he pretends to shew, that Lidington betrayed the young King's party, and in his history he drops many the like expressions against him.

Now, how can it be thought, that the Earls of Huntley and Argyle, heads of the Queen's party, should be ignorant, that Lidington was privately labouring for them? If they knew it, it is by no means likely, that at the very time when Lidington was at York or Hampton Court, and frequently conferring with the Duke of Norfolk, to hinder the Earl of Murray from accusing the Queen, these two chiefs of the party should publicly accuse their secret friend of being author of the King's murder; especially as there was not the least ground for such a charge.

But very possibly, the author of the protestation was ignorant of Lidington's secret practices, and seeing him among those who attended the Regent at York, imagined he might safely join them together in the same accusation. But however this be, though this protestation be as true as it appears to be counterfeit, it cannot serve for proof to support what Camden advances concerning the Earl of Murray, because it will be still true, that it came from one of his most mortal enemies. I return to what passed in Scotland during the year 1569.

The Regent Has Advice of Norfolk's Designs

Shortly after the Duke of Chateleraut's arrest, the Regent convened the chief of the nobility at Perth, to communicate to them certain letters he had received, upon which it was necessary to consult together.

The first was Melvil. from a friend in England[259], to give him notice of the conspiracy in favour of the Duke of Norfolk, to espouse the Queen of Scots, telling him withal, the conspiracy was in such a state, that all the forces of Great Britain were not capable of preventing its success; and advising him therefore to think in time of his own affairs.

Mary Desires Her Marriage to Bothwell be Annulled

The second letter was from Queen Mary, and directed to the States of Scotland. It was to desire, that the validity of her marriage with the Earl of Bothwell might be examined, adding, if there appeared any essential defect in it, she would very willingly consent, it should be dissolved.

As Bothwell was still alive in Denmark, it was necessary his marriage with the Queen should be annulled, before she could espouse the Duke of Norfolk. For this reason she wanted the States of Scotland to get it dissolved, pretending only to give her consent to it, though she could not proceed without it.

Elizabeth's Demands to The States of Scotland on Behalf of Mary

The third letter was from Queen Elizabeth, to the same States, to demand one of these three things in favour of Mary.

The first, that she should be restored to the throne as formerly.

The second. That she should reign jointly with the King her Son.

The third. That she might live in Scotland, with such honours, as should not be prejudicial to the King's authority.

Camden, who agrees in this with Buchanan, will have it, that these demands of Elizabeth are to be considered as the effect of her compassion for the Queen of Scots. But where was the compassion to propose to the States three things so disproportionate, and to leave the choice to them? She knew, the two first would be rejected, and though the third should be accepted, many difficulties would occur before it could be settled.

Thus what Camden considers as an effect of Elisabeth's pity, was in truth only a consequence of the project she had formed to prolong the affair, under the specious colour of favouring her prisoner.

No Answers Sent to Mary's Letter

The Scotch Lords assembled at Perth, thought Mary's letter ought not to be answered, because she addressed to the States as if she was still their Queen, which they would not allow. She did what she could to remove this difficulty; but all her endeavours served only to confirm them the more in their resolution. They were far from being willing to facilitate the Queen's marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, by causing Bothwell's to be nulled. Mary, who did not know they were so well acquainted with her secrets, complained very much of their scrupling to dissolve a marriage, which had served them for a cloak to take arms against her. But her complaints were little regarded.

Answer of The Scotch Lords to Elizabeth

As to Elizabeth's demands, the Lords resolved to reject the two first, and accept the third, if Mary would be satisfied with it, and sent their answer to the Court of England by a young gentleman.

But Elizabeth, who only sought to gain time, writ to them, that she desired a person of more consideration to be sent to confer with her about so weighty an affair. For this reason the Lords deputed Robert Pitcairn.

The Regent Orders Lidington to be Arrested

Whilst Pitcairn was on his way, the Regent perceiving the Queen's faction daily grew stronger, by the hopes which the Duke of Norfolk's project gave the whole party, thought it necessary to secure Lidington's person. This Lord, by feigning to be attached to the King's party, served the Queen to the utmost of his power, and as he was a man of great sense and parts, did much more prejudice to the Regent, by outwardly embracing his side, than if he had openly declared for the Queen.

Lidington Rescued by Kircaldie

So, the Regent having on some pretence drawn him to Sterling, ordered him to be apprehended, and sent prisoner to Edinburgh[260]. But Kircaldie coming unexpectedly with part of the garrison of the castle, rescued him[261], promising to see him forthcoming when it should be required. This notable proceeding rendered Kircaldie very suspicious to the King's whole party[262].

Mary's Faction Grows Weak in Scotland

Meanwhile, the Duke of Norfolk being sent to the tower, without effecting anything of his projects, all Mary's designs, as well in Scotland as England, vanished into air. Shortly after, the Earls of Huntley and Argyle were reconciled to the Regent, and submitted to the King's Authority.

By that the Queen's faction was in a manner extinguished for some time. This shews how much Queen Mary and her adherents relied on the Duke of Norfolk. I shall close this year with a brief account of what passed in France and the Netherlands.

The war continued in France during the whole year 1569. On the 13th of March was fought the battle of Jarnac wherein the Prince of Condè was killed. D' Anselot the admiral's brother did not long survive him. Some time after, the Duke of Deuxponts led an army into France, to the assistance of the Huguenots, but died there in June, leaving the command of the army to Count Mansfeldt, who joined the admiral.

Affairs of France

With this reinforcement the admiral laid siege to Poitiers, but was forced to raise it in September. In October, the Huguenots lost the battle of Moncontour. This defeat obliged the admiral to send for a speedy aid from Elizabeth, who lent him money upon the Queen of Navarre's jewels, which were sent to her in pawn.

She also permitted a company of a hundred gentlemen volunteers to be raised, to serve in the army of the Huguenots[263]. The campaign ended with the taking of St. Jean d' Angeli, which the King became master of before the end of October.

Affairs of The Low Countries

The Duke of Alva still continued his oppressions in the Netherlands. He had set up the inquisition, and ordered the Council of Trent to be received, as well as the new Bishops, whose jurisdiction had been hitherto rejected. The bloody council still acted with fury. The privileges of the cities, universities, provinces, were delivered to the King's mercy. In a word, the Duke of Alva ordered

the hundredth part of the revenues to be paid to the King, after that, the twentieth part of the real, and the tenth of the personal, estates, every time they were sold.

Some of the magistrates of the towns having the boldness to appeal to the King from these ordinances, were severely punished. In short, these provinces being now considered by the Spaniards, but as a conquered country, all were driven to despair.

The Earl of Northumberland was Seized in Scotland

The beginning of the next year 1570, the Earl of Murray having notice that the Earl of Northumberland was concealed in Scotland, found means to seize him, and committed him to prison at Lochlevin. Camden says, he offered to deliver this Lord to Elizabeth, in exchange for the Queen of Scots; but this is not likely. Mary was better guarded in England than she could be in Scotland, and Murray was not ignorant of Elizabeth's reasons never to release her.

The Earl of Murray Assassinated

A few days after, Murray was shot through the body by one of the family of Hamilton, who pretended it to be only in revenge of a private injury. But it soon appeared to be by the direction of the Queen's faction[265].

On the morrow, the Scots and the Carrs, great friends of the Queen[266], entered England in arms, and destroyed the borders with fire and sword. As they had no private reason to make this incursion, it is easy to perceive, they were encouraged by the heads of the Queen's faction, who were willing to try to give a new turn to affairs. Their scheme was this.

The Queen's faction was ruined, and without any likelihood of being ever able to rise again because the Earl of Murray could be always sure of assistance from England in case of necessity. Wherefore the heads of that faction[267], who had submitted to the King against their wills, formed new projects. They considered the first union between England and Scotland, as a strong fence against all their enterprises in favour of Mary, and therefore resolved to break it at any rate.

To succeed, they deemed it necessary before all things, to assassinate the Earl of Murray, that the Kingdom might for some time be in a sort of anarchy, as it happened indeed. That done, they hoped, by provoking the English on their borders, they should excite them to a revenge on all the Scots without distinction; that this would revive the old enmity between the two nations, and so all Scotland would be united against England; that then succours might be safely sent for from France and Spain, and the project be resumed of invading the borders of England, whilst the Catholics should on their part act within the Kingdom.

Lidington is Set at Liberty and Labours for The Queen

The Lord Seaton's embassy to the Duke of Alva and the Pope's Bull, of which I shall presently speak, plainly shew, this was their intent, though Camden is pleased to consider the invasion of the English borders, as a mere caprice of the Scots and Carrs.

Elizabeth Avoids The Snare Laid For Her

1570 AD] Immediately after the Earl of Murray's death, Kircaldie released Lidington, who used all his art to hinder the King's party from proceeding to the election, of a new Regent. He intimated, that Scotland would never be in peace, unless a Regent were chosen who should be approved by the two parties, and consequently it was necessary to assemble the great men of both sides, that they might agree together.

In what he said there was the appearance of good. But he knew, it would be difficult to get all the great men together in one place, and though they should meet, they would never agree upon the choice. However this served to gain time, in the expectation Queen Elizabeth, by resolving to revenge the injury she had received, would drive all the Scots to despair, and unite them all against her.

She Complains of The Violations of The Peace

He succeeded in the first part of his design, and by his intrigues managed it so, that the election of a Regent was deferred. But he was not so happy in the other part of his project. Elizabeth and her Council were too wise to fall into the snare. On the contrary, the more they found that endeavours were used to unite all the Scots in one party, the more they judged it necessary to keep them divided, nothing being so advantageous to Elizabeth as to foment confusion and discord in that Kingdom, till she could take other measures.

To that purpose she sent Randolph into Scotland to complain of the inroad made into England. But instead of laying the fault upon the whole nation, as the authors of the invasion expected, she said withal by her ambassador, she was very sensible, those who governed Scotland were not concerned in the insult on the English, and therefore she was willing to distinguish the innocent from the guilty.

That she demanded however a suitable reparation, and if Camden. they who were at the helm could not procure it for her, she offered them the assistance of her forces. That in case they refused it, she would send an army into Scotland, not to attack the whole nation, but to punish such only as want only, and without provocation, had insulted the English.

As it was then a time of anarchy, there being no Regent yet, the giving the Ambassador an answer was put off till May, when the States would be assembled. Randolph insisted not upon a speedy answer[268]. He contented himself with exhorting the Scots to peace and concord, whilst he privately laboured to cherish their divisions, and hinder their union. This is what Melvil clearly shews in his memoirs.

Meanwhile, Elizabeth prepared an army, which she intended to send into Scotland, as well to revenge her subjects, as to support the King's party, and cause a Regent to be elected, who should not be against the interest of England.

Libels Published in Scotland Against Elizabeth

Though the heads of the Queen's faction saw Elizabeth did not fall into their snare, they endeavoured however to provoke her, and incense her against the whole nation, by libels and slanders which they took care to publish. But all their artifices were not capable of making her alter her course. Meanwhile, her army which was to be commanded by the Earl of Sussex, was preparing with all possible expedition.

In the meantime, Mary's adherents taking courage since the Earl of Murray's death, held frequent councils upon the situation of their affairs. Their aim was to gain time, in expectation of the succours which Verac the French envoy[269], put them in hopes of.

They expected likewise an aid from the Netherlands, and as these succours could not be ready so soon as they wished, they endeavoured to amuse the King's party by proposals of agreement. But these last constantly refused to conclude any thing before the assembly of the States.

Grange Sets His Prisoners at Liberty

In this interval, the Laird of Grange released the Duke of Chateleraut, the Lord Herreris, and the rest of the prisoners, and thereby the Queen's party was considerably strengthened. It must however have been still very weak, since it could act but by negotiations.

Be this as it will, the heads of that party resolved to meet at Linlithgow[270], by the name of the States, since, there being no Regent, they thought they had as much right to convene the States as the other party. In this assembly they vainly sought means to engage England to break with the whole Scotch nation.

Mary's Party Hold an Assembly of The States

Elizabeth was too much upon her guard to be easily surprised. At last perceiving they could not succeed, they believed it necessary for their safety to try to become masters of Edinburgh. But as this could not be effected, by force, they desired the magistrates of Edinburgh to permit their assembly in the City.

This was readily granted; but the inhabitants kept so strict a watch, that the project of the Queen's adherents was frustrated. Meantime, there were sundry negotiations between the two parties which came to nothing.

The English Approach

Presently after, upon news of the Earl of Sussex being come to Berwick, the assembly of Edinburgh broke up. The heads had now sent deputies to Elizabeth, to try to divert the impending storm, and to gain time, till the arrival of the French succours.

They even offered to make her umpire, and were so well seconded by the French ambassadors, that she readily consented to be mediatrix between the two parties. But she pretended, the affair which she sent an army into Scotland, had no relation to the differences between the two parties, for it was only to chastise the violators of the peace, who were owned by neither party, without however either being able to procure her any satisfaction.

So the Earl of Sussex received no counter orders. When that general was come to Berwick, the Duke of Chateleraut sent Melvil, to know whether he intended to join one of the parties, or endeavour their reconciliation. Melvil says in his memoirs, that in his conferences with the Earl of Sussex, he found the Earl had orders indeed to favour the King's Party, but would not quite discourage the Queen's[271].

He infers that his chief aim was to continue the troubles in Scotland, which is very likely.

The Earl of Sussex Enters Scotland

The English army entering Scotland in April, ravaged the lands of the Scots and Carrs, and of those who were concerned in the late incursion into England[272]. Camden says, in this expedition were burnt above three hundred houses, and about fifty castles. Melvil adds, the Earl of Sussex assaulted and took the Castles of Hume and Falst, belonging to the Lord Hume, to oblige him, who had hitherto remained in a sort of neutrality, to declare for Mary's party, left the balance should incline too much to the King's side.

This conjecture is grounded upon the project formed by the Queen's faction, to unite all Scotland, and upon Elizabeth's interest to prevent such an union.

The States Called in The King's Name

The beginning of May, the States summoned in the King's name, met at Edinburgh. Their first care was to depute Robert Pitcairn to Elizabeth, to bespeak her favour, meet and acquaint her, they were ready to chuse a Regent to her liking.

Whilst Pitcairn was on his way, Mary's adherents besieged the castle of Glasgow, which made a braver defence than they expected. The Earl of Sussex having notice of it, detached Sir William Drury, Governor of Berwick, with a thousand foot, and two hundred horse. At their approach, the besiegers retired, and dispersed themselves in the mountains.

Meanwhile, Drury being joined by a body of Scotch Royalists, ravaged the lands of the Hamiltons, and took the castle of that name, belonging to the Duke of Chateleraut.

In the mean time, Pitcairn returning from England, reported to the States, that Elizabeth thought it very strange, that since Murray's death she had not been informed of the posture of affairs in Scotland; that her ignorance in that respect had kept her in suspense, concerning the course she was to take:—

That at length, tired with continual solicitations, she had consented, that a conference should be held between the two Parties, wherein she was very willing to act as a mediatrix, provided they would both refrain from violent methods, and leave things as they were:

That she desired therefore the States to observe this condition, and defer the election of a Regent till the success of the conference should be known.

This demand very much embarrassed the States. They could remain no longer without a head, and yet, durst not disoblige the Queen of England, who alone was able to support them. Wherefore they resolved to elect an *Inter-Rex*, who could be revoked without any consequence, and the choice fell upon the Earl of Lenox, then in England.

Shortly after they received a letter from Elizabeth, acquainting them with her consent, that they might chuse a Regent, and recommending to them the Earl of Lenox, who was instantly chosen.

The Regent Takes Brechin and Disperses Huntley's Troops

Meanwhile, the Earl of Huntley receiving from Spain money and ammunition, took the field, and stormed the castle of Brechin. Shortly after, the Earl of Lenox arrived in Scotland, and when the States broke up, resolved to recover that castle which was of so great importance.

He assembled for that purpose his forces at Linlithgow, and demanded artillery and ammunition of Grange, governor of the Castle of Edinburgh, who refused them, on pretence he would not be instrumental in shedding the blood of his countrymen. Grange was probably of the Queen's party, but had other views than the rest of her Friends.

His project was to set himself at the head of a third Party, with which he pretended the other two should join, to restore the Queen to the crown upon certain terms. This was the cause of his ruin, as will hereafter appear. Sir James Melvil, author of the memoirs so often quoted, was in the same sentiments, as he discovers in several places, but probably waited for a more favourable opportunity to declare.

Grange's refusal hindered not the Regent from becoming master of Brechin, and compelling the Earl of Huntley to fly to the mountains, where it was not easy to negotiate pursue him. Not long

after, the Queen's party obtained a truce[273], at Queen Elizabeth's instance, who sought only to prolong; the affair; as on their part, the Queen's adherents tried to gain time, to wait the effects of the Duke of Alva's promises.

Some time before, they had sent the Lord Seaton to him to desire aid, and he had promised them ten thousand men. But the disorders which unexpectedly arose in the Netherlands, hindered him from performing his promise[274].

Plots to Free Queen Mary

Whilst these things passed in Scotland, several plots were forming in England to free the captive Queen. Monluc Bishop of Valence came to London, and very earnestly solicited the Queen of Scots liberty. The Spanish ambassador was no less urgent for the same. The Queen was the more jealous of the zeal of France and Spain for Mary, as at the same time Pope Pius V caused a Bull dated the last year, to be fixed up in the night in several places in London[275], whereby he excommunicated Elizabeth, and absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance.

A Conspiracy is Discovered

On the other hand, it was discovered, that some Norfolk gentlemen had resolved to take arms and raise a rebellion in that county[276]. This conspiracy being discovered, the authors were apprehended. But the Queen pardoned all but three, two of whom were John Throckmorton, and Felton, who posted up the Bull[277].

Shortly after, she heard also that two of the Earl of Derby's sons[278] had plotted to free the Queen of Scots. As John Lesley Bishop of Ross, who acted as Mary's ambassador, was the chief promoter of all these plots, it was thought fit to confine him again to the Bishop of London's palace. He was but lately released, having been arrested for being deeply concerned in the Earl of Northumberland's conspiracy.

The Duke of Norfolk is Released

Notwithstanding the just suspicions which all these machinations might raise in the Queen of the Duke of Norfolk, who was considered as the head of Mary's party, he was discharged from the tower[279], But it was not till after he had expressed great sorrow for his fault, and protested by word of mouth and under his hand, that he would never more think of marrying the Queen of Scots.

Elizabeth's Reasons for Detaining Mary

It was not difficult for Elizabeth to perceive, that the Queen of Scots was the sole cause of all these embarrassments. If repose would have followed upon her release, she would have willingly freed her. But though Mary's adherents, and those who solicited in her behalf, pretended, they acted only from a motive of compassion, and exclaimed against the injustice of detaining her in prison, Elizabeth was not ignorant, that their views extended much farther.

The Pope, Spain, the house of Lorraine, the Duke of Alva, the English, Scotch, and Irish Catholics confined not themselves to the freeing the unhappy Queen from captivity. Their aim was to set her on the throne of England. consequently it was more dangerous for Elizabeth to release her than to keep her confined. But she did not think proper to disclose her thoughts, as on their part their Enemies were extremely careful to conceal their designs. She continued therefore to feign, that she desired nothing more earnestly, than to find means to restore Mary to the throne of Scotland, provided it could be done without danger to England. To this end she sent Cecil[280], to make her some captious proposals, tending only to dazzle the public.

Mary hearing the proposals, returned a general answer, declining to give a particular reply to each article, without the consent of the heads of her party in Scotland, to whom she desired they should be communicated, that they might answer them as they should think proper. The proposals with the answers were to this effect:—

I. The Queen of Scots shall ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh, and renounce her claim to the Crown of England, during the life of Queen Elizabeth, and her Issue.

Answer. Agreed.

II. She shall not make nor renew alliance with any power whatever against England.

Answer. By renouncing the alliance of France, the Queen will forfeit her dower, and the Scotch nation be great losers. Wherefore the Queen of England must make amends for these things some other way.

III. She shall admit no foreign troops into Scotland.

Answer. Agreed, with this restriction, unless she is not able with her own forces to suppress the rebellions of her subjects.

IV. She shall hold no intelligence with the English or Irish, without the Queen of England's knowledge.

Answer. Agreed, provided the Queen of England will hold none with the Scots.

V. She shall deliver up the English and Irish rebels.

Answer. If there are any English or Irish Rebels in Scotland, they must be demanded of those who have taken arms against their Queen.

VI. She shall make the English borderers amends for the losses sustained in the late invasion.

Answer. Commissioners on both sides shall be appointed to examine the damages which were done.

VII. She shall prosecute, and punish according to laws the murderers of King Henry and of the Earl of Murray.

Answer. Agreed.

VIII. She shall give her son for hostage.

Answer. Her son is not in her power.

IX. She shall not marry any Englishman without the Queen of England's knowledge, nor any other without the consent of the States of Scotland.

Answer. To be tied to these terms is a thing unworthy of a queen.

X. The Scots shall not pass into Ireland without the Queen of England's permission.

Answer. Agreed, provided the Irish be not suffered to pass into Scotland without the Queen of Scots leave.

XI. She shall give six hostages of the Queen of England's naming.

Answer. Agreed, provided the Duke of Chateleraut, the Earls of Huntley, Argyle and Athol be excepted.

XII. If she attempt any thing against Queen Elizabeth, she shall forfeit the right she claims to the Crown of England.

Answer. Agreed, on condition that in the like case the Queen of England will be liable to some equivalent penalty.

XIII. The castles of Hume and Falst shall be three years in the possession of the English.

Answer. This cannot be granted: On the contrary, the Queen of England is required to restore these castles to the Lord Hume.

XIV. Some places on the borders of Galloway or Cantyr shall be put into the hands of the English, to hinder the Scots from infesting Ireland.

Answer. To deliver such places to the English would be creating a perpetual war in Scotland.

All these Articles shall be confirmed and ratified by the States.

There is no answer to this article.

It would be very easy, in examining of these proposals, to shew that some were only to create a belief of Elizabeth's acting with moderation and sincerity; that others were but snares to surprise the Queen of Scots. And that some there were, the execution whereof was impracticable. Elizabeth's design therefore was only to amuse.

On the other hand, the answers were as little proper to procure an agreement between the two Queens. They who drew these answers, pretended, that Mary should treat Elizabeth upon equal terms, as she might have done, had she been on her throne at Edinburgh: but the English meant no such thing.

Mary was prisoner in England, and the point was to release and restore her to her throne. She accepted these conditions to obtain these two great advantages; but withal she is made to say, that she expected Elizabeth should be bound to the like or equivalent terms.

This was as much as to say, that otherwise she would not accept what was offered her. Nothing could be more grateful to Elizabeth, since it was a certain means to prolong the negotiation. Had Mary accepted these proposals without any restriction, she would perhaps have embarrassed Elizabeth's council. At least they would have been forced to seek means to obstruct the execution, and thereby the fault would manifestly have been on the side of the Court of England.

Elizabeth, it is certain, had no desire to release her prisoner on any terms whatever. She was a very dangerous rival, even when in prison, how much more had she been at Liberty? From her return to Scotland, upon the death of her first husband, she had never ceased holding intelligence in England, to try to excite the English to rebellion. This is what very evidently appears in Melvil's Memoirs.

Her misfortune to fall into the hands of Elizabeth did not make her discontinue her practices. On the other hand, the project of her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Northumberland's

conspiracy, and the correspondence of her adherents with foreign courts, tended only to raise her to the throne of England, even in Queen Elizabeth's lifetime.

In short, it was manifest, the Pope, the King of Spain, the Princes of Lorraine, the English Catholics, all the Irish, and part of the Scots, were labouring to accomplish this design. How imprudent would it have been to release her, that she might the better prosecute her pretensions? It is true, after the death of Francis II. she quitted the title of Queen of England, and protested, she claimed not the crown of England till after Elizabeth and her posterity.

But, that a bare protestation may serve. for security, the sincerity of the person protesting must be first well metabolised. Here was quite the contrary, all Mary's proceedings having shewn she desisted not from her claim. So her bare protestation was only her word, on which it was very dangerous to rely.

Certainly, Mary was unhappy only in having too zealous adherents, who, by all their proceedings, pushed her continually towards her destruction. But this is no wonder. They acted not for her sake, but for their own ends, and the interest of the Romish religion, to which she served for pretence. Sir James Melvil, who was not Mary's enemy, observes in his memoirs, that both parties equally hurt her, the one in acting directly against her, the other in serving her with too much zeal.

The Disposition of The French Courts to Mary

He adds, the Queen's party groundlessly flattered themselves with ruining their adversaries, who were supported by England. The reason he gives is very strong, namely, there was no likelihood that the Queen's party would ever receive great assistance from the court of France, which dreaded nothing so much as to see the two crowns of England and Scotland upon the same head.

He relates upon this occasion a particular, which may be of great service to discover the situation of Mary's affairs. Sir Robert Melvil, at his return from his embassy to England, gave Queen Mary a paper, signed by five and twenty English Earls and Lords, promising to set her on the throne of England.

Mary sent the paper to the Cardinal of Lorraine, her uncle, desiring withal the assistance necessary to execute that design. But the Cardinal himself dissuaded Queen Catherine de Medici from thinking of such an enterprise, demonstrating the prejudice France would receive by the union of the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland.

Nay, to hinder the thing from being effected by other means, they gave notice thereof to Queen Elizabeth, who always feigned ignorance of what she was told by the court of France. Melvil affirms, he had this from the Queen of Scots own mouth, at a time when she was dissatisfied with the Cardinal. It is evident then, that the eagerness of Mary's friends was prejudicial to her.

But especially they who continued the war in Scotland, only helped to secure Elizabeth's affairs, who thereby was sheltered from the quarter she had most to fear, whereas the Scots, by their union, would have been more considerable, and doubtless, Elizabeth would have had more condescension for her prisoner.

Upon this Principle it was that Grange and Melvil laboured to procure an agreement between the two parties, wherein they endeavoured to serve Mary effectually. But it was not easy to bring passionate men, to sacrifice their passions and interests to the good of the public. The Council of England improving these dispositions, never ceased fomenting the troubles of Scotland, under colour of appeasing them, till it should be Elizabeth's interest to end them.

This Melvil plainly shows in his memoirs; but it would be too long to allege the proofs. Thus Mary was in a wretched condition, by the ill counsels which were given her, and which she was so unwise as to follow with ardour.

The Bishop of Ross, her agent at London, a great zealot for his religion, but whose views were not very extensive, did her infinite damage by his passion and pains to cherish the discontent of the English Catholics. As Elizabeth had good spies, she was not ignorant that this pretended ambassador was concerned in all the plots laid against her, from whence she could not but infer, that he acted agreeably to his mistress' inclinations and orders.

As soon as this prelate had the articles proposed to Mary, he sent copies to the Pope, to the Kings of France and Spain, to the Duke of Alva, intimating to all these potentates, that Mary would be at length constrained to accept them, if some vigorous effort were not made in her favour. But his solicitations were fruitless.

The Affairs of The Netherlands

The King of Spain being then employed in his marriage with Ann of Austria his niece[281], daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, left to the Duke of Alva, the care of assisting the Queen of Scots. But the Duke was himself employed in the Netherlands. The city of Brussels refusing to pay the hundredth penny, gallows were now prepared to punish the disobedient, when he heard the Prince of Orange was levying an army in Germany.

So, instead of aiding the Queen of Scots, he was preparing for the war, which he saw ready to kindle in the Low-Countries, and wherein, probably, he would have to deal with the inhabitants of these provinces, as well as the Germans.

Project of The French Court Against The Huguenots

As for the court of France, besides that they never really intended to set the Crown of England on the head of the Queen of Scots, but only to create Elizabeth troubles, they began to form projects, which suffered them not only to espouse Mary's cause. Though the King had gained several victories over the Huguenots, he saw with grief there was no end of the affair, and that these people chusing rather to die with their swords in their hands, than at the stake, or the gallows, it would be very difficult to destroy them by open force.

He resolved therefore, in order to attain his ends more easily, to amuse them with a peace, which he granted them in August this year.

Proposals of Marriage to Elizabeth

From that time his sole care was to dissemble his sentiments, and make them believe they had nothing more to fear from him. To convince them the better that the design of extirpating them was entirely relinquished, Catherine de Medici proposed a marriage between the King her son and Elizabeth, who replied in two words, that he was too great and too little.

This projet failing, Catherine proposed her second son the Duke of Anjou, as a more suitable match. This was therefore no favourable juncture for the Queen of Scotland, since the court of France could undertake nothing openly in her behalf, without breaking their own measures[282].

Cecil Made Lord Burleigh 1571 AD]

Secretary Cecil was created Baron of Burleigh the beginning of the year 1571. No man had better deserved than he to receive this mark of distinction, which was very considerable in the reign of a Queen, who conferred honours with great circumspection.

I have several times observed, that Elizabeth was resolved not to declare publicly for either of the Scotch factions, but to prolong the negotiation as much as possible, that she might never want a pretence to detain Mary in prison. We are going to see an effect of this resolution in the course she pursued during the year 1571.

Though in June the last year, she had agreed to a conference between the two parties, of which she was to be mediatrix, six months were passed, and nothing more said of it. At last, Elizabeth resolving to negotiate her marriage with the Duke of Anjou, did not question, but on that occasion, the French court would strongly solicited her in behalf of the Queen of Scots.

To be provided therefore with an evasion, she caused at length the conference to be held in the months of February and March, that she might be able to say to the King of France, the affair of the Queen of Scots was upon terms of agreement, fully bent however to manage it so, that the conference should be without effect.

The Earl of Morton, Pitcairn, and others[283], were sent from Scotland to the conference, which was to be held at London to maintain the King's cause. For Mary appeared the Bishops of Ross and Galloway, with the Lord Levingston, and the Queen appointed seven of her Privy-Counsellors[284] to hear the reasons of both parties. They immediately required the Earl of Morton, and his colleagues, to declare plainly the inducement of the Scots to depose their Queen, and give the crown to the Prince her son.

The Scotch deputies delivered a large remonstrance, Feb. 18, 1571, in writing, wherein they took for granted, that the Queen was privy to the King her husband's death, and afterwards married the Earl of Bothwell the murderer:—

That to justify their conduct with regard to the Queen, there were two points to be examined, the one of fact, the other of right. For the first, they stood to the proofs given by the Earl of Murray at Hampton-Court before the English commissioners, and which the Queen of England had in her hands:

That the Earl had so evidently proved Mary guilty of the crime laid to her charge, that they thought it needles to repeat the same things, which besides they could not without great reluctance. As to the point of right, which consisted in knowing, whether the Scots had power to depose their sovereigns when they became unworthy of the throne, they maintained, it was an undoubted right enjoyed by the Scotch nation, ever since the beginning of their monarchy.

They supported this principle with divers instances drawn from the history of Scotland, and of other countries, as Spain and Denmark.

Elizabeth still pursuing her scheme, not to declare herself, briefly answered to the Scots Remonstrance, which was communicated to her, that she was not thoroughly convinced of the Justice of their proceedings, and desired them to confer with her ministers, in order to find some expedient to adjust this affair. But they replied, it was needles to search for expedients, since they had no power to agree to the diminution of the King's authority.

Whereupon, Elizabeth ordered a thing to be proposed to Mary's agents, which she knew they would not accept, and this was, to give her the chief lords of their party in hostage, with some places in Scotland[285]. And indeed they boldly rejected it, and made other offers which the English commissioners rejected in their turn. At last, they demanded of the Scots, to give the young King of Scotland in hostage to the Queen; to which they answered, they had not power to promise any such thing. Camden says here, that Mary's agents made a jest of this evasion, affirming, the deputies wanted not power, since the same crime renders all the accomplices equal.

At last, Elizabeth admitting the Scotch deputies to an audience, agreed with them, that the affair could not be determined but by the States of the Kingdom. Then, she desired them to order it so, that another conference should be held in Scotland during the session of the Parliament, which was to meet in May.

She detained them however some time longer, being willing to know, before their departure, whether the Queen of Scots would consent to the conference. But, so far was she from agreeing to it, that she complained very much of her deputies suffering her right to be called in question, and revoked their powers.

She ordered however the Bishop of Ross to reside still at London, as her ambassador. This gave Elizabeth great suspicion, being sensible the bishop was the chief promoter of the plots against her; but she durst not refuse him, for fear of giving occasion to say, she did not own Mary for Queen, and thereby wound her pretended impartiality. At length, the Scotch Deputies departed 8th of April, after a six weeks stay in London to no purpose.

Wherefore it was not Elizabeth's intention that this conference should produce an agreement. Though this did not evidently appear in her whole conduct, it might easily be seen in a letter of Cecil to Walsingham, then ambassador in France, wherein he told him plainly, that the sole aim, in that conference, was to gain time.

Another Letter to Walsingham from the Earl of Leicester about the same thing, manifestly discovers Elizabeth's policy. The Earl told him, the Queen agreed, that Mary was unworthy to sway the sceptre, but could hardly believe her subjects had power to depose her. That therefore she remained in suspense, not being able to determine either to restore Queen Mary, or defend the cause of the Scots, because she did not think it entirely just.

During this pretended uncertainty, Mary remained still in prison. The truce between the two Scotch factions being expired, during the conference at London, or shortly after, the Earl of Lenox took the town of Dunbarton by surprise, which had till then been in the hands of the Queen's adherents.

Verac the French ambassador was taken there, and sent to St. Andrew's, from whence he was readily suffered to make his escape. But the case was otherwise with, James Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who being also taken prisoner upon the same occasion, and sent to Sterling, was condemned to be hanged.

He was accused of being an accomplice in the murder of the late King, by a priest[286], who was brought face to face, of whom, instead of defending himself, he demanded, what those priests deserved who revealed the secrets of confessions?

It is said, Cardan going to Scotland to cure him of a dropsy, told him, when he had restored him to health, that he had, by the help of his medicines, freed him from the present danger, but it was not in his power to prevent his dying on the gallows.

Elizabeth was not wholly taken up with the affairs of Scotland. There was another which gave her no less trouble, by reason of its difficulties, and the consequences it might be attended with. Her ministers, knowing her enemies were in perpetual motion, and when one plot failed, were immediately forming another, were afraid her prudence would in the end be defeated. In Walsingham's negotiations, there is a letter from the Secretary of State, telling him, that whilst the affair of the Queen of Scots was in hand, her friends were thinking of carrying her away, of which the court had some dark intimations.

The Earl of Leicester wrote to the same ambassador, that Mary's, adherents were more bold than ever, which, in all appearance, proceeded from their hopes of the success of some fresh attempt.

The ministers therefore believed, nothing but a marriage could secure the Queen from so many conspiracies which were daily renewed.

An alliance with some powerful Prince would naturally produce a good effect, by reason of the succours which might be thence received upon occasion, besides that it would strike a dread into the Queen's enemies. On the other hand, they imagined, if it pleased God to bless the marriage, The birth of a Prince would deprive the Queen of Scots of great part of her adherents.

Wherefore, they never ceased to represent to Elizabeth, the reasons which ought to determine her to marry. At last, whether she yielded to these reasons, or to be freed from their importunities, she told them, that nothing hindered her but the difficulty of finding a suitable match. And indeed, it was not easy to make a fit choice.

She must take either a protestant or a popish Prince. But as two principal inducements prompted her to marry, namely, to make a strong alliance and to have a successor; in chusing a Protestant, the half of these inducements would not be answered, because there was no Prince of the reformed Religion, whose alliance could be very advantageous to England.

In resolving upon a Catholic, there was no choice, since the duke of Anjou, the King of France's brother, was the only fit person. But this projects had its difficulties. The Queen gave to understand, that in marrying she did not mean to give herself a master, or even an equal, since she was resolved to hold the reins of the government alone, and communicate to her spouse the external honours of royalty only.

In the second place, she did not pretend the English Catholics should reap any advantage from her marriage with a Prince of their religion. But there was no likelihood, the Duke of Anjou would submit to what the Queen desired, or dissemble his religion, to enjoy the bare title of King, which was not sufficient to satisfy his ambition.

Meanwhile, the ministers were so urgent with the Queen to marry, that at length they obtained her consent to treat with France upon that subject. But very probably, she gave her consent, only because she imagined it would be in her power to break off the negotiation whenever she pleased, by the difficulties she should start.

She concealed her sentiments however from her ministers. Burleigh thought her sincere for some time. The Earl of Leicester was not entirely of that opinion, but knew not what to think. Be this as it will, the Queen was told, that Catherine de Medici, having plainly perceived the reasons which moved her to reject the proposals of a marriage with Charles IX, had intimated, that the Duke of Anjou would be more proper for her.

Walsingham Sent as Ambassador to France

It was also hinted to her, that the young Prince was by no means a bigot, and might possibly be brought to communicate with the Church of England. The only thing therefore, was so to manage it, that the French Court should make the first advances, after which, the treaty might begin. To that end it was, that in August 1570.

Norris was recalled from his embassy in France, to make room for Sir Francis Walsingham, who was doubtless thought more proper to manage this affair, being also a creature of the Lord Burleigh, who was extremely desirous of the Marriage.

Walsingham stayed all the rest of the year, and part of the next at Paris, without any overture being made, and yet the marriage was much talked of. He informed the court of England of it, and presently after received instructions from Burleigh, importing, that if any person of distinction should speak to him of the marriage, he might answer, that upon the report, he had taken care to

inquire how the Queen stood inclined in that respect, and found, as the good of her people was her chief view, she had resolved to marry, if she could meet with a suitable match.

The Marriage Begins to Be Negotiated

Shortly after, the Lord Buckhurst being sent to Paris^[287], as ambassador extraordinary. King Charles, and his mother Queen Catherine, opened their minds to him upon that subject, and a negotiation was begun. But as this project was not executed, I shall content myself, without descending to particulars, to show here the real causes of the breaking off the negotiation.

It is almost certain, neither Elizabeth nor the court of France had any desire to conclude this marriage, though it seemed to be seriously negotiated on both sides. Elizabeth found a double advantage in this feigned negotiation.

First she amused her own ministers, who pressed her earnestly to marry. Secondly, her enemies believing this marriage was really going to be concluded, would of course remain quiet. And indeed, it was not likely they should think of attacking her, when they saw her upon the point of being united with France.

It was requisite therefore, the better to amuse those who might have formed plots against her, to show some earnestness for this marriage, least, if she acted with indifference in this affair, her most secret thoughts should be discovered.

Reasons of Charles IX

On the other side, the Court of France proposed the marriage only to amuse Elizabeth, and with her all the Protestants of Europe, but particularly the Huguenots. In all likelihood, Charles IX. had now formed the barbarous plot which broke out the next year. But this was only the beginning of a greater project, which was to destroy all the Protestants in general, and suddenly attack Elizabeth herself.

The Pope and King of Spain were engaged in the design, and pretended to be alarmed at what was negotiating at Paris, to ensnare the more easily those they intended to surprise. Wherefore, it was necessary for the Court of France to appear very desirous of the match, and to yield as far as possible, but without concluding any thing in point of religion.

So the difficulties started by Elizabeth in this negotiation, were extremely subservient to the designs of the French, as they gave them room to make advances capable of deceiving the public, and causing it to be thought they had no ill design against the Protestant religion. By this means they removed all sorts of suspicion both from the court of England and the Huguenots.

Indeed, it was hardly possible to conjecture, that when the King and his mother testified such a zeal to accomplish the proposed marriage, they were thinking of extirpating all the Huguenots in the Kingdom. Nay, they were extremely careful to take away this suspicion by their great dissimulation towards them, pretending to lend an ear to the leaders of the Huguenots, and place entire confidence in them.

But notwithstanding all their care to conceal their designs, the French court made Elizabeth very jealous during the whole negotiation, by their pressing and repeated instances for the Queen of Scots liberty. Elizabeth could not understand this way of proceeding. The King of France, as she thought, having proposed the marriage with the Duke of Anjou, and a first alliance between the two Crowns, should have been entirely in her interest, whereas she saw him concerned for Mary's, which was directly contrary. Nay, she discovered at that time, that France privately favoured Mary's projects, which could not be reconciled with the design of the marriage and alliance.

For this reason she frequently intimated to the King and his mother, that she was offended at their conduct. But she was answered with protestations of friendship, esteem, and regard, and with excuses, that Mary being Queen dowager of France, less could not be done than to solicit in her behalf. Charles did not even scruple to own privately, that what he did was only for form's sake, that he might not appear entirely to forsake the unfortunate Queen.

Perhaps it will be thought strange, that Charles should not carry his dissimulation so far as to declare openly, he would not concern himself any more about Mary; but this policy would have spoiled all. The design of the league of religion was to extirpate the Huguenots at once, that being freed from the fear of any diversion in France, the Catholics might carry their arms into England. If therefore Mary's restoration to the throne of Scotland could have been obtained, whether by treaty or solicitation, or any other way, England might have been invaded with much greater ease, whilst insurrections were raised within the Kingdom.

This was the scheme which had been formed from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. To invade England by sea, would necessarily have been very expensive, besides that such an undertaking was liable to greater inconveniences, as Philip II, afterwards experienced.

Scotland therefore alone could afford a passage, but to that end the Kingdom was to be governed by persons well affected to the Catholic religion. This was the aim of all the intrigues, public and private, for the Queen of Scots restoration.

I am persuaded that they who have intimated, that compassion for Queen Mary made her friends act for her, had no just idea of the incessant and extraordinary pains in her favour. I do not however deny, that among those who served her, some acted from that motive: But that was not the thought of those who managed affairs. In the intention of those, Mary's restoration was only a means to execute greater projects.

They Cannot Agree upon The Article of Religion

It is therefore certain, the Court of France never seriously thought of concluding the marriage, and in all appearance, the Queen herself was as little inclined to it, though her ministers did all they could to persuade her. As she had declared at first by Walsingham, that she would not allow the Duke of Anjou the exercise of his religion, the Court of France, imagined there would be no great danger in making some advances with respect to that point, since they were almost sure of finding in it an occasion of rupture, as well as a continual pretence to prolong the treaty as they pleased.

The Duke of Anjou came therefore by degrees to be satisfied with a little Chapel in some private corner of the palace, and the French ambassador had orders to protest, that the Duke could not be contented with less, and to demand a positive answer in ten days.

Hitherto the Queen had refused to agree, that the Duke should have the exercise of his religion at all, nay, had pretended, he should accompany her when she went to chapel, and be present at divine service.

The business then was to answer the Duke's proposal, which probably was to be the last. But whilst she was deliberating, the French ambassador showed to some person of distinction at court, letters from Paris, whereby it appeared, the Court of France did not insist upon that article so strenuously as some would have insinuated. On the other hand, the Lord Burleigh was informed by a Frenchman of note, that if the Queen stood her ground, the Court of France would give way in the end. Moreover Walsingham writ from Paris, that the Duke of Montmorency had given his opinion in council, that it would be best not to mention religion at all in the treaty of marriage, which was the same thing as leaving this article entirely to the Queen.

All these insinuations were so many snares laid for the Queen by the court of France, to induce her to refuse a thing which seemed so reasonable, and that it might appear the rupture proceeded not from the Duke. She suffered herself to be surprised, and in her answer desisted not from her pretensions.

Elizabeth's obstinacy convincing the King of France, he might venture to proceed one step farther, he offered to leave this article of religion undetermined. But Elizabeth would not agree to it, saying, it would be an infallible means to sow discord between her and her spouse. In short, the court of France went so far, as to be satisfied with the Queen's promise in writing, that the Duke of Anjou should not be prosecuted according to the Laws of England, if he secretly exercised his religion in a private chapel.

Whereupon Elizabeth, with great difficulty, agreed at length to this:—

That if the Duke of Anjou would promise to accompany the Queen when she went to chapel, and would not refuse to hear and learn the principles of the Church of England, she would agree, that neither himself nor his family, should be compelled against their conscience to conform to the English Church, till they should be otherwise persuaded.

Moreover, that neither himself nor his domestics, the number of whom should be agreed upon, should be disturbed in the use of any rites and ceremonies different from those established by Law, provided they were not repugnant to the word of God, and on condition it were done in a private place, for the satisfying their consciences, and so as the people might not take occasion from thence to violate the established Laws of the Land.

It was with much difficulty that the French ambassador got the terms, repugnant to the word of God, to be changed into these, repugnant to the Church of God.

It is easy to perceive, that when Elizabeth seemed to relax a little on this article, she added restrictions which required explication, and which left a door to go back, in case she had been taken at her word. Hence therefore it may be inferred, that she did insist so much upon the article of religion, only because she thought it serviceable to break off the negotiation. Accordingly we find in Walsingham's memoirs, that the Earl of Leicester, and the Lord Burleigh, were convinced at last, she had no mind to marry.

The Negotiations Broken Off

The affair standing thus, Charles IX. told the Queen, by La Mothe Fenelon his ambassador, that he thought her answer very hard, and desired her to send some trusty person to settle with him every thing relating to the marriage.

Elizabeth replied, she could not proceed to any other article, without knowing first, whether the King and Duke intended to allow what she had proposed, with respect to religion. So, the business stopped there.

Charles still feigned to expect the trusty person he had demanded, and the Queen pretended she staid for the Court of France's consent to the article concerning religion, as she had sent it. This Negotiation lasted from March till September, and the rupture altered not the good understanding between the two courts. On the contrary Charles thanked the Queen for dealing so freely with him, and without saying any more of the marriage, desired to make a defensives league with her. Elizabeth readily consented.

As she had no ally, it was her interest to unite with France, as well to disengage that crown from

the Queen of Scots interest, as to discourage the Pope, the King of Spain, and the English Catholics, by this alliance. But she knew not that Charles's aim was only to amuse both her and the Huguenots, whose destruction was determined, though he affected to caress, and make use of them, to execute his pretended projects against Spain.

However this be, Elizabeth sent secretary Smith into France, to negotiate the league jointly with Walsingham,

Mary Turns to Spain

Whilst the Queen's marriage with the Duke of Anjou was treating at Paris, and both sides affected to publish, it would soon be concluded, the Queen of Scots was in a grievous condition, because she plainly saw she was going she employed to lose France. This obliged her without doubt, to turn Ridolpho towards Spain, and try to obtain from thence the assistance she wanted.

To that purpose, she dispatched Ridolpho to the Pope, and King of Spain, to inform them of the state of her affairs. At the same time she writ to the Duke of Norfolk, and sent him in cipher the copy of her letters to Rome and Madrid, recommending to him Ridolpho, as a trusty person, to whom she desired him to give letters of credit.

Upon the receipt of these letters, the Duke ordered Higford his secretary, who had the key, to decipher them, and then bid him to throw them into the fire. But whether Higford was already gained by the court, all designed to betray his master, he hid all these papers under a mat in his bed chamber.

The Duke of Norfolk is Engaged Again in Mary's Interest

Ridolpho, who was the Pope's private agent, did all he could to persuade the Duke of Norfolk to undertake the Queen of Scots defence. He represented to him, there were in England many malcontents, who will be glad to see him at their head, and by that means he might revenge the injuries he had received, and the long imprisonment he had endured.

He put him in hopes of powerful succours from the Pope[288], and the King of Spain[289], adding, that in this he would do no wrong to Elizabeth, since it was only to obtain her consent to marry the Queen of Scots, and oblige her to tolerate the Catholic religion in England.

At the same time, the Bishop of Ross frequently told the Duke, by Barker, one of his confidants, that by the help of his friends, who were very numerous, it would be easy for him to seize the Queen, become master of her person, and detaining her in custody, till he had married the Queen of Scots, and provided for the security of the Catholic religion.

But the Duke rejected the Bishop of Ross's project, and even refused to give Ridolpho the letters of credit, which he desired for the courts of Rome and Madrid, and for the Duke of Alva. But though all the Duke of Norfolk's proceedings in this affair are not particularly known, it is however certain, he engaged in it too far, in expectation of espousing the Queen of Scots.

But it cannot well be conceived, how he intended to accomplish this enterprise, or what he designed to do after marrying the Queen of Scots. Nevertheless, it is easy to conjecture, that the Pope and the King of Spain who set Ridolpho, and the Bishop of Ross to work, would never have thought of employing the Duke of Norfolk, if they had not had some assurances from, that he will comply with their intentions.

Ridolpho's Intrigues are Partly Discovered

Ridolpho, having conferred with the Pope, and the Duke of Alva, informed one Baily, a Fleming, the Queen of Scots servant, of what had negotiated, and as this man was to go into England, gave him several letters for the Queen of Scots, the Spanish ambassador, the Bishop of Ross, and the Duke of Norfolk[290].

Bailey, was no sooner landed at Dover, but he was seized. His packet was taken from him, and sent to the Lord Cobham, governor of the Chinque ports. But the Bishop of Ross being informed of this accident, so artfully manage the Lord Cobham, the Duke of Norfolk's secret friend, that the letters were changed, and others put in their place, containing nothing criminal, or of moment, which were delivered to the council.

However, Bailey was put to the rack, and confessed the true letters were in the Bishop of Ross's hands. But the Bishop had taken care to send all the papers which might hurt, beyond sea with his secretary. So nothing was found at his house and yet he was arrested, and committed to the custody of the Bishop of Ely[291].

The Court Discovers Norfolk's Designs

Shortly after, the court made a new discovery, which proved fatal to the Duke of Norfolk. The French ambassador intending to distribute some money in Scotland among the Queen's friends[292], applied to the Duke of Norfolk, who caused him to put it into the hands of Higford and Barker, to deliver it to one Brown, of Shrewsbury, who was to convey it to Lowther and Banister, and these were ordered to send it to the Lord Hennis.

Brown, who was not into the secret, receiving the money well packed up, and finding by weight it was gold, whereas he had been told it was silver, carried it to the Secretary of State. The packet being opened, there was found a letter in cipher from La Motte Fenelon to Verac the French ambassador in Scotland. Whereupon Higford, the Duke of Norfolk secretary, being arrested, presently confessed that the money was returned by the French ambassador. He discovered likewise where he had hid the Queen of Scots papers, which the Duke his master had ordered him to decipher and transcribe.

This was sufficient to cause the Duke of Norfolk to be apprehended, and sent to the Tower 7th of September. There was found upon him a long memorial in cipher, dated 7th of February this year, wherein the Queen of Scotland told him, she was advised to retire to Spain rather than to France, by reason of the Duke of Anjou's marriage with Elizabeth, which was much talked of.

She added, when she should be in Spain, she would find a desire to marry Don Jon of Austria; but that the Duke should not be alarmed that it, because she reserved herself for him. Finally, after speaking of Elizabeth in very injurious terms, she desired the Duke to dispatch Ridolpho to Rome with instructions[293].

The Duke Confesses Part of What He Has Been Accused of

The Duke of Norfolk being examined, confessed, that about a year since, he received four letters in cipher from the Queen of Scots, and had answered them; but said, it was only to thank her for her goodwill, and to persuade her to rely entirely on the Queen.

He said further, that the Bishop of Ross having pressed him to write to the Duke of Alva by Ridolpho, he had refused it, neither would he give him any instructions about the affair for which he went to Rome. He confessed also, he had helped convey to Verac, a letter from the French ambassador residing at London. As to the papers he had received from the Queen of Scots by

Ridolpho, he said, they were burnt, as he really believed. Then his house was searched, and the cipher which the Queen of Scots and he used, was found with the papers hid by the secretary. Some of the accomplices who were apprehended, confessed all they knew, without being put to the rack.

Consultations About The Bishop of Ross

While proofs were collected against the Duke of Norfolk, in order to form his process, the council debated what was to be done with the Bishop of Ross. He assumed the character of the Queen of Scots ambassador, and probably, and been acknowledged for such, Elizabeth not having thought proper to deny Mary the title of Queen or openly to own she was a prisoner. So the case being something uncommon, some learned civilians were consulted upon three queries[294].

First, whether an ambassador, convicted of conspiring against the Prince to whom he is sent, ought to enjoy the privileges of an ambassador? The civilians replied, such an ambassador, by the law of nations, forfeits his privileges.

Secondly, whether a prince disposed can give his minister or agent title of ambassador? The answer was, the right of sending ambassadors belonged only to sovereigns, and the Prince lawfully deposed cannot confer that title. It must be observed, Elizabeth had not owned that Mary was lawfully disposed.

Thirdly, whether a prince who comes into another Princes domains, and is there kept prisoner, can have an agent? And whether that agent may be reputed an ambassador, though it be notified to him that he shall be no longer acknowledged for such? It was answered, if such a prince has not forfeited his royalty, he may have an agent; but whether that regent may be reputed an ambassador, depended upon the authority of his commission. And a prince may forbid an ambassador his dominions, if he does not keep himself within the bounds of his office: but however, the privilege of ambassadors are not to be violated[295].

He is Brought Before The Council

These queries being thus answered, the Bishop of Ross was brought before the council[296], and charged with attempting to disturb the peace of the Kingdom. He refused at first to answer, insisting on the privileges of an ambassador. But at length, seeing this defence was ill regarded, and witnesses began to be produced against him, he said, that by an inviolable custom, grown into a law, the English and Scots could not be witnesses one against another.

Whereupon it was examined, whether this custom was to take place any where but on the borders, especially in a case where the safety of the Queen and Kingdom was concerned. In short, the Bishop was sent to the tower, and some time after examined[297] upon three and twenty articles, to each of which he answered in particular: but Camden has not thought fit to give us either the examination or the answers.

He says only in general, that the bishop excused the Queen his mistress, for that being a prisoner, and in the flower of her age, it was no wonder she should use her endeavours to escape:—

That the project of her marriage was formed by the advice of several English lords, some of whom were Privy-Counsellors:

That indeed the Duke of Norfolk had promised to think no more of the affair: but his promise was not capable of breaking a prior engagement[298]:

Lastly, He endeavoured to justify his own conduct, for that being an ambassador, he was obliged to serve the Queen his mistress to the utmost of his power:

Adding, that he proposed the design of seizing the Queen to the Duke of Norfolk, only to try him; and he refused to name the great men who had promised to assist him in this attempt.

But he confessed, that by the orders of the Queen his mistress, he had consulted the Earl of Arundel, Lumley, Throckmorton, and the Lord Viscount Montague, about the Queen of England's demand, that the King of Scotland should be put into her hands.

This is all Camden says of the Bishop of Ross's defence. But it is not unlikely, the fear of death with which he was threatened, made him discover some things which Camden has not been pleased to publish, as will appear In the sequel.

The Queen Informs The Court of France of The Duke of Norfolk's Affair

The Duke of Norfolk's imprisonment making a great noise in France and elsewhere, Elizabeth caused the reasons to be imparted to Charles IX. by Killegrew, whom she sent to Paris to ease Walsingham who was sick. The new ambassador told the Queen-mother, that it was now two years since the Queen of Scots, without acquainting his mistress with it, had designed to marry the Duke of Norfolk, and therefore he was sent to the tower, without however being deprived of the enjoyment of his estate:—

That afterwards, the Duke swore to think of that marriage no more, and the Queen of Scots, both by letters and agents, promised the like:

That nevertheless they had still continued their intrigues, as it was easy to prove by their own letters; and under colour of freeing the Queen of Scots, had projected to set her on the throne of England, by raising a rebellion in the Kingdom, and calling in foreign troops, which evidently appeared by their letters and the confessions of their accomplices:

That the Queen of Scots had expressly ordered her agents to conceal her designs from the court of France, because she was entirely devoted to Spain, having even resolved to convey her son thither, and marry Don John of Austria.

An Act to Maintain The Queen's Title

In the present situation of the French Court, Elizabeth's main complaints against the Queen of Scots were not much regarded. But the Parliament of England[299] took the Queen's interest extremely to heart, and to prevent the dangers to which she was exposed by these plots, passed a very remarkable Act. It was provided:—

“**That** if any man should attempt the personal hurt of the Queen, or the depriving her of any part of Sovereignty; raise war, or stir up others to war against her:

If Anyone should dare to give out that another person has a juster title than she to the Crown; or should say she is an heretic, Schismatic or infidel; or should usurp her right and title during her life; or should affirm the Parliament has not power to settle and limit the succession to the crown, every such person should be guilty of high-treason[300].

It was also enacted:—

That whosoever, by Bulls or other mandates of the Pope, should reconcile any man to the church of Rome, and those who should be so reconciled, should be guilty of treason:

That whosoever should relieve such reconcilers, or should bring into England any *Agnus Dei's*, *Grains*, or other things consecrated by the Pope, should incur the penalty of a Præmunire, loss of goods, and perpetual imprisonment. It was provided also:

That all the fugitives should within such a time, under forfeiture of their estates, return and submit themselves to the government, and that all the fraudulent conveyances of their lands should be void.

It was likewise moved:—

That if for the future the Queen of Scots should be concerned in any conspiracy, she should be proceeded against by law, as the wife of an English peer.

But the Queen hindered this Bill from passing, being satisfied with letting her prisoner see to what she would be exposed, if she continued her practices[301].

Continuance of The Affairs of Scotland

Before we see what followed upon the late discoveries, it will be necessary to run over what passed in Scotland, after the Earl of Morton's return. The beginning of May, the Queen's party became master of Edinburgh, by the assistance of the Laird of Grange, who favoured them, though he pretended to keep the castle for the King.

This done, the heads of this party convened the States belonging to their faction, and at the same time, the Earl of Lenox assembled the States of the King's party in the suburbs of the same City. These two assemblies did nothing but mutually condemn each other, and as if they had given one another the word, they resolved each apart to meet again in August, the King's Lords at Sterling, and the Queen's at Edinburgh.

These resolutions being executed at the time appointed, the Lords at Edinburgh formed the project of carrying away by force the Lords of the contrary party, who were at Sterling without any precaution. Melvil says, his friend Grange was the author, contriver, and manager of this enterprise.

He would have headed them himself: but his friends would not suffer him to be exposed to the danger. This is the same Grange, whom Melvil represents as a neutral person, and aiming only at the good of his country. This project was executed with so much conduct and success, that the regent and the Earl of Morton were presently made prisoners.

The Earl of Lenox is Killed and The Earl of Marr Chosen as Regent

In all appearance, few of the King's Lords would have escaped, had not the victorious soldiers fallen to plundering. But whilst they were dispersed about the town, the Earl of Marr sallied out of the castle with the garrison, and compelled them to retire. In the disorder, Earl of Morton fortunately escaped, but the regent was carried away, and murdered on the road in cold blood by one hired to do it, in spite of, David Spence, the officer who guarded him. A few days after,

John Erskin of Mar was chosen Regent, to the great mortification of the Earl of Morton, who aspired to that dignity, and was supported by the English Ambassador.

Remarks on The Factions of Scotland

To understand the situation of the affairs of Scotland, it is necessary to consider, that though there seemed to be but two parties in the Kingdom, namely, the King's and the Queen's, there were however five, because there were so many different opinions in both, which occasioned that all of the same party did not tend to the same end.

Some were wholly attached to the Queen, and their chief view was to restore the Catholic religion. Others earnestly adhered to the King's party and the Protestant religion.

The new Regent, like his predecessor, was desirous to unite the two factions, and laboured to bring all to the obedience of the King, which he hoped to accomplish, by granting to the Queen's adherents all the favours they could reasonably expect. Grange and his friends had formed the same design of uniting the two parties, but in such a manner as that the Kingdom should be governed in the Queen's name.

In fine, the Earl of Morton, who was pensioner to the court of England, was at the head of a fifth party, who, though outwardly for the King, fought only to cross those that endeavoured to unite the two factions. This was properly Elizabeth's party, or at least the party she favoured most, though she affected a neutrality.

Her ambassador Randolph a man of a great genius, and very fit for his office, was the instrument she made use of to strengthen it. Nothing could be more prejudicial to England, than the union of the two parties which was endeavouring at any rate. It was to be feared, that after this union Queen Mary's friends would grow too powerful in the Parliament, and procure resolutions destructive of the interests of Elizabeth and England.

Thus discord among the Scots was yet for Elizabeth's advantage, till affairs should take another face. But as the Earl of Marr, the new Regent, was not to be managed as she wished, she laid her measures beforehand, to procure the Earl of Morton a party, capable of being opposed to the Regent if occasion required. Such was the state of the affairs of Scotland in. the year 1571. We must now see what passed in France.

Affairs of France

All this year the court of France used the highest dissimulation to draw the Huguenots into their snares. There were no favours at court but for them. The King pretended to fear his brother the Duke of Anjou, and to be displeased with the Guises, who, as he said, kept him in a shameful captivity.

Besides this, he made use of two very effectual means to deceive the admiral. The first was, to feign a real intention to wage war with Spain, and to trust him with the management of it. The second was, to conclude the marriage of his sister the Princess Margaret with the King of Navarre.

After that, the Admiral and the Huguenots no longer questioned the King's goodwill towards them, especially as they saw him very intent upon the Marriage of the Duke of Anjou with the Queen of England, and as compliant as possible with respect to religion.

At the same time, the Prince of Orange was striving to the Netherlands in motion, having resolved to make some attempt, whilst the King of Spain's arms were employed against the infidels. The Kings of Sweden and Denmark refusing to assist him, he applied to Elizabeth, who durst not

give him assistance, though she was not ignorant of the correspondence held by the Duke of Alva in Scotland and England with Mary's adherents.

Affairs of The Low Countries

She even forbid the ships of Holland and Zealand, which acted against Spain, to enter her ports. In this extremity, the Prince of Orange sent his brother Count Lewis to King Charles IX, who loaded him with caresses, and even imparted to him the false secret of his pretended design to make war upon Philip.

But all this was only to deceive him. In the mean time, the Count de la Mark, with four and twenty ships, did the Spaniards all the damage he could. This was all the Prince of Orange could effect: during this year[302].

The Duke of Norfolk is Condemned to Die

1572 AD] The 16th of January the Duke of Norfolk was brought to his trial before the peers of the realm[303]. His accusation ran:

- 1) That** he had attempted to deprive the Queen of her crown and life, and seize the throne himself by the help of Foreigners,
- 2) That** unknown to the Queen, he treated of a marriage with the Queen of Scots, though he knew she had usurped the title and arms of England.
- 3) That** he had lent her a great sum of money.
- 4) That** he had supplied with money the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who were banished the Kingdom, and declared Enemies of their Country.
- 5) That** he had writ to the Pope, the King of Spain, the Duke of Alva, desiring aid to free the Queen of Scots, and restore the Popish religion in England.
- 6) Lastly, That** he had sent supplies to the Lord Herreris, and others of the Queen's enemies in Scotland.

It may be said in general, the Duke made a very weak defence to most of these articles. But it was not easy for him to deny what his own letters, and the confessions of his servants, and complices, proved against him.

Besides, an intercepted letter from the Bishop of Ross in prison, to the Queen of Scots, clearly shewed, the Duke had formed pernicious designs against the government. Camden did not think fit to relate the contents of the Bishop's letter. It is probable however, it was very much to the purpose, since the Duke desired to see whether it was the Bishop's own hand.

When he was convinced of it by his own eyes, he made the same defence as the Bishop had done, namely, that the testimony of a Scot against an Englishman was not, valid. In this they both pretended, without ground, to take advantage of a custom introduced on the borders of the two Kingdoms, where, in cases of depredation, the evidence of one nation against the other was not admitted, because they were parties.

But this custom was not become so general as to be of service to the Duke in his cause. The strength of his defence was, that his design to marry the Queen of Scots could not be reckoned high-treason, neither could it be thence inferred, that he intended to seize the throne.

The Queen's attorney replied, that all the circumstances of the affair, and all the Duke's proceedings, evidently shewed, he aimed at something more than barely to marry a deposed and imprisoned Queen; for, by the measures he would have taken with the foreign powers, it plainly appeared, that in espousing the Queen of Scots, he designed to assert her claim to the crown of England.

At last, after a long examination, he was condemned by his peers as guilty of high-treason: but the sentence was not executed till June.

Creation of Peers

In the meanwhile, the Queen made Walter d' Evreux Earl of Essex. He was descended by the great grandmother's side from the noble family of Bouchier, which had long borne that title. At the same time the Lord Clinton High-Admiral was created Earl of Lincoln, and four new Barons were summoned to the next Parliament[304].

The Parliament hearing, plots were formed to free the Duke of Norfolk, passed an act, whereby it was made death to attempt to deliver a prisoner condemned for High-treason. By the same act, it was perpetual imprisonment and forfeiture of Estate, if the prisoner was only accused of high-treason, though not condemned[305].

The Duke is Executed

At length, the Queen, after having been long in suspense, signed a warrant for the execution of the Duke of Norfolk, the 3rd of June. He confessed part of his faults, excused himself as to the rest, and in general owned he was justly condemned. But he declared, he never had any thoughts of restoring the popish religion in England, and that he died a Protestant[306].

He was son to the Earl of Surrey, beheaded in the latter part of Henry the eighth's reign, for quartering the arms of Edward the confessor with his own, without the King's licence. All of that family had firmly adhered to the Catholic religion, except this Duke who embraced the Protestant in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

Since he declared that he died in the reformed religion, I don't see how his sincerity can justly be questioned. But who can tell how far his ambition might have carried him, if he had found his projects more practicable? At least, it cannot be denied, that they who put him in motion, thought they had reason to rely on him.

After all, if any one doubted that the end of this conspiracy was to retire the Popish religion in England, he might be satisfied by the testimony of Hieronymo Catena, in the life of Pius V. Instead of clearing the Pope, the author makes him glory in having been the promoter of this design, and in having sent Ridolpho into England to excite the English to rebel against Elizabeth.

The Queen of Scots is Examined

Ten days after the Duke of Norfolk's death, Elizabeth sent two Privy-Counsellors to the Queen of Scots [307], not to accuse her criminally, as Camden affirms[308], but to inform her, of what she had been charged with in the trial of the Duke of Norfolk and his complices, and to tell her, the Queen would be extremely glad, if she could justify herself.

It was chiefly to let her know, that her practices were discovered, and therefore she had been more closely confined and reduced to a smaller number of domestics. Elizabeth was also well pleased to let her see, she had good spies, and knew, that it was not barely to obtain her liberty, that so many powers used their interest for her, but rather to set her on the throne of England. Wherefore the two Privy-Councillors represented to her:—

- 1) That she had assumed the title of Queen of England, and, afterwards, refused to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh, whereby she had engaged to renounce it.
- 2) That she would have married the Duke of Anjou without the Queen's knowledge, and there was reason to believe, it was with design to dethrone her, since she would have used foreign troops to set the Duke free.
- 3) That she was deeply concerned in the northern rebellion.
- 4) That she had relieved the rebels in Scotland and Flanders.
- 5) That she had sent Ridolpho to the Pope and the King of Spain, to solicit them to invade England.
- 6) That she had received letters from the Pope, wherein he assured her of his protection.
- 7) That she had procured the Pope's Bull, to absolve the Queen's subjects from their oath of allegiance.
- 8) Lastly, That she had suffered her agents in foreign parts to style her publicly, Queen of England.

All these facts were but too true; however, as it was not easy to convince her, that she had acted with the intention ascribed to her, she therefore boldly made her defence to this effect:—

That if she had taken the title of Queen of England, It was by command of the King of France her husband, and she had quitted it after his death; nay, she had declared, and still did declare, she would not claim it so long as Elizabeth or her children lived:

That in desiring to marry the Duke of Norfolk, she had no design to hurt Elizabeth, but rather was of opinion, the marriage would be advantageous to England:

That if she had not renounced the marriage, it was because she was contracted to the Duke[309].

That she thought herself obliged, by conjugal love, to warn him of the danger, and persuade him to make his escape:

That she was accessory to no rebellion, but on the contrary, was always ready to discover whatever came to her knowledge, if Elizabeth would have vouchsafed to see and hear her:

That she had never relieved the English rebels, but only recommended the Countess of Northumberland to the Duke of Alva:

That hearing Ridolpho was in the Pope's favour, she made use of him in concerns no way relating to England:

That she had employed no person to free her, but had willingly hearkened to such as offered their service for that purpose, and with that view had given her cipher to Rolston and Hall:

That the Letters she had received from the Pope, contained only matters of piety and consolation:

That she was not the procurer of the Bull, and had only seen a copy of it, which when she had read she threw into the fire:

That if any in foreign parts stiled her Queen of England, she could not help it:

That she had never desired aid of the Pope, or the King of Spain, to invade England, but implored their assistance to restore her to her Kingdom:

Lastly, That in case she was to be tried, she desired it might be before the Parliament, as a Princess of the Blood-Royal of England.

These answers shew, that Mary did not deny the facts, but only the intention ascribed to her. But on the other hand, though this intention could not be fully proved, her bare denial was not sufficient to shew she never had it, or to efface the suspicions entertained of her. However, as there was no design to bring her to a trial, the affair rested there; but Elizabeth was still persuaded, that the end of Mary's and her friends' intrigues, was to dethrone her.

Negotiation of a Defensive League With France

The negotiation of the defensive league between France and England was still continued at Paris, with great dissimulation on Charles's side. He insisted upon difficulties which ought not to have caused any delay, since his sole aim was to make use of this league to surprise the Huguenots, but this served the better to conceal his designs.

He pretended to be much afraid of the power of Spain, and therefore was obliged to join with England. The difficulties of the league consisted in two things. First, Elizabeth required, that both Parties should mutually promise to assist one another, in case either should be attacked, though on account of religion. But Charles said, he could not admit of that clause, for fear of offending his subjects, and all the Catholic powers.

He was willing however to agree, that the article should be expressed in more general terms, which should have the same meaning, namely, that the two parties should mutually defend one another, if either was attacked upon any account whatsoever. The English ambassadors objected, that England feared no attack, but only on account of religion, whereas France had numberless quarrels with other States, and therefore the condition would not be equal.

To remove this difficulty, Charles offered to write to Elizabeth a Letter with his own hand, wherein he would declare, that he understood the cause of religion to be included in the general clause. But the English not being satisfied with this security, required at least a private article under the great seals of France and England. Whereupon, Charles exclaimed against the injury done him, in believing him capable of breaking his word, and said, he preferred his honour to his life.

Walsingham, one of the English plenipotentiaries, was so biased in favour of Charles, that he thought him a perfect honest man. He even writ to the Lord Burleigh, that he did not doubt, that the security was sufficient. In short, after many debates, Elizabeth was contented with the letter offered by Charles.

The second difficulty consisted, in that the King of France would positively include the Queen of Scots in the treaty, to which Elizabeth would not consent. She thought it very strange, that the King of France should so heartily espouse the Queen of Scots interest at such a juncture.

Mary was using her utmost endeavours to dethrone her. The design of the league between France and England, was for a mutual defence against the attacks of their enemies, and at the same time France earnestly laboured to have the Queen of Scots released, that is, to enable her to execute

her designs. Elizabeth could not understand this proceeding, and it gave her great suspicion. However, as she believed the league necessary for her safety, she overlooked many things which gave her cause to mistrust the King of France's sincerity.

There was no way found to surmount this difficulty, but by inserting in the treaty a doubtful clause to this effect:—

That both parties shall maintain the present laws of Scotland.

Elizabeth meant the present and actual government of that Kingdom, under the King's authority, and Charles understood the preceding government, under the Queen's authority, considering the present as unlawful. But withal, he intimated, that he desired those terms, which were capable of a double meaning, to be used, only to avoid the blame of abandoning the Queen of Scots.

Elizabeth imagined it a great advantage, that Mary was not mentioned in the treaty. These two difficulties being removed, the league was signed at Blois, April 11. The substance whereof was as follows:—

Charles and Elizabeth shall mutually assist one another against all persons who shall attack them under any pretence whatsoever.

The League shall remain in full force till a year after the death of either party.

The Party requested shall be bound to send to the party requiring, an aid of six thousand foot, or of five hundred lances, making up, with others, fifteen hundred horse, at his choice, with eight ships of war, manned with twelve hundred soldiers, the whole at the expense of the party requiring.

There shall be no innovations made in Scotland, but both Princes shall endeavour to preserve the peace of that Kingdom, according to the present laws, without suffering the arrival of any foreign troops.

Sometime after, Elizabeth sent the Earl of Lincoln into France[310], to see the treaty sworn; and the Marshal de Montmorency came to London upon the same account. Elizabeth swore to the league the 17th of June, and honoured the Marshal with the Order of the Garter.

Whilst Montmorency was at the court of England, he never ceased strongly to solicit for the Queen of Scots liberty, to whom this eagerness did more hurt than good. On the other hand, the Queen ordered the Earl of Lincoln, to shew the King of France the intercepted letter from the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Alva, wherein it appeared, that she put herself entirely under the King of Spain's protection.

Montmorency would likewise have resumed the affair of the Queen's marriage with the Duke of Anjou, but did not much insist upon it. Probably, he had no orders to press it very strenuously, considering what happened in France immediately after his return, I mean, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's, wherein Admiral Chatillon, and all the Huguenots were butchered[311], who had been drawn to Court, under colour of the nuptials of the King of Navarre, with the Princess Margaret, King Charles's sister.

It is needless to expatiate on this horrible massacre, so universally known. It suffices to observe in a word, it demonstrated to persons of the least penetration, that the Court of France was then the most perfidious in the world.

This massacre threw all the Protestants in Europe into the utmost consternation, especially when they knew it was openly approved of at Rome[312]. The Protestant Princes of Germany began

to prepare for their defence, believing it was only the beginning of a combination to destroy their religion throughout all Christendom, and the Switzers resolved in a Diet, to lend France no more troops. But the Court of England respected on it particularly, not questioning, it was an effect of the league of Bayonne, and that the storm would quickly fall upon England.

Walsingham, who had expressed so great an esteem for Charles IX, wrote letter after letter, to give warning, that he was no longer to be trusted, though he should repeat his protestations of friendship to the Queen, and his assurances punctually to observe the late treaty[313].

Charles IX Shows Great Regard For Elizabeth

It was not without reason that Charles still desired to keep fair with Elizabeth. Though he had massacred an infinite number of his Huguenot subjects, he saw the rest ready to take arms to screen themselves from his barbarity.

The City of Rochelle, which was as their bulwark, had refused to open her gates to the King's forces. Some were already in arms in Languedoc, and other provinces, and probably, Charles was going to enter into a new war where he would have to deal with desperate people. Apprehensive as he was, that Elizabeth would aid the Huguenots with all her forces, there was no dissimulation but what he practised to divert her from it.

When she told him by her ambassador, that after the late massacre, she could no longer place any confidence in him, he endeavoured to excuse himself in the best manner he could. One while he said, it was done without his knowledge; another while, that he was forced to it, in order to prevent a conspiracy formed by the admiral against him, the Queen his mother, and his brothers.

However, at the very time he shewed the greatest desire to live in a good understanding with Elizabeth, he was taking private measures to raise her disturbances both in England and Scotland. After the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, the Pope sent a legate into France. The Duke of Savoy, a great friend to Spain, was come to Paris, and Charles's pretended dread of Philip's design was entirely vanished.

Walsingham Negotiates

Nay, there was a first union between the two Kings. On the other side, Walsingham gave frequent notice, that the Duke of Guise had private conferences with the Scots, and the Queen Mother frequently sent for the Bishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador, to her house at unseasonable hours. These things were plain indications to Elizabeth and her Council, that the friendship of France was not to be relied on, though it had been earnestly sought.

Affairs being in this situation, it was not easy for the Queen to determine what course she should take. She suspected, some plot was formed against her; but was not sure[314].

On one hand, she was afraid, France and Spain were in league against her; but she could not conceive how it was possible for them to agree, their interests being directly contrary. She considered however, that Charles IX was governed by the Lorrain Princes, who had different views from his, and who regarded their own private interest, more than the welfare of France. Besides, an excessive religious zeal might cause him to overlook his true interest.

Charles and Elizabeth Equally Dissimulate

In this state of uncertainty, she thought it most advisable to stand upon her guard, and make preparations as if she was to be speedily invaded, and to equal the King of France in his dissimulation, letting him know however, it would not be easy to deceive her. So, each playing

the hypocrite, never were so strong and so frequent protestations of friendship between Charles and Elizabeth, as in the first months after the massacre of Bartholomew's. Both said, they desired above all things to keep the league inviolably, though Charles had no occasion for Elizabeth's aid, and Elizabeth could no longer depend upon the amity of such an ally.

It was hardly possible for them to love one another. Charles looked upon Elizabeth as the protectress of the religion he was endeavouring to extirpate, and Elizabeth could consider him but as a Prince without honour or honesty, and as a sworn enemy to the religion she professed.

Charles Offers to Renew the League and The Marriage of The Duke of Alenson With Elizabeth

Notwithstanding all this, Charles offered to renew the league with a fresh oath, and proposed marriage between Elizabeth and his younger brother, the Duke of Alenson. It short to give Elizabeth a sensible mark of his pretended friendship, he desired her to stand Godmother to a princess his Queen was be delivered of in October.

Elizabeth answered to the first proposal, that the Treaty of Blois not having been violated on her part, she did not see any necessity to review it, or swear to it again. As to the marriage of the Duke of Alenson, she expressed herself in such a manner, that she left it undetermined, whether she would accept or refuse it. As to the King's requesting her to be godmother to the Princess's daughter, she replied, though her own subjects, and several foreign princes dissuaded her from being spiritually allied to a sworn enemy of the Protestant religion she was willing however to give him a proof of her desire to preserve their mutual alliance, as far as it lay in her power.

Thus, it was all dissimulation on both sides. But I don't know whether Elizabeth can be justified, for not having refused this last article, in order to show at least her detestation of the deed of Charles had lately committed. Be this as it will, all the rest of the year was spent in reciprocal protestations of very sincere friendship, but withal, in a mutual distrust.

Charles was afraid, Elizabeth would assist the Huguenots, and thereby all his measures be broken. Elizabeth had in mind, before she came to any resolution, to see a little farther into the designs of her enemies, and to that purpose it was necessary for her to keep, at least outwardly, some correspondence with King Charles.

The Opinion of The Huguenots Upon This Account

Meanwhile the Huguenots do not know what to think of her. They saw themselves upon the brink of destruction, considering the great forces with which the king was preparing to attack them, and at the same time they saw Elizabeth, who was their sole refuge, stand godmother to the child of their persecutor and executioner. But the interest of the Huguenots was not the thing she had chiefly in view. Her zeal for the Protestant religion was always subordinate to her private interest.

The Earl of Northumberland is Beheaded

The Earl of Northumberland, who, after his being seized in Scotland, had been delivered to the Queen, was beheaded in this juncture, wherein the Queen thought she could not take too many precautions to provide for her safety[315].

The Affairs of Scotland

I must now mentioned the affairs in Scotland, to which the Queen had always an eye. The discovery of the Duke of Norfolk's plot had much weakened Mary's party. Some had forsaken

it, and others were ready to do the like. If they still adhered to it, it was only to obtain advantageous terms for quitting it. Grange, governor of Edinburgh Castle, Liddington, the Lord Hume, Robert Melvil, and some others, who were in the castle, still affected a sort of neutrality, and a great zeal for the good of their country.

But they made this good to consist in a certain union of the two factions, which should not be prejudicial to the captive Queen. That is, they would have the king's authority to be annulled; and if it could not be agreed, that the state should be government in the Queen's name, as indeed it was very difficult to gain that point, at least that administration of affairs should be put into the hands of a certain number of regents chosen by the two parties, without any mention of the Queen or King.

By this means they would have preserved the Queen's rights entire, and broken the measures of the contrary party. Probably, James Melvil author of the memoirs was in the same sentiments, though his desire to be looked upon as neuter, and as such, was employed on both sides, to serve for mediator.

The men of this party durst not however fully discover their minds; but flattered themselves, that being masters of Edinburgh Castle, with the help of never so few succours, they should be able to support their pretensions. They spent the whole winter of the year 1572 in several negotiations in France and the Netherlands, to obtain the succours, they wanted.

They were made to hope for assistance from both places; but it was only empty promises without any effect. The court of France durst not pull off the mask for fear of obstructing the grand design which was executed within a few months.

The Court of France is Suspected by Elizabeth

For that reason, they consented at length that the Queen of Scots should not be mentioned in the Treaty of Blois. They were contented to agree with the English ambassadors, that the two crowns should send plenipotentiaries into Scotland, to adjust the differences between the Scots, or compel them to lay down their arms.

And indeed Charles IX, nominated du Crocq, who had often been sent into Scotland, to endeavour this agreement, ordering him to pass through England, and strongly solicit Elizabeth to send the Queen of Scots into France. He gave him moreover certain instructions, which he was to impart by word-of-mouth to the captive Queen. Elizabeth thought this proceeding very extraordinary, just as the Treaty of league was going to be concluded. So, suspecting some mystery in this conduct, she plainly refused du Crocq leave to see Mary, and even to pursue his journey to Scotland till the league was signed.

Elizabeth Suspicions Increase

A few days after, she made a discovery which much increased her suspicions. The Lord Seaton, a Scotchman, who called himself Mary's ambassador to the Duke of Alva, had taken a journey to Paris, and there held several conferences with the King and the Queen Mother.

Then he returned to Brussels, and shortly after departed for Scotland. But the stormy weather compelling him to land at Harwich, he disguised himself like a sailor, and before it was known who he was, crossed England, and came to Edinburgh, where he frequently conferred with Grange, and the other Lords in the Castle.

But as he had not been able to carry away his papers, they were found in the ship, whereby it was discovered, he had orders to encourage the Lords in the Castle of Edinburgh to hold out, and give them hopes of a speedy assistance. It was also known, he was commissioned some time

before by the Scots of the Queen's party, to tell the Duke of Alva, that with a little aid, it would be easy to carry away the young King, and send him into Spain.

In short, Elizabeth heard, that Grange and his companions, who had begun to treat of an accommodation with the Earl of Mar, would hear no more of it, since they had seen the Lord Seaton. All this, added to du Crocq's instances for the Queen of Scots liberty, and for leave to speak with her, made Elizabeth and her council judge, this envoy was not sent into Scotland to appease, but rather to foment, the troubles.

This was the more credible, as he had said himself, that his instructions reached no farther than to exhort the Scots to peace. It would therefore have been imprudent to suffer him to confer with Mary, or to pursue his Journey into Scotland.

She Takes Measures with Regard to Scotland

I observed before, that the court of England was no less forward than that of France, to perpetuate the troubles of Scotland; and this was true, during the Regency of the Earl of Lenox, because the Queen's party was then very strong, and it was to be feared the two factions would be united, to the great detriment of England. But after the Duke of Norfolk's death the case was altered.

The Queen's party being considerably weakened, the council of England thought it time to end the troubles of Scotland, by giving some content to those in the Castle of Edinburgh, in order to induce them to submit to the King, and deliver up the place. To this end, the Earl of Marr, with Elizabeth's consent, had begun with those of the castle, a negotiation, interrupted by the arrival of the Lord Seaton.

Negotiation of The Regent of Scotland with The Queen's Party

The League between France and England being concluded shortly after, the Earl of Mar thought it a favourable opportunity to resume the negotiation with those of the castle, and to that purpose offered them by James Melvil very advantageous terms.

Melvil insinuates, that the regent's inducement to this accommodation, was only to free Scotland from the yoke of the English. He adds farther, that Grange scrupling to demand any terms for restoring peace to the Kingdom, left it to the regent's discretion, who privately swore to the peace, in the presence of two or three persons only. But Walsingham's memoirs shew that Melvil was not well informed, since this agreement was made with Elizabeth's approbation, and even some articles were signed, whereof secretary Smith sent a copy to Walsingham at Paris.

Death of The Regent October 29

This project was defeated by the death of the Earl of Marr. He went to Edinburgh with design to have this private treaty approved, and the Earl of Morton was the chief person to be prevailed with to sign it. To this end, he made him a visit at Dalketh, where he was honourably received, and treated magnificently.

But before the banquet was over[316], he felt himself seized with a violent illness, which hardly suffered him to ride to Edinburgh, where he died[317]. Many suspected he was poisoned. However, on the 24th of November, the Earl of Morton was chosen Regent, by the interest of Elizabeth's Friends in Scotland.

Nothing could be more advantageous to Elizabeth, than to see the regency of Scotland in the hands of a man who depended upon her, and whom she could manage almost as she pleased. But on the other side, the court of France, where the Guises then ruled, finding that by the Earl

of Morton's promotion, they were going entirely to lose Scotland, resolved to do their utmost to ruin the new Regent, and support those who still held the Castle of Edinburgh.

Indeed, that was their only way to have still any influence upon the Kingdom. The Duke of Guise, who managed everything, plainly saw, if the Earl of Morton was left unmolested, he would not fail, with the help of the English, to crush the Queen's Party entirely, and shut out the French from Scotland for ever.

He resolved therefore to send Verac thither with money to supply the occasions of those in the castle, under colour of labouring to appease the troubles. But Verac not being ready soon enough, the money was put into the hands of Grange's brother, who had been sent into France to solicit aid.

At the same time, great pains were taken to gain the Earls of Argyle and Athol; and the Duke of Chateleraut was told, if Grange could hold out till Whitsuntide, he would be strongly assisted by the Pope, Spain, and France. This was what Walsingham, who had good spies at Paris, had frequently writ to the Court of England.

It was therefore no longer Elizabeth's interest to continue discord among the Scots. On the contrary, it was necessary the Queen's faction should be destroyed, before the measures which were taking in France and Flanders could have their effect. We shall see presently that she neglected not her interest.

Affairs of The Low Countries

During all this year, the Queen of Scots and her adherents relied much upon the Duke of Alva's assistance, and yet they had nothing to hope from thence. From the beginning of the year to the time of the massacre of Paris, the Duke had been so employed, that it was not possible for him to think seriously of the Queen of Scots concerns, though he did not want a good-will to annoy Elizabeth.

The Count de la Mark, whom the Queen had driven from her ports, for not breaking with Spain, had taken the Briel in Holland, and by that unexpected blow revived the courage of those who wished to be freed from the dominion of the Spaniards. Shortly after, the whole province of Holland threw off their yoke, and with some other towns in Zealand, followed that example.

The Duke of Medina-Celi, sent afterwards from Spain with a fleet, was defeated by the confederates, and most of his ships taken. In a word, whilst the Duke of Alva was employed in reducing the revolted towns in Holland, the news of the city of Mons being surprised by Count Lewis of Nassau, obliged him to quit Holland in order to attempt the recovery of that place.

Meanwhile, the Prince of Orange entered the Netherlands at the head of an army raised in Germany[318]. On the other hand, Charles IX. sent the Count of Nassau five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, commanded by Genlis, which were defeated by the Duke of Alva, to whom the King himself had sent notice of the march of this aid, designed only to amuse the Huguenots.

The tragedy which was acted in France shortly after, having opened the Prince of Orange's eyes, he was forced to disband his army, finding the King of France, who promised to help to maintain it, would not keep his word.

In the meantime, the Duke of Alva was taken up with the siege of Mons, which surrendered not till the 19th of September. After the siege, his troops under the command of Frederico de Toledo his son, were employed in taking Zutphen, Naerden, and other places. Hence it appears, that during the course of this year, the Duke of Alva was not able to send an army into Scotland, though Mary's friends were still in hopes of it. Mary's expectation of assistance from Spain was

very prejudicial to her, because, when her practices were discovered, Elizabeth was more intent upon ending the troubles of Scotland. Besides, the King of France grew a little cool, when he found Queen Mary threw herself into the arms of the Spaniard[319].

Charles and Elizabeth's Dissimulation

1573 AD] Though Charles IX. and Elizabeth were very jealous of each other, they kept however a strict correspondence, capable of deceiving those who knew not the interests of the two courts. Nothing passed on both sides but protestations and assurances of observing inviolably the treaty of Blois.

The beginning of the year 1573, Elizabeth sent William Somerset, Earl of Worcester to Paris to stand in her stead to the Princess, Charles's Daughter[320], who was named Elizabeth. She had ordered her ambassador, not to be persuaded to be present at the Mass in the ceremony of the baptism, and in case it was insisted upon, to desire the Queen of Navarre to stand in his room.

Marriage of The Duke of Alenson Proposed Again

A little before, Queen Catherine had sent to Elizabeth the Earl of Rais her confident, to propose once more the marriage of the Duke of Alenson her third son. But this was not the sole motive of his coming. The Earl had orders to observe what passed in England, where the Earl of Montgomery and some other French refugees were equipping a fleet to relieve Rochelle, which, after a long blockade, was at length besieged in form.

Elizabeth's Answer

The Duke of Anjou commanded at the Siege, having with him the Duke of Alenson his brother, and all the Catholic nobles of France. Elizabeth answered concerning the proposal of the marriage, that she was very willing to begin a treaty about it, provided the article of religion was first settled, else it was in vain to say any more of it.

Complaints of France of The Succours Given to Rochelle

About the same time, Montgomery falling to the relief of Rochelle the French ambassador complained that he was suffered to depart, and that the English merchants had supplied the besieged with provisions.

Answer was made, that the persons who were sailed out of the ports of England, were not owned, and carried counterfeit flags, and if they could be taken, should be severely punished. As for the merchants, they were men who followed their gain where ever they hoped to find it; and not being able to send their commodities to any other port of France, since the people were left to butcher whom they pleased, it was no wonder, they should send them to Rochelle where they could vend them with safety.

Probably, the court of England had, connived at Montgomery's armament, which however had no effect, and at sending provisions to the Rochellers. This was all the assistance she gave the Huguenots in their wretched condition.

She had resolved to avoid a breach with the French, whether she hoped to gain them to her interest, or make the world believe there was a greater union between her and King Charles than there was in reality. This was doubtless to render her enemies both at home and abroad less eager to form plots against her.

We are going at length to see an end put to the troubles of Scotland.

End of The War in Scotland

The Earl of Morton the new Regent having good intelligence of what passed at the court of France, and knowing it was resolved to assist powerfully the Queen's faction, after the taking of Rochelle, believed he ought to improve this interval to prevent their designs.

He proposed therefore to Grange by James Melvil, to renew the negotiation begun before the Earl of Marr's death. Grange and his companions made some scruple at first, because they expected the French succours promised them by the Lord Seaton.

However, not to give occasion to say, they were entirely against a peace, and to try to gain time till Whitsuntide, Grange replied, he was willing to accept the same terms as had been offered by the Earl of Marr, provided the Queen's whole party were included in the Treaty. The Regent, who was better informed than Grange imagined, easily judged, this answer tended only to prolong the agreement, by the difficulties of contenting every one.

He refused therefore to treat with the whole party, and offered to give Grange and his companions all the satisfaction they could reasonably expect; but his offer was rejected. Whereupon he turned to the Duke of Chateleraut, and the Earls of Huntley and Argyle, who were not so scrupulous as those of the Castle of Edinburgh.

They treated for themselves and dependents, that is, for almost all the rest of the Queen's party, without regarding the concerns of Grange and his associates. They perceived they could no longer rely on the assistance of France, which was too remote, and withal very uncertain, considering the civil war which afflicted that Kingdom. The treaty which they made with the Regent, assisted by Drury and Killegrew the English ambassadors, was to this effect:—

That they should submit to the King, and conform to the established Religion.

That if any person should violate this article he should be declared a traitor.

That the sentences pronounced against the Hamiltons and Gordons should be repealed, excepting such however as concerned the murders of the Earls of Murray and Lenox, which should be left to the Queen of England's decision.

That the Queen of England should bind herself by some public instrument, that the Hamiltons and Gordons should not be prosecuted for the murder of the Earls of Murray and Lenox, without her express consent.

The estates of the Kingdom meeting shortly after, confirmed this agreement by their authority.

As soon as Grange heard of the agreement which was negotiating between the Regent and the heads of the Queen's party, he endeavoured to obstruct it, by offering to surrender the Castle of Edinburgh in six months. But as the Regent was better informed than Grange imagined, it was easy for him to perceive, this offer tended only to gain time, till the French succours should arrive [321].

At last, when Grange knew, the heads of the Queen's party were upon the point of signing their treaty, he offered to deliver the castle immediately, provided he might put it into the hands of the Earl of Rothes. But the Regent did not think fit to place in that fortress a Governor of Grange's chusing.

Besides, all the proceedings of those of the castle, and the evasions they used to avoid surrendering the place, plainly showed, they were not heartily inclined to an accommodation. So, without farther ceremony, he declared them traitors, and prepared in good earnest to besiege them. Melvil

says upon this occasion, that he knows not what rage possessed the Regent, to desire to have by way of siege a place which was offered to be surrendered voluntarily and instantly[322].

It is indeed little probable the Earl of Morton should desire to expose himself to the difficulties of such a siege, if he could otherwise have had the place. But what Melvil ascribes to the Regent's rage, may, with much more likelihood, be imputed to the cavils of those of the Castle, who struggle to prolong the time till the promised succours should arrive.

In Walsingham's negotiations there are several letters from the Queen, the Lord Burleigh, Secretary Smith, blaming Grange and his companions for their foolish presumption and invincible obstinacy, in attempting alone to continue the troubles in Scotland. Melvil, Grange's intimate friend, gives quite another turn to this affair, and places the whole blame upon the Regent[323].

Be this as it will, the Earl of Morton having but few troops, and wanting artillery and ammunition, by reason the public magazine was in the castle of Edinburgh, applied to Queen Elizabeth. I have already shown, of what consequence it was to England, that the troubles of Scotland should be ended before France could interpose.

For this reason, Elizabeth immediately made a treaty with the Regent, which, among others, contained the following Articles:—

Elizabeth shall send to the Regent, men, ordnance, and ammunition, for the besieging the Castle of Edinburgh jointly with the Scots.

No capitulation shall be granted to the besieged, without the mutual consent of the Regent, and the English General.

If the Castle be taken (by the English) it shall be delivered to the King of Scotland.

The prisoners, after the taking of the Castle, shall be detained to be proceeded against according to law, the Queen of England being first acquainted therewith.

Pursuant to this treaty, Elizabeth ordered Sir William Drury, (Marshal of Berwick) to march into Scotland with fifteen hundred men, and a train of artillery, which was a manifest breach of the Treaty of Blois, which ran:—

That no foreign Troops should be suffered to enter Scotland.

But as she had discovered by the Lord Seaton's papers, that France intended to violate this same article, she believed doubtless, it would be simplicity to suffer herself to be prevented.

Seige and Taking of Edinburgh Castle

However this be, the castle was invested, and the besieged defended themselves a whole month like men in despair. But at last their water failing, they were forced to surrender at discretion, if we may believe the English and Scots of the King's party.

Melvil affirms on the contrary, that they capitulated, but the capitulation was not kept. Thus much is certain, the Laird of Grange, James Kirkcaldie his Brother, and some others, were condemned to be hanged, and the sentence was executed accordingly[324]. Lidington died in prison, having himself, according to some, hastened his death by poison.

The Lord Hume and Sir Robert Melvil were released[325] . Thus ended the civil wars of Scotland, and thus Elizabeth's enemies lost all hopes of invading her from that quarter. From what has been hitherto said, it may be easily perceived, of what consequence the transactions in Scotland

were to Elizabeth. Accordingly she was ever very intent upon the affairs of that Kingdom, where she successfully managed her interest with the most refined policy.

Verac Arrested at Scarborough and Sent to London

At the time the heads of the Queen of Scots party were about to sign their treaty, Verac, who was sent into Scotland to encourage the party to stand their ground, was forced by a storm into Scarborough. The president of the northern marches having notice of it, ordered him to be conveyed to London, without hearkening to the reasons he alleged against it, taken from his character. It was known afterwards, that the moment he was seized he burnt all his papers.

The French ambassador made great noise that Verac was hindered from going to Scotland. But he was told, the Queen had no advice of the sending of this ambassador, and if she had known it, would have taken care he should have been treated with the respect due to his character. That he had been conducted to London, by the general order which the president of the north had, to deal thus by all foreigners who should land in those parts, unless they were known to be merchants.

Elizabeth Speaks Roundly to French Ambassador

The ambassador was not very well pleased with this answer; but he had still less reason to be so with that he received shortly after to his urgent request, for leave to speak with the Queen of Scots in private. This request had been often repeated to no purpose. At last, the Queen, tired with his importunities, told him plainly, she was not ignorant of the practices of the King of France, and the Queen-Mother, in favour of Mary, and how they stood affected to England:—

That however, she had always inviolably observed the late treaty^[326], and would still observe it, chusing rather the rupture should come from France, than from her:

That in case of a breach, she did not question, she should be able to defend herself, being well assured of the affection of her subjects:

That she could hardly restrain some who offered to relieve Rochelle at their own expense, and maintain six months, in Gascogne, an army of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse.

Upon the ambassador's demanding leave for Verac to pursue his journey to Scotland, the Queen agreed to it, after some affected delays. But whilst she was putting obstacles in his way, she caused a letter to be sent from the Earl of Morton, telling her, that Verac's coming to Scotland would be very displeasing to him, as well as to the Duke of Chateleraut, and the Earl of Huntley, with whom he was in perfect friendship. That therefore he believed, the envoy would do well to save himself the trouble of the Journey.

Whilst they were debating at London about this affair, the castle of Edinburgh surrendered, and so Verac's journey became entirely needless. Queen Catherine de Medici, politic as she was, could not help making a false step, in discovering to Walsingham, that the French Court's design, was to foment the troubles of Scotland.

Upon the ambassador's warm complaints of the intrigues of France, with respect to Scotland, she protested, the King her son, and herself knew not what he meant, and that their intention was only to persuade the Scots to agree, and acknowledge Queen Mary for their Sovereign.

That's the very thing, replied the ambassador, the Queen my mistress complains of, since it is a direct breach of the Treaty of Blois. The Queen perceiving she had said too much, turned the

discourse, and complained of Verac's being detained in England; to which Walsingham made the same answer as had been given to La Mothe at London.

Elizabeth is in Great Tranquility

Scotland being in peace, under the authority of the young King, and of a Regent devoted to England, Elizabeth was freed from a great uneasiness. The recalling the Duke of Alva from the government of the Low-Countries, was a farther increase of her happiness. The commander of Requesens, who succeeded the Duke of Alva, finding he had full employment, refused to meddle with the affairs of England and Scotland, and so Elizabeth had nothing to fear from that side.

Her Enemies having no longer admittance into Scotland, and England being safe from all attacks but by sea, she lived some years in great tranquillity. Besides, France was not in condition to make any considerable attempt upon her, as well for want of naval Forces, as because of the civil wars which laid waste the Kingdom.

The Bishop of Ross is Driven Away

Meanwhile, Elizabeth, being desirous also to secure herself from all domestic attempts, commanded the Bishop of Ross, author and promoter of all the plots against her, to depart England. He thought himself happy in coming off so easily, and withdrawing into France, continued his secret practices, though to little purpose.

He writ there a *History of Scotland*, from the beginning, to the year 1561. What he says of the Earl of Murray towards the end of his history, speaking of the first troubles of Scotland, and which Camden has taken care to copy, plainly shows, what might have been expected from him, had he continued it to the end of the war.

Though Elizabeth had said, in her answer to the proposal concerning her marriage with the Duke of Alençon, that the article of religion was first to be settled, Catherine de Medici did not fail however to solicit her upon that subject. She said the court of France would yield in that point, but did not say how far.

Moreover, she caused the Duke of Alençon, who was then at the siege of Rochelle, to send her letters, expressing his eager desire to have the marriage succeed. At last, she was solicited so much to permit the Duke to come and see her, that she consented, provided he would not take it ill, in case he was obliged to return without any thing done. But the siege of Rochelle holding longer than was imagined, hindered the Duke from paying his visit.

The Seige of Rochelle Raised

This siege, which had lasted so long, was at length raised on the 25th of June, after the city had withstood thirty thousand cannon balls, nine great assaults, besides twenty lesser ones, and the effects of sixty mines. The Duke of Anjou lost above twelve thousand men.

The Duke of Anjou Chosen King of Poland

The news of his being chosen King of Poland, and of the Polish ambassadors being on their way to offer him the crown, afforded him a pretence to relinquish his enterprise, which perhaps would not have ended to his honour; and the raising the siege brought with it peace to the Huguenots, who were hardly able to support themselves.

Charles IX. was afraid of the Duke his brother, and the Queen-Mother loved him tenderly. This bred between the King and the Queen his mother, a dissension, which, it is likely, proved fatal

to the King. He thought it long till his brother was gone to Poland, and the Queen still found some fresh excuse to hinder his departure.

At last, Charles grew so suspicious of all these delays, that he could not forbear threatening the Queen his mother, who was forced at length to suffer her beloved son to depart, and the King was pleased to accompany him part of the way. But he could not go so far as he had resolved, by reason of a distemper wherewith he was seized, and of which he never recovered.

Elizabeth Refuses Alenson's Visit

Elizabeth hearing the King of Poland was gone, and Charles taken ill, did not think proper to receive the Duke of Alenson's visit, before she had a fuller knowledge of the affairs of the royal family of France. She writ to him therefore, to desire him to defer his journey, and gave him for reason, that the English would not look with a good eye upon a Prince coming from the siege of Rochelle, and wearing a sword dyed with the blood of their brethren.

The Earl of Essex Goes into Ireland

This year Walter d'Evereux Earl of Essex had leave to go into Ireland, to conquer the country of Clandeboy at his own expense. But his enterprise was not crowned with success, because he was privately hindered by the Earl of Leicester his enemy[327].

Queen Elizabeth's letter to the Duke of Alenson not being capable of discouraging him, he made fresh instances for leave to come into England, to which the Queen at length yielding, sent him a safe-conduct. But in the mean time, the Queen his mother suspecting him of a design to supplant the King of Poland his brother, in case the King happened to die, ordered it so, that the King set a guard over him as well as the King of Navarre, who was accused of suggesting this design to him.

The Death of Charles IX

1574 AD] However this be, the Queen-mother perceiving the King near his end, thought fit to take this precaution, to secure the crown to the King of Poland, who was absent. And indeed Charles IX. died the 30th of May, in the twenty-fifth year of his age. The manner of his death was so uncommon, that it gave occasion not only to the Protestants but the Catholics themselves, to consider it as an effect of the divine vengeance, for the horrible massacre committed by his orders.

The blood gushed out of all the passages of his body, and even spouted through his pores. The Queen-Mother took her measures so well, that causing the dying King to confer on her the Regency of the Kingdom, she kept all quiet till the arrival of the King of Poland, who succeeded his brother, by the name of Henry III.

He arrived in France the 5th of September, but came not to Paris till about the middle of February the next year.

Marriage of The Earl of Lenox

Nothing memorable passed in England daring the year 1574[328] The only thing Camden remarked in his Annals, is the marriage of Charles Earl of Lenox, uncle to the King of Scotland, with Elizabeth Cavendish the Countess of Shrewsbury's daughter. As this marriage was made unknown to the Queen, she imprisoned the mothers of the new married couple.

In the Netherlands, the confederates took Middleburgh in Zealand. But on the other hand, Lewis count of Nassau, who was leading an army to his brother the Prince of Orange, lost a battle upon

Moker Heath, near Nimeguen, and was himself slain, with his brother Henry, and Christopher Count Palatine[329].

This same year, the Spanish troops mutinying, surprised and plundered Antwerp, where they made an immense booty. The governor of the Low-Countries, to avoid greater mischief, was forced to pardon them.

The Affairs of France

As soon as Henry. was arrived in France, it was resolved in his council, to wage war with the Huguenots, though they had given no occasion, and presently after, hostilities were renewed against them. Meanwhile, as Henry was afraid, the Queen of England would assist those whom he designed to extirpate, his first care was to renew with her the League of Blois, after moving the question to her, whether the mutual defence against all men, mentioned in that league, did include the cause of religion?

Elizabeth answered, it did, as she could prove by a letter from the late King which she had by her. Adding, if he were attacked on account of religion, and required her aid in virtue of the treaty, she should be always ready to give it.

Indeed, she ran no great risk in making that offer, being fully persuaded, the French King would not use English troops against the Huguenots. Besides, by the terms of the league, she was not bound to send him any troops, since instead of being attacked, he was himself the aggressor.

However, Elizabeth's answer to Henry might have given the Huguenots ill notions of her, if she had not privately supplied the Prince of Condé with money to pay the army, Prince Casimire Count Palatine was levying for them in Switzerland and Germany.

A Tumult on The Borders of Scotland

England was pretty quiet during the year 1575. There happened only an accident on the borders of Scotland, where Sir John Forster (Warden of the Middle March)[330], and Carmichael (Warden of Liddesdale in Scotland) holding a Conference, each at the head of a Troop of his own nation, quarrelled and fought. The English were worsted. Sir George Heron (Warden of Tindale) lost his life, and Forster being taken prisoner[331], was conducted to the Earl of Morton, who treated him very civilly, but detained him some time, for fear, if he were presently dismissed, he would in his heat attempt a revenge.

At last, having released him, he made him promise to appear in Scotland at a set day. Elizabeth thought the Regent of Scotland's proceeding very strange, and at first took this affair very heinously; but Morton found means to appease her, by making all the submissions she was pleased to require. This year died the Duke of Chateleraut[332].

1576 AD] The year 1576, affords as little matter for the history of England as the foregoing. We find only that the Earl of Essex died in Ireland[333], and the Earl of Leicester privately married his widow, unknown to the Queen, though he was suspected of having caused the husband to be poisoned.

He was always in the Queen's good graces, who was so biased in his favour, that no man durst tell her his thoughts. It was one of Queen Elizabeth's greatest failings, to place her esteem upon a person who so little deserved it[334]. As it is necessary for the sequel of the history to know what passed in the countries near England, I must make a short digression, not so much to inform the reader of things which are well known, as to refresh his memory.

Lewis de Zuniga, commander of Requesens, and Governor of the Low-Countries, died this year. After his death, the council of state administered alone the affairs of the Netherlands till a new Governor should arrive.

The Council consisted of natives and Spaniards. Shortly after, the Spanish troops happened to mutiny, and resolved to plunder Brussels. The magistrates alarmed at the danger, applied to the Council of State, who declared the mutineers rebels, though several of the counsellors favoured the seditious. And indeed, presently after, the little town of Alost was sacked, and the Council of State took no care to punish the authors of that outrage, or prevent the like misfortune which threatened the other towns.

For this reason some Lords of Brabant drew together at Brussels a company of the citizens, and investing the place where the Council of State held their sessions, expelled such of the members as were suspected to countenance the mutineers, and put in their room persons better affected to the good of their country.

This new Council of State, thus composed, joined the confederates, who were now in arms in defence of their liberties, and they entered together into a league to free themselves from the Spanish forces. Then Hieronymo de Roda, a Spaniard, one of those who were expelled the council, headed the rebels, and sent for the Spanish troops which were in Holland, with whom the Germans joined.

This body, grown very considerable, plundered Maestricht and Antwerp, without any possibility of preventing them.

The Prince of Orange, who was in Holland, seeing the affairs of the Netherlands reduced to this point, offered the Council of State his troops, his person, and the assistance of the provinces of Holland and Zealand, which began to make a separate State, under his government.

Upon this offer the Council of State resolved to enter into treaty with Holland and Zealand. The conferences were held at Ghent, where with an unanimous consent, Luxemburg excepted, was formed the union of the provinces of the Low-Countries, called the Union, or Pacification of Ghent, for the defence of their laws and liberties.

Notwithstanding this, they were still willing to own the King of Spain's authority, provided he would govern according to the antient Laws. This union being thus formed, the fortresses raised by the Duke of Alva to keep the Netherlands in subjection, were demolished every where. Some time after, the association was sworn by the clergy and nobility, solemnly approved by the Council of State, and published at Brussels.

By that, Philip II lost almost all his authority in the Low-Countries, having only the bare title of sovereign, unless he would confine himself to the rights enjoyed by his predecessors, which was very far from his thoughts.

The Affairs of France

France was not more quiet than the Low-Countries. Affairs of The Duke of Alençon had assembled an army against the King in favour of the Huguenots. On the other hand, the Prince of Condé, with the forces levied by Prince Casimire in Germany, entered France and joined the Duke of Alençon.

Thus the Huguenots, whom the court had determined to extirpate, were in a condition to sell their lives dear, having at their head the King's brother, the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, with an army of thirty thousand men. But the Queen-Mother had the address to break all their measures. She sent them offers of peace, and during the negotiation, found means to sow jealousy

among them, and win from them the Duke of Alençon and Prince Casimir. In short, she caused them to agree to a peace, which, for all its seeming advantages, proved fatal to them, as it disunited their forces.

The Treaty was concluded the 9th of May, and enrolled six months after by the Parliament of Paris. The Huguenots had never obtained so advantageous a peace since the beginning of the troubles.

In October the Duke of Alençon came to Court, where the Queen his mother disengaged him entirely from the side of the Huguenots. Then it was that he assumed the title of Duke of Anjou, borne by the King his brother before he ascended the throne.

The peace was no sooner signed, than, according to the sincerity some time since professed by the Court of France, they took new measures to ruin the Huguenots. Treaties and oaths went then for nothing, and were considered only as lawful snares to surprise heretics. The Cardinal of Este the Pope's legate, and Don John of Austria who was going to take possession of the government of the Low-Countries, came to the Court of France, and had several conferences upon this occasion with the King, the Queen-Mother, and the Duke of Guise.

Guise was looked upon as the head of the Catholic party, and for that reason, the legate took with him measures of which the King was not fully informed. The most proper means, in their opinion, to attain their end, was to unite several associations, made in divers provinces by the zealous Catholics, and form one general association against the enemies of the ancient religion.

This is what was called the Holy Union, or simply, the league. Humières was the first that signed it in Picardy, from whence it spread afterwards over the Kingdom. The Pope was the chief promoter of it, the King of Spain gloried in being called as protector, and the Duke of Guise, who aimed at being declared the head, supported it to the utmost of his power.

The Queen-Mother willingly came into it, not from a religious zeal, but because the Huguenots had threatened to call her to an account, for her administration during her Regency. In fine, the King himself, seduced by ill counsels and his own supineness, was carried away with the torrent, and suffered the evil to increase, which was one day to prove his ruin.

When the late peace was negotiated, the Huguenots earnestly solicited a general meeting of the States, imagining, besides a great many deputies of their religion, they should have for them the Duke of Alençon's party, and many others who were not pleased with the government. But when the deputies came to be elected, the Duke of Alençon had now changed sides.

Besides, the court, by intrigues and money, found means to procure a great number of deputies to be chosen who were against the Huguenots. So, the States meeting at Blois, instead of moving any thing in favour of the reformed religion, were going to demand of the King the confirmation of the league, and request him to appoint the Duke of Guise for head.

But the King, who was now grown extremely jealous of the Duke of Guise, resolved to prevent it. To that end, he declared himself head of the league, and signing it first with his own hand, cased the great men of his court to subscribe it, and sent it into the provinces that every one might do the same.

Shortly after, the States having sent to pray him, that he would not allow any religion in the Kingdom but the Catholic, he answered, it was his intention; and if he was under a necessity of promising the contrary, even with an oath, he would keep his word only till he had forces sufficient to enable him to break it. Thus the Huguenots were forced to defend themselves to the last drop of their blood, without the least hopes of seeing an end to their calamities by a treaty,

since the King himself declared he would never make any with them, but only to deceive them [335].

The Affairs of The Low Countries

1577 AD] Don John of Austria came into the Low-Countries the beginning of the year 1577, full of vast projects. He was a Prince of a great genius, and of an ambition suitable to his birth. The condition of a subject was a burden of which he would have been glad to be eased. All his views tended to sovereignty.

His first project was to make himself King of Tunis: That failing, he thought of marrying the Queen of Scots, and becoming sovereign of all Great-Britain. Camden affirms, he had this from the mouth of Antonio Perez, who told him moreover, that the project was imparted to Pope Gregory XIII, who approved it, but was concealed from King Philip.

This was probably the subject of Don John's conferences at Paris with the Duke of Guise. So, Don John when he arrived in the Low-Countries had two grand designs in his head:—

First, to subdue the Netherlands entirely:

Secondly, to become master of England and Scotland.

Elizabeth was not ignorant of the first, but the second was still a secret to her. The pacification of Ghent was communicated to the Spanish Court, and Philip giving way to the times, thought proper to confirm it by an edict. So, when Don John of Austria came to the Netherlands, he was forced to sign it before he was owned for governor. This was followed by an assembly held at Marche en Famine, where it was resolved to publish a perpetual edicts (as they called it) for driving the Spanish troops out of the Low-Countries, pursuant to the pacification of Ghent.

Philip approving also this edict, the Spaniards were sent into Italy, all the places remaining in the hands of the States. Hitherto Don John had been forced to dissemble: But some time after, he took off the mask and surprised the castle of Namur. At the same time he solicited the German troops, who were waiting in that country for their arrears, to surrender the places where they were in garrison.

But he was prevented by the States, who found mean's to gain those troops before him. The States imputed this rupture to Don John's ambition, and carried their complaints to the King, to whom Don John also writ, that the cabals of the Prince of Orange had constrained him to provide for his own safety. Be this as it will, the States of Brabant called the Prince of Orange to their relief, and gave him the superintendency of their country, by conferring on him the title of Ruart [336].

This proceeding raised the jealousy of the Duke of Arscot, and some other Brabant Lords, who, to ruin the Prince of Orange's credit, proposed to the united provinces, the electing a governor-general, under colour they should all have the same head.

Archduke Matthias Chosen Governor of The Low-Countries

The Prince of Orange perceived he was aimed at, but not to give occasion to a fatal division of the forces of the confederates, opposed not the election. The choice fell upon the Archduke Matthias, brother of the Emperor Rodolphus II, and the Prince of Orange was declared his Lieutenant. In the Archduke's patent however were inserted certain conditions, which, giving him the title and honour of Governor, left the whole authority to the States. This done, Matthias stealing away, as it was pretended, from his brother the Emperor's Court, came into the

Low-Countries, where he was put in possession of his post. Then the States proclaimed war with Don John, who had taken care to be prepared, by sending for troops from Italy, which were now on their way.

Embassy of The States to Elizabeth

Then, and not before, Elizabeth perceived she must have an eye to what passed in the Netherlands, because, at the same time, the Prince of Orange informed her of Don John's design to marry the Queen of Scots, and the States sent ambassadors[337] to desire her assistance. So, finding the designs of the governor of the Low-Countries reached farther than she imagined, she immediately lent the States a hundred thousand pounds sterling, which they desired of her[338].

Camden speaks here of a treaty whereby the Queen engaged to assist the States with a thousand horse well-mounted, (and five thousand foot), on condition the general, or commander (being an Englishman) should be admitted into the Council of State, and nothing determined without his consent. But Grotius does not mention this treaty in his annals of the Low-Countries. He says only, from that time Elizabeth concerned herself so far with the affairs of the united provinces, that she did not suffer the States to come to any important resolution without giving her notice [339].

Indeed, it was very much in her interest to order it so, that the war now beginning in the Low-Countries, should be continued in such a manner, as to disable Don John of Austria to execute his projects upon England. These projects were not the inventions of the Prince of Orange, to engage Elizabeth in the defence of the Netherlands.

Famianus Strada positively mentions them in his History. He even says, Gregory XIII. sent a nuncio to Don John with the sum of fifty thousand crowns, to be employed in the expedition projected against England, but that he was forced to use it in his war with the States.

Elizabeth's Letter to Philip

Meanwhile, at the very time Elizabeth lent money to Philip's enemies, she writ to him[340]. that she by no means intended to break the ancient alliance between England and the house of Burgundy: That, on the contrary, supplied the confederates with money, only to secure these provinces to him, and hinder them from desperately throwing themselves into the arms of France. It is like[y], Philip was not very well pleased with these reasons, but feigned to be so, not to induce Elizabeth to do more.

Continuation of The Affairs of France

At this time the affairs of France were in a sad condition. The transactions of the States at blois could not but raise a civil war in the Kingdom. The Huguenots finding, a resolution was taken to extirpate them, made a counter league, whereof the King of Navarre was declared General, and the Prince of Condé appointed for his Lieutenant.

The former edict of pacification being revoked, as had been resolved by the States, hostilities were renewed on both sides, but with great disadvantage to the Huguenots, who were very weak. However, as the war gave the Duke of Guise too much credit, of whose power the King was extremely jealous, Henry thought it his interest to grant a peace to the Huguenots.

From thenceforward he plunged himself into pleasures, and lived at so expensive rate, that he forfeited the love and esteem of his subjects. The Prince of Lorraine knew how to improve the advantages which the King's conduct procured him, as will hereafter appear[341].

The Pope's And Philips's Design on Ireland

1578 AD] Whilst Elizabeth assisted the confederates of the Low-Countries, under colour of hindering them from submitting to France, Philip returned this favour, by endeavouring raise a rebellion in Ireland. This project was formed some time before, on account of Pope Gregory XIII, who wanted to procure for his son Jacomo Boncompagno, the Crown of that Kingdom. Thomas Stukely, an English fugitive, was the first author of it, and Philip II under supply whatever was necessary to accomplish it.

In the year 1570, Stukely went to Pius V, and persuaded him, it would be very easy to burn the English fleet, and then conquer Ireland; and to that purpose he desired the command of some ships, and three thousand Italians.

This project, which could not then be executed, was resumed under the pontificate of Gregory XIII, who was allured with the hopes of procuring the crown of Ireland for his bastard son. As Stukely knew, that, besides the Navy-Royal, Elizabeth could, upon occasion, equip a good number of other ships, he proposed the freighting of as many English vessels as possible, by the Flemings, French, Spaniards, Italians, and the sending them on some long voyage.

After that, he was to attack the Royal-Navy, which was then very weak, and try to burn the ships in the several harbours where they lay. Which done, he intended to make a descent in Ireland, where he did not question the native Irish would join him; and after the expulsion of the English, he was to cause the Pope's son to be proclaimed King. It is not very likely, Philip II. depended upon the success of this enterprise; but he hoped, no doubt, to cause a diversion, which should hinder Elizabeth from assisting the rebels of the Low-Countries, or at least, convince her, she ought to pay him more regard.

However this be, the Pope, having conferred on Stukely several honourable titles[342], taken from the Kingdom of Ireland, as if he had been in possession, gave him some ships, and eight hundred Italian soldiers, paid by the King of Spain. Stukely failed from Civita Vecchia, and safely arrived at Lisbon, with intent to pursue his voyage and undertaking.

But Don Sebastian King of Portugal, being then going into Africa, to make war upon the Moors, persuaded him to accompany him in his expedition, and obtained Philip's leave. Shortly after, they both perished in the battle of Alcazar, and Philip relinquished the project of conquering Ireland, for that of securing the crown of Portugal, after the death of the old Cardinal Henry, who succeeded Don Sebastian.

Continuation of The Affairs of Flanders

The war commencing in the Netherlands, several companies of volunteers were formed in England, who went to serve the States, with the Queen's consent, or at least connivance[343]. On the other hand, part of the Spanish troops, disbanded at the arrival of Don John of Austria, were now returned to the Low-Countries, and moreover, Alexander Farnese, Son of Octavia, brought Don John a considerable body of Italians.

Dissension in The Low Countries

With these forces, Don John gained, at Gomblours, a signal victory over the army of the States, which was followed with the taking of several Places. Some time after, Philip II. offered a peace to the States, but, as it was upon terms very different from the pacification of Ghent, and as he did not talk of recalling Don John of Austria, his offer was rejected. The affairs of the States were however in an ill situation. The jealousies among the great men, and the diversity of religions, bred very dangerous troubles in the rising commonwealth. The Duke of Anjou, and

Prince Casimire, equally offered their assistance to the States, who knew not which way to turn. But at this very time a fortunate and unexpected accident happened.

The city of Amsterdam, which hitherto had been for the King, resolved to join the confederates, and by that considerably strengthened their party. On the other hand, what passed soon after in the same City, very much increased the suspicion and distrust of the Catholics.

They who had been banished on account of religion, being recalled, found means to expel the magistrates, and put the government of the city into the hands of the reformed. The same thing was done at Haerlem, Utrecht, and other places; and this gave the Catholics reason to suspect, that, under colour of maintaining the cause of liberty, there was a design to abolish, the ancient religion, contrary to the pacification of Ghent.

The Duke of Anjou is also Protector of The Belgick Liberties

And therefore, to prevent the execution of this project, the Catholics proposed to give the government of the State to the Duke of Anjou, a Prince attached to his religion, and over whom they hoped the Prince of Orange would not have the same influence, as over Matthias.

The Prince of Orange not thinking proper to oppose this motion, for fear of confirming the suspicions of the Catholics, the Duke of Anjou was declared by, the States, protector of the Belgick liberties.

Meanwhile, the reformed fearing, the Duke of Anjou's arrival would produce some change prejudicial to their religion, presented a petition to the States, desiring to be admitted to the exercise of the public offices, as well as the Catholics. This request was granted, on condition the Catholics should enjoy the same privilege in Holland and Zealand; but these two provinces, without directly opposing this resolution, found means however to evade the condition annexed.

Thence arose great divisions among the confederates. The Catholics would yield nothing in the Provinces where they were masters, since Holland and Zealand did not perform what was ordained, and the reformed would seize by force, what was granted them by the States.

Whilst these differences sensibly lessened the Union of the confederate provinces, it happened, that the inhabitants of Ghent expelled the city all the Romish priests, and without obeying the Archduke, and Prince of Orange who commanded them to recall them, prepared for their defence, in case they should be compelled to submit. On the other hand, the people of Artois and Hainault refused to suffer the reformed in their territories, and even pretended, that the Gantois ought to be reduced to their duty by force.

But the Prince of Orange stoutly opposed all violent methods, by reason of the manifest danger of turning the arms of the confederates against themselves, at a time when Don John of Austria was preparing to do his utmost to destroy them. And indeed, shortly after, he attempted to force the army of the States, which was strongly intrenched, but was bravely repulsed.

This attempt failing contrary to his expectation, he made fresh offers of peace, to amuse the States, till the arrival of a considerable body of troops, which were coming to him. For the same reason, the States readily entered into treaty to gain time, because they expected Prince Casimire with an army, and the Duke of Anjou, who was now on the borders of Hainault with eight thousand men.

Don John's succours coming first, he broke off the negotiation, and renewed the hostilities, being at the head of thirty thousand foot, and sixteen thousand horse. Prince Casimire arriving also presently after, the army of the States was sixty thousand strong, whilst the Duke of Anjou took, in Hainault, the little town of Binck.

Casimire's army was chiefly paid by the Queen, whose interest it was to hinder Don John from growing too powerful in the Netherlands, though, feigning to be ignorant of his designs, she found other pretences to justify her assisting the States[344].

The divisions betwixt Ghent and the provinces of Artois and Hainault, rendered the great armament of the States ineffectual. Some of their troops complaining they were not duly paid, suddenly quitted the army, and took Menin. Shortly after, Colonel Montigny followed their example with his whole regiment, and headed all the deserters.

After that, he joined the troops of Artois, and made inroads into the province of Flanders. Then the Gantois seeing their neighbours too powerful, and able to give them law, called Prince Casimire to their relief, and promised to pay his troops. The Prince accepted their offer, and coming to Ghent, the Duke of Anjou refused to join the army of the states, unless Prince Casimire would return with his Germans; and as he could not prevail, he retired to France, leaving his troops free to join those of Montigny.

Casimire Passes Into England

Thus these two Princes, who came into the Low-Countries on purpose to aid the confederate provinces, served only to ruin their affairs, by fomenting discord among the inhabitants. Some time after, Casimire passed into England[345], probably to vindicate his conduct to Elizabeth, who had supplied him with money to raise and maintain his army.

Death of Jon Don of Austria

Don John of Austria had not time to improve the troubles raised in the Netherlands, being prevented by death, the 1st of October. There had been a conspiracy against him, for which two Englishmen, namely, Ratcliffe[346], and Grey, were executed. But he could not escape the poison which the King his brother caused to be given him, if we may believe some writers.

After his death, (Alexander Farness) Prince of Parma, took upon him the command of the army, till farther orders from the Court of Spain. His principal care was to cherish the dissension between the Flemings, and the inhabitants of Hainault and Artois, in which he succeeded to his wish.

The Duke of Anjou Presses His Marriage With Elizabeth

Whilst the Duke of Anjou was in the Low-Countries, he sent into England a gentleman called Bacqueville, to renew the treaty of his marriage with the Queen. The King of France also sent thither Rambouillet upon the same account, being very desirous to be freed from a brother, who made him very uneasy by his levity, which suffered him to be directed by people who had not always his interest in view.

The Queen received these Envoys so very gratuitously, that all the world imagined she really intended to marry. It is difficult to know whether, being then five and forty years old, she seriously thought of espousing the Duke of Anjou who was but twenty, or, taking a sort of pride in being wooed, only meant to amuse him.

For my part, I believe it to be an effect of her policy, that her enemies, upon the rumour of her going to marry the Duke of Anjou, might be less eager to pursue their designs against her. I mean the private designs upon her life, since there was then no likelihood of her being openly attacked, nor consequently any urgent reason to determine her to marry. She had nothing to fear from Scotland. France was not then in condition to make any considerable attempt upon England. The King of Spain was wholly intent upon procuring the crown of Portugal.

In a word, the situation of the affairs of the Netherlands permitted not Don John of Austria to execute his vast projects. Thus, in all appearance, the Queen upon this occasion acted solely out of policy. But before I relate the event of this negotiation, it will be necessary to give a general knowledge of what passed in Scotland during the year 1578.

The Affairs of Scotland

The Earl of Morton still governed that Kingdom as regent, but in such a manner, that he daily created to himself fresh enemies. If Melvil is to be credited, he was proud and covetous. He fought pretences against the rich, to rob them of their estates, and could suffer about him such only as were always ready to flatter him.

Elizabeth, whose interest it was to preserve peace in Scotland, under the government of a man on whom she could depend, was afraid, that at length the regent's ill-conduct would deprive her of that advantage. Wherefore she dispatched Randolph into Scotland, under colour of congratulating the King, who was then between eleven and twelve years old, upon the progress he was making in his studies.

But the ambassador's chief business was to instil into the Earl of Morton a little more moderation, and persuade him to live in a good understanding with the Earls of Argyle and Athol, and some other Lords, who being dissatisfied might in the end raise troubles in the Kingdom. The regent took this advice in good part, but not knowing how to improve it, was himself the sole cause of his ruin.

The King had for governor Alexander Areskine, son or brother of the late Earl of Mar, and four preceptors, of whom George Buchanan was one. The Earl of Morton having imprudently disobliged these men, they found means to set the young King against him. This was not very difficult, considering the King's age, the continual access they had to him, and the frequent occasions the regent gave them to take notice of his ill-management.

The King Takes The Reins of Government

When they had prepared the King almost to their wish, they sent for the Earls of Argyle and Athol, who had now privately taken measures to execute their purpose. These two Lords very easily persuaded the King, to lay aside this troublesome regent, and take himself the reins of the government[347], promising to assist him in it. This was done so suddenly, that the Earl of Morton, who suspected nothing, was not able to prevent it.

The States of the Kingdom meeting at the same time, confirmed by their authority what the King had done, and appointed a council of twelve Lords, among whom was the Earl of Morton. But instead of taking his place in the council, he feigned to be quite weary of the court, and retired to his own house, where he seemed wholly employed in cultivating his gardens.

The King of Scotland's Regard to Elizabeth

The young King having, taken the Government into his hands, sent immediate notice of it to Queen Elizabeth, demanding withal, the lands of the late Earl of Lenox his grandfather, and the renewal of the alliance between England and Scotland. It was not the way of Elizabeth and her Council, to be governed by motives of generosity, but rather to use artifice, in order to reap from every occurrence, all the benefit possible.

Nothing could be more just than the King of Scotland's demand. The Countess of Lenox his grandmother, who lately died in England[348], had enjoyed, so long as she lived, the estate assigned her by Henry VIII her uncle, when she married the Earl of Lenox. He gave also certain

lands to the Earl her Husband, to support the honour of being married to a Princess of the Blood-Royal. Who could therefore be their more lawful heir, than the King of Scotland their grandson? And yet the council of England pretended, the inheritance might be claimed by Arabella Stewart daughter of Charles Stewart, younger brother to the late Earl of Lenox, under colour, that she was born in the Kingdom; though in England, the Princes of the Royal-Family are not to be considered as foreigners, in what place soever they are born.

Not that the Queen intended to debar the King of Scotland entirely of his inheritance, but had a mind to hold him in submission, by an intimation, that the same reason might be used to deprive him of his right to succeed to the crown of England, and that he wanted her to surmount the difficulties which might occur.

For this reason, she ordered the rents of the lands to be sequestered by the Lord Burleigh (Master of the Wards). As to the renewing of the alliance between the two crowns, she appointed commissioners to treat of that affair with the Scottish ambassadors.

These commissioners required the ambassadors to make propositions answerable to the gratitude due from the King their master to the Queen, for placing and supporting him on the throne, at the expense of her treasure, and the blood of her subjects. The Ambassadors replied, they had only power to renew the alliance between the two crowns, with an additional article for the defence of the Protestant religion[349], received in Scotland since the last treaty.

The English, desiring to make this alliance to be considered as very advantageous to the King of Scotland, proposed, that in return for the favours the King had received, and daily did receive, from their Queen, and for the advantages this league was to procure to Scotland, he should promise not to make any alliance with other Princes or States, nor to marry without the Queen of England's consent. But the ambassadors absolutely rejected this proposition.

The Earl of Morton Resumes His Authority

Meanwhile, the Earl of Morton, who had correspondents in Sterling, where the King resided, appearing one night at the gate of the town, with a company of armed men, it was opened to him, and he entered without opposition.

Then, he went directly to the King's palace, of whose person he became master, and expelling his enemies, resumed the post he had been obliged to relinquish. The Earl of Athol, who had been made chancellor, died shortly after, not without suspicion of being poisoned. We must now return to the affairs of England[350].

The Queen is Extremely Civil to Prince Casimire

1579 AD] Prince Casimire left not the Court of England till about the middle of February. He had been honoured and caressed in an extraordinary manner, the Queen having shewn, it would be grateful to her to render his stay in England as agreeable as possible. Before his departure she conferred on him the Order of St. George, and put on the Garter herself about his leg[351].

It was not without reason that she used him thus civilly. He had still a considerable body of troops ready to assist the Protestants, and it was no small advantage to her, that she could rely on him, by supplying him with money. In the present situation of her affairs, nothing deserved her care more, than to hinder the ruin of the Protestantism in France and the Netherlands, since on their preservation depended her safety. Casimire was her instrument to continue, in the Low-Countries, troubles which made her sleep in peace.

When he arrived in the Netherlands, he found his horse had accepted the Duke of Panda's passport, for their safe return into Germany, because wanting their pay, they would neither serve any longer, nor stay in the country.

Simié The French Envoy Promotes The Duke of Anjou's Affairs

At the same time, the Queen was employed in an affair which required her whole attention: I mean, the negotiation of her marriage with the Duke of Anjou. Besides Rambouillet and Bacqueville, who had been in England some time upon that account, the King of France had also sent Simié[352] a man of parts and very fit for purpose.

Elizabeth had a large share of wit and sense, and was perfectly acquainted with her own interests; but was not free from all the passions of her sex. Simié soon discovering her temper, did not lose his time in soliciting the Duke of Anjou's suit, by reasons of State and policy: She knew more of that matter than himself. But he so well knew the most proper way to win her heart, that he gained her ear more than the Duke of Anjou would have done himself.

All were surprised at the great change they saw in her, and at the progress made by the help of Simié. Nay, it was believed he had used love potions, and other unlawful arts, such was his address to render himself agreeable, if, after all, he was not himself deceived by the Queen.

Above all things, he took great care to ruin the Earl of Leicester, not having the same reasons as the English courtiers, to manage that favourite. It was he who revealed to the Queen Leicester's clandestine marriage with the Earl of Essex's widow, and this discovery put her into such a passion, that she was going to send him to the Tower[353].

Leicester Great Enemy to Simié

Leicester was vexed to see himself thus braved by a foreigner. It is even said, he bribed one of the Guards to assassinate him. It is at least certain, the Queen fearing the French envoys might receive some affront, took them under her especial protection, and commanded by proclamation, that no man should offer them any injury.

A Pistol Fired into The Queen Barge

It happened shortly after, that as the Queen was in her barge on the Thames, near Greenwich, with the three French envoys[354], a pistol was discharged out of a boat, and one of her bargemen wounded. The man that fired the pistol was taken immediately, and threatened with the rack; but he cleared himself so ingenuously, that the Queen was persuaded of his innocence.

She took occasion from her pardoning this man, to display the affection she had for her subjects, saying. She could believe nothing of her people, which a parent could not believe of his own Children.

The Duke of Anjou Visits Elizabeth Incognito

Shortly after, the Duke of Anjou came incognito into England, with only two servants. He went to court, without being known, and after some private discourse with the Queen, returned into France. Two months after, the Queen ordered some of her most trusty Privy-Counsellors[355], to examine together the advantages and mischief which might arise from her marriage with the Duke of Anjou, and report them to her[356].

Elizabeth was intent upon gaining the King of France's friendship, the Duke of Guise was framing a plot capable of creating her one day much trouble. As England could be conveniently invaded only from Scotland, Guise, who had not relinquished the project formed by the late Duke his father, and the Cardinal his uncle, was devising means to accomplish it, by setting Elizabeth and the King of Scotland at variance.

Esme Stewart Tries to Set James and Elizabeth at Variance

He made use for that purpose, of Esme Stewart, Baron d'Aubigny, who came to Scotland under colour of paying his respects to the King as his near relation. He was son of John Stewart, younger brother of Matthew Earl of Lenox, the young King's grandfather. This Lord, who was settled in France, where his family held the Barony of Aubigny (in Berry) being come to the King, so artfully insinuated himself into his good graces, that in a little time he became his Favourite.

Stewart Oghiltry Another of James Favourites

There was also about the same time another young man, sprung from a branch of the Stewart family, distinguished by the name of Oghiltry, who was very much beloved by the King. These two favourites joined together to ruin the Earl of Morton, as well for the sake of their own interest, as because it was necessary, in order to execute the Duke of Guise's designs, to be rid of a Lord, who was too much attached to the interest of England.

To compass their ends, they persuaded the King to take a progress into some of his counties, well knowing the Regent had business which would not suffer him to attend him. The Earl of Morton not mistrusting these young men, who seemed only to mind trifles, opposed not the King's design.

During the progress, the two favourites instilled into the King an utter aversion to the Regent, and an excessive desire to be freed from him. We shall see presently the effects of this aversion; but it will be proper first to mention what had passed in the Netherlands[357].

The Affairs of The Low-Countries

The Army of the States being much weakened by the retreat of the German troops, the Prince of Parma besieged Maestricht, whilst plenipotentiaries on both sides were treating a peace at Cologne. But this negotiation served only to divide the confederates the more. From that time several Lords forsook them.

Montigny came to the Prince of Parma's army with the forces under his command. Artois and Hainault made a separate treaty and some other provinces returned to the obedience of the King of Spain. The Prince of Orange seeing this defection, used his endeavours to unite still more the provinces which persisted in the revolution to throw off Philip's yoke.

The Union of Utrecht

He succeeded at length, and caused the union of the famous Union of Utrecht to be signed, between Holland, Zealand, Friseland, and Utrecht, the articles whereof are to be seen in the histories of those countries. Ghent and Ypres afterwards came into the union, and the Prince of Orange was made Governor of Flanders. Meanwhile, the Prince of Parma took Maestricht, after which he disbanded most of the Spanish and Italian troops, according to his promise. This sincerity procured him Mechlin, Lisle, and Valenciennes.

A Prohibition Against The Enlarging of The City of London

1580 AD] The City of London increasingly excessively, to the detriment of the rest of the towns, the Queen thought it necessary to remedy this inconvenience. She published therefore in the beginning of the year 1580, a proclamation, prohibiting any new buildings within three miles of the gates of the City, upon pain of imprisonment, and forfeiture of the materials[358]. It were to be wished for England, that this prohibition had been punctually executed even to this day, since the City is so enlarged, that it is grown a monstrous head, to a body of a moderate size, to which it bears no proportion.

English Seminaries at Rome and Rheims

But there was still more pressing evil, which it was no less necessary to remedy. I mean the hindering of the English seminaries in foreign countries from sending priests into England to preach sedition and rebellion, under colour of administering the sacraments to the Catholics. The priests expelled England in the beginning of this reign, had set up a college at Douay (in 1568) by means of William Allen, an Oxford man, afterwards Cardinal.

Whilst the Duke of Alva was governor of the Netherlands, in this college were formed all the plots I have mentioned in favour of the Queen of Scots. But Don Lewis de Requesens having banished from the Low-Countries all the English fugitives, the members of Douay College retired, some to Rome, and some to Rheims, where they erected seminaries, under the protection of the Pope and the Cardinal of Lorrain, Archbishop of Rheims.

It was these two seminaries which supplied the Catholics in England with priests. So long as the court imagined these men only administered the sacraments in private to those of their religion, no notice seemed to be taken of it. But it was discovered at length, that they were diligent in spreading pernicious principles, which might be attended with ill consequences.

Four Priests Executed

They maintained, that the Pope had (by divine right) full power to dethrone Kings, and, Elizabeth being excommunicated and deposed by Pius V's Bull, her subjects were freed from their allegiance. Four of these dangerous emissaries were condemned and executed, for daring to maintain publicly, that the Queen was lawfully deposed[359].

Fresh Jesuits in England

This did not hinder the two seminaries from continually sending into England incendiaries, with whom were joined Robert Parsons and Edmund Campian Jesuits, who were the first of that order employed to preach the forementioned dangerous tenets.

They had obtained of the Pope a Bull, dated the 14th of April 1580, declaring that Pope Pius's Bull did for ever bind Elizabeth and the heretics, but not the Catholic, till a favourable opportunity should offer to put it in execution. These two Jesuits had professed the Protestant religion, and even bore offices in the University of Oxford[360]. After that, withdrawing out of the Kingdom, they returned from time to time, appearing one while like clergymen, another while like soldiers, or in some other disguise, and frequented the houses of the Catholics, under pretence of instructing and comforting them, but in reality to inspire them with sedition and rebellion.

Nay, they had the confidence to challenge the Protestant clergy to dispute in print.[361]. All this coming to the Queen's knowledge, a proclamation was issued out. Commanding all those who had any children (wards kinsmen] beyond sea, to give in their names [to the ordinary] in ten days, and call them home within a month[362], with a prohibition to supply them money after

that time. By the same proclamation, persons were forbid to entertain or harbour any Jesuits or priests, sent forth from the seminaries of Rome or Rheims, on pain of being punished as rebels and seditious persons.

Shortly after, printed books were dispersed, intimating, that the Pope and King of Spain had conspired to conquer England and restore the Catholic religion, and exhorting the English papists to encourage the design. Whereupon the Queen issued out another proclamation, declaring, she was not ignorant of the practices of her enemies, but by the blessing of God and the help of her faithful subjects, she was able to withstand their attacks, both at home and abroad .

That moreover, as the plots which were contriving, were not only against her person, but also against the whole Kingdom, she did not intend to be cruel to the good, by sparing the bad; and therefore such as would not for the future keep within the bounds of their duty were to expect no favour[363].

Descent of The Spaniards into Ireland

The menaces from the Pope and King of Spain were not entirely vain, since it appeared this very year that there was a plot formed against Ireland. Arthur Grey, Lord-Deputy of that island, had intelligence that seven hundred Spaniards and Italians, sent by the Pope and Philip II, were landed without opposition[364], under the command of San Joseppo an Italian, and had raised a fortification, which they called the Fort del Oro.

The Earl of Ormond, who was not far from those quarters, posting thither with some troops, took a few prisoners, who declared, they had brought arms for five or six thousand men, who were to join them, in order to drive the English out of the land. The Earl not having sufficient forces to besiege the fort, contented himself with investing it, till the Lord-Deputy, who was on the march, should join him.

A little after, the fort was besieged in form, and compelled to surrender the fifth day at discretion. This good success was sullied by the cruelty of the English who, under pretence of the great difficulty of guarding so many prisoners, put the Spaniards to the sword, and hanged all the Irish.

Drake's Return From His Voyage Around The World

This year was memorable for the return of Francis Drake from his voyage round the world. He had navigated in America, upon the north and south seas, and amassed a prodigious quantity of gold and silver taken from the Spaniards. At his return, which was in November, the Queen knighted him, and was pleased to dine in the ship which had made so great a voyage. After that, she ordered it to be drawn up in a little creek near Deptford, and certain inscriptions to be set up in memory of the thing[365].

The Spanish Ambassador Complains Against Drake

Bernadine de Mendoza the Spanish ambassador made great complaints against Drake. He required, that he should be punished for his robberies, and for daring to sail in the seas which were under the dominion of the King of Spain, and all the money, plundered upon the Spaniards, restored.

He was told, that the Indian Ocean was common to all the nations of Europe, and that the English by no means allowed of the propriety assumed by the King of Spain, nor of the Pope's pretended donation, who had no right to dispose of countries and seas which belonged not to him: That Drake should be always ready to answer in law whenever he should be attacked, and to hinder him from converting the gold and Silver to his own use, the Queen had ordered all the goods,

he had brought home, to be sequestered, with design to satisfy the King of Spain, if he could prove they belonged to him or his subjects, though the charges she had been at in defending Ireland against the attacks of the Spaniards, amounted to a much greater sum. The Queen however repaid afterwards part of the treasure[366].

Death of The Earl of Arundel

Henry Fitz-Alan Earl of Arundel died this year. He was the last of that illustrious family which had flourished in England above three hundred years[367]. One of his daughters married Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, and thence it was that the title of Earl of Arundel came to the Howard family.

The religious war was renewed in France in the month of January, and ended in November, by a sixth treaty of peace.

Philip II gets Possession of Portugal

This year Philip II. seized the throne of Portugal, vacant by the death of King Henry. Don Antonio, prior of Crato, natural son to Don Lewis, brother of the late King, would have disputed the crown with the King of Spain, but the forces of the two competitors being very unequal, Don Antonio's endeavours were fruitless.

The Affairs of Scotland

The affairs of Scotland began to give Elizabeth some uneasiness, because she knew King James's two favourites were using their utmost endeavours to turn him against England. The first point of their project was to finish the Earl of Morton's ruin, whom they had already destroyed in the King's favour.

The second, to engage the King to marry a French Princess. The third, to persuade him, after his marriage, to declare the Duke of Guise his lieutenant-general. The advices, the Queen received upon this occasion, wanted not proof, since she had long known the design to invade her from Scotland, and since what was contriving at King James's court was very proper to accomplish that project.

Aubigny Made Duke of Lenox and Stewart Earl of Arran

She saw moreover, that the two favourites, one of whom was wholly devoted to the house of Lorraine, gained more and more the love and confidence of the King, who delighted to load them with favours. Aubigny had been made Earl, and then Duke of Lenox[368], and James Stewart was honoured with the title of Earl of Arran.

Upon the intelligence she had received, she believed it necessary to begin with opening the young King's eyes, in relation to the plots of his favourites, or put him under a necessity to shew that he approved them, which could not but breed great discontent among the people of Scotland.

Robert Bowes Sent into Scotland to Accuse Lenox

To that purpose, she sent Sir Robert Bowes, Treasurer of Berwick, into Scot/and, to accuse the Duke of Lenox before the King and council, of holding with the Court of France, and particularly with the Duke of Guise, intelligence destructive of Scotland and England. The council of Scotland, governed by the Duke of Lenox, thought not proper to admit the accusation; but the

King sent into England the Lord Hume, to clear his favourite to the Queen, who refused him audience.

Morton is Sent to Prison

Nothing could be more grateful to the favourites, than the misunderstanding which began to be formed between their master and the Queen of England. Not to give him time to cool, one day, as Earl of Morton was present in the Council, the Earl of Arran accused him of being concerned in the late King's murder. Upon which he was immediately arrested, sent to prison in the Castle of Edinburgh, and afterwards removed to Dunbarton.

Randolph is Sent into Scotland

1581 AD] Elizabeth hearing of the Earl of Morton's disgrace, and in finding, his attachment to England was the sole cause of it, sent Randolph immediately to solicit in his behalf.

But the favourites intention being rather, to exasperate than appease, his intercession was in vain. Randolph seeing the King so beset, that it was not possible to prevail, demanded an audience of the States, then assembled. He represented, how necessary a good understanding with England was to them, what the Queen his mistress had done for Scotland since the King's birth, how great an affection she had ever expressed for him, and with what pains and charge she had always protected his faithful subjects.

That, notwithstanding all this, the Duke of Lenox was endeavouring to sow discord between the two Kingdoms, and had so far succeeded, that the King now looked upon the Queen of England his good kinswoman as an enemy.

He Tries to Stir up Rebellion in Scotland

The States heard his harangue, and returned a general answer, which demonstrated their being directed by the court. So, finding he could obtain nothing either from the King or States, he began practice upon the great men, to persuade them to rise in arms, whilst Elizabeth should send forces towards the borders[369].

As all this could not be done without the knowledge of the King and his favourites, the government of Sterling was taken from the Earl of Mar, who was suspected of being too good a friend of the English, and the King published an order to all his subjects fit to bear arms, to hold themselves ready to march at a moment's warning.

The Earl of Morton is Beheaded

But as Elizabeth meant only to terrify the King of Scotland, and not to wage war with him for the sake of the Earl of Morton, she ordered her troops to retire. Probably Elizabeth's endeavours to save the prisoner's life, rather hastened his death, since, presently after, he was condemned and beheaded.

He confessed the Earl of Bothwell imparted to him his design to kill the King, but denied, he had any hand in the murder. He said also, he had intended to carry the King into England, that being educated among the English, he might find the less difficulty to obtain the crown of that Kingdom after the Queen's death. Randolph seeing Elizabeth had no design to support the great men of Scotland, whom he had gained, retired without taking his audience of leave.

The Earl of Morton being dead, the two favourites became more and more masters of the King, and the government of the Kingdom, without regarding the people's murmurs, who could not,

without indignation, see themselves at the mercy of two raw and inexperienced young men. The Duke of Lenox had some good qualities; but had no knowledge of the affairs of Scotland, and besides was a Catholic, and deemed the Duke of Guise's creature.

This gave occasion to fear he had formed projects destructive of the religion and liberty of Scotland. The Earl of Arran was an atheist, and one of the most wicked of men, if Melvil's testimony is to be entirely credited. He pretended to be the Duke of Lenox's friend, but laboured to ruin him, by giving him counsels capable of making him forfeit the love and esteem of the nobles and people.

On the other hand, he privately hinted to the clergy, that the reformed religion was in great danger, if timely care was not taken to oppose the Duke of Lenox's pernicious designs. By these secret practices, he so managed, that the Duke became odious to the whole Kingdom.

The Articles of Marriage with The Duke of Anjou are Agreed Upon

During these transactions in Scotland, the court of France earnestly pressed the Duke of Anjou's marriage with Elizabeth. At last, the Queen having agreed with Simié upon the chief articles, Henry III sent into England an honourable embassy, consisting of Francis of Bourbon Prince of Dauphiné, Arthur Cosse Marshal of France, President Brisson, and some other persons of distinction.

These ambassadors were received with great pomp and magnificence, and the Queen appointed to treat with them the Lord Burleigh High-Treasurer, Edward Clinton Earl of Lincoln, Lord Admiral of England, Thomas Ratcliffe Earl of Sussex, Francis Russel Earl of Bedford, Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Sir Francis Walsingham, who was made Secretary of State in the room Sir Thomas Smith, lately deceased.

The Articles

As every thing was almost settled, the following articles, which were to be digested in form of Treaty, after being approved by the King of France, and the Duke his brother, were drawn by common consent:—

The marriage shall be consummated within six weeks after the ratifying of the treaty.

The Duke of Anjou and his domestics who are not English shall have the free exercise of their religion, in some certain place to be appointed within his Court.

The Duke of Anjou shall alter nothing in the religion now received and established in England.

After the consummation of the marriage, he shall enjoy the title of King of England, but the administration of affairs shall remain in the hands of the Queen alone.

Whereas the Duke has demanded that he may be crowned King of England [presently after the marriage,] and enjoy that honour, in case he shall come to be guardian of the Children he may have by the Queen, it is agreed, the Queen shall lay the affair before the Parliament, and promote it as far as lies in her power.

Letters Patents, &c. shall run in the name of the King and Queen, as in the time of Philip and Mary.

The Queen shall assign the Duke by authority of Parliament an honourable pension to be disposed of as he pleases.

She shall procure the Parliament to assign a yearly pension in case he survives her.

The Duke shall make the Queen a dowry of forty thousand crowns a year out of the Dukedom of Berry, and shall put her in present possession thereof.

As to their Children, the following articles shall be settled, which shall be ratified in the Parliaments of England and France, namely:

All the children, as well males as females, shall succeed to their mother's inheritance, each in his order, according to the customs of England.

If the crown of France happens to fall to the Duke of Anjou, or his heirs, and there be two males, the eldest shall succeed in the Kingdom of France, and the second in that of England.

If there be but one son, he shall enjoy both crowns, but shall be obliged to reside in England eight months in every two years.

If the Duke never comes to the crown of France, his children shall inherit his appennage.

If he out-live the Queen, he shall have the guardianship of the children; of the males till they are eighteen, and of the females till fifteen.

If the Duke die before the time of guardianship be expired, it shall be left to the disposal of the Parliament.

After these articles relating to the children, and serving to settle the succession, it was further agreed:—

The Duke shall prefer no foreigner to any post or office in England.

He shall not carry the Queen out of the Kingdom, without her own, and the express consent of the Peers of the Realm.

If she die without issue, he shall pretend no claim to England.

He shall not convey the crown jewels out of the Kingdom.

He shall leave all the places in the hands of the English, and shall not remove from thence any warlike stores.

There shall be a particular treaty of league between France and England, with the proper ratifications.

By a separate article signed apart by itself, it was agreed:—

The Queen shall not be bound to consummate the marriage, before she and the Duke of Anjou shall thoroughly satisfy one another in certain points, and shall certify the King of France thereof within six weeks.

It is not known upon what account it was necessary to take this precaution.

Ever since the last year, the States of the Low-Countries had begun to treat with the Duke of Anjou, concerning their offer of the sovereignty of the confederate provinces, and this negotiation was so far advanced, that the conditions were now agreed.

As soon as the Prince of Orange was almost sure of the success of this affair, he so ordered it, that the States declared the King of Spain to have forfeited the sovereignty of the Netherlands, and the Duke was expected every hour to take possession of his new dignity, and oppose the Prince of Parma, who was besieging Cambray.

The Duke arrived indeed in August, with an army of twenty thousand men and constrained the Prince of Parma to raise the siege, and retire to Valenciennes. He made his entry into Cambray the 18th of August, and was declared Prince thereof, having first taken the oath.

Elizabeth Starts Difficulty About Her Marriage

In the mean time, Elizabeth shewed, she had altered her regard to her marriage, or had never seriously resolved to consummate it. She only wanted a pretence to break it off, or at least to defer it, till time should produce a more favourable opportunity.

To this end, she sent into France, James Sommers, Clerk of the Council, to require, that pursuant to the marriage article, a league offensive and defensive should be instantly concluded between France and England. Henry III answered, that in the articles there was no mention of an offensive, but he was ready to sign a defensive. League.

Sommers replied, the League spoken of in the articles must be deemed offensive, since there was already a league defensive concluded in 1572, which not having been violated, wanted no renewal. Upon this, Elizabeth sent secretary Walsingham to Paris, to improve this difficulty, and add some others.

Walsingham therefore told the King, when the Queen his mistress first resolved to marry, it was only to satisfy her People, who desired a certain succession by her children, to which end, she had preferred the Duke of Anjou before all other Princes, on account of his personal qualities, and Royal descent: Nevertheless, she could not think of consummating the marriage, till she perceived whether it was pleasing to her people, for fear she should be accused of considering of it too late.

That she heard with grief, the minds of the best men were averse to the marriage, and for that reason she thought it necessary to delay it, though she had still the same esteem for the Duke of Anjou:

That besides, since the conclusion of the articles, things had happened which required her to think more attentively of her engagement:

That the Duke having accepted the sovereignty of the Netherlands, had incurred the displeasure of the King his brother, and this new dignity could not but engage England in a war with Spain, since it was not possible for the Duke to be in war, without the Queen his spouse being so too:

That she believed therefore the present juncture very unseasonable to consummate the marriage; and that it was proper to defer it till the Duke should be disengaged from his war, and the league offensive and defensive between France and England, concluded according to agreement.

Henry plainly perceiving this was only an evasion briefly answered, he was ready to renew the league defensive, and would treat of a league offensive, as soon as the marriage was consummated.

The Duke of Anjou Arrives in England

These things passed whilst the Duke of Anjou was in the Netherlands. After he had raised the siege of Cambray and taken Cateau in Cambresis, the States pressed him to join his forces with their army, to improve so fair an opportunity: But the approach of winter furnished him with an excuse to send back his troops into France, that he might go and solicit his affairs in England himself.

He arrived there in November, and was received by the Queen with so great respect and civility, that he thought himself almost sure of success. One day, as the anniversary of her coronation was celebrating, the Queen being in conversation with him, pulled off her ring and put it on the Duke's, which made all present imagine, she had just then given him a promise[370].

Elizabeth Retracts all of a Sudden

Meanwhile, this marriage was exclaimed against publicly in the court and City. Walsingham, (Leicester), Hatton, and others of the Queen's confidants, murmured at it more than the rest. Her maids of honour that were most intimate with her, never ceased to represent to her, all the mischief which might from thence befall her, as well as the whole Kingdom, and strove by persuasions mixed with tears, to divert her from this resolution.

I know not whether I am mistaken, in suspecting all this to be a mere farce, acted by the Queen's private orders, to give her a pretence to go from her word, ministers, courtiers, favourites, are seldom seen to oppose so openly and publicly, the will of their sovereign, if they are not certain of approbation.

Be this as it will, the Queen having spent the whole night without taking any rest amidst the sighs and tears of her Ladies, went to the Duke's room[371], and talked with him in private. When she withdrew, the Duke was seen to throw the ring from him, and presently to take it up again, complaining bitterly of the levity of women, and the inconstancy of the English.

Remarks on The Queen's Conduct

Elizabeth's conduct in every thing relating to this marriage was so singular, that there is no guessing her thoughts. If the business was only a bare negotiation, prolonged and broke off upon the point of conclusion, there would be no cause of wonder. Nothing was more agreeable to this Queen's character, and, I'll venture to say, to her interest.

But the signing and sealing of the marriage articles raises a difficulty not easy to be removed. It is scarce probable, this wife politician should think of amusing to such a degree, a brother of the King of France, and who might himself one day be King, since Henry had no children. This is so much the harder to be believed, as there was then no visible necessity to carry her dissimulation so far.

For my part, I see no properer way to explain this extraordinary conduct:, than by saying, that in the beginning of the negotiation, her design was only to amuse the Duke of Anjou[372], that afterwards she suffered herself to be won, and signed the articles with sincerity, in a resolution to perform them; but that after signing, she repented, and chose rather to affront the Prince, than keep her word.

Then it was that she carried her dissimulation to the greatest height, in expressing an extraordinary value for the Duke, and labouring withal to put him out of conceit with the marriage. There are two facts very difficult to be reconciled, but upon my supposition. The first is, during the Duke's stay at court, she caused a man's hand to be cut off for writing a satyr upon their marriage [373].

After that, she published a manifesto, to satisfy the public, that the Duke of Anjou had no ill design against the Protestant religion, nor had demanded any thing in favour of the Catholics. The second fact, very opposite to the first, is, that she took the opportunity whilst the Duke was with her, to put to death Edmund Campian a Jesuit, with three other priests[374], convicted of endeavouring to raise commotions in the Kingdom, and obstinately maintaining, that the Queen was lawfully deposed.

It is easy to perceive, if her esteem and affection for the Duke of Anjou had been so great as she pretended, she would at least have deferred these men's punishment till after his departure. But doubtless she intended to let him see, he would not find in his marriage those comforts he thought to have reason to expect.

Be this as it will, which ever way her proceedings are explained, there is no justifying, in my opinion, either her signing the articles, or afterwards breaking her word.

The Catholics Expose Themselves to The Queen's Severity

Whatever the Queen's intention might be in this negotiation, it is certain it was extremely prejudicial to the Catholics in England, who entertaining great hopes from this marriage, were too hasty to discover them. When it was known in the world that the articles were signed, England was suddenly over-run with Romish priests, Jesuits, and other Catholics, who hoped to be secure there under the Duke of Anjou's protestation.

Among these, some were so imprudent as to vent openly the most extravagant doctrines concerning the Pope's power, a crime then unpardonable, because it tended to deprive the Queen of her Royalty, and raise a rebellion. It is no wonder therefore, that the furious zeal and imprudence of some of the Catholics drew upon the whole body, severities to which the Queen would not have been easily led, if they had been contented to live in quiet, and exercise their religion in private, without attacking the Government.

What did them still more injury was, that some of them owned they were come into England with power to absolve every man in particular from his oath of allegiance, from which Pius V's Bull had absolved the whole nation in general.

Don Antonio Retires into France

This year, Don Antonio Prior of Crato, who pretended to the Kingdom of Portugal, and had been crowned at Lisbon, being expelled thence by the arms of the King of Spain, withdrew into France. After which, he came to Elisabeth, who took care of him, and put him in hopes of greater relief.

Laws Against The Catholics

1582 AD] The Parliament meeting the beginning of the year 1582, whilst the Duke of Anjou was still in England[375], passed very severe laws against the Catholics, wherein all those declared guilty of high-treason:—

Those who shall endeavour to dissuade the subjects from their allegiance to the Queen, and from the religion established in the Kingdom, or shall reconcile them to the Church of Rome, as also those who shall be thus reconciled.

Those also are fined in two hundred Marks, and imprisonment for a year, who shall say Mass, and they who shall be knowingly present at Mass, are fined in a hundred marks, with imprisonment also for a year.

Moreover they who absented themselves from their parish churches on the days appointed for Divine Service, are fined in twenty pounds a month.

It must be observed, that hitherto only one shilling to the use of the poor, had been exacted for absence on Sundays and Holidays. This shews, that, before, the laws against the Catholics were not very severe, neither were they, it is certain, executed with rigour. But the indiscreet zeal of those who would not be satisfied with this advantage, was the occasion that all the Catholics were deprived of it.

The Duke of Anjou Leaves Elizabeth

The Duke of Anjou, and those who had attended him into England, could plainly perceive, under what constraint they should live, if the marriage was consummated. In all appearance, the proceedings of the Queen and Parliament against the Catholics, did not a little contribute to comfort him, and perhaps put him out of conceit with a country so opposite to France.

Nay, it is very likely, all this was done before his eyes with that view. He departed in February, having received from the Queen many tokens of esteem and affection, the most substantial whereof .was a good sum of money[376] to assist him in maintaining the war in the Netherlands.

The Queen having accompanied him to Canterbury, ordered several English Lords[377] to wait upon him as far as Antwerp, where presently after he received the Ducal Crown of Brabant.

By these marks of esteem and friendship, and by all her civilities, the Queen had a mind to repair in some measure, the mortifications she made him undergo during his stay in England. It is extremely probable, this stay was not to his advantage, and served only to discover the meanness of his genius and other qualities.

Elizabeth's State of Uncertainty

Elizabeth was too wise not to perceive that her conduct in negotiation of her marriage could not but disoblige the King of France. So, she plainly saw, that though there had been no other reason but this alone, she could not much rely on his friendship. On the other hand, she was not ignorant how angry the King of Spain was, for that whole bodies of English troops served in the army of the States of the Low-Countries, under the command of Norris.

Though these men were called volunteers, that is, owned by none, and who served at their own charge, it was easy to judge, that they were not there in such numbers, without the tacit or express consent of their Queen. Besides, it was hardly possible for Elizabeth to conceal the supplies of money she had given Prince Casimire, and the Duke of Anjou, for the maintenance of their armies.

Philip II. was the most potent Prince in Europe, and the conquest of Portugal had lately rendered him still more formidable, particularly to the English. He was supported by the Pope, and had but too much influence in the King of France's Council. But Elizabeth had no friend on whom she could depend.

The Duke of Guise was now labouring to take from her the King of Scotland. The Irish wanted only a favourable opportunity to revolt, and the English Catholics were incessantly excited to rebellion by the Pope's emissaries. To these may be added a great number of Protestants, the Queen of Scots adherents, who only waited an occasion to shew their affection for her.

Elizabeth's ministers could not, without dread, think of all these things. They were in continual apprehension that some terrible storm was going to fall upon England. To this fear were owing,

first the league defensive with France, and then the project: of the Queen's marriage with the Duke of Anjou, the ministers judging it almost impossible for her to support herself without some powerful Alliance.

Elizabeth Relies on Her People's Affection

Meanwhile, whether Elizabeth thought herself able to prevent, or repel, the danger, she took but few precautions, relying wholly on the affection of her people. This was her best, or rather, her only refuge. And therefore to endeavour to corrupt, and cause them to lose the love and esteem they had for her, was wounding her in a very sensible part.

To this must be ascribed her tender expressions whenever she spoke to her people. It must however be confessed, that she won her people's love, not only by words and other external demonstrations, but chiefly by very substantial deeds.

Let a man peruse the whole history of England, and he will find no reign, wherein justice was administered so impartially, or the subjects enjoyed their privileges more peaceably, or were freer from wars abroad and at home, or from extraordinary taxes and impositions; in a word, wherein the Kingdom was more flourishing. The Queen spent no unnecessary money, and her treasury being regularly managed, the people had no occasion to complain, since whatever they gave was employed for their own good.

Elizabeth Sends The Order of The Garter to The King of Denmark

But it was not only at home that the Queen laboured to make her people happy, her care reached also abroad. This year she sent an Ambassador^[378] to Frederic II. King of Denmark, under colour of carrying him the Order the Garter. But the chief motive of this embassy was to induce that Prince to desist from certain customs paid by the English merchant-Ships in passing the sound, in which however it was not possible to succeed.

Frederic gratefully received the collar of the Order, but refused to take the usual oath, because he had denied the same thing before, when admitted into the Order of St. Michael by the French King.

Henry III Warns Elizabeth of The Duke of Guise's Designs

Though Henry III. had no reason to be pleased with Elizabeth, he gave her notice however, that the Duke of Guise was plotting something in favour of the Queen of Scots, and was to embark in Normandy some Troops designed either for England or Scotland, though he pretended to send them into Flanders.

She Minds The Affairs of Scotland

For this reason she recalled Sir Walter Mildmay, who had been sent to treat with the Queen of Scots, or at least to pretend; to do so. As there was no likelihood the Duke of Guise would invade England directly, but, on the contrary, every thing looked as if he intended to execute some project in Scotland, the Queen turned her thoughts wholly to the affairs of that Kingdom. They were then in a violent convulsion.

Some persons of great distinction, among whom were the Earls of Mar, Lindsay, Goury, full of indignation to see the realm governed by a young Prince of fifteen years, and two rash inexperienced ministers, who had nothing less in view than the Kingdom's welfare, conspired

together to seize the King's person and remove his two favourites. To that end, taking their opportunity whilst they were both absent from court, and the King intent upon hunting near Athol, they sent and invited him by the Earl of Goury to pass a few days at his house at Huntingtoun, and when he came there, secured his person[379].

This was called the Ruthven conspiracy, because Ruthven was the name of the Earl of Goury's Family[380]. For the same reason the conspirators were called the Lords of Ruthven. The Earl of Arran, one of the King's favourites, drew together some people, and attempted to free his master, but was repulsed and forced to retreat to Ruthven castle, where the Earl of Goury received him and saved his life, but kept him prisoner.

The Duke of Lenox hearing what had passed, speedily retired to Dunbarton, of which he was Governor, and the King was carried to Sterling, free in appearance, but prisoner in reality. Upon this news, Elizabeth, who probably was not ignorant of the conspirators design, ordered Henry Carey to go immediately, and offer her service to the King of Scotland.

But James terrified by those who had him in their power, answered, that every thing was done with his consent, and he was very well pleased with the Lords who were about him. Melvil affirms however, that the King found means to tell Carey in private the contrary to what he had said in public.

Queen Mary Agrees to Share The Royalty with Her Son

The King of France sent likewise La Mothe Fenelon into Scotland[381] to try to support the favourites, knowing those who had seized the King were all friends to England. La Mothe had also orders to inform the King, that the Queen his mother, who had hitherto refused to own him for King, agreed to make him partner in the royalty.

Shortly after, Queen Mary writ to Elizabeth, to try to engage her in the deliverance of the King her son, but she took a very improper way to obtain this favour, since her letter is full of reproaches for the barbarous usage she met with[382].

The Calendar is Reformed

This year. Pope Gregory XIII. published his Bull for reforming the calendar, and ordered ten days of this very year to be cut off at once. As England, and the rest of the Protestant States refused to comply with this ordinance, because it flowed from the Papal authority, there began from that time to be a difference of ten days in the dates, the one reckoning it the first day of the month, when it was the tenth with the others. This difference still subsists in some places, and particularly in England, [and Swedeland], where the old way of reckoning is if ill used, with the addition however of the new[383].

Elizabeth Makes as if She Desires to Free The Queen of Scots

Camden pretends, Elizabeth was very much moved with Mary's Letter, and that compassion for the afflicted Queen made her advise with her council upon what terms she could be released. We shall see presently, that this proceeding was far from demonstrating a desire to set her at liberty. It is much more likely, she sought only to amuse her, and by putting her in hopes of deliverance, had no other view than to put a stop to the continual plots which were contriving in her favour, and free herself from the solicitations she was perpetually troubled with.

However this be, some time after the receipt of her letter, she sent to her Robert Beal[384], one of the clerks of the council, with certain articles founded upon Mary's offer of associating her son in the government.

Consequently they supposed a previous agreement betwixt them; but never had there been a more improper juncture to negotiate this agreement, since King James was captive in the hands of Queen Elizabeth's adherents. Here are the articles, with some remarks, which will serve to shew Elizabeth's aim in feigning a desire to release her prisoner:—

I. The Queen of Scots and the King her son should promise to attempt nothing prejudicial to England.

It is easy to perceive, that this article is expressed in general terms as required a large explanation.

II. She should disclaim as unjust whatever was done by Francis II. her first husband, and ratify the treaty of Edinburgh.

The former part of this article was very general, and liable to abundance of cavils. As to the latter part, it must be observed, that Mary could not ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh but with the restriction she had offered. So, in proposing to her the ratifying of that treaty simply and absolutely, a snare was laid for her, or else she was put under a necessity of rejecting this article.

III. She should discover and condemn all the conspiracies against Queen Elizabeth that were come to her knowledge.

This was accusing her of being concerned in these conspiracies, and making her own it, which was very hard measure for Mary. She could have done no more, had she been fully convinced of Elizabeth's sincerity, which is not very likely.

IV. She should contrive nothing against the government of England, Ecclesiastical or Civil.

Mary was a Catholic, and the laws of England excluded the Catholics from all posts. So if she agreed to this article without farther explanation, it might have been inferred, that she excluded herself from succeeding Elizabeth.

V. She should claim no right to the Crown of England during Queen Elizabeth's life, and after Elizabeth's death should refer her title to the judgment of the Parliament.

This was also laying a snare for Mary, in making her own that her title was dubious, though she did maintain, and had always maintained, that it was incontestable.

VI. She should swear to these articles, to the end there might be no room for the objection taken from her not being at liberty.

VII. The King her son should ratify them by oath and writing.

To enable the King of Scotland to ratify these articles, it was necessary first that he should agree in an authentic manner that he was King only as associated by the Queen his mother, which was not then in his power, since he was in the hands of the Lord of Ruthven, who by no means acknowledged Mary's authority.

VIII. For the performance of this article, the Queen of Scots should give hostages to the Queen of England.

This Article was also liable to many difficulties, concerning the number and quality of the hostages.

It is therefore evident, Elizabeth proposed these articles to Mary, only to amuse her and the world, at a time when it was not possible even to enter into the treaty upon this subject; besides their being almost all ensnaring and liable to discussions, which the court of England might have prolonged as they pleased. Camden says, the Scots of the English party were utterly against this agreement, affirming it was owing to the intrigues of the French court.

It is true, if the conditions proposed had been advantageous to Mary, it is not unlikely, Elizabeth would have set the Scots to oppose the conclusion of the treaty. But there was no occasion for this, since she had taken sufficient care to hinder Mary from accepting them.

The Affairs of Scotland

I must now proceed to relate what passed in Scotland this year. If a man is confined to what Camden says, his idea of things will be very imperfect. This is one of those passages wherein that historian has thought fit to be very short, for fear of injuring King James's reputation, for whose sake he wrote the *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*. But by good fortune, we have Melvil's memoirs, which give us fuller information.

The Duke of Lenox seeing the King in the hands of the Lords of Ruthven, and the little probability of forming a Party strong enough to free him, withdrew into France where he died soon after.

Meanwhile, the Lords of Ruthven, whose sole aim had been to remove from the King his two favourites, finding that one was in prison, and the other in France, thought proper to convene the States, where the King was present. He declared, whatever they had done was with his consent, and to his satisfaction.

He writ the same thing to the General Assembly of the Kirk, whereupon the States and the Kirk approved by authentic acts all that was passed. This done, the King was no longer watched, but left entirely at liberty.

Shortly after, the King assembled the nobility in the City of St. Andrew's, before whom he declared, that though he had been detained against his will, he owned however it was done for his service: That he did not intend to call any person to an account, but would speedily publish an act of oblivion. To shew that he forgot all that was past, he visited the Earl of Goury, who casting himself at his feet, begged pardon, which he very readily obtained.

All being thus quiet, the King appointed twelve counsellors to assist him to govern the State. But shortly after, his affection for the Earl of Arran reviving, he wished to see him; and as all his counsellors were unanimously against it, he protested he would send him away again within four and twenty hours; but was not as good as his word, for he kept him for ever.

In a short space, the favourite had such an influence over him, that he would not suffer any but him to meddle in the public affairs. Whereupon the council of twelve being no longer consulted, broke up of themselves. As soon as the Earl of Arran saw himself fully restored, he suggested to the King, that he had made a false step, in not punishing the insolence of the Lords of Ruthven, and persuaded him at length to alter his resolution[385].

So, instead of an act of oblivion, he issued out a proclamation, commanding the complices of the Ruthven conspiracy, to come and beg pardon for their crime. Every one plainly saw the difference between this proclamation, and the promised act of oblivion. The King being free, had declared, that they who had detained him, intended him no ill, and for that reason he had promised them a pardon.

But by the proclamation, he considered them as guilty, and obliged them to submit to his mercy, at a time when he suffered himself to be governed by one of those very favourites against whom

they had conspired. This was sufficient to induce these Lords to retire, some to their own homes, and others into England, to wait for another opportunity to ruin their enemy[386].

Elizabeth's Letter to The King of Scotland

Elizabeth being informed of the King of Scotland's proceedings and the danger of the Earl of Arran's entirely ruining the English party, writ to the King, representing the consequences, and mixed in her letter some reproaches for breach of promise. She told him moreover, she intended to send secretary Walsingham to talk with him from her.

James returned a stout answer, and vindicated himself for not performing his, promise, since it was extorted from him when a captive. This excuse might have served, with respect to what he said to the States; but it was insufficient, since he repeated the same thing to the nobility when at full liberty.

However, he promised the Queen to proceed no farther till Walsingham arrival. In the meantime, the favourite made the Earl of Goury undergo so many mortifications, that he forced him at length to quit the court. Walsingham being arrived, imparted to the King, in two private audiences, the Queen's advice concerning the management of his affairs. But as this advice tended to the Earl of Arran's ruin, the ambassador brought back no very satisfactory answer[387].

The Duke of Anjou's Attempt upon The Low Countries Frustrated

The beginning of the year, the Duke of Anjou being too much confined by the terms laid upon him by the States, attempted to seize, on the same day, Antwerp, and seven or eight other towns of the Netherlands. But missing his aim, he was forced to retire to Dunkirk, and from thence into France. Meanwhile, the affairs of the States were in a melancholy situation.

The Prince of Parma made great progress this year, and very likely would succeed at length, in obliging all the United Provinces to return to the obedience of the King of Spain.

The Affairs of France

Henry III behaved in France after so strange a manner, that he daily incurred the contempt of his subjects. In public he affected an over strained devotion, whilst in private he plunged himself into the most criminal pleasures.

Philip II. taking advantage of Henry's indolence with regard to his most important affairs, strove by all sorts of ways to raise him troubles, which should hinder him from undertaking the defence of the Netherlands, who showed a strong inclination to put themselves under the dominion of France. He tried first to persuade the King of Navarre to take arms, promising to aid and protect the Huguenots. This way failing, he applied to the Duke of Guise, who accepted the succours offered by Philip, to revenge the mortifications he daily received from the King's minions[388].

1584 AD] Whether Queen Elizabeth's advice to the King of Scotland had a good effect upon him, or Melvil's remonstrances as he hints himself in his *Memoirs*, made some impression on his mind, he seemed resolved to put a stop to the prosecution of the Lords of Ruthven. To that purpose, he assembled the nobility at Edinburgh, to end this affair with the advice of the great men, as he had at first projected, by publishing an act of oblivion. But the Earl of Arran, a bold and daring man, defeated this project in spite of the King himself.

When the great men were come to Edinburgh, he went and talked with every one apart, intimating, that the King's intention was only to get his conduct approved, with regard to the Lords of Ruthven, after which he would pardon them, when they had acknowledged, they owed that favour

to his Clemency. The great men seeing the point was only to save the King's honour, and thinking the fugitives would receive no prejudice, promised the favourite to do as the King desired.

So, when the King asked their advice in this affair, they answered, it was their opinion he acted with great clemency, in opening the fugitives a way to obtain their pardon. This done, the Earl of Arran told him, if, after this declaration, he published an act of oblivion, without the fugitives owning themselves guilty, he would disoblige the nobility, by neglecting their advice, and extremely injure his own dignity.

Thus the fugitives obtained no advantage, though the assembly was convened purely for their sake. The declaration of the nobility drove the Lords of Ruthven to despair. They were required to ask pardon for a thing which the King had approved, as done for his service.

Nay, they could not be sure of their pardon, since, as the King had once departed from his word, they could not trust him any more. The Earl of Arran having obtained his desire, grew more proud and insolent, and so persecuted all his enemies, that he forced them at length to form a new conspiracy against him[389].

Though the Earl of Goury had saved his life, and procured him the King's pardon, he never ceased to molest him, till he had forced him to ask leave to go out of the Kingdom. He was now at Dundee, in order to retire into England, when he heard that the Earls of Mar, Angus, and Glames, who were fled into Ireland, had some enterprise in hand against the favourite.

This news made him stay in Scotland, and at last, he entered into the conspiracy himself, without stirring however from Dundee. The conspirators had so well laid their measures, that arriving unexpectedly in Scotland, they immediately took Sterling.

Meanwhile, the court having before received some confused intelligence of this conspiracy, and knowing the Earl of Goury was concerned, ordered him. to be arrested, which was done accordingly, just as the conspirators became masters of Sterling. This arrest quite disheartened them. As he was a near relation of the King, they fancied, he had designedly suffered himself to be taken, and believing they were betrayed, abandoned their enterprise and fled out of the Kingdom. It cost the Earl his life, who being brought to Edinburgh was there beheaded[390].

Thus the Earl of Arran still kept his post in spite of his enemies. He was extremely odious to the whole Kingdom, because he was a wicked, atheistic man, and of an insatiable avarice. There was also another thing which very much troubled the Scots. And that was, the King for some time had held private intelligence with the Queen his mother, which bred a fear, that he would engage in designs destructive of the state and religion.

He had privately accepted of the association she had offered him, and it was seen that none but the Queen's known friends had access to him. Nay, it was whispered, he intended to turn Catholic, and began to listen to the proposals of the French Court, or rather of the Duke of Guise.

Elizabeth Sends Davison into Scotland to Gain The Earl of Arran

All these things were but too apt to give Elizabeth great uneasiness. She was afraid, the King of Scotland would be persuaded to take a French wife, and such a marriage would produce ill effects for England. To try therefore to prevent the mischief which might happen from that quarter, she sent Davison into Scotland, under colour of excusing her protection of the Scotch fugitives, though the King had demanded them by virtue of the treaty of alliance concluded between the two Kingdoms.

But Davison's chief business was to endeavour to win the Earl of Arran to the Queen's interest. This method was better and speedier than to support the malcontents of Scotland, who were

always to be supplied with money, without being certain of the success of their undertakings. Besides, the Queen ran the hazard of entirely losing King James.

That Prince had sense, but as he was young, inexperienced, and too much governed by his favourites, it was to be feared he would be drawn into projects detrimental to both Kingdoms, for the sake of others.

Davison succeeded entirely in his negotiation with respect to the Earl of Arran, and by means that are easy to be guessed, prevailed with him to be guided by the Queen. Before his return to England, it was agreed between the two courts, that the Earl of Hunsdon for England, and the Earl of Arran for Scotland, should meet upon the borders, and make a regulation proper to preserve a good understanding between the two Kingdoms.

Under this pretence, these two Lords conferred together, and before they parted, made a private treaty, whereby the Earl of Arran engaged to keep the King unmarried for three years. Elizabeth pretended, she designed to give him a Princess of the Blood-Royal of England, who was not yet marriageable. This was at least the pretence with which the treaty was coloured.

Elizabeth Discovers Mary's Secrets By Gray The Scotch Ambassador

Whilst these things were in agitation, the master of Gray a young Scotch Lord, insinuated himself so far into King James's favour, that the Earl of Arran growing jealous, found means to remove him, by causing him to be sent ambassador to Elizabeth. Gray was no sooner in England, but the Queen won him by her caresses and bounties.

From that time this ambassador feigned to be strongly attached to Queen Mary's interest, and by that means drew secrets from her, which Elizabeth knew how to improve. The Earl of Arran having some intelligence of this intrigue, informed the King of it, in order to ruin his rival; but as in all likelihood, he could bring no proof of what he advanced. Gray being returned to Scotland, was very well received by the King, and spared no pains in his turn to ruin the favourite.

A Conspiracy Discovered

Whilst these things passed in Scotland, plots were forming in England in favour of the captive Queen. But some intercepted letters to Queen Mary from Francis Throckmorton^[391] beginning to discover the conspiracy, Throckmorton was arrested. Immediately Thomas Lord Paget and Charles Arundel fled into France, and gave out that the Catholics were so cruelly persecuted in England, that it was not possible for them to stay there without danger of their lives.

That the court had spies everywhere, but only to watch the Catholics, but also to lay snares for them: that forged letters from the Queen of Scots were left in their houses, to force them to bring them to the secretary of state, or render themselves guilty by concealing them. There is no doubt, the Queen had spies to watch the motions of the Catholics^[392].

Nay it is very possible that among these spies there were some, who to improve their services, laid snares for the Catholics. Those who take it upon them such an office, of what religion so ever they'd be, are not usually the most honest men. But the behaviour of the Catholics had made these persecutions necessary, the knowledge of what passed among them being of the utmost consequence to the Queen.

Several books, as well as printed as in manuscript, were handed about, wherein the Queen was slandered to the highest degree. She was taxed with putting to death many Catholics without cause, having first racked them, to compel them to confess crimes of which they were innocent.

Her maids of honour were exhorted to serve her in the same manner as Judith did Holoserne, rendered themselves by such an action worthy of the applause of the church throughout all future ages[393]. These books, with what had been discovered after Throgmorton's arrest, made it thought some plot was ready to break out.

The Queen Blames The Judges Severity

Meanwhile the Queen willing to show it was not for their religion that some Catholics had been punished, sent for the judges of the realm, and sharply reprov'd them, for having been too severe in the torture they had made these men suffer. Probably, this was done to afford them an opportunity to clear themselves from this charge, by an apology which was made public. They affirmed: –

That no person had been made to suffer for his religion, but only for dangerous practices against Queen and state, that indeed Campion the Jesuit had been put to the rack, but with so little violence, that he was presently able to subscribe his confession:

That Brian, one of his accomplices, obstinately refusing to speak or write the person's name who penned the papers found about him, was indeed denied food till he asked it in writing.

However, the Queen, willing to take from her enemies all occasion slandering her in foreign parts, for the putting of any person whatever to the rack, and was satisfied with transporting out of England seventy priests who were imprisoned, of who somewhere under sentence of death. Among these were certain Jesuits[394], who afterwards proved very grateful for this favour. Perhaps indeed she acted, upon this occasion, not so much for motive of clemency, as two separate two things which were always endeavoured to be confounded, namely, religion and the crime against the state, under pretence that most of the conspirators were Catholics.

The Spanish Ambassador is Discovered to be in The Plot

Before Throckmorton was apprehended, he sent a cabinet full of papers to Mendesa the Spanish ambassador, of which the court had notice[395]. He denied all at his first examination: but at the second, confessed:–

That going some few years since to the Spaw, he conferred several times with Jeney and Sir Francis Inglefield, two English fugitives, how England might be invaded[396]:

That after his return, Morgan, another fugitive in France, told him, the Catholic princes had formed a design to free the Queen of Scots, and to employ the Duke of Guise for that purpose:

That the nothing was wanting, but to know what succours might be depended upon from the English Catholics:

That in order to take their measures the better, Charles Padget, under the counterfeit name Mope, was sent into the County of Sussex, where the Duke of Guise intended to land:

That he (Throckmorton) imparted the project to the Spanish ambassador who had been already informed of it, and showed him the ports where it will be most proper to land:

That he moreover acquainted the same ambassador, with the names of the great men to whom we might freely speak his mind, because, as he was a public person, he would not be so narrowly watched.

Finally, that he conferred with him how to raise soldiers privately in England, to have them ready when the foreign troops should arrive.

He is Sent For By The Council

Upon these dispositions, the Spanish ambassador was desired to come to the council, where he was told what Throckmorton had witnessed against him. As he did not think himself, doubtless, innocent enough to clear himself from these accusations, he chose by way of recrimination to charge the Queen, with the detaining of Spanish money she had seized, and with assisting the Duke of Anjou.

Then, he spoke against the ministers, saying, that by their ill counsels they incessantly laboured to sow discord between the Queen and the King of Spain. A few days after the Queen commanded him to depart the kingdom, which he readily obeyed, thinking himself very happy coming off at so easy a rate. However, when he came into France, he loudly complained, as if in England the law of the nations had been violated in his person.

Meanwhile the Queen dispatched Wade[397] to Spain, to inform the king of what had passed, and to tell him she was ready to receive another ambassador from him. But Philip would not give Wade audience, who refused also in his turn to impart the contents of his embassy to the Prime Minister.

Throckmorton is Executed

When Throckmorton was brought upon his trial, he denied what he had confessed at his examination, affirming he had invented it on purpose to avoid the rack. But after his condemnation, upon the evidence of his own letters to the Queen of Scots and the papers found in his coffers, he owned all, and even made a more circumstantial declaration than at first. And yet when he came to the gallows, he denied again whatever he had confessed.

Elizabeth Renews The Negotiation With The Queen of Scots

Elizabeth, as she could not doubt, her enemies were perpetually contriving to deprive her of the Crown, and set it on the head of the Queen of Scots, lived in the constant uneasiness, and under the apprehension that some of their plots would at last succeed.

So to discover more fully the designs of her enemies, she seemed willing to resume the negotiations began with the Queen of Scots. To that end she sent Wade, at his return from Spain, to tell her, she was ready to renew the treaty which had been interrupted, and would dispatch to her very soon Sir Walter Mildmay for that purpose. But withal, she let her know she insisted upon two conditions, namely, that she should prevail with the King her son, to grant the pardon promised to the Lords of Ruthven, and put a stop to the plots of the Bishop of Glasgow her ambassador in France.

At this time happened the surprise of Sterling, the imprisonment of the Earl of Goury, and the flight of the conspirators into England. Whereupon Elizabeth sent Beal to desire the Queen of Scots, to intercede with the king her son for the fugitives, and inform her of the Duke of Guise's designs, as she had promised Wade. Mary answered, she had promised nothing, but on condition she should be released: that she would readily intercede for the Scotch fugitives, provided that

the advantage would accrue from thence to herself or the King's son, and in case they would confess their fault. She did not deny, she had desired the Duke of Guise to use his endeavours to free her; but said, she knew nothing of his designs, nor, if she did, would she discover them, unless she was assured of her deliverance.

She besought Elizabeth to use her with more humanity, and desired the treaty might be concluded with her, before the Scots were treated with. Lastly, she added, that as the King of France had received her ambassador jointly with her son's, as princes associated, Elizabeth would be pleased to cause this association to be published in Scotland.

The Negotiation is Broken Off

Elizabeth took care not to serve her what she desired, the aim being only to draw from her a solicitation in behalf of the Scotch fugitives, and information concerning the Duke of Guise's designs, upon the uncertain hope of an agreement which she flattered her with. But finding she could not get that thing out of her, she relinquished the negotiation as needless.

However, perceiving by Mary's answer, that the King of Scotland had accepted the association, she was afraid some dangerous plot was contriving in Scotland. It was this chiefly that made her resolve to gain the Earl of Arran at any rate, wherein she succeeded as I said before.

Shortly after, Elizabeth also discovered that her enemies did not cease their secret practices. Chreighton a Scots Jesuit going by sea into Scotland, and his ship being attacked by pirates, tore some papers he had about him, and threw them into the sea. But by a very extraordinary accident, the wind hindered the torn papers from falling into the water, and blew them back into the ship, where somebody took the pains to gather them up.

These papers being delivered to Wade, he parted them together upon another paper with great labour and patience, and by that means a plot was discovered, framed by the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Guise, to invade England.

Whereupon, by the Earl of Leicester's means, a general association of men of all degrees and conditions was formed in England, who bound themselves by oath to prosecute to the death those that should attempt any thing against the Queen.

Mary Send Fresh Proposals to Elizabeth

The Queen of Scots easily perceived that the plots of her friends were discovered, since the association was a clear evidence that Elizabeth thought herself in danger. As she was afraid she could not avoid the efforts of this association, in case it came to be known that she was concerned in these plots, she used fresh endeavours to free herself from captivity. To that purpose she sent Naue her Secretary to Elizabeth with these proposals:

That if she might be released, she offered to enter into a closer amity with the Queen of England:

To renounce the title of Queen of England, and never lay claim to the crown of that Kingdom so long as Elizabeth was alive:

To sign the Association:

To make a league defensive with England, (so far as might stand with the alliance between France and Scotland) provided that nothing was done in England to her disadvantage, before she herself or the King her son was heard in the Parliament:

To stay in England till hostages were given:

To make no change in the religion established in Scotland, provided she might have the free exercise of her own:

To bury in oblivion all injuries done to her in Scotland, on condition that whatever had been enabled to her disgrace should be repealed:

To recommend to her son such counsellors as were inclined to preserve a good understanding with England:

To procure a pardon for the fugitives, provided they would own themselves guilty:

To treat of no match for the King her son without Elizabeth's knowledge.

She required on her part, that the treaty should be made with her and the King her son jointly, and promised to have it ratified by the Duke of Guise. Moreover, she desired matters might be speedily concluded, for fear some accident should obstruct the treaty. Lastly, she prayed Elizabeth to give her some token of her esteem, by granting her a little more liberty.

Had Mary made these offers at any other time, perhaps Elizabeth would have regarded them. But in the present juncture, they only served to increase her suspicions, since it was evident they were an effect of the fear instilled into the prisoner, by the association and the discovery of the plots.

Camden pretends, contrary to all appearance, that Elizabeth being satisfied with these proposals, was going to set Mary at liberty, had she not been hindered by the clamours of the Scots. Hence he takes occasion to make a long invective against the Presbyterians and their preachers, and to accuse them of insolence, contempt of the King's person, and rebellion against the Laws.

Here also he speaks of the suppression of Buchanan's writings, which was foreign to the purpose. In a word, he would have Presbytery to be considered as the sole cause of the obstacles to Mary's deliverance, in spite of Elizabeth's good intentions towards her. This is no wonder, for it was the modish stile in England in the reign of James I. to whom court was made by inveighing against the Puritans.

I own however, it is not wholly improbable, that on this occasion, Elizabeth even set the Scots upon forming the obstacles mentioned here by Camden. But it is very unlikely, that at a time when she saw her enemies in league against her, to place Mary, though a prisoner, on the Throne of England, she should really intend to release her, and so enable her the better to execute her designs.

To take Elizabeth's dissimulation for her real intention, was an artifice of Camden, thereby to insinuate, she thought Mary innocent of the plots which were continually framing. But he contradicts himself, by saying a little after, that Mary losing all hopes of agreement, hearkened at length to dangerous counsels, and writ to the Pope, and the King of Spain, soliciting them to hasten what they had in hand with all speed, let what would happen to her.

Mary is put into Drury's Custody

It is therefore evident, there was now some projects on foot, which she knew, and had hearkened to dangerous counsels before time mentioned by Camden. But Elizabeth, better informed than Mary imagined, knowing what measures were taken to carry her away, took her out of the hands of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and committed her to the custody of Sir Drue Drury, a watchful man, if ever there was one[398].

Camden says, the Earl of Leicester desiring at once to free Elizabeth from the uneasiness, the Queen of Scots created her, bribed certain murderers to assassinate the prisoner; but as none durst give them an order for leave to approach her, Drury's watchfulness hindered them from getting access to her. If this denotes the Earl of Leicester's villainy, and perhaps, in Camden's intention, that of Elizabeth herself, it shows too how dangerous a person the Queen of Scots was deemed, since it was thought, Elizabeth's life could not be safe, but by her death.

It is not likely therefore, that Elizabeth should then think of releasing her. The same author says, that to alienate Queen Elizabeth's affection entirely from the Queen of Scots, it was whispered in her ears, that a revolution was taken to deprive her of the crown, and set it on Mary's head:—

That a Council had been held, wherein Cardinal Allen for the English ecclesiastics, Inglefield for the laity, and the Bishop of Ross for the Queen of Scots, all three empowered by the Pope, and the King of Spain, had agreed, that Elizabeth should be assassinated. King James deposed, and Mary given in marriage to some English Catholic Nobleman:

That this nobleman should be elected King of England, and the crown fettered upon his heirs. He adds, Walsingham diligently inquired who this English nobleman might be, and that the suspicion fell upon Henry Howard the late Duke of Norfolk's brother [399].

The Affairs of The Low-Countries

During this year, the affairs of the United Provinces daily grew worse, the Prince of Parma from time to time conquering towns upon them. At last to reduce them, as it were, to the last extremity, God permitted the Prince of Orange to be assassinated by one Balthazar Gerrard, a Burgundian.

Philip his eldest son being then in the hands of the King of Spain, and educated in the Catholic religion, the States conferred the government of Holland and Zealand upon his second son Maurice, about eighteen years old. Meanwhile, the Prince of Parma improving the consternation of the States, laid siege to Antwerp.

In this distress, the States, finding it was not possible to support themselves with their own forces, debated, whether they should put themselves under the protection of France or England, and at length resolved for France. But Henry III. was then involved in troubles, which suffered him not to accept their offer.

So, finding no encouragement from that quarter, they were forced to apply to the Queen of England. We shall see next year the success of this negotiation. The troubles with which France had been so long disturbed, and which seemed to be a little appeased, were renewed by the death of the Duke of Anjou in June.

As the King had no Children, and was thought incapable of having any, the Duke of Guise projected to seize the throne, as descended from Charles the Great. This at least is what several have accused him of, not without great probability. But as Henry of Bourbon King of Navarre, was become first Prince of the Blood, since the death of the Duke of Anjou, a pretence was to be found to exclude him from the Throne, otherwise it would not be possible for the Duke of Guise to execute his project.

It was not difficult to find a pretence, since the King of Navarre professed the reformed religion. So the Duke of Guise hiding his ambition under the veil of religion, pretended to have no other view but to maintain the Catholic religion, which would be in great danger, if a Huguenot ascended the throne.

The King, who knew his design, did his utmost to persuade the King of Navarre to change his religion, and the Duke perceiving endeavours were used to break his measures, renewed the League first at Paris, and then in the provinces. By this means he could have an Army ready on the first occasion.

The people were so blind and stupid, as to imagine, he only aimed at the preservation of the Catholic religion. Meanwhile, the Duke having notice, that the King would cause him to be arrested, withdrew to his government of Champagne, where on the last day of December, he signed a private league with the King of Spain, who, on pretence of religion, fought only to foment the troubles in France.

But as the Duke would not have it appear, that he aspired to the crown, the treaty ran, that the Cardinal of Bourbon should be raised to the throne, after the death of Henry III, and to that end, the King of Spain should find fifty thousand crowns a month. Thus, by means of the Duke of Guise, Philip II kindled in France a flame which long consumed that Kingdom, and hindered the French from thinking of the acquisition of the Netherlands[400].

1585 AD] In the beginning of the year 1585, Elizabeth discovered a conspiracy, of which William Parry was the author. He was a gentleman of Wales, member of the House of Commons, and had signalled his zeal for the Catholic religion in opposing alone a bill preferred in the lower house against the Jesuits.

He spoke upon that occasion with so much passion and vehemence, that he was committed to custody[401], but (his submission being made) he was in a few days readmitted into the House. Hardly was he at liberty, when Edmund Nevil, who claimed the inheritance of the Earl of Westmoreland lately deceased in the Low-Countries[402], accused him of conspiring against the Queen; whereupon he was sent to the tower.

He owned, he had a design to kill the Queen, and was persuaded to it by Morgan an English Catholic refugee in France:—

That he held Intelligence with Jesuits, the Pope's Nuncios and Cardinals[403];

That the better to deceive the Queen, and procure free access to her person, he returned from France into England, and discovered the whole conspiracy to her;

That afterwards, repenting of his wicked intention, he laid away his dagger every time he waited on her, lest he should be tempted to commit the murder; but at length, Cardinal Allen Book, wherein he maintained it to be not only lawful, but honourable to kill Princes excommunicated, falling into his hands, he read it, and felt himself strongly encouraged to pursue his first design;

That Nevil his accuser coming to dine with him, proposed to attempt something for the deliverance of the Queen of Scots, to which he answered, he had a greater design in his thoughts;

That a few days after, Nevil coming to see him, they resolved to kill the Queen, as she rode abroad to take the air, and swore upon the Bible to keep the secret; but that in the mean while, Nevil hearing the news of the Earl of Westmoreland's death, accused him, in hopes of procuring the Earl's inheritance, to which he laid claim.

Upon this confession, he was condemned and executed.

This conspiracy occasioned the Parliament to take extraordinary care of the Queen's and the Kingdom's welfare.

The Parliament Confirms The Association Against The Queen of Scots

The General Association was admitted, approved, and confirmed by unanimous consent[494]. It was also enacted:—

That twenty-four (or more) commissioners chosen and appointed by the Queen should make inquisition, concerning those who should endeavour to raise a rebellion in the Kingdom, or attempt the Queen's life, or claimed any right to the Crown of England.

That the person for whom, or by whom any attempt should be made, should be utterly incapable of succeeding to the Crown, deprived for ever of all Right and Title to it, and prosecuted to death, if declared guilty by the four and twenty Commissioners.

It was impossible not to see, that the Queen of Scots was directly aimed at, for whose sake all these plots were contriving. Wherefore, very probably, from this time her death began to be determined; the two Queens being no longer able to subsist together.

The Council of England at least was of this opinion. Mary doubted not that the Law was enacted against her. Perhaps she would have prevented the fatal effects of it, could she have resolved to renounce all correspondence in the Kingdom, and in foreign Countries. But she had not the prudence to take this wise course, or perhaps, to avoid the snares laid for her, nor was quick sighted enough to perceive, she only served for a blind to her pretended friends, to execute other projects.

The Parliament was not contented with this severe Statute for the Queen's preservation. It was farther enacted:—

That all Popish Priests should depart the Realm within forty days:

That those who should afterwards return, should be guilty of High-Treason:

That to receive or harbour them should be Felony.

It was declared also:—

That those who were educated in foreign seminaries, if they returned not into England within six months [after notice,] and made not their submission (within two days after their return) before a bishop, or two justices of peace, should be guilty of High-Treason.

That if any person submitting himself, should within ten years approach the court, or come within ten miles thereof, his submission should be void.

That those who should directly or indirectly, convey any money to students, or others in such seminaries, should incur the penalty of a Præmunire, loss of goods, and perpetual exile.

That if any of the Peers of the Realm should offend against this act, they should be brought to their trial by their Peers.

That if any person should know any Popish priest or Jesuit, lurking in the Kingdom, and should not discover him within four days, he should be fined and imprisoned at the Queen's pleasure.

That if any man should be suspected to be a priest or Jesuit, and refuse to submit himself to examination, he should be imprisoned till he did submit.

That they who should send their children to popish colleges or seminaries, should be fined in one hundred pounds sterling.

That if those who were sent thither, did not return within a year, they should be incapable to succeed as heirs to any estate.

That if the wardens of the ports should suffer any besides merchants to cross the seas, without the Queen's license, signed by six Privy-Counsellors, they should be turned out of their places.

That the masters of ships who received any passengers without such license, should forfeit their ships and goods, suffer a year's imprisonment, and be incapable of exercising navigation for the future.

This is the severest act against the Catholics in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. But they could blame only themselves, or rather the indiscreet zeal of some amongst them, who never ceased plotting against the Queen, and endeavouring to set the Queen of Scots on the throne of England. Even this statute was not capable of stopping them, till at last they carried their zeal to such a height, that the destruction of one of the Queens became necessary for the preservation of the other[405].

The Earl of Arundel is Apprehended as He is Going Out of The Land

Philip Earl of Arundel, eldest son of the Duke of Norfolk, had, through the Queen's grace and favour, been restored in blood[406] and to his Father's estate three years before. But afterwards he embraced the Catholic religion, and being twice cited before the council to answer to certain accusations entered against him, was confined to his own house.

Six months after he was released, and came to the House of Lords, but withdrew the very first day, not to be obliged to be present at the sermon. As he was extremely addicted to his religion, he resolved to leave the Kingdom to enjoy the free exercise of it, and before his departure writ a letter to the Queen, which was not to be delivered till after he was gone.

The Letter was full of complaints, that his innocence was oppressed. He said, "that to avoid the misfortune befallen his grand-father, and father, and to serve God with freedom, according to his conscience, he had resolved to quit the Kingdom, but not his allegiance to his Sovereign." But being betrayed by his own servants, he was apprehended, as he was going to embark, and sent to the tower.

The Earl of Northumberland Kills Himself

Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, brother to him that was beheaded, was in the same Tower, having been charged with being concerned in Throckmorton's conspiracy, and with holding correspondence with the Lord Paget and the Duke of Guise. June 21st this year he was found dead in his bed, shot with three bullets under his left pap. As he was alone in his room, which was bolted on the inside, it was easy to see he had killed himself.

The calm Elizabeth had enjoyed for some years, began to be turned into storms which threatened her from all quarters. This change must be ascribed to three principal causes. The first was the Duke of Guise's power, which was almost equal to that of the French King himself.

Phillip II's flourishing condition may be reckoned a second, who, after acquiring the Kingdom of Portugal, was upon the point of reducing to his obedience the revolted provinces of the Netherlands. The third was the hopes Queen Elizabeth's enemies flattered themselves with, of gaining the King of Scotland, and making use of him to invade England.

I mention not the Court of Rome, or the English Catholics, who always continued in the same disposition, so there was nothing new in that respect. The Queen of Scots was ever the stumbling block. It was she that gave birth to all the contrivances. Her deliverance from captivity was desired, in order to set on her head the crown of England and Scotland, and restore by her means the Catholic religion in both Kingdoms. Such was the theme of Elizabeth's enemies.

She could not be ignorant of it, since they had pursued it from the beginning of her reign; as, on her part, she had made it her whole business to break their measures. But some advantages, she had hitherto enjoyed, began to fail her. These were first, the jealousy between the crowns of France and Spain which had restrained both from attacking her openly.

Secondly, the French Huguenots had been sufficiently strong to support themselves, and disable the court from attempting anything against England. Thirdly, whilst the affairs of the confederates in the Netherlands were prosperous, they had so employed the Spanish forces, that it was not possible for Philip II. to think seriously of foreign affairs.

But at the time I am speaking of, the scene was entirely altered. France was in such a way, as Elizabeth could no longer build her safety upon the jealousy between the French and Spanish Crowns, that foundation being grown too weak. The Duke of Guise, her mortal enemy, was more powerful in France than the King himself, and besides, was supported by the King of Spain. Very probably the Huguenots would be entirely oppressed, and the Low-Countries soon brought under the Spanish yoke, after which, there was no doubt, England would be invaded.

Elizabeth therefore was to think betimes of preventing the impendent danger, or resolve to sustain alone the efforts of her enemies. Prudence required, that she should in the first place try to avoid the assaults which were preparing against her, without neglecting however the means of withstanding them, if she should be forced to it.

The scheme she laid was this, as will plainly appear in the sequel. First, she resolved to make alliances, if possible, with the two northern crowns and the German Protestants, though it were only to raise the jealousy of her enemies. Secondly, to end a strong aid to the confederates of the Low-Countries, to keep the King of Spain employed there. Thirdly, to assist the French Huguenots, to prevent their being too easily oppressed, knowing the Duke of Guise would be unable to attempt any thing against her, so long as the civil wars held him employed in France.

Lastly, she thought there was no better way to break her enemies measures, than to endeavour, if possible, to have the King of Scotland in her power, or, if that failed, to raise troubles in Scotland, which should hinder that young Prince from framing projects detrimental to England. It is also very likely, that at this time the death of the Queen of Scots was determined, since her life was the foundation of all the plots against Elizabeth both at home and abroad.

At least, if this resolution was not absolutely taken, very probably, Elizabeth and her council were determined not to spare Mary, when the necessity of affairs required her to be sacrificed to the public safety. I own this is only a conjecture, but it is built upon the situation of Elizabeth's affairs at that time.

Elizabeth Sends an Ambassador into Germany and Denmark

To execute the first part of her scheme, she sent Sir Thomas Bodley into Germany and Denmark, to endeavour to persuade the Protestant Princes to make a League defensive with England[407]

He had orders, among other things, to acquaint the King of Denmark, that the Duke of Lorrain, when he courted Elizabeth, pretended a right to the Crown of Denmark, as grandson to Christiern II. by his daughter. I do not know the success of Bodley's negotiations; but as Elizabeth was extremely frugal of her money, it is likely, she used not the properest means to gain the German Princes to her interest.

I shall speak presently of the second and third articles of Elizabeth's scheme, relating to France and the Netherlands. As to the fourth concerning Scotland, we find it explained in Melvil's Memoirs, if we may however give entire credit to this author, who seems extremely prejudiced against Elizabeth.

Elizabeth Tries to Break Off The Project of The King of Scotland's Marriage

The King of Scotland being determined to marry, cast his eyes on the King of Denmark's eldest daughter, who, having some notice of it, resolved to send an embassy into Scotland, under colour of proposing an alliance between the two Kingdoms, and withal to give King James an opportunity to propose his Marriage.

Melvil pretends, Elizabeth having intelligence of the project, resolved to use her endeavours to render it abortive[408]. Not that this marriage was unsuitable for the King of Scotland, but it was requisite for Elizabeth that he should not marry, unless he, would take an English wife of her chousing, or rather, she wished to have him in her power before he was married.

She writ to him therefore, that, to preserve with him always a good understanding, she intended to send an Ambassador, who should reside at his court, not to trouble his Majesty with business, but entertain him with merry discourse, and bear him company in his recreations. That she had chosen her that purpose Edward Wotton, a man of wit and a great traveller, imagining he would be very proper to divert him agreeably, and hoped he would take great delight in his conversation.

Melvil, who was ordered to receive this ambassador, remembered, to have seen him formerly at Paris, at his uncle Dr. Wotton's, the English ambassador, and that, young as he was, he had ensnared that able minister, the old Constable Montmorency[409]. He warned the King of it, who regarded it not. On the contrary, he made this ambassador partner of all his pleasures, and one of his greatest favourites.

The Affairs of Scotland

The Danish ambassadors being arrived in Scotland, Wotton and some of the King's ministers so ordered it, that they received so many mortifications, that they were going to return in very great discontent[410]. But Melvil informing them of the state of affairs, persuaded them to have patience, and indeed, the King being undeceived of some notions instilled into him against the King of Denmark, sent them back better satisfied.

Shortly after he dispatched Peter Young[411] his almoner to the same Prince to thank him for his embassy, and to acquaint him that he would very soon send ambassadors to him. The real motive of young's voyage was to see the King of Denmark's two daughters, and inform the King his master of their qualifications.

Francis Russel Killed on The Borders

In the meanwhile, the Earl of Arran's credit, sensibly with Francis decreased, by the address of the master of Gray his rival, who knew better how to manage the King. Moreover, Wotton helped with all his power to ruin the favourite; for, besides that Elizabeth had no farther need of him

since she had won Gray, he was a man on whom she could not much rely. An accident also on the borders did the Earl of Arran great injury. Thomas Carr the Laird of Fernihurst, who had married his niece, holding a conference with Sir Francis Russel[412], the Earl of Bedford's son, upon affairs relating to both Kingdoms, an Englishman being taken pilfering, raised a quarrel between the two Guards[413], wherein Russel was slain.

The English ambassador made great noise about this affair, pretending the Earl of Arran had stirred up this quarrel by his nephew, to breed a rupture between the two Kingdoms. Upon his complaints, the Earl of Arran was confined to his own house, and Fernihurst sent to prison, where he died quickly after.

Elizabeth Demands Satisfaction

Elizabeth having notice of this fact, demanded a solemn reparation. James did not refuse it; but pretended he could do nothing before he had proofs. This was not easy, by reason of the custom mentioned elsewhere, which allowed not the evidence of the English against the Scots, or of the Scots against the English, concerning what passed on the borders. This difficulty causing the affair to be prolonged, and the Earl of Arran having his liberty, Elizabeth took occasion to permit the Scotch fugitives, who had fled into England, to return home.

Wotton being informed of the Queen's design, laboured to corrupt several Scotch Courtiers[414], and gain them to Elizabeth's interest. If Melvil is to be credited, the King's greatest confidants were of this number.

Wotton Resolves to Carry Away The King of Scotland

Wherefore Wotton, finding himself so well supported, formed the project to surprise the King in Sterling Park and carry him into England. But being disappointed, he resolved to force the guard of the castle, and had now prepared every thing necessary to execute his design, when the King having some intelligence of it, broke his measures, by a sudden departure from Sterling.

Then Wotton perceiving he was discovered, privately retired without taking leave. This was the man sent by Elizabeth to King James, to entertain and divert him. But all the danger was not over. James was surrounded with persons who corresponded with the fugitives, and hindered him from providing for his safety.

The fugitive Lords were now entered Scotland, where they had drawn together three thousand men, and were marching directly to Sterling, where the King was returned, without any precaution taken at court to stop their proceedings. This negligence, caused by the traitors about the King's person, afforded the malcontents an opportunity to come to the gates of Sterling, where the King was so surprised, that he was forced to put himself into their hands: but the Earl Arran had time to escape.

The malcontents having the King in their power, treated him with such respect and submission, that they persuaded him at length they were not his enemies, as he had been made to believe. He owned, he had been misled by Arran pernicious counsels, and consented that the exiles should be restored to their estates.

Treaty About The Kings Marriage

By this revolution, Elizabeth had the satisfaction to see the King of Scotland guided by counsellors from whom she had nothing to fear, whereas before, she was under continual apprehensions with respect to the affairs of that Kingdom. Shortly after Colonel Stewart going to Copenhagen, began there a treaty about the King's marriage with one of the Princesses of Denmark. In the mean

time, the affairs of the United Provinces were in so dangerous a situation, that the States could no longer hope to withstand the King of Spain, unless they were strongly assisted.

Henry III having refused the Sovereignty offered him by the States, they applied to Elizabeth, who also refused it, for fear of engaging in a very troublesome affair. She perceived, the war, she should be obliged to wage with Spain, for the preservation of this Sovereignty, would draw her into extraordinary charges, which she should not be at liberty to lessen as she pleased.

She chose rather, in pursuance of her scheme, to give the States a powerful aid, and the King of Spain a diversion, because this aid might be increased or lessened, according to the situation of her affairs. She made therefore a treaty with them, promised to find them five thousand foot[415], and a thousand horse, under the command of an English general.

It was agreed, she should pay these troops during the war, on condition of being repaid at the end of the war, namely, in the first year of the peace, the expenses advanced in the first year of the war, and the rest in four years:—

That for security of payment, Flushing and Rammekins in Zealand and the Briel in Holland, should be delivered into her hands:

That the Governors, she should place there[416], should exercise no authority over the inhabitants:

That the money being repaid, these places should be restored, not to the King of Spain, but to the States:

That the English General, and two others, whom she should name, should have a place in the council of State, and no peace or truce be made, without a mutual consent:

That if the Queen should send a fleet to sea, the States should be obliged to join it with an equal number of ships, under the command of the English admiral:

Lastly, That the ports should be open and free to both Nations[[417].

The Earl of Leicester Made General of The English Troop

This Treaty being concluded, the Queen appointed for general of her auxiliary forces, the Earl of Leicester, for whom she had ever a great affection; but he came not into Flanders till about the end of the year. Some time after she published a manifesto, wherein she alleges as a reason for her aiding the confederate provinces, that the alliance between the Kings of England, and the Princes of the Netherlands, was not so much between their persons, as between their respective States.

Whence she inferred, that, without breach of this alliance, she might assist the inhabitants of the Low-Countries, oppressed by the Spaniards.

Elizabeth Sends a Fleet into America Against The Spaniards

Meanwhile, as she judged this reason would not be satisfactory to the King of Spain, and that he would, doubtless consider this extraordinary aid given his rebellious subjects, as a declaration of war, she resolved to prevent him. To that purpose, she equipped a fleet of one and twenty sail, whereon were embarked, two thousand three hundred soldiers, besides mariners, to carry war into America, where the Spaniards little expected any such thing. The Fleet was commanded by the Earl of Carlisle, who had under him the famous Sir Francis Drake[418].

The English immediately took St. Jago, one of the isles of Cape Verdi. After that, they sailed to St. Domingo, ox Hispaniola, and became masters of the Capital. Having spent there all January, of the year 1586, they went and took Carthagenia. Then they burnt the Towns of St. Antonio, and St. Helena in Florida. A violent storm dispersing the fleet, as they were going upon new expeditions, they joined not again till they came into England[419], where they brought a booty valued at sixty thousand pounds sterling; but in this expedition seven hundred men perished.

At the same time, John Davis, an Englishman, went[420] in search of a shorter passage, through the north of America, to the East-Indies. The Ice preventing his passing, he long roved on the northern seas, and accidentally discovered a straight, under the polar circle, which still bears his name, but was not what he sought[421].

The Affairs of France

Before I leave the year 1585, it will be necessary to relate what passed in France. After the Duke of Guise had concluded his treaty with the King of Spain, he tried all ways to corrupt the French, and gain them to his party. His aim was to seize the crown, either before or after Henry III's death. He could not expect, that the King, who hated him mortally, would countenance his deign; and on the other hand, he had no manner of colour to aspire to the crown, except his pretended descent from the House of Charles the Great.

And even in that case, the Duke of Lorraine, head of that house, would have been before him. To assert therefore so extraordinary a title, the people's affection, and a religious zeal, were to supply all defects, otherwise there was not the least appearance, that, in cold blood, the French should set on the throne, after the King's death, a foreign Prince, in prejudice of the King of Navarre, who was descended from St. Lewis.

To accomplish his project the Duke of Guise began, by means of his emissaries, to disparage the King, as a favourer of heretics, and to rouse the zeal of the Catholics against the Huguenots, and particularly against the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, who professed the reformed religion, after a public abjuration.

Meanwhile, as the Duke of Guise did not think proper to discover his designs, he published a manifesto in the Cardinal de Bourbon's, name, wherein he pretended to demonstrate, that the crown belonged to the cardinal after the King's death. Not that he desired to place him on the throne; but it was sufficient, first, to set aside the King of Navarre.

That done, under colour of hindering the throne from being filled with a heretic, he possessed himself of several places, pretending however, it was for the King's service, and the good of the Realm.

Elizabeth Aids The Huguenots

The life led by the King for some time, caused him to forfeit the esteem of most of his subjects. The Duke of Guise's intrigues, who represented him as a favourer of heretics, because he supported the House of Bourbon's title, helped also to alienate the people from him. In short, the Court of Rome, the clergy, the friars, were for the Duke of Guise, and served him to the utmost of their power. So, the King, being unable to resist, was forced to forsake the King of Navarre, publish an edict against the Huguenots, and join with the Duke in their extirpation.

Nay, he had the vexation to be obliged to give him the command of the army. The King of Navarre, and the Huguenots, finding Elizabeth themselves thus attacked, assembled all their forces in their absence. But these forces were so inconsiderable, in comparison of their enemies, that there was no likelihood of withstanding them long. The Prince of Condé, attempting to

relieve the Castle of Angers, which was besieged, was suddenly surrounded by enemies, and forced to steal away from his army, and fly into England. Elizabeth received him very civilly, and as she knew the enemies of the Huguenots were also hers, promised to assist him[422].

It was not without reason that she concerned herself with the affairs of the Huguenots, since the league was not limited to their destruction, but aimed at the ruin of the Protestant religion throughout Europe, and especially in England.

Of this had been seen a very sensible proof this same year. Gregory XIII dying in April, Sixtus V, his successor, thundered immediately the censures of the Church against the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, calling them not only heretics and relapsers, but also a bastard progeny. Hence it was easy to see, how much the Pope countenanced the Duke of Guise's designs, and the Queen of England might infer, how great reason she had to fear, if this Duke should one day become King of France, being supported by the Pope, and the Spaniard.

Upon this account it was, she supplied the Prince of Condé with fifty thousand crowns, to assist him in maintaining the war, and lent him ten ships, with which he raised the blockade of Rochelle.

Elizabeth Complains of The Authority Given by The States to The Earl of Leicester

1586 AD] The Earl of Leicester being arrived in Holland the beginning of the year 1586, was received as a Guardian Angel[423]. The States, under colour of expressing their gratitude to Elizabeth, declared him[424] Governor, and Captain-General of Holland, Zealand, and the United-Provinces, and invested him with almost an absolute power[425].

Very probably, their aim was to engage the Queen farther than she intended. She had refused the offered Sovereignty, and it was designed to give it her in some measure, whether she would or no, by investing her General with almost a sovereign authority. But Elizabeth was too wise to be ensnared by this artifice. She sharply complained to the States of this sort of deceit, and gave withal the Earl of Leicester a severe reprimand, for accepting the honour, without having first consulted her.

She told him, he had acted directly contrary to her intention, since she had publicly declared in her manifesto, that she was very ready to relieve her distressed neighbours, but never meant to assume any power over them[426]

The States excused themselves, by saying, the necessity of their affairs had obliged them to confer such an authority on the Earl of Leicester, that he might be the better able to heal their divisions, which put them in continual danger of perishing. That they could not revoke the authority granted to her general, without great inconveniences, and had not however divested themselves of the supreme power.

The Earl of Leicester appeased the Queen by his submissions. In fine, she consented the patent should subsist; but intimated to the States, they vainly hoped to induce her to accept of the sovereignty of their country, and that her intention was to keep within the bounds she had prescribed to herself, that is, not to be obliged to assist them any farther than her affairs would permit.

The Earl of Leicester's Ambitious Projects

The Earl of Leicester, a Man of great pride and ambition, was no sooner clothed with this exorbitant power, than he began secretly to form projects, destructive of the liberties of the Country he was come to defend.

At least, this is what all the Dutch historians tax him with. They pretend, his design was to render himself sovereign or perpetual dictator of the provinces, with whose government he had been entrusted. He made use of such means, as bred an universal discontent against him.

In short, after a campaign, wherein he performed no great exploits, he returned to England, to take proper measures to facilitate the execution of his projects, and probably, to persuade the Queen to support him[427].

Elizabeth Proposes A League With Scotland

Whilst France and the Netherlands were in commotion, Elizabeth wisely provided for her own and her People's security. This she did not only by assisting the Huguenots and the confederate provinces, but also by preventing the dangers which might come from Scotland, in case the King of Spain and Duke of Guise should be ever able to invade her [428].

The present juncture was very favourable. The King of Scotland had about him only men well affected to the reformed religion, and the interest of England. This opportunity therefore was not to be neglected, of strictly uniting the two Kingdoms; this union being of the utmost consequence to Elizabeth.

Accordingly she dispatched Randolph to King James, to represent to him, that the enemies of the Protestant religion openly joining together for its destruction, it was the interest of the Protestant States to unite also for their common defence. That England and Scotland were the bulwarks of the true religion, and the union of their forces the only possible means to preserve it. That therefore, she thought it their common interest to join in a league for the defence of their religion, against all who should attempt to destroy it, at least in England and Scotland.

The better to persuade the King to do what the Queen desired, Randolph told him, that as his revenues were extremely diminished, by reason of the troubles which had so long afflicted his Kingdom, the Queen was willing to grant him a pension to assist him in supporting his dignity [429].

James readily consented to what was proposed to him, but on condition, nothing should be done in England in prejudice to his right to the crown of that Kingdom, and this article, with that of the pension, be inserted in the treaty. Randolph answered, he did not believe that would be possible. As to the pension, he said, if it was put into the treaty, the Queen would seem to be tributary to Scotland, to which she would never agree.

As to the article of the succession, the Queen could not settle it by a public treaty, without the concurrence of the Parliament, and the discussion of such an affair might retard the treaty too long, and perhaps give birth to great difficulties, because of the Queen his mother's religion: but he did not question, Elizabeth would be very willing to satisfy him in those two points, by means of two secret articles.

James being contented with this expedient, Desneval the French ambassador did all that lay in his power to dissuade him from this league. He told him, that Elizabeth's aim was only to secure herself from the attacks of those who were combined for the deliverance of Queen Mary, That it was a strange thing he should think of uniting with a Queen, who kept his mother in prison, against those who were labouring to free her from captivity.

He added, the King his master could not but consider this league as an express breach of the ancient alliance between France and Scotland. James answered, that the Queen his mother's misfortunes proceeded wholly from her own friends, who, under colour of serving her, only aimed at executing their own projects. That, as to the alliance between France and Scotland, he

did not see wherein he should violate it, since France pretended not to break it, when, without signifying it to him, she made a league defensive with England. James having resolved upon what the Queen desired, the plenipotentiaries of the two Kingdoms met at Berwick, and signed a treaty of alliance and stricter amity between the two Crowns[430].

Treaty of League Between Elizabeth and James

The motive of the treaty was, that whereas the Princes, who called themselves Catholics, were entered into leagues for extirpating the Protestant religion, not only in their own dominions, but also in foreign countries, it was necessary, the Protestants should unite for its defence. That therefore the Queen of England and King of Scotland did agree upon the following articles:—

I. By this Treaty, they should be obliged to defend the Evangelical religion against all those who shall attack it in either Kingdom.

II. This league shall be offensive and defensive against those who shall hinder the free exercise of the said religion in either of the two Kingdoms, all other treaties and alliances to the contrary notwithstanding.

III. If one of the two parties be invaded, the other shall not directly or indirectly assist the invader, notwithstanding any alliance or treaty formerly entered into.

IV. If England be invaded in any parts remote from Scotland, the King of Scotland shall find the Queen of England two thousand horse and five thousand foot, at the Queen's charges, from the day of their entering England and in the like case, the Queen shall send the King of Scotland six thousand foot, and three thousand horse.

V. If England be invaded in any place within sixty miles of Scotland, the King of Scotland shall draw together all his forces, and join the same with the Queen's, in order to pursue the invaders for the space of thirty days together, or if necessity require, for so long time as the vassals of Scotland are bound to furnish the King with troops for the defence of the Kingdom.

VI. If Ireland be invaded, the King of Scotland shall hinder the inhabitants of the county of Argyle from entering in a hostile manner into that Kingdom.

VII. The King and Queen shall mutually deliver all rebels, who shall have attempted any thing against either of the two Kingdoms, or at least, they shall compel them to retire from their dominions.

VIII. Within six months, commissioners shall be sent to compound and adjust all differences, which have happened on the borders between the two Nations.

IX. Neither of the two Princes shall make any treaty, to the prejudice of the articles of this present league, without the consent of the other.

X. This Treaty shall be ratified on both sides by letters-patents.

XI. This present Treaty shall in no way derogate from former treaties between the two Kingdoms, or from those before made by the two crowns with any Princes or States, what relates to religion excepted. As to the article concerning religion, it is agreed, this alliance and league offensive; and defensive shall remain firm and inviolate.

XII. The Treaties shall be confirmed by the States of Scotland, as soon as the King shall attain to the age of twenty-five years; and in like manner, the Queen shall cause it to be approved by the Parliaments of England and Ireland.

Remarks on Camden's Annals

Shortly after the conclusion of this League, a conspiracy was discovered in England, which cost the Queen of Scots her life. As this is one of the most important events of Queen Elizabeth's reign, it will be necessary to relate all the particulars.

But it is a sad thing, these particulars must be taken from the *Annals of Elizabeth*, written by Camden, a very suspicious author with respect to the Queen of Scots. In all the former reigns, there is no remarkable event but what is traced, and in some measure cleared in the *Collection of the Public Acts*. But as to this, all the acts relating to Queen Mary are utterly destroyed[431]

On the other hand, James I. son of Mary, succeeding Elizabeth, there was not an Englishman who dared to write in his reign the truth of what passed in the former, whilst the memory of it was yet fresh. Camden was the only person that undertook to publish the *Annals of Queen Elisabeth's. Reign*, not so much to make known, as to disguise, the events, as far as they concerned Queen Mary, and to give an air of innocence to whatever sullied her reputation when alive.

This evidently appears in his account of King Henry Stewart's murder, which has given occasion to presume, he has been not faithful in what he says of Mary's trial and death. He affirms however, he has followed the memoirs of Edward Barker[432] principal Register to the Queen, of Thomas Wheeler Public Notary, Crier of the Court of Canterbury, and other persons of credit whom he does not name.

I don't know whether the Memoirs he speaks of were ever published, or are still extant. Be this as it will, from *Camden's Annals* the following account is taken, for want of a more impartial historian.

Conspiracy Against Queen Elizabeth

(William) Gifford Doctor of Divinity in the Seminary at Rheims, Gilbert Gifford[433] and Hodgeson, *English Priests*, had instilled into one John Savage their countryman, that it would be a meritorious act to kill Elizabeth, and had caused him to vow it during the Easter holidays this year 1586[434].

At the same time, Ballard an English priest of that seminary, who had been in England, notwithstanding the prohibition, returned into France, where he had several conferences with Mendoza and the Lord Paget, how to invade England[435]. As the chief end of the conspiracy was to restore the Catholic religion in England, the point was not only to make away Elizabeth, but forces also were to be ready to deliver Mary, and set her on the throne of England.

These two projects could not be separated. Ballard was accompanied by one Maud, whom he thought a friend, but who was however Secretary Walsingham's spy.

About Whitsuntide, Ballard was sent back into England by the Conspirators, to gain proper persons to facilitate the execution of the project. They told him, he would meet at London with a young gentleman called Anthony Babington[436], whom he might trust. This Babington, who was a zealous Catholic, having been lately in France, was gained there by the Bishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador, and by Morgan an English fugitive. He was so prepossessed in favour of the Queen of Scots, that he was 1586, thought qualified for any enterprise, and for that reason had been recommended to Mary without his knowledge.

So, upon his return to England, she writ to him, and from that time he was employed to convey to her the letters which came from France, till she was committed to the custody of Sir Amias Powlet, and Sir Drue Drury. Then Babington, fearing the watchfulness of these new keepers, would have nothing more to do with the letters, either to or from her.

Ballard, when he came to England, saw Babington, and imparted to him the design to invade England, free the Queen of Scots, and set her on the throne. Babington answered, he very much doubted the possibility of executing this project so long as Elizabeth lived. Whereupon Ballard acquainted him also with Savage's vow, to which Babington replied, it was too hazardous to commit the execution of such a design to a single person; that there should be six at least, and Savage, not to break his vow, might be one of the number[437].

Then they conferred together how a foreign Army might be brought into the Kingdom, otherwise they judged, the death of Elizabeth would signify nothing.

Mary's Letter to Babington

A few days after, Babington received, by an unknown hand, a Letter (in cipher) from the Queen of Scots, blaming him for his silence, and desiring him to send her the packet of letters come from Morgan, and delivered by the French ambassadorship's secretary. Babington returned an answer, and after excusing his silence by reason of his fear of Powlet's and Drury's great watchfulness, imparted to her the plot he had laid with Ballard.

In a second letter from Mary, of the 27th of July, she highly commended his zeal for the Catholic religion, but advises him to attempt nothing till he was sure of foreign assistance. Besides this, she prescribed several things for executing the project, as to send privately for the Earl of Westmoreland, and the Lord Paget[438].

She chalked out the way for her deliverance[439], and charged him to promise in her name, a good reward to the six persons.

Meanwhile, Babington had gained some other persons[440], among whom was Polly, Walsingham's spy, who by his means was daily informed of what passed among the conspirators. He learnt from him, that the six who had engaged to assassinate the Queen, were Savage, Tilney, Charnock, Abington, Tichbourn, and Barnwel, and that they were all six drawn in one picture, with Babington in the middle, and a certain motto obscurely signifying their design[441].

Nay, he found means to shew this picture to the Queen, who knew only Barnwel[412]. She retained however the idea of their faces so well, that walking abroad a little after, and seeing Barnwel, she looked steadfastly on him, and then turning to the captain of the guard, said, am not I fairly guarded, that have not a man in my company that wears a sword?

Babington was so impatient to see the foreign succours ready to depart for England, that he gave Ballard money, who had undertaken to go into France and hasten them. But as it was not easy to procure passports, Babington found means to be introduced to secretary Walsingham[413], who, knowing what he was received him very civilly, and expressed a great value for him.

Encouraged by this kind reception, he desired a passport for himself, and another for Ballard, under a counterfeit name, and affirmed, that by means of his friends at Paris, he should discover many secrets concerning the Queen of Scots. Walsingham commended his zeal, and promised him a good reward, if he did the Queen any considerable service. He put him likewise in hopes of the passports he desired. Polly was not the only person from whom Walsingham learnt the secrets of the conspiracy. Gilbert Gifford, who had been employed to corrupt Savage, being sent into England, to confirm the villain in his resolution, served at the same time to convey letters to the Queen of Scots, and send back her answers.

To make trial of his fidelity, several blank papers, made up like letters, were sent at first, and as it was known by the answers, that they were delivered, he was employed without scruple. Sometime after, Gifford, whether struck with remorse, or allured with the hopes of reward, came to Walsingham, and informed him of all he knew.

The Secretary received him very kindly, and promised to use his interest for him with the Queen, and procure him a good reward. Then instructing him how to behave, he sent him to the place where the Queen of Scots was kept, with a letter to Sir James Powlet, desiring him to connive at the bearer's corrupting one of his servants to deliver letters to the Queen of Scotland, and bring back her answers.

But Powlet would not suffer any of his domestics to be concerned in such an intrigue. He only hinted at a certain Brewer, whom he thought fit for the purpose, and who indeed suffered himself to be corrupted. By this means, Gifford conveyed to the captive Queen, letters, whereof Walsingham had taken copies[444], and received her answers, which were served in the same manner.

At length, when the court was sufficiently instructed, Ballard was apprehended, under colour, that being a popish priest, he had entered the Kingdom without a license. At this news, Babington was in the utmost consternation. He recovered however out of his fright, as it did not appear, that Ballard was arrested for the conspiracy, and nothing was said at court, intimating the discovery of the plot.

He resolved therefore to try to save Ballard, and to that end, represented to Walsingham, that he would be of great service to him in France, to discover the secret practices of the Queen of Scots; and entreated him for his release.

The Conspirators are Arrested

Walsingham laid the blame of Ballard's being arrested, upon the watchfulness of the spies, employed to discover the popish priests and Jesuits. He promised to endeavour to procure his release, and fed him with hopes that the passports would be ready very soon. Meanwhile he so managed, that Babington was narrowly watched. In short, Babington, and all the rest of the conspirators were seized at the same time, and being severally examined, impeached one another, and discovered the whole plot[445].

It is very likely, as I said, that Queen Elizabeth's council had revolved, on the first pretence, to put the Queen of Scots to death. Her life continually endangered Elizabeth's, and of this there was but too much reason to be convinced, by the late discoveries. So this opportunity was embraced.

Mary's Papers are all Seized with Her Two Secretaries

Great care was taken to hinder her being informed of the taking of the conspirators, and Sir Thomas Gorges an officer, was sent to acquaint her with it, who surprised her with the news, just as she had taken horse to ride a hunting. She would have returned to her apartment, but was not permitted[446] till such time as all her papers were seized and sent to court.

Naue and Curle her secretaries, the one a Frenchman, the other a Scot, were apprehended at the same time, and without being suffered to speak with her, conducted to London. But to have still more convincing proofs against her, a method was used, which succeeded according to expectation. Gifford having revealed, that he had delivered to the French Ambassador, several papers of moment concerning the Queen of Scots, a false action, no way relating to the conspiracy, was brought against him, for which he was banished the realm.

Before his departure, he waited on the ambassador, and acquainting him with the sentence passed upon him, left a paper cut after a certain manner, and charged him to deliver the Queen of Scots papers, to him only, that should produce the counter part. Which counterpart he gave to Walsingham, who by that means came at every thing the ambassador had in his hands[447].

The Court being thus sufficiently informed of all the circumstances of the plot, fourteen of the conspirators were arraigned, who received sentence of death, and confessed all[448]. Care was taken before their execution, to record all their confessions. Naue and Curie, Mary's secretaries, being examined, confessed they had writ in cipher, the letters found in the Queen their Mistress' cabinet[449], or intercepted by Gifford's means.

Camden insinuates here, that Curle was bribed by Walsingham with the promise of a reward, which he afterwards refused to perform. However this be. Sir Edward Wotton was sent to the court of France, with authentic copies, attested by several Lords, of the Queen of Scots letters, that he might show them to the King.

Probably, these letters discovered how far Mary was concerned in the plot, and her correspondence with the King of Spain, and the Duke of Guise.

The Court is Determined to Try Mary

At last, the resolution being taken of trying and condemning Queen Mary[450], as the prime cause of the dangers to which Elizabeth was continually exposed, it was debated, on what Statute she should be proceeded against. But there was only one that could serve for that purpose, namely, the act passed the last year, which concerned her in particular.

It was so uncommon a case, to try a foreign Queen, who was come not armed into the Kingdom, but to seek for refuge as a supplicant, that it would have been in vain to search, in all the antient Statutes, after any thing to serve for ground to such a proceeding. This gives occasion to presume, when this act was made the last year, the Queen of Scots death was already determined, and this Statute was to serve for foundation to her sentence.

Some however pretend, the intent of this act was only to keep her in awe, and let her see what she was to expect, if she continued her practices, and that it was her own fault if she did not make a good use of this warning.

Commissioners are Appointed

Wherefore in virtue of this act, Elizabeth, by letters patents under the Great Seal, appointed forty two commissioners, with whom she joined five judges of the realm, to try the Queen of Scots. Some days before, certain Lords, as well Privy-Counsellors as others, fell on their knees, and besought her to take pity on herself, the whole nation, and all their posterity, by punishing the Queen of Scots.

It must be observed, that throughout this whole affair, Elizabeth always pretended to act with regret, and from the necessity she was under of saving her people, whom she beheld in extreme danger. So, the proceeding of these Lords agreed with her designs. The Queen's commission ran in this manner:—

Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, Queen. Defender of the Faith, &c. To the most Reverend Father in Christ, John Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England, and one of our Privy-Council; and to our trusty and well-beloved Sir Thomas Bromley Knight, Chancellor of England, and &c. Greeting[451].

Whereas by an Act of Parliament held in the 26th year of our reign, it was enacted that, &c.

Here was inserted the act mentioned under the last year.

And whereas since the first day of June, in the seven and twentieth year of our reign, divers matters have been compassed and imagined, tending to the hurt of our Royal Person, as well by Mary daughter and heir of James V. King of Scotland, and commonly called Queen of Scots, and dowager of France, pretending title to the Crown of this Realm of England, as by divers other persons, with the privity of the same Mary, as we are given to understand:

And whereas we do intend and determine, that the Act aforesaid be in all and every part thereof duly and effectually executed, according to the tenor of the same and that all offences above said in the Act above said mentioned, as aforesaid, and the circumstances of the same be examined, and sentence or judgment thereupon given., According to the tenour and effect of the said Act.

To you, and the greater part of you, we do give full and absolute power, faculty, and authority, according to the tenour of the said Act, to examine all and singular matters compassed and imagined, tending to the hurt of our Royal Person, as well by the aforesaid. Mary, as by any other person or persons whatsoever, with the privity of the same Mary, and all circumstances of the same and all other offences above said, in the Act above said, as aforesaid, mentioned, and all circumstances of the same, and of every of them; and thereupon, according to the tenor of the Act aforesaid, to give sentence or judgment, as upon good proof of the matter shall appear to you.

And therefore we do command you, that you at certain days and Places, which you, or the greater part of you, shall thereunto fore-appoint, diligently proceed upon the premises in form aforesaid, &c.[452]

Remarks on The Judges

It must be observed, that among the commissioners were the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and Secretary Walsingham, both Elizabeth's most trusty ministers, known enemies of the Queen of Scots, and probably, authors and promoters of the resolution to bring her to a trial. As it was hard to believe, that Elizabeth had taken such a resolution without imparting it to her ministers and Council, and without her council's approbation, it should seem she ought not to have appointed her ministers and privy-counsellors for Mary's judges.

But on the other hand, as she was willing to be sure of the success of the trial, she had a mind doubtless, that persons of so great weight as ministers and privy-counsellors, should be ready to turn the scale, in case of opposition from the other judges,

Thirty-six of the commissioners meeting the 11th [453] of October at Fotheringhay castle in the County of Northampton, where the Queen of Scots was then in custody, sent her Queen Elizabeth's Letter[454], which when she had read, she answered;—

“**She was sorry** the Queen her sister was misinformed of her.

That she had ever thought, the association, and the subsequent acts of Parliament, aimed wholly at her, and that she should bear the blame of whatever was contrived in foreign countries.

That it was very strange, the Queen of England should consider her as a subject, and command her to submit to a trial.

That she was a sovereign Queen, and would do nothing prejudicial to Royal Majesty, to herself, or the King her son.

That besides, the laws and statutes of England were unknown to her, and who were her peers she could not tell.

That she was destitute of counsellors, and all her papers were taken from her.

That she had stirred up no man against " Elizabeth, nor committed any crime.

That she was not to be charged but upon her own words or writings, and she was sure nothing criminal could be produced against her, except the recommending her cause to foreign Princes, which she did not pretend to deny."

On the morrow, the commissioners sent her[455] a copy of her answer, and after it was read to her, she said:—

"It was rightly taken, but she had forgot one very material thing, namely, that it was said in Elizabeth's letters[456] (5), she was subject to the laws of England, because she had long lived under their protection, but all the world knew, she came into England to crave the assistance of the Queen her sister, and had been ever since detained in prison; and therefore had not enjoyed the protection of the laws, nay, had not been able to understand what manner of laws they were."

To be short, she disputed two whole days the authority of the Judges, and would not own, that in any case Elizabeth had other jurisdiction over her, than what was usurped by force. Nay, she persisted in it, after she was threatened to be sentenced for non-appearance, as an absent person. But at last, Hatton, one of the commissioners, made a speech to her which shook her resolution.

He told her, "that indeed she was accused, but not condemned:—

"That if she were innocent, she injured her reputation extremely in avoiding a trial:

That the Queen would be very glad nothing could be proved against her, as he heard her say himself when he took his leave of her[457]."

Had Mary been provided with council, she would doubtless have been told that Hatton's speech tended only to ensnare her, and engage her to answer that she might be condemned by a peremptory sentence. If she had persisted in her refusal, Elizabeth would have been perhaps greatly embarrassed. Though she was revolved to put her to death, she wished however, that the public was convinced of the justice of the thing, in order to avoid part of the blame of so rigorous a proceeding.

But a sentence given upon non-appearance would not have produced this effect, since it could not be denied, that the refusing to plead was founded upon very good reasons. Mary stood out however till the 14th of October, when sending for some of the commissioners, she told them, Hatton's arguments had convinced her of the necessity to make her innocence appear.

Adding, she consented therefore to answer before them, provided her protestations were admitted: to which the commissioners agreed, without approving however the reasons on which it was grounded. Presently after, the judges met in the hall of this castle, to the number of thirty-six, and the Queen came to the same place[458].

When they were seated, the chancellor turning to Mary, said:—

“She was accused of conspiring the destruction of the Queen, the realm of England, and the Protestant religion, and they were commissioned to examine the truth of the accusation, and to hear her answer.”

The Chancellor having done speaking, the Queen rose up and said:—

That she came into England to crave the aid which had been promised her:

That she was a Queen, and no subject of Elizabeth; and if she appeared before them, it was only to secure her honour and reputation.

The Chancellor would not own that any aid had been promised her. As to the protestation he answered:—

“It was in vain, since the law upon which the accusation was grounded, allowed of no distinction in the persons of the transgressors, and therefore it was not to be admitted.”

The Court ordered however that the protestation should be recorded with the Chancellor's answer. This done, the Attorney-General read to her aloud (the commission with) the Act of Parliament [459], and after an account of Babington's plot, concluded, that Mary had broken the Act, because she knew of the conspiracy, and even showed the ways and means to assist it. She answered:—

“She knew not Babington, or ever received any letters from him, or wrote any to him. She never plotted the Queen's destruction, and to prove any such thing. Letters under her own hand ought to be produced, which was impossible. She knew not Ballard, nor ever heard of him, and in a word, being a prisoner, she could not hinder the plots of others.”

Whereupon the copies of Babington's letters to her were read, containing all the circumstances of the conspiracy[460]. It should seem, since her papers were seized, Babington's original letters might have been produced. But as probably she had burnt them, only the copies could be used, which Walsingham took when he had the Originals in his hands. To this Mary answered:—

“Babington might possibly write these letters, and therefore the point was not to know whether he writ them or not, but whether she received them.”

To prove this, there was read Babington's confession, before his execution, wherein he said, he had sent several letters to the Queen of Scots, and received several from her. After that, were read the copies of certain letters in cipher from Mary to Babington, which he had received, where mention was made of the Earls of Arundel and Northumberland. Then the Queen with tears in her eyes, said loud, Alas! what has the noble House of the Howards endured for my sake! She added:—

That Babington might write what he pleased:

That as for her own letters in cipher, which were produced, she knew nothing of them, and it was very easy for her enemies to get her ciphers, and write forged letters in her name:

That in short, the Letters were not her hand-writing; and besides, it was not likely, that to execute the design she was charged with, she should employ the Earl of

Arundel, who was prisoner in the tower, or the Earl of Northumberland, who was very young, and to her entirely unknown.

There were also read Savage's and Ballard's confessions, which ran:—

That Babington communicated to them several letters, which he had received from the Queen of Scots.

To this she answered, with a protestation, that Babington never received any from her. Before I proceed; I shall here make two or three short remarks. First, it is surprising that Babington, Savage, and Ballard should be executed before the Queen of Scots' trial, since their testimony was used against her.

In the next place, hitherto the whole evidence consisted only in Babington's, confession, that he had received letters from the Queen of Scots: but as he was dead, it could not be proved that these were the same letters that were read, which too were only copies of letters deciphered.

My third remark is, that though Mary protested, she never received any letters from Babington, nor writ any to him, Camden must have been satisfied of the contrary, since in his account of the conspiracy, he speaks of a correspondence by letters between Mary and Babington as a thing certain. This is farther confirmed by a little book, entitled. *The History of the Martyrdom of The Queen of Scots*, printed at Paris in 1589, where the Author, though a great friend of Queen Mary, does not deny that she held a correspondence with Babington[461].

After this were produced several letters in cipher from the Queen of Scots, wherein she approved of the conspiracy. These were probably the letters, Walsingham intercepted by Gifford's means, or those he artfully drew out of the hands of the French ambassador. The Queen answered, she writ not those letters, and probably they were forged by her alphabet of ciphers in France, and accused Walsingham of doing it, who so cleared himself, as she seemed satisfied with his answer [462].

But to prove that she writ them, the confessions of Naue and Curie, her secretaries were produced, who owned they writ them by her order.

This is all that passed in the first session, the 14th of October. In the afternoon were read the copies of the letters received by Mary, concerning the conference at Paris between Ballard, Paget, and Mendoza, for invading England, and it was proved by the testimony of Curie her secretary, that she had received them.

She answered, this did not prove her intention to kill the Queen. It is proper to observe here, she was accused of three things; of conspiring the Queen's death; of procuring England to be invaded; and of contriving the destruction of the Protestant religion.

She considered the first, as the principal, to which she was very ready to answer, well knowing she could not, without great injustice, be condemned for the other two. In answer to the proof taken from the testimony of her Secretaries, she said:—

"She believed Curie the Scot to be an honest man[463], but had not the same opinion of Naue the Frenchman, who might possibly be corrupted besides, he abused Curie's easiness in such a manner, that he made him write what he pleased.

In a word, her secretaries might insert in her letters things which she never dictated; and therefore, she ought to be convicted only by her own hand-writing, and not by that of her Secretaries, who would assuredly clear her if they were present."

Remarks on The Proceedings

It cannot be denied that this proceeding was very irregular; first, because three men had been put to death, on whose evidence it was pretended to convict the Queen: Secondly, as her Secretaries, who were alive, were never brought face to face, though their testimony was used.

This was the more strange, as by an act of Parliament passed in the 11th year of this very reign, it was expressly ordained, that the witnesses should be confronted with the parties accused.

Upon this account, doubtless, it was, that the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, perceiving the embarrassment occasioned by the Queen's answer, grounded on the laws of England, thought proper to proceed to other matters. He charged her therefore with having intentions to send the King her son into Spain, and resign to Philip II her right to the Kingdom of England. It is easy to perceive, the first of these accusations was very foreign to the purpose, since the affairs of Scotland were not in dispute. Accordingly she made no answer to it. As to the second, she only said:—

“That by her birth she was presumptive heir to Queen Elizabeth, and it was lawful to convey her right to whom she pleased; but that all this amounted not to any proof of her having consented to the project of killing the Queen,”

It being objected to her, that she had sent her alphabet of ciphers to some Roman Catholics, as Curie had testified, she denied it not, and briefly answered:—

"It was not unlawful to hold correspondence, and negotiate her concerns with men of her religion."

But these objections served only to divert them from the main point, since none of these things were contained in the accusation. At last, she was again urged with the testimonies of her secretaries, to which she made the same answer as before, protesting she knew neither Babington nor Ballard. But, said the Lord Treasurer, you know Morgan very well, who sent Parry over to kill the Queen, and have assigned him a pension. To this she answered:—

"She was ignorant of what Morgan had done, but knew that he had lost all for her sake, and she might as well give him a pension, as Elizabeth give one to Patrick Gray, and the King himself,"

Then they proceeded to the other two articles of the impeachment, concerning the invasion of the Kingdom, and the destruction of the Protestant religion; and to prove that Mary was concerned in these plots, the letters were read which she writ to Mendoza, Inglefield, and the Lord Paget. She answered:—

"That these things did not prove, she had any hand in the conspiracy against the Queen's life: That she had nothing to say to the rest, and had often declared to the Queen herself, she would try all things to procure her own liberty."

In this manner parted the second session.

The next day, the Court being met, Mary repeated her protestation against the authority of her Judges, and required it to be recorded, and a copy delivered to her. She complained:—

"That all her offers for an accommodation were rejected[464], and herself most unworthily dealt with, whilst all her letters were publicly read, in which were many things no way relating to the impeachment."

To this the Lord Treasurer replied:—

"That he was going to answer her in a double capacity, as Commissioner, and as Privy-Counsellor. As commissioner, he told her, her Protestation was recorded, and a copy thereof should be delivered her. As to their authority, it was grounded on the power conferred on them by letters patents under the Queen's own hand, and the Great Seal.

That for the perusing her letters, which she complained of, it was necessary to read them whole and entire, because they contained things, which by their circumstances were so interwoven, that there was no separating them,"

Here she interrupted him, and said,

"Though the circumstances were proved, it would signify nothing, if the principal fact was not: That her integrity depended not upon the credit of her secretaries, since they might very possibly be corrupted;

That these Letters having no superscription, might be directed to others, and many things inferred without her knowledge; but if she had her papers, she could the more easily vindicate herself."

The Lord Treasurer answered:—

"Nothing should be objected but what passed since the 19th of June last, concerning which her memory could furnish her, with what she thought requisite for her defence:

That her papers would be of no service to her, since Babington, and her secretaries, without putting to the rack, had owned, these letters came from her:

That it was left to the commissioners to judge, whether more credit were to be given to her bare negation, than to their affirmation."

He added, as a Privy-Counsellor:—

"That it was true. She had made several essays to procure her liberty, and if they proved fruitless, it was owing to herself and the Scots:

That the Lords of Scotland had refused to give the King in hostage, and when the last treaty was holden concerning her release, Morgan her vassal, sent Parry into England to kill the Queen."

Mary easily perceived the venom of these words, whereby, under colour of justifying the council, the Lord Treasurer would have insinuated to the other commissioners, that she was concerned in Parry's plot. Wherefore, upon hearing him say this,

Ah! (said she) you are my adversary.

Yes, (said he) I am adversary to all Queen Elizabeth's enemies.

Now were read again her letters to Charles Paget, wherein she told him, there was no other way for the King of Spain to reduce the rebellious Netherlanders, but by setting a Catholic on the throne of England. There was read likewise, the copy of Cardinal Allen's letter to her, wherein he called her his most dread Sovereign Lady, and told her, the business was recommended to the Prince of Parma's care.

She answered, still adhering to the first article of the impeachment:—

"**That** Babington, and her secretaries, had accused her to save themselves:

That she had never heard of the six murderers, and all the rest was of no service to prove the principal crime she was accused of:

That she held Allen for a reverend prelate, and acknowledge the Pope for the true head of the Church; neither could she hinder foreigners from giving her what titles they pleased:

That as for her secretaries, she was willing to add to what she had already said of them, that they deserved no credit, for as they had sworn secrecy to her, they could be deemed no other than perjured persons, when they gave in their evidence against her:

That Naue had often writ otherwise than she dictated, and Curie, whatever Naue bid him:

That they had possibly confessed several falsehoods to save their lives, imagining, that her Royalty would screen her from punishment:

That she had never heard of any such man as Ballard, but of one Hallard, who had offered her his service, which however she refused, because she knew him to be one of Walsingham's spies."

It must be confessed, Mary was afforded great advantage, in not confronting the witnesses, though it be a necessary formality in criminal trials. Lastly, were read some particular passages out of Mary's letters to Mendoza, wherein mention was made of her design to convey to the Spaniard, her right to the crown of England. To this she answered:—

"**That** she being close prisoner, and in a declining condition, it seemed good to her friends, that the succession to the crown of England should be settled upon the King of Spain, or some English Catholic; and that a book was sent her to justify the Spaniard's title, which she would not read; but despairing to recover her liberty by any other means, she had resolved not to refuse foreign assistance."

When she had done speaking, the Lord Treasurer asked her if she had any more to say in her defence[465]. To which she answered,

"That she required to be heard in full Parliament, or before the Queen and Council [466]."

Then the Court adjourned till the 25th of October to the Star Chamber at Westminster.

Remarks on Camden's Recital

This is Camden's account of the Queen of Scots trial at Fotheringhay. As there are no better memoirs, we are forced as it were to suppose what he says to be true. There is however but too much cause to suspect, he has curtailed or altered in several places, what he pretends to take from the *Register's Memoirs*.

For instance, it may easily be remarked in this narrative, that whatever is objected to the Queen of Scots, is indeterminate and general, without descending to particulars. Of all the letters that were read for her conviction, he cites not one extract; so that she seems to have been accused of

holding a correspondence by letters with Babington, and other of Elizabeth's enemies, rather than of engaging in a settled plot to kill the Queen, though this was the principal point.

In a word, this historian's partiality for the Queen of Scots on other occasions, gives reason to think, he did not forget himself in this capital article, but used all his art to render doubtful the fact she was accused of. However, as this is only a conjecture, I do not pretend to insist upon it [467]. I shall content myself, in order to clear this affair, with making some observations on this famous Trial.

Reflection on The Trial

It is hardly to be questioned, that Mary's death was determined, when Elizabeth, and her Council, resolved to have her tried by commissioners. But it must not be imagined, their intention was to punish her for attempting the life of Elizabeth. If that had been all, they would never have proceeded to extremities, but would, doubtless have been satisfied with putting it out of her power to contrive any such plots for the future, which would have been easy, by confining her more closely.

But it was not so easy to hinder the Pope, the King of Spain, the House of Guise, the English Catholics, the Irish, the Scottish malcontents, from considering her as a Princess to whom of right belonged the two crowns of England and Scotland, and from using their continual endeavours to restore her to the Throne of Scotland, and place her on that of England, even in Elizabeth's life-time.

Though she had been so closely confined, that she could not herself have been concerned in these plots, it would not have prevented her friends from acting in her favour. Nothing therefore but her death could break their measures, and put an end to the plots which were daily framing on her account.

So, it might with truth be said, that as Elizabeth's death was Mary's life, so Mary's death alone could preserve Elizabeth, and with her, liberty, and the Protestant religion in England. But as it was not likely, Mary, who was the younger, should depart first out of this world by a natural death, recourse was to be had to violence, that the Queen, and the realm, might be freed from their imminent danger.

The share, Mary had in Babington's conspiracy, and which, probably, was greater than what Camden intimates, was not therefore the cause of her condemnation, but the pretence used to be rid of a Queen, on whose life Elizabeth's adversaries built all their hopes. It was therefore Mary's own friends that occasioned her misfortune, by serving her too zealously, or rather, by making her their instrument to execute their grand projects against the Protestant religion.

The Pope flattered himself with restoring, by her means, the Catholic religion in England; and the English Catholics looked upon her, as the only person that could free them from the intolerable yoke of a Protestant government. Philip II. saw no other way to subdue the Netherlanders. In short, the House of Guise, whose ambitious projects are well known, thought to find in her, an infallible means to crush the Huguenots of France, who supported the title of the lawful heir to the crown of that Kingdom.

Mary herself gave too much countenance to all these plots. She was so imprudent, as, being a prisoner, incessantly to confound two things, which could well be distinguished and separated; I mean, her liberty, and her title to the crown of England. She thereby gave Elizabeth occasion to confound them too, and to ruin her, in order to preserve her own life and crown.

These were the real motives of Mary's condemnation. If we consider them politically, they may be said to be good and necessary; but it happens very frequently that policy is repugnant to justice

and equity. Upon this condemnation it is that Elizabeth's enemies have triumphed, and indeed, it is a very fit subject for rhetoric. But if it is considered who they were that exclaimed the loudest against Elizabeth, they will be found to be the very persons, who would have murdered her to set Mary on the throne of England.

Had they succeeded in their design, would their deed have been more just, or more agreeable to the precepts of the Christian religion? Doubtless, it would, were the thing to be tried by the principles of the adversaries to Elizabeth and her religion. But if it were allowed by the laws of religion, justice and equity, to take away the life of Elizabeth, in order to set Mary on the throne, and restore the Catholic religion in England, was it less allowable for the English to put Mary to death, in order to preserve their Queen and religion from the destruction they were continually threatened with? Let us say rather, these maxims are equally blameable and repugnant to the rules of the Gospel, to whatever party they are applied.

Having seen the real motives of Queen Mary's condemnation, there is no great cause to wonder at the irregularities to be observed in her trial. The point was not so much to punish her for her part in the plot, as to satisfy the public she was concerned in it, that her condemnation might be thought the less strange, or rather absolutely necessary for the safety of England.

The Queen and Council believed to have sufficient evidence, that Mary was acquainted with the conspiracy, had consented to it, and promoted the execution to the utmost of her power. This sufficed for their design. They knew the people would easily excuse some irregularities, in an affair where their own preservation was concerned.

Queries Concerning Mary's Trial

Since therefore Mary's condemnation can be considered only as the effect of Elizabeth's policy, it is in vain that the following Queries are put concerning her Trial:—

1. What authority had Elizabeth over her?
2. Whether Mary could be considered as subject to the Laws of England, under colour that she had lived there eighteen years, being a prisoner?
3. Whether it could be said, she had enjoyed during that time the protection of the laws, and be thence inferred, that she ought to be liable to them?
4. Whether, even upon such a supposition, she had enjoyed in her trial the benefit of the laws of England?
5. Whether she were tried by her peers according to the constant and immutable privilege of the English?
6. Who could be her peers?
7. Whether Elizabeth's commission was according to law?
8. Whether the formalities requisite in a trial of this nature were observed?
9. Whether she can be said to have been legally convicted, by the testimony of persons that were dead, and whom it lay in Elizabeth's breast to keep alive and bring face to face?
10. Whether the evidence of her secretaries, who were still alive, could be deemed valid, without being confronted, contrary to express acts of Parliament?

11. Whether a captive Queen's consent to the invasion of a Kingdom, where she is unjustly detained, is a crime worthy of death?

12. Whether the letters in cipher, writ by her secretaries, were a sufficient proof that the whole contents were dictated by her?

13. Lastly, supposing she had given a full and entire consent to the plot, whether the manner of her being detained in England, her long confinement, the loss of her Kingdom procured partly by Elizabeth's secret practices, did not merit, that her crime should be reckoned of a different nature from that of a subject who conspires against his sovereign?

I do not think it possible to vindicate Elizabeth upon each of these queries. We must therefore keep to the necessity she was under, of destroying Mary to save herself, and justify her by the natural law of self-preservation, the only one which can be pleaded in her favour[468].

Sentence Pronounced Against Mary

The commissioners being assembled[469] in the Star-Chamber at Westminster the 25th of October, sent for Naue and Curie, who confirmed upon oath their former evidence, after which sentence was pronounced. It ran in general, that Mary had broken the statute passed the last year. This is all that was divulged.

It is not known whether the commissioners expressly condemned the Queen of Scots to die, or whether, after their judgment of the fact, they left it to the Laws and the Queen to decide what punishment the crime deserved. What follows is all that was published afterwards by the Queen's order:—

That since the first Day of June, in the 27th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, divers matters have been compassed and imagined within this Realm of England, by Anthony Babington and others, with the privity of the said Mary, tending to the hurt, death and destruction of our said Lady the Queen. And also, that since the foresaid day, the said Mary pretending a title to the crown of this realm, has compassed and imagined, within this realm, divers matters tending to the destruction of the Royal Person of our Sovereign Lady the Queen, contrary to the tenor of the statute in the commission aforesaid specified.

It is easy to perceive by this very extract, that the sentence must have been longer and fuller, as may be judged by the terms of his said Mary, which shew that she was mentioned before. But the Queen thought not proper to publish more of it. The author of the Book entitled, *The History of the Martyrdom of Mary Stuart*, says, so great care was taken to conceal this sentence, that he could never possibly recover a copy of it, notwithstanding all his pains. Without doubt (continues he) there were mysteries in it which were not to be divulged.

Declaration of The Judges in Favour of The King of Scotland

The same day, the sentence was pronounced, the Judges declared, it did nothing to derogate from the King of Scotland, that is, his title to the Crown of England Scotland, did still remain entire. But was it their business to give such a determination concerning the succession, when they were not empowered by their commission?

It is visible, they acted by the Queen's direction, who was willing by this means to pacify the King of Scotland. Otherwise, the judges would not have taken upon them to make such a declaration which was beyond their power.

The Parliament Confirms The Sentence

The Parliament meeting four days after[470], on the 29th of October, approved and confirmed the Sentence given against the Queen of Scots. But whether this was without a perfect knowledge, or upon a diligent inquiry, it is hard to know, though afterwards Elizabeth pretended it was not till after a long and serious examination[471]. Be this as it will, the Parliament having confirmed the sentence, presented a petition to the Queen, beseeching her to order it to be put in execution.

The Petition contained reasons taken, not from the heinousness of the crime, but the danger to which Elizabeth and the realm would be exposed, if the Queen of Scots were suffered to live[472]. The Queen returned to this petition an answer, the intent whereof was to shew the Parliament, she was extremely troubled and irresolute.

The Queen's Answer

She had a mind to insinuate, she was inclined to mercy, but that her affection for her people extremely embarrassed her. It was easy to conclude from this speech, she desired to be pressed, that she might not seem to act from a motive of revenge. Here follows the answer; which perfectly discovers Elizabeth's character:—

So many and so great are the bottomless graces and immeasurable benefits bestowed upon me by the Almighty, that I must not only most humbly acknowledge them as benefits, but admire them as miracles, being in no sort able to express them.

And though there liveth not any, that may more justly acknowledge himself bound to God than I, whose life he hath miraculously preserved from so many dangers: yet am I not more deeply bound to give him thanks for any one thing, than for this which I will now tell you, and which I account as a miracle, namely. That as I came to the Crown with the most hearty good-will of all my subjects, so now after a twenty eight years reign, I perceive in them the same, if not greater goodwill towards me; which if once I lose, well might I breathe, but never think I lived.

And now though my life hath been dangerously shot at, yet I protest there is nothing hath more grieved me, than that one not differing from me in sex, of like rank and degree, of the same stock, and most nearly allied unto me in blood, hath fallen into so great a crime.

And so far have I been from bearing her any ill-will, that upon the discovery of certain treasonable practices against me, I wrote unto her secretly, that she would confess them by a private letter unto myself, they should be wrapped up in silence. Neither did I write thus in mind to entrap her, for I knew then as much as she could confess.

And even yet though the matter be come thus far, if she would truly repent, and no man would undertake her cause against me, and if my life alone depended hereupon, and not the safety and welfare of my whole people, I would (I protest un-feignedly) most willingly pardon her. Nay, if England might by my death obtain a more flourishing estate, and a better Prince, I would most gladly lay down my life. For, for your sakes it is, and for my people's, that I desire to live.

As for me, I see no such great cause why I should either be fond to live, or fear to die. I have had good experience of this world; and I know what it is to be a subject, and what to be a Sovereign. Good neighbours I have had, and I have met with bad;

and in trust I have found treason, I have bestowed benefits upon ill-deserves: and where I have done well, have been ill requited.

While I call to mind these things pass, behold things present, and expect things to come, I hold them happiest that go hence soonest. Nevertheless, against such mischief as these I put on a better courage than is common to my sex; so as whatsoever befall me, death shall not take me unprepared.

And as touching these treasons, I will not so prejudice myself or the laws of my Kingdom, as not but to think that she, having been the contriver of the same treasons, was bound and liable to the ancient laws, though the late act had never been made.

So far was it from being made to entrap her, that it was rather intended to forewarn and terrify her from attempting any thing against it. But seeing it was now in force of a Law, I thought good to proceed against her according to the same. But you lawyers are so curious in scanning the nice points of the law and the following of precedents and form, rather than expounding the laws themselves, that by exact observing of your form, she must have been indicted in Staffordshire, and have holden up her hand at the bar, and have been tried by a jury of twelve men.

A proper course, forsooth, of trial against a princess! To avoid therefore such absurdities, I thought it better to refer the examination of so weighty a cause to a good number of the noblest personages of the land, and the judges of the realm: and all little enough. For we princes are set as it were upon stages in the fight and view of all the world; the least spot is soon spied in our garments, a blemish quickly noted in our doings.

It behoved us therefore to be careful that our proceedings be just and honourable. But I must tell you one thing, that by this last act of Parliament, you have brought me to a narrow straight, that I must give order for her death, which is a Princess most nearly allied unto me in blood, and whose practices against me have stricken me into so great grief, that I have been glad to absent myself from this Parliament[473], lest I should increase my sorrow, by hearing it spoken of, and not out of fear of any danger, as some think.

But yet I will now tell you a secret, (though it is well known that I have the property to keep counsel) it is not long since these eyes of mine saw and read an oath, wherein some bound themselves to kill me within a month. Hereby I see your danger in me, which I will be very careful to avoid.

Your association for my safety I have not forgotten, which I never so much as thought of, till a great number of hands, with many obligations, were shewed me. Which as I do acknowledge as a strong argument of your true hearts, and great zeal to my safety, so shall my bond be stronger tied to a great care for your good.

But for as much as this matter now in hand is very rare, and of greatest consequence, I hope you do not look for any present resolution; for my manner is, in matters of less moment than this, to deliberate long upon that which is once to be resolved. In the mean time, I beseech almighty God to illuminate my mind, that I may foresee that which may serve for the good of his Church, the prosperity of the commonwealth, and your safety.

And that delay may not breed danger, we will signify our resolution with all convenience. And whatever the best subjects may expect at the hands of the best Princess, that expects from me to be performed to the full.

Remarks on The Queen's Speech

It is not very difficult to perceive in this speech, notwithstanding her affected obscurity, the double view Elizabeth proposed to herself. One was to make the public believe, she could not, without extreme concern, resolve to put the Queen of Scots to death:

The other, to insinuate to the Parliament, that there was a necessity of dispatching Queen Mary, or resolving to lose the best of Queens, who was very ready to lay down her life for the good of her subjects. She dwelt chiefly upon her tenderness for her people, that they might fear to be deprived of so gracious a Queen, and earnestly require the death of her adversary.

But lest the Parliament's affection for her should not be sufficiently strong, she took care to hint several times, that their own safety depended on her preservation. She said, if her welfare only were at stake, she would readily pardon, since she was not fond of life; but that it was solely the danger of the State, which made her uneasy.

Was not this very plainly saying, the death of the Queen of Scots was necessary for the safety of the realm? She would have it believed, she was inclined to favour Mary, but alleged no reason for her. On the contrary, she made use of the arguments of sex and kindred to aggravate her crime, and clearly set forth the reasons which might determine her to consent to her death.

She magnified the care she had taken, not to suffer her dignity to be debased, by trying her like a common person. This was all the favour she shewed her. But what favour was it to give her judges, among whom were her greatest enemies, persons who had before voted against her in the council, and had been for bringing her to a trial?

Hatton, one of the judges drew her into a snare, by persuading her to answer for herself, and the Lord Treasurer acted in some measure the part of an accuser. On the other hand, we see in several of Walsingham's letters sent from France when he was ambassador, that it was his opinion, Elisabeth could never be safe so long as the Queen of Scots was alive. Was it not a great favour to give her such judges?

In short with what intent did Elizabeth tell the Parliament, she knew for certain some had bound themselves by an oath to kill her within a month? Was it not to incite the two houses to prevent this misfortune by the speedy execution of the sentence given against Mary?

All this shews, that her aim was to engage the Parliament to press her upon that head, that she might in some measure be justified to the world, by ascribing the execution of the sentence to the instances of the Parliament. But the sequel will still more plainly shew it.

Elizabeth Desires Both Houses to Find an Expedient - They Find None and Insist on Their Dismissal

On the 12th day after, the Queen sent the Lord Chancellor to the Upper-House, and pucker[474] to the Lower, to desire them to find some expedient, whereby the Queen of Scots life might be saved, and her own safety, provided for.

The two houses, after a serious debate, answered her, that her safety could not possibly be secured so long, and so long as the Queen of Scots lived. That there were but four ways to be devised to that end, which were all insufficient.

The first was, that the Queen of Scots should seriously repent: but such a repentance was not to be expected, since she would not so much as acknowledge her fault. The second, that she should be kept with a closer guard, and bound to her good demeanour by bond and oath. The third, that

she should give hostages. But these two ways were insufficient, since if the Queen's life were once taken away, all these precautions would vanish.

The fourth, that she should depart the Kingdom. But this was the most dangerous: for if, whilst a prisoner, she stirred up so many in her favour, what would she do if she were at liberty? In a word, the two Houses in their answer represented to the Queen, that if it were injustice to deny execution of the Law to the meanest of her subjects, how much more to the whole body of the people, unanimously and with one voice suing for the same.

They who have the least knowledge what influence the court-party usually have upon the two Houses, will very easily judge, that the Parliament would never have expressed themselves in this manner, if they had not known it to be grateful to the Queen. But to discover more fully Elizabeth's character, it will be necessary to insert her answer, which will evidently shew, not her perplexity and uncertainty, as she pretended, but her extreme dissimulation, on this article.

The Queen's Speech to Parliament

FULL grievous is the way, whose going on, and the end, yield nothing but cumber for the hire of a laborious journey. I have this day been in greater conflict with myself, than ever in all my life, whether I should speak, or hold my peace.

If I speak, and not complain, I shall dissemble; and if I should be silent, your labour taken were all in vain. If I should complain, it might seem strange and rare. Yet I confess, that my most hearty desire was, that some other means might have been devised to work your security, and my safety, than this which is now propounded.

So I cannot but complain, though not of you, yet unto, you, that I perceive by your petitions, that my safety dependeth wholly upon the death of another. If there be any that think, I have prolonged the time, of purpose to make a counterfeit shew of clemency, they do me the most undeserved wrong, as he knoweth which is the searcher of the most secret thoughts of the heart.

Or if there be any that be persuaded, that the commissioners durst not pronounce other sentence, as fearing thereby to displease me, or to seem to fail of their care for my safety, they do but heap upon me most injurious conceits. For either those whom I have put in trust have failed of their duties; or else they signified unto the commissioners in my name, that my will and pleasure was, that every one should deal freely, according to his conscience; and what they would not openly declare, that they should reveal unto me in private.

It was of my most favourable mind towards her, that I desired some other means might be found out to prevent this mischief. But since now it is resolved, that my surety is most desperate without her death, I have a most inward feeling of sorrow, that I, which have in my time pardoned so many rebels, winked at so many treasons, or neglected them with silence, must now seem to shew cruelty upon so great a Princess.

I have, since I came to the Crown of this Realm, seen many defamatory books and pamphlets against me, accusing me to be a tyrant. Well fare the writers' hearts; I believe their meaning was to tell me news. And news indeed it was to me, to be branded with the note of tyranny.

I would it were as great news to hear of their impiety. But what is it which they will not write now, when they shall hear that I have given consent, that the executioner's hands should be imbrued in the blood of my nearest kinswoman? But so far am I

from cruelty, that, to save mine own life, I would not offer her violence; neither have I been so careful how to preserve mine own life, as how to preserve both: which that it is now impossible, I grieve exceedingly.

I am not so void of Judgment, as not to see mine own perils before mine eyes; nor so mad to sharpen a sword to cut mine own throat; nor so careless, as not to provide for the safety of mine own life. But this I consider with myself, that many a man would put his own life in danger, to save a Princess' life: I do not say so will I. Yet have I many times thought upon it.

But seeing so many have both written and spoken against me, give me leave, I pray you, to say somewhat in my own defence, that ye may see what manner of woman I am, for whose safety you have passed such careful thoughts. Wherein as I do with most thankful heart consider your vigilant care; so am I sure I shall never requite it, had I, as many lives as you all.

When first I took the Sceptre, I was not unmindful of God the giver, and therefore began my reign with His Service, and the religion I have been both born in, bred in, and, I trust shall die in.

And though I was not ignorant how many perils I should be set withal at home for altering religion, and how many great princes abroad of a contrary profession, would attempt all hostility against me: yet was I no whit dismayed, knowing that God, whom only I respected, would defend both me and my cause.

Hence it is, that so many treacheries and conspiracies have been attempted against me, that I rather marvel that I am, than muse that I should now be alive at this day, were it not that God's holy hand hath protected me, beyond all expectation.

Then, to the end I might make the better progress in the art of swaying the sceptre, I entered into long and serious cogitations, what things were worthy and fitting for Kings to do; and I found it most necessary that they should be abundantly furnished with those special virtues, justice, temperance, prudence, and magnanimity. As for the two latter, I will not boast myself, my sex doth not permit it.

But for the two former, I dare say, (and that without ostentation) I never made a difference of persons, where right was one. I never preferred for favour, whom I thought not fit for worth: I never bent my ear to credit a tale that was first told: nor was so rash to corrupt my judgment with prejudice, before I heard the cause.

I will not say but many reports might haply be brought me into much favour of the one side or the other: For we Princes cannot hear all ourselves. Yet this I dare say boldly, my judgment ever went with the truth, according to my understanding. And as full well Alcibiades wished his friend, not to give any answer till he had run over the letters of the alphabet; so have I not used rash and sudden resolutions in anything.

And therefore as touching your counsels and consultations, I acknowledge them to be so careful, provident, and profitable, for the preservation of my life, and to proceed from minds so sincere, and to me most devoted, that I shall endeavour myself, all I can, to give you cause to think your pains not ill bestowed, and strive to make myself worthy of such subject. And now for your petition, I pray you for this present to content yourselves with an answer without answer.

Your Judgment I condemn not, neither do I mistake your reasons; but pray to accept my thankfulness, excuse my doubtfulness, and take in good part my answer, answer-less. I should say, I would not do what you request, I might say perhaps more

than I think; and if I should say I would do it, I might plunge myself into peril, whom you labour to preserve; which in your wisdoms and discretions, ye would not that I should, if ye consider the circumstances of place, time, and the manners and conditions of men.

This speech, which was of the same nature and spirit with the former, was not an answer to the petition of the two Houses, as the Queen herself owned, but only an intimation to the English, how imprudent it would be to hazard the life of so good a Queen, in order to save Mary's. She seemed in a great perplexity, and yet gave to understand, she was fully determined. And indeed, since she preferred the good of her subjects before all other things, and Mary's death was unnecessary to them, what could be the occasion of her doubts?

In comparing the reasons which inclined her to mercy, with those which concerned her own safety, there was need of no great penetration, to see to which side she would turn, however irresolute she seemed.

So, in this, as in the former speech, her sole aim was to make the public believe, she yielded with reluctancy to the solicitations of the Parliament, though she took care not to object any strong reasons to these solicitations. But her actions were still plainer indications than her speeches, of what passed in her thoughts.

Immediately after this answer without answer, the Parliament was prorogued[475], for fear, doubtless, her feigned perplexities should be taken literally, and some expedient found to save the Queen of Scots. After what had been done, Elizabeth had no farther occasion for the Parliament, and in causing the sentence to be executed, could say, she only yielded to the pressing instances of the two Houses.

It will perhaps be thought strange, that I am thus peremptory in a thing so hard to be known, as Elizabeth's inmost thoughts. But in my opinion, very evident proofs may be drawn both from her actions and words, that throughout this whole affair, she acted with great dissimulation.

Mary is Informed of Her Sentence

A few days after the prorogation of the Parliament, the Lord Buckhurst and Beale were sent to the Queen of Scots. They had orders to tell her, that her judges had condemned her to die, that the Parliament had confirmed the sentence, and desired the execution thereof, believing, if she remained alive, the religion established in England could not subsist.

She received the news with great resolution, and even seemed to triumph, that religion was the cause of her death[476]. Then she said, with some emotion, it is no wonder if the English, who have often put their own sovereigns to death, should treat in the same manner, a Princess sprung from the blood of their Kings.

The French Ambassador Solicits in Her Favour

L'Aubespine the French ambassador, who was entirely devoted to the house of Guise, stopped, for some days, the publication of the sentence by his solicitations. But at last, It was proclaimed all over London[477] by the Queen's express order, who forgot not to declare to the people that her consent was extorted by the pressing entreaties of the Parliament.

In the proclamation the Queen said, that being informed of the Queen of Scots devices, the Lords of the Council, with many others, earnestly besought her to bring her to justice, and try her in the most honourable manner. That upon these instances she granted a commission to forty two Lords, thirty six of whom met at Fotheringhay, and after a very first examination, gave sentence to this effect:—

That Mary had broken the statute made the last year:

That the Parliament having examined the sentence, and the proofs on which it was founded, required the execution thereof, notwithstanding her frequent instances, that some other expedient might be found:

That therefore, moved with her own and the nation's welfare, she had ordered the sentence to be notified to her good subjects.

Mary's Letter to Elizabeth

Mary, when she received the news of this publication, Mary plainly saw there was no mercy to be expected. She writ a long letter to Elizabeth, desiring certain favours concerning her death, burial, and servants[478]. But it is uncertain, whether this letter was ever delivered.

The King of Scotland writ also to Queen Elizabeth, and sent Patrick Gray and Robert Melvil to implore her mercy for the Queen his mother; but it was to no purpose. Nay, it is said, Gray, who had been many years attached to Elizabeth's interest, after having publicly solicited her to favour Mary, advised her in private to make her away, saying, A dead woman bites not.

Henry III. sent also the president de Bellieure into England to entreat Elizabeth in behalf of the condemned Queen. The ambassador discharged his commission like a man who seemed very desirous to succeed. He presented a long memorial, which was published, containing the strongest reasons, he could devise, to persuade Elizabeth to spare the unfortunate Queen; to which memorial the Queen returned an answer in the margin of each article. The substance of the answers was,

"**That** things were come to that point, that one or other of the two Queens must perish, and Elizabeth flattered herself that the King of France had her interest no less at heart than Mary's."

The Ambassador's Secret Orders

But if du Maurier is to be credited, in his preface to his father's memoirs, the ambassador aided the counterfeit, and imposed upon the world and Mary's friends. He affirms to have heard his father say, that Bellievre, though he feigned to have instructions to the contrary, had private orders to solicit the death of the Queen of Scots[479].

This is not unlikely, considering the situation of the affairs of France at that time, and the King's just apprehensions of the Duke of Guise's ambitious designs[480].

1587 AD] Whilst all the world was in expectation of the effects of this extraordinary sentence, the Court discovered, that the ambassador, had bribed two assassins[481]to murder the Queen. One of the villains repenting and informing the ministers of the plot, the ambassador was desired to come to the Lord Treasurer's house where the Council was assembled, and the two witnesses were brought face to face.

If Camden is to be credited, he made but an ill defence, contenting himself with pleading the privilege of ambassadors, who were accountable only to their own masters. The Lord Treasurer, without allowing or disputing this privilege, gravely reprov'd him, and advised him to beware for the future how he provoked a Queen, who was too much injured already, and had it in her power to be revenged. It must be observed, the French translator of Camden's Annals, thought fit to pass over in silence this whole conspiracy.

It was no proper season to inquire any farther into the circumstances of this plot, which probably was entirely owing to the ambassador's furious zeal for the House of Lorrain. Nay, who knows whether it were not a snare laid for him, to make him instrumental, contrary to his intention, in hastening the Queen of Scots execution?

When this affair became public, it was every where said, there was no safety for the Queen so long as Mary was alive. This was precisely what the Court wished, that the people being satisfied of the necessity of executing the sentence, might be less attentive to the irregularities. Camden says, Elizabeth was still in suspense and distracted in her thoughts, not being able to resolve to put to death a Queen her near relation, over whom she had no jurisdiction.

He adds, means were found however to determine her, by spreading a report that England was going to be invaded:

That the Spanish fleet was already arrived at Milford Haven:

That the Duke of Guise was landed in Sussex with an army:

That the Queen of Scots was escaped out of prison, and was raising troops in the north:

That several plots were on foot to kill the queen, and set the City of London on fire:

Yea, that the Queen was dead. By these artifices, according to that historian, Elizabeth was prevailed with to fight a warrant for Mary's execution. For my part, who verily believe Mary's death was resolved, even before her trial, I rather think all these reports were spread by the emissaries of the court, to terrify the people, and to let them see how necessary Mary's death was.

There is not the least probability, that the Queen and her Ministers should suffer themselves to be deceived by such reports, the falsehood whereof it was so easy for them to discover. But Camden's aim is too infinite, that Elizabeth was convinced of Mary's innocence, and therefore distracted in her thoughts.

We are now come to the last act of the tragedy, for extreme for so it may well be called with respect to the Queen of Scots, though with regard to Elizabeth it was a real comedy, or at least a continued scene of dissimulation, acted so artfully, that it can hardly be conceived how it could be carried farther.

Before Elizabeth ordered the commission to try Mary to be drawn, several Lords, as I said, cast themselves at her feet, and begged her to take pity of them, and their posterity, and to provide, by Mary's death, for the security of the Church and State. Afterwards, when sentence was given, she waited till she was twice solicited by the Parliament, with the sharp reproach that she denied her people justice.

To carry on the farce, some formalities were likewise to be acted after the publication of the sentence, before the warrant was signed for execution. All this was done: but there was still something more. Elizabeth undertook to make the public believe, the execution was done against her will, and without her knowledge, and the method she used to accomplish it was this.

Elizabeth Draws Davison Her Secretary into a Snare

Davison, without his knowing it, was her instrument to act this sort of comedy. A little before the Queen of Scots trial, he was made secretary of State, and very likely, was put into that office on purpose to be ensnared, and made accountable for Mary's death. All the forementioned

rumours being spread, and the Queen feigning to be terrified, delivered to Davison a writing signed with her own hand, and sealed with her signet, commanding her to draw a warrant under the Great Seal for the Queen of Scots execution, but enjoined him withal to keep the warrant by him[482]. and acquaint no man therewith[483]

The Lord Chancellor however must have been informed of it, unless she had taken the Great Seal from him and given it to Davison, of which there have been instances. Be this as it will, the next day she ordered Davison by Killegrew not to draw the warrant[484]. Whereupon Davison came to the Queen, and told her, it was drawn and under seal already; at which she was angry, and blamed him for making such haste.

The Warrant was dated the 1st of February, and directed to the Earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Kent, Cumberland [and Pembroke] to see the Queen of Scots executed in their presence. Meanwhile, though the Queen seemed displeased with the secretary for making too much haste, she left the warrant in his hands, without telling him what he was to do with it.

This puzzled him extremely, since by her contrary proceedings with respect to the warrant, she had not disclosed to him her intention. In this uncertainty, he chose to impart the transaction to a Privy-Counsellor, who was of the opinion that the rest of the Counsellors should be informed, that nothing might be done rashly, and Davison fell into the snare. Whereupon the council being met, it was unanimously resolved to execute the warrant, though nothing was easier than to advertise the Queen of their embarrassment.

To that end, the warrant was given to Beal, who took care to acquaint the four Lords, to whom it was addressed, and departed for Fotheringhay with two executioners. Certainly, it is very hard to believe, that a score of Privy-Counsellors (among whom were the Queen's ministers, and her intimate confidants) would have undertaken to order the warrant to be executed, unknown to her[485], had they not been persuaded it was agreeable to her will. Especially as Davison had communicated the secret to them, only because of his uncertainty concerning the Queen's intention[486].

After Beal's departure, the Queen told Davison, she had changed her mind. This ought to have astonished the Council, who had ordered execution by their own authority, and yet no care was taken to recall Beale though there were seven days space between his departure, and Mary's execution.

But what is still more strange, is, that during these seven days, though the Queen had declared that her mind was altered, not one of her counsellors or ministers thought of informing her of what was transacting. This is a clear evidence, that it was very well known, she did not desire to be informed.

The Queen of Scots is Beheaded

However this be, the four Lords, appointed to see execution done, being come to Fotheringhay, admonished the Queen of Scots to prepare for her death[487], and on the morrow, being the 8th of February, they saw her beheaded.

I shall not relate here all the circumstances of this tragedy. It suffices to say in a word, that she died with great resolution, and in an inviolable attachment to her religion. The Earl of Kent telling her. That her life would be the death of the Protestant religion in England, she rejoiced, and said, she was condemned as guilty of plotting against the Queen of England's life, and yet the Earl of Kent had just told her, she was to die for her religion, wherein she gloried.

If Camden is to be credited, she protested, she knew nothing of Babington's practices, and that her secretaries were suborned to witness against her[488].

Elizabeth Expresses Her Grief at The Execution

The news of Mary's execution being brought to Elizabeth, she appeared extremely displeased. sighs, tears, lamentation, and mourning, were the signs she gave of her grief, which seemed immoderate. She drove the Privy-Counsellors from her presence[489], and commanded them to be examined in the star-chamber, and Davison to be tried for his disobedience. A few days after, she sent the following letter to the King of Scotland by Robert Carey.

My dear Brother;

I Would you knew, though not felt, the extreme dolour that overwhelmeth my mind, for that miserable accident which farre contrary to my meaning hath befallen. I have sent this kinsman of mine[490], whom ere now it hath pleased you to favour, to instruct you truly of that, which is too irksome for my pen to tell you.

I beseech you, that as God, and many may know, how innocent I am in this case, so you will believe me, that if I had done it, I would have abode by it; I am not so base minded, that the fear of any living creature, should make me afraid to do what is just; or done, to deny the same:

I am not so degenerate, nor carry so vile a mind. But as not to disguise, fits most a King, so will I never dissemble my actions, but cause them shew as I mean them. This assure yourself from me, that as I know it was deserved, if I had meant it, I would never over another's shoulders, and to impute to myself that, which I did not so much as think of: I will not.

The circumstances you will be pleased to hear of this bearer: And for my part, think you have not in the world a more loving kinswoman, and more dear friend, nor any that will watch more carefully to preserve you and your state. And if any would otherwise persuade you, think they hear more good will to others, than to you. Thus in haste, I leave to trouble you, beseeching God to send you a long reign.

Davison is Tried

Whilst Carey was upon the road, Davison was cited into the star-chamber, to answer to the accusation of contempt and disobedience entered against him. The accusation ran:—

That he had contemned the Queen's orders, broke his oath of allegiance, and neglected his duty:

That the Queen never intending, (for reasons best known to herself) that the Queen of Scots, though condemned, should have been put to death, had however, for preventing of dangers, commanded a warrant for her execution to be drawn, and committed it to his trust and secrecy:

But that he forgetting his duty, had acquainted the Council therewith, and put the warrant in execution unknown to the Queen.

Davison answered:—

That he was extremely sorry to find himself accused of contempt to the Queen, who had loaded him with favours:

That he chose rather to confess himself guilty of the crimes he was charged with, than contest with her Majesty, since he could not vindicate himself without failing in the respect and duty he owed her.

He protested however, he had offended wholly out of ignorance, being persuaded he had done nothing contrary to the Queen's will and pleasure.

He affirmed:—

That when the Queen blamed him for making such haste to get the warrant ready, she gave some intimation, but no express command, that he should keep it by him, neither did he believe himself guilty of breach of trust, by communicating it only to the Council. As to his being accused of not recalling the warrant, after she had told him she had changed her mind, he protested, it was the opinion of the whole " Council, that it should be presently executed, lest the Queen or State should receive any hurt by too long a delay.

After he had done speaking, the Queen's Council pressed him with his own confession, and with what the Lord Treasurer had testified. That, doubting whether the Queen had absolutely consented to have execution done, Davison affirmed, it was her intention. Then Davison, with tears in his eyes, prayed the Queen's council not to urge him any farther, but remember that he would not contest with the Queen, to whose conscience, and his judges censure, he entirely submitted himself.

After that were made several speeches, some tending to aggravate his offence, and others, to shew he had only acted imprudently[491]. In short, he was condemned to be fined in ten thousand pounds, and imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure.

The Lord Lumley, in his Speech on this occasion, was not satisfied with blaming Davison; but, accusing chiefly the whole Council, said:—

Never was there such a contempt against a prince heard or read of, that Privy-Counsellors, in the Queen's palace, and when they had free access to her, should attempt such a thing without her advice or knowledge; protesting, that if his own Son were guilty of the like fault, he would be the first to condemn him.

But it was not the Queen's intention to punish the counsellors, who, probably, had acted only by her private orders. And therefore to screen them from these and the like reproaches, the Lord Privy-Seal told the assembly, that though the Queen, being justly offended with her council, had left them to a first examination; yet now being sensible, they had transgressed out of an excess of zeal for her and the State, she forgave them.

Thus Davison was the only sacrifice, though the Council was still more guilty than, he, supposing he had acted contrary to the Queen's intention. Davison remained long in prison, without obtaining any other favour, than some presents of money from the Queen, to relieve his wants.

Camden, whose aim was not to vindicate Elizabeth in any thing relating to the Queen of Scots, has inserted in his *Annals*, an apology, which Davison, being in prison, sent himself to Secretary Walsingham, and leaves his readers to give their Judgment of it, without making himself any remark. The Apology was worded in the following manner:—

The Queen, after the departure of the French and Scotch ambassadors, of her own accord, commanded me to deliver her the warrant for executing the sentence against the Queen of Scots:

When I had delivered it, she readily signed it with her own hand:

When she had so done, she commanded it to be sealed with the Great-Seal of England; and in a jesting manner said; "Go tell all this to Walsingham, who is now sick; though I fear he will die for sorrow when he hears it."

She added also the reasons of her deferring it so long; namely, lest she might seem to have been violently or maliciously drawn thereto, whereas in the meantime she was not ignorant how necessary it was. Moreover she blamed Powlet and Drury, that they had not eased her of this care, and wished that Walsingham would feel their pulses touching this matter.

The next day after the warrant was under the Great-Seal, she commanded me by Killebrew, that it should be done, and when I had informed her that it was done already, she found fault with such great haste, telling me that in the judgment of some wise men, another course might be taken:

I answered, that the course which was just, was always best and safest. But fearing lest she would lay the fault upon me, (as she had laid the putting of the Duke of Norfolk to death upon the Lord Burleigh,) I acquainted Hatton with the whole matter, protesting that I would not plunge myself any deeper in so great a business.

He presently imparted it to the Lord Burleigh, and the Lord Burleigh to the rest of the Council; who all consented to have the execution hastened, and every one of them vowed to bear an equal share in the blame, and sent Beal away with the warrant and letters.

The third day after, when by a dream which she told of the Queen of Scots death, I perceived that she wavered in her resolution, I asked her whether she had changed her mind? She answered, No; but another course (said she) might have been devised: and withal she asked me, whether I had received any answer from Powlet? whose letter when I had shewed her, wherein he flatly refused to undertake that which stood not with honour and justice; she waxing angry, accused him and others (who had bound themselves by the association) of perjury and breach of their vow, as those that had promised great matters for their Prince's safety, but would perform nothing.

Yet there are (said she) who will do it for my sake. But I shewed her how dishonourable and unjust a thing this would be and withal into how great danger she would bring Powlet and Drury by it. For if she approved the fact, she would draw upon herself both danger and dishonour, not without censure of injustice; and if she disallowed it, she would utterly undo men of great desert, and their whole posterity.

And afterwards she gave me a light check the same day that the Queen of Scots was executed, because she was not yet put to death.

If this apology be true, one cannot desire a more convincing proof of Elizabeth's dissimulation. The point was, not Mary's death, for that was fully determined, but the manner. It appears in this writing, that Elizabeth would have been glad, the Queen of Scots two keepers had dispatched her, that she might have been able to clear hereof, which she would not have failed to do, by putting them both to death. There remains but one scruple, which is, that we have this from Camden only, whose testimony cannot be reckoned very certain[492].

The King of Scotland having received the news of the Queen his mother's tragical end, expressed a very lively resentment at the same. His first thoughts prompted him to revenge.

The King of Scotland Shows at First a Great Deal of Resentment

The States of Scotland, then assembled, promised him their assistance, and there were not wanting some about him, who persuaded him to join with the Pope, France and Spain, to revenge so great an affront.

Others advised him not to break with England, for fear of hazarding upon the uncertain chance of war, his undoubted title to the crown of that Kingdom; especially as the English only wanted perhaps a pretence, to hinder a Scotch prince from ascending the throne of England, which therefore he ought to take care not to furnish them with.

Some were of opinion, he should declare openly for neither of the two religions, but keep himself always ready to improve the events, time should produce. Carey arriving shortly after, the King refused him audience, and it was not without great difficulty, that he was persuaded to receive Elizabeth's letter. We find however in Melvil's Memoirs, that some Lords of the Court of Scotland had writ to England, that whenever Queen Mary should be put to death, the King her son would not highly resent it; and accordingly, Melvil affirms, he quickly forgot it.

When Elizabeth heard that King James's grief began to abate, she caused some of those whom she most trusted[493], to represent to him:—

That in the present situation of Scotland, there was no room to expect that a war with England could be successful:

If he pretended to rely on foreign aid, his mother's sad experience might teach him how uncertain that was. The King of France would be so far from countenancing him, that it was his interest to hinder the two Kingdoms of Great Britain from being united under the same dominion.

Nay, he would oppose to the utmost of his power, the success of his arms, for fear he should afterwards assist the Duke of Guise, who aspired to the crown. The King of Spain in pretending to aid him, would only serve himself, on account of his groundless claim to the crown of England, as descended from the House of Lancaster.

Even the Queen his mother had made a will the night before her death, whereby she excluded him from the succession, in case he persevered in the Protestant religion, and nominated Philip II. for her heir, which will was sent into Spain.

He was therefore to expect no assistance from Philip, but rather to consider him as an enemy. In a word, if he made war upon Elizabeth, and the Parliament passed an act against him, he ran the hazard of being excluded for ever from a noble succession, which he could not fail to enjoy provided he would but remain in peace.

To all these arguments it was also added:—

That Elizabeth had an affection for him, and besides, would think herself bound in honour and duty to repair the mother's wrongs, by leaving her crown to the son, in case he gave her no occasion to do otherwise.

These representations had their effect. James saw it to be his interest to keep fair with Elizabeth, and that, added to the sentence given against Davison, which was sent him, so stifled his resentment, that he shewed no farther marks of it[494].

Meanwhile, Elizabeth hearing the Spaniard was making great preparations to invade England [495] sent Drake with a good fleet[496] upon the coast of Spain, with orders to burn all Spanish

ships he meet. This Admiral's first expedition was to the Port of Cadiz, where he burnt above a hundred vessels laden with victuals and ammunition, and a large galleon of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, with another of Ragusa, full of rich merchandize.

Then returning to Cape St. Vincent, he did great damage to the inhabitants along the coast; after which he came to the mouth of the Tagus, where he in vain provoked the Marquis of Santa Cruz, by plundering and burning the ships he found there. From thence he sailed to the Azores, and meeting in the way with a rich Carack called the St. Philip, returning from the East-Indies, easily took her[497].

The provisions and stores which the Spaniards lost a Cadiz, the taking of the galleons and Carack, and the rest of the damages they sustained, obliged Philip to defer till the next year the expedition, he had projected against England[498]. While Drake was acting in Europe against Spain, Cavendish was doing the same in America, having entered the South-Sea by the straits of Magellan. He plundered without opposition the coasts of Chili and Peru, and did the Spaniards great damage in those parts.

The States of The United Provinces Complain of The Earl Leicester

I left, about the end of the last year, the Earl of Leicester returning into England, after having set on foot his project to become sovereign of the United Provinces, by cherishing confusion and discord. Before his departure, the States began to perceive his designs, and the orders he left when he went away, and which the officers, his creatures, punctually executed, fully confirmed their suspicions.

For this reason they sent ambassadors to Elizabeth to complain of him: but his credit, and the Queen of Scots affair, which then held the Court employed, hindered the ambassadors from being so speedily dispatched as they desired. It even happened in this interval, that Stanley and York, who held of the Earl of Leicester the Governments of Deventer, and a fort near Zutphen, delivered these two places to the Duke of Parma. So, the States no longer trusting that General, gave the command of their army to Count Maurice of Nassau, the late Prince of Orange's second son.

They did likewise some other things which plainly shewed that, having discovered the Earl of Leicester's designs, they would not suffer him to put them in practice. In the meanwhile, the Duke of Parma besieging Sluys, the Earl returned from England to raise the siege, but had not the good fortune to succeed[499].

The Earl Attempts to Become Master of Many Places

At last, finding he was every where un-trusted, he resolved to execute by force the project he had formed. To that end, he would have made himself master of several places at once, in the heart of the country, to keep the rest in awe. But his design to surprise Leyden being discovered in season, all correspondence between him and the States entirely ceased.

Whereupon the Queen was obliged to recall him, and send in his room (Peregrine Barty) Lord Willoughby (of Eresby) but with no other authority than the command of the English Forces. Then the States appointed Count Maurice their Captain General.

Philip II Prepares to Invade England

Meantime the King of Spain, ever intent upon the project of invading England, continued to make extraordinary preparations. This project was formed ever since the Queen of Scots had been persuaded to convey to him her right to England, as being the only means to restore there

the Catholic religion. According to the received maxim in the Church of Rome, that a heretic is unworthy and incapable of enjoying a crown, Philip II thought he might justly claim that of England, as being the next Catholic Prince descended from the House of Lancaster.

But that the reader may the better know the ground of his pretensions, it will be proper to cast an eye upon his genealogy, which shews him sprung from the two daughters of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, fourth son of Edward III. Upon this descent therefore, and the Queen of Scots conveyance and will, he had projected the conquest of England.

Elizabeth, not being ignorant of it, took all possible care to be in a posture of defence, and both coloured their preparations with divers pretences. To amuse Elizabeth, Philip sent and proposed her mediation for a peace between him and the revolted provinces of the Netherlands. Elizabeth perfectly knew Philip's aim, and, to amuse him in her turn, accepted the mediation, in hopes, the negotiation would give her more time to be prepared.

She proposed therefore to the States a peace with Spain, intimating, they could not refuse to enter into treaty, without incurring the blame of continuing the war out of obstinacy. She promised them moreover to have their interest as much at heart as her own. But the States absolutely refused to treat, knowing, by frequent experience, that such negotiations were ever fatal to them.

Negotiations For A Peace Between The Netherlands and Spain

Nevertheless, she sent plenipotentiaries[500] into Flanders, imagining the States would be forced, as she hinted, to agree to her decisions with Spain. Three months passed before the place of congress could be settled. Elizabeth required as preliminaries, a general pardon for the confederates; that the towns of the Netherlands should enjoy all their ancient privileges, and the old alliance between England and Spain be renewed; that some good fund should be assigned her for the payment of what was due from the States, and the forces on both sides be disbanded.

As to religion, the Spaniards demanded, that it should be entirely as the King pleased, since he did not hinder Elizabeth from settling it in her dominions according to her pleasure. Elizabeth did not insist much upon this article, whether she believed every sovereign to have a right to impose a religion upon his people, or, to amuse the Spaniard, feigned to relax that she might not obstruct a negotiation, the continuance whereof could not but be advantageous to her.

Be this as it will, she went so far, as to be satisfied that the exercise of the reformed religion should be tolerated two years only in the United Provinces. As for the Places in her possession, she refused not to restore them, provided she was reimbursed.

Upon these mutual demands, the Spaniards took care to delay the conclusion of the preliminaries, imagining that the hopes of a speedy peace would prevent Elizabeth's preparations against their attacks. They refused to come to any agreement with respect to religion; and as for Elizabeth's charges in supporting the Confederates, they pretended they were to be balanced by the expenses she had put their King to.

At length, the preparations which were making against England in all the Spanish ports, became so public, that this feigned negotiation broke off without any success, after lasting till March the next year.

The Pope Sides With Philip

I have already mentioned Philip's pretensions to England and Ireland. Ferdinand the Catholic his great grandfather had not so plausible a claim to the Kingdom of Naples and Navarre which he seized, and which still are part of the Spanish monarchy. But besides these pretensions, Philip

made use of another thing, very proper to impose upon the world, namely, a great zeal for the restoration of the Catholic religion in the three Kingdoms of Great-Britain.

By that he had persuaded Pope Sixtus V to come into the project, the execution whereof would be as well glorious as advantageous to both, but of which Philip was to bear the whole charge. As for Sixtus, he had nothing to contribute, but what the Popes were wont to supply on such occasions, namely. vows, prayers, and anathema's.

Bull of Sixtus Bull Against Elizabeth

To countenance therefore the King of Spain's Bull of undertaking, the Pope thundered against Elizabeth a Bull, absolving her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and giving her Kingdoms to the first that should seize them[501]. This was the King of Spain, who was now ready to embrace the Pope's offer.

He had prepared in Portugal at Naples, and Sicily, a fleet, called the invincible Armada. It consisted of one hundred and fifty great ships, in which were embarked nineteen thousand men, and two thousand six hundred and thirty pieces of Cannon[502]. It was to be commanded by the Marquis De Santa Cruz, but that admiral dying whilst the fleet was equipping, the Duke of Medina-celi was appointed in his room.

On the other hand, the Duke of Parma had caused an army of thirty thousand men[503] to advance towards the coasts of the Low-Countries, and prepared a great number of vessels to transport them, in order to join the Spanish fleet, and land in England[504]. The project was to station the fleet at the mouth of the Thames, to assist the troops who were to march directly to London.

Elizabeth, who wanted not good spies, having timely notice of these great preparations provided for the defence of her Kingdom with great care and diligence.. She fitted out a considerable fleet, which however was inferior to that of Spain, both in the number and largeness of the ships, and gave the command to Charles (Lord Howard of Effingham High-Admiral of England), and very expert in sea affairs.

He had for vice-admirals, Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher, three of the best sea-officers then in the World[505]. On the other hand, Henry Seymour (second son) of the late Duke of Somerset, lay upon the coast of Flanders, with forty sail English and Dutch, to hinder the Prince of Parma from joining the Spanish fleet.

Moreover, Elizabeth had in England an army of forty thousand men, whereof three thousand, under the command of the Earl of Leicester, were posted near the Thames mouth The rest were near the Queen's person, ready to march where it should be deemed necessary[506]. Besides this, there was in each county a body of militia well armed, under leaders who had orders to join one another as occasion should require.

It is certain, there are no trained-bands in the world more proper for a bold action than those of England. So in case the Spaniards had landed, they would have met with their match. The Sea-Ports were fortified[507] as much as the time would permit, and signals were every where appointed to shew the places where the troops were to march.

In short, it was resolved, that if the Spaniards made a descent, the country about them should be laid waste, that they might have nothing to subsist upon but what they brought from the fleet[508] (i).

This was the course taken by Francis I. in Provence against Charles V, with success that answered his expectations. These measures being taken, the enemy was expected with uncommon alacrity,

though it should seem that on such an occasion every one should have been in the utmost consternation[509] (2).

The Queen's Perplexities

1588 AD] Meanwhile, Elizabeth was not without uneasiness. The hour she had ever dreaded was at length come. Her crown lay at stake, and she was to defend it, without the assistance of any ally. This she had always endeavoured to prevent, from the beginning of her reign, by all the artifices her policy could suggest, by fomenting the troubles of Scotland, by making an alliance with France, by feigning to marry the Duke of Anjou, by assisting the Huguenots of France, and the malcontents of the Netherlands, and finally, by beheading the Queen of Scots.

She had succeeded hitherto, and though surrounded with enemies, had found means to employ them at home, and prevent them from directly invading England. But the time was now come that her right must be exposed to the chance of war. Though she was generally beloved by her subjects, she was not ignorant, that there were many disaffected persons in the Kingdom, and especially among the Catholics. Nay, she had reason to fear, they corresponded with the King of Spain, and favoured his invasion.

On the other hand, she was not easy with respect to Ireland, because of the religion of the Irish, and the correspondents the Pope and Philip II. had there. But she was under a still greater concern on account of Scotland.

She had just put King James's mother to death by the hand of the executioner, and if that Prince should be transported with the desire of revenge, he could never have a fairer opportunity, since it was in his power to favour the descent of the Spaniards, in one extremity of the Kingdom, by making a diversion in the other.

In a word, if she could not hinder the Spaniards from landing in England, she must necessarily resolve to hazard a battle, the country not being proper to prolong the war. All this was more than sufficient to inspire her with a just dread, which however she very carefully concealed.

If ever she discovered ability, it was on this important occasion. Far from shewing the least faint-heartedness, she encouraged her people by her looks, her resolution, her affability, which made them think she was troubled only for their sakes; and on her own account, regardless of the danger.

Meanwhile, she looked to every thing with a wonderful prudence, and a presence of mind, rarely to be found in the greatest men, and which gained her the admiration and praises of all the world. Some advised her to put to death, or send beyond sea, the leading Catholics. But she thought, it would be discovering too much fear, besides that it would have been great injustice to punish men upon bare suspicions.

She contented herself with causing some to be arrested, and put into custody, telling them however, it was only by way of precaution, which, instead of injuring, would screen them from the violence of their enemies.

Elizabeth Caressees The King of Scotland

As for Ireland, she sent orders to Sir William Fitz-Williams, who was then Lord Deputy; distinctly pointing out to him what precautions he should use to hinder the Irish from rising. But above all things, she took care to caress the King of Scotland, and put him in hopes of an ample acknowledgment, if on this occasion he inviolably adhered to the Protestant religion, and the interest of Great-Britain.

She represented to him, that, in respect to England, he was to consider the King of Spain as a dangerous competitor, and that the loss of one of the realms of Great-Britain, would not fail of being attended with the loss of the other. But her uneasiness with regard to Scotland was not long-lived, since she had quickly the satisfaction to hear, that James knowing perfectly his own Interest, had no correspondence with the King of Spain, but even stood upon his guard for fear of being invaded himself.

Expedition of The Spanish Fleet

The Duke of Medina-Celi sailed out of the Tagus with the invincible armada, the 3rd of June[510](3), and steered his course towards the north. Within a few days, a storm arising, so dispersed the ships, that they could not re-join till they came to the Groyne. This accident occasioned a report over Europe, that the Spanish fleet was entirely destroyed.

Walsingham himself, Secretary of State, thought his intelligence so certain, that he writ to the Lord Admiral Howard, to send home four of the largest ships, there being no farther danger this year. But the admiral answered, he could not think of parting with the four ships, though he should be obliged to keep them at his own charge, till he had more certain advice.

The better to know the truth, the wind turning to the north, he sailed with all his fleet towards Spain, with design to complete the destruction of the enemy's armada, which was represented to him as disabled. But when he approached Spain, he heard the fleet had not suffered so much damage as was reported. At the same time, the wind changing to the South, he sailed back to his station at the mouth of the channel, for fear with the same wind the enemies fleet should advance towards England.

But it was the 12th of July before the Spaniards departed from the Groyne, and two days after, the Duke of Medina-Celi sent a yacht to notify the same to the Duke of Parma, that he might be ready to join him. The 19th, the Spanish fleet entered the channel, and the 20th, appeared in sight of the English, who let it pass in order to follow it before the wind.

Camden has inferred in his annals, a journal of what passed in the Channel till the Spaniards retired to the north. I don't think it very necessary to copy this journal, which besides is something obscure, and gives but an imperfect idea of the bravery and conduct of the English. It will suffice to say, that whilst the Spaniards were in the Channel, the English kept close to them, and even took some of their ships.

Of this number were a galleon, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdis, which was sent to Dartmouth, and a ship of Biscay, in which was the King's treasure; but the Spaniards had taken out the money, because the ship had been fired.

The 23rd of July, the wind being in the north, the Duke of Medina-Celi stood towards the English fleet. There was that day a sharp engagement, wherein the Spaniards, though much superior in number of ships, obtained no advantage. The unwieldiness of their ships, and the agility of the English, made it easy for these last to stand off or on, as they saw fit, and so to balance the superiority of their enemies.

The trial the Spaniards made on this occasion of the English valour and skill in sea engagements, began, doubtless, to give them quite another notion of their enterprise, than they had hitherto conceived.

Mean while, the Duke of Medina-Celi sent daily messengers to press the Duke of Parma to put to sea with his army. But that was not practicable, by reason of the English and Dutch ships, posted advantageously to hinder the junction. It was necessary for the Spaniards to approach the coast of Flanders, to compel them to retire[511] (4).

But the 27th in the evening, they were no farther than off Calais, where they came to an anchor, being still followed by the English, who lay within shot. Here the English fleet was joined by a good number of ships, not only of the Queen's, but of divers private persons, who had fitted out several at their own expense[512].

And now the fleet consisted of one hundred and forty ships of war, small indeed in comparison of the Spanish, but however, with the advantage of moving more easily, and retiring into the ports of England in case of necessity.

The Duke of Parma, who was to sail from Dunkirk and Newport, was still earnestly solicited by the Duke of Medina-Celi to put to sea, and make a descent in England, as it had been resolved. But, besides that the ships which expected him, were not yet withdrawn, notwithstanding the neighbourhood of the Spanish Armada, many of his mariners had deserted, and his fleet was ill provided with victuals. In short, he could not, or would not embark.

Whilst the Spaniards lay before Calais, the English Admiral sent (in the night) eight fire-ships among their Fleet[513]. This sight struck them with such a terror, that instantly cutting their cables, they put to Sea to avoid the impending danger. In this confusion, the admiral-Galeass, commanded by Hugo de Moncada, having lost her rudder, floated up and down till the next day, when she was taken by the English after a sharp engagement, wherein Moncada was slain.

Though the Spanish Admiral had ordered every ship to return to her station as soon as the danger was passed, and made a signal for that purpose, there were but few that endeavoured to obey. So, the fleet remained dispersed, some of the ships being driven to the north, and others upon the shallows of Flanders, where they were in great danger.

July 30th 1588

They had not only to guard against the sands, but also against the English, who so played upon them with their cannon, that several Spanish ships were that day disabled, and the galleons, called St. Philip, and St. Matthew, fell into the hands of the Zealanders.

At last, a northwest wind driving the fleet upon the coast of Zealand, where they were very likely to be lost, the English gave over the chase, for fear of being exposed to the same danger. Happily for the Spaniards, the wind turned to the southwest very seasonably, and freed them from their distress. But now, perceiving the impossibility of executing their project, they resolved to return home, by sailing round Scotland and Ireland, and rather, as some of their ships had already steered that course.

The English admiral seeing them stand to the northward, left part of his fleet to have an eye upon the coast of Flanders, and gave them chase, though at a little distance, till they were past Edinburgh Firth. The course they steered gave some suspicion, that they were sure of a retreat in the ports of Scotland. Whereupon the English ambassador at King James's Court, made him large oilers, and even some promises, which he had not power to make, and which were never performed[514]

Meanwhile, the Spanish fleet continuing their course, sustained some farther damage by contrary winds, which caused several of their ships to be lost on the coast of Scotland and Ireland. Seven hundred soldiers and mariners, who had escaped to land in the King of Scotland's dominions, were sent to the Duke of Parma with Elizabeth's consent.

But those who were shipwrecked in Ireland, and cast ashore, were all put to the sword, or perished by the hands of the executioner; the Lord-Deputy, by whose orders it was done, fearing they would join with the rebels. At least this was his pretence to excuse the barbarity[515].

Philip Bears His Misfortune Patiently

Philip II received the news of the ill success of his fleet, with an heroic patience. He had spent three years in preparing this Armada, with incredible expense, and, when he heard of the defeat, so contrary to his expectation, thanked God it was no greater[516].

The Queen Returns Thanks to God

Upon the retreat of this so formidable a fleet, England was filled with an universal joy. Elizabeth ordered a public thanksgiving for this deliverance, to be made in all the Churches of the Kingdom, and went herself to St. Paul's[517] in great solemnity to perform the same duty.

After that, she conferred on the Lord-Admiral a yearly revenue, in recompense of his great service to his country, and bestowed pensions on the wounded. For the rest, their rewards consisted more in words than in deeds.

Sir Sidney, who had been sent into Scotland before the arrival of the Spanish fleet, at the time, the Queen was afraid King James would think of being revenged returned home when the danger was over. He reported, that the King of Scotland had testified his sincere attachment to the interest of England, and the Protestant religion, and had told him. That he looked for no other favour from the Spaniards, than what Polyphemus promised Ulysses, namely, that he should be devoured the last.

On the 4th of September[518] (5), died the Earl of Leicester, a man a little deserving his greatness, if most of the historians are to be credited. His death drew tears from the Queen, who nevertheless ordered his goods to be sold at a public sale, for payment of the sums she had lent him[519].

Affairs of The Low Countries

After the Spanish fleet had left the Coast of Flanders, the Duke of Parma seeing the enterprise blasted, besieged Bergen-op-Sion, where was an English governor with a strong garrison all of the same nation. This siege acquired the governor great reputation, who by a gallant defence, obliged the Duke at length to raise the siege[520].

Affairs of France

The same year, so memorable for England, was no less so for France. The Duke of Guise, grown more powerful than the King, came to Paris in May, and by the favour of the people, whose idol he was, obliged the King to depart, having first seen the furious populace chaining the streets, and preparing to attack his person in the Louvre. This is what was called. The *Barricadoes* of Paris[521].

This insolent action was followed by an agreement, which the King was forced to make with the heads of the League, whereby he put several places into their hands. But in December following, Henry perceiving himself ruined, if he did not make away with the Duke of Guise, and his brother the Cardinal, caused them both to be assassinated at Blois, where the States of the Kingdom were assembled. Thus he freed himself from a present danger, but it was only to fall into another, for this action made the League, and the City of Paris openly declare against him.

Affairs of Scotland

As for Scotland, all was quiet there during the whole year 1588. So long as the King had about him ministers and counsellors attached to the interest of England, he generally led an easy and peaceable life. So, the only thing which troubled him this year was his marriage which he could not accomplish, though he passionately wished it himself.

Melvil insinuates, that chancellor Maitland, who then managed that Prince's affairs, was bribed by Elizabeth; That she gave pensions to most of the Counsellors of Scotland, and that her aim was to hinder the King from marrying. He had sent ambassadors[522] to Copenhagen, to treat of his marriage with the eldest Daughter of Frederic II, but by the artifice of his ministers, the ambassadors power was so limited, that it was impossible for them to conclude.

On the other hand, whilst this marriage was negotiating, one Dubartus[523], a French poet, servant of the King of Navarre, came to Edinburgh, under colour of paying his respects to the King, who had expressed some esteem for his works, and proposed, as of himself, the King's marriage with Catherine his master's sister.

He said so many fine things of this Lady, that the King, by the advice of his council, sent the Lord Tun gland, Melvil's brother, into France to see her, on pretence of negotiating some affair with the King her brother.

The King of Denmark hearing of it, and seeing moreover the limited power of the Scotch ambassadors, believed he was mocked, and gave his daughter to the Duke of Brunswick. Melvil ascribes, not without great likelihood, this whole intrigue to Elizabeth, and affirms, it was she that informed the King of Denmark of the Lord Tun gland's being sent to the Court of Navarre.

Shortly after, in the beginning of the year 1589, was discovered in Scotland a conspiracy against the King, contrived by the Earls of Huntley and Bothwell, (son of John Prior of Coldingham) natural son of James V [524]. Their design was to seize the King's person and compel him to restore the Catholic religion in Scotland[525]. It is said, they were excited by emissaries from Spain[526].

The King prevented the execution of the plot by his diligence. He pursued the Earl of Huntley, who had taken arms, till at last he constrained him to yield at discretion. As for Bothwell, he withdrew to his own house, where he meditated new projects, which I shall speak of hereafter. I return to the affairs of England,

Trial of The Earl of Arundel

Philip Howard Earl of Arundel, eldest son of the late Duke of Norfolk, who had been three years prisoner in the Tower, was at last brought to his trial before his peers, being accused of conspiring against the Queen and State. Camden shows, he was convicted at most, of being disaffected to the Government, and too much attached to the Catholic religion[527]. He was however condemned to die; but the Queen gave him his life[528].

Elizabeth enjoyed now a tranquillity, to which she had been a stranger ever since the beginning of her reign. The Queen of Scotland was no longer in the world; and the King her son, in expectation of one day succeeding Elizabeth, stifled his resentment, or rather had entirely forgot the tragical death of his mother.

The King of Spain was disabled to make a fresh attempt upon England, since the unfortunate success of his invincible armada. The affairs of the United Provinces began to be restored, by the valour and prudent conduct of Count Maurice, and those of France were in such a situation, that England had nothing to fear from that quarter. The Duke of Guise, Elizabeth's great enemy, was dead, his son in prison, and the Duke of Mayenne wholly bent upon revenging the death of his brothers.

As for Sixtus V, though very capable of forming great projects, he could not execute them without the aid of some Catholic potentate; and the King of Spain, on whom alone he could depend, was wholly engrossed with the thoughts of improving the troubles of France. As for the English

Catholics, there was no likelihood of their stirring, at a time when they could not expect any foreign assistance.

Elizabeth Sends a Fleet Against Spain

In this prosperous state, Elizabeth having nothing to fear either at home or abroad, had a mind to show the Spanish, the English could attack as well as defend. But as Stow, she was extremely frugal, and an undertaking against Spain could not but be very expensive, she so ordered it, that Drake and Norris took upon them to be at the charge, in hopes of making themselves amends by the booty they should meet with.

So, she only found them Ships of war[529], with leave to raise soldiers and sailors for the expedition. Drake had already tried the Spaniards in America, and the Channel, and was convinced they were more formidable in common opinion, than in reality. Wherefore, joining with Norris, and some other private persons, they equipped a fleet, and embarked eleven thousand soldiers, and (fifteen hundred) mariners.

The Hollanders having also added some ships, the Fleet consisted of fourscore sail[530] of all sorts. Drake commanded at Sea, and Norris was General of the land-forces. They took with them Don Antonio, who stiled himself King of Portugal, and hoped, by the assistance of the English, to be put in possession of that Kingdom, where he pretended to have many friends.

The Expedition

They sailed from Plymouth the 18th of April, and soon after arrived at the Groyne, where landing their troops, they assaulted the Lower-Town and carried it by storm. Then, they besieged the upper town.

But Norris having advice that the Condè de Andrada was approaching with a body of troops to relieve the place, suddenly raised the siege to march against him, but the Spanish Condè thinking proper to retire, he pursued him, and overtaking him slew three thousand of his men. This done, he burnt several villages, and without returning to the siege, re-embarked his troops. The principal design of the English was to exert themselves chiefly against Portugal.

Whilst they were sailing towards the coasts of that Kingdom, they met the Earl of Essex, who joined the fleet with some ships he had armed at his own charge, and unknown to the Queen. Some days after, they arrived at Penicha, a little town of Portugal, and taking it, restored it to Don Antonio.

From hence Norris marched by land to Lisbon, Drake promising to follow with the fleet up the Tagus. The army marched sixty miles without any opposition, and encamping before Lisbon took the suburbs of St. Catherine. But as Drake performed not his promise, and the army wanted cannon and ammunition, it was resolved in a council of war, to retire.

The English Seize Sixty Ships Belonging to The Hanseatic Towns

This resolution was taken, because there was no appearance that the Portuguese were inclined to revolt, as Don Antonio had expected, and also because there was no news of the succours, he had boasted of, from the King of Morocco. The army marching towards the mouth of the Tagus met Drake, who had taken the town of Cascaes, and excused himself upon the impossibility of performing his promise.

Some days after, the castle of Cascacs surrendering, it was blown up, and to make themselves amends for charges of the expedition, the English seized sixty vessels laden with corn[531],

belonging to the Hanseatic Towns. Then they went and took Vigo, which was abandoned by the inhabitants, and firing the town returned to England.

This expedition did some damage to the King of Spain, but was of no benefit to Elizabeth, and the booty was not sufficient to pay for equipping the fleet[532]. Besides this, above six thousand men perished by sickness. The only advantage reaped by the English was, that they were more convinced of the weakness of the Spaniards in their own country.

The Hanseatic Towns Complain to Elizabeth

The Hanseatic Towns made great noise on account of the seizure of their ships in the Tagus, and sent ambassadors to the Queen with their complaints. They were told in the first place, that in the patent granted them by Edward III, it was expressly provided, they should not import any commodities into the dominions of the professed and open enemies of England.

Secondly, that a neutrality was so to be ordered, that in assisting one of the parties, the other should not be damaged; and that it was a thing well known, that warlike provisions carried to one of the contending parties, were contraband goods, and liable to seizure.

In the third place, they could not justly complain of the taking their vessels, since the Queen had warned them not to import any provisions to Spain and Portugal, unless they would hazard their being seized by the English.

This affair was of little moment: but what passed in affairs of France this year was much more considerable. The step Henry III. had taken, in causing the Duke of Guise to be stabbed, served only to throw him into greater trouble.

Affairs of France

His swearing again to the league in the presence of the States before he dismissed them, signified nothing. The Leaguers, as they could no longer trust to his promises and oaths, almost entirely alienated the whole Kingdom from him. Hence he saw himself forced to call the King of Navarre and the Huguenots to his assistance, and join with them against the League.

It is a thing very remarkable, that this Prince, who had sworn to extirpate the Huguenots, and solemnly declared he would never keep his promise with them, scarce found any other subjects but the Huguenots in whom he could confide. The forces brought him by the King of Navarre, and ten thousand Switzers, two thousand Landsquenets, with some horse, which came in season, enabled him to besiege or block up Paris with an army of thirty-eight thousand men.

Henry III is Assassinated

But just as he saw himself upon the point of compelling the Parisians to return to their duty, James Clement a Jacobin Monk, stabbed him in the belly with a dagger, of which he died in two days. Before he expired, he nominated for his successor the King of Navarre, head of the house of Bourbon, who assumed the name of Henry IV.

The League refused to acknowledge the new King, Nay, he saw himself deserted by several great men of the late King's party, and in order to retain some of the Catholic nobility, he was obliged to promise them, that he would within such a time be instructed in the principles of the Romish religion; that is, would turn Catholic; for that was the meaning given to these words. Meanwhile he had neither men nor money, the Switzers and Germans who had served Henry III. threatening

to leave him, unless he would pay them their arrears, which he was not able to do. In this extremity he had recourse to Elizabeth, who generously promised him both men and money.

In expectation of these succours, he stood firm against the Duke of Mayenne, who had forced him into Normandy, and even attacked him at Arques, but without success. Henry thought himself in such danger, that he would have taken the advice given him by some, to fly into England, if the Marshal de Biron had not stopped him.

At last, the English supplies arrived, consisting of four thousand men, under the command of Peregrine Lord Willoughby[533], and of twenty-two thousand pounds Sterling in gold. With this reinforcement he was able to approach Paris, and take one of the suburbs of that City. But the Duke of Mayenne having entered with his army, he was forced to retire.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Mayenne had caused the old Cardinal de Bourbon to be proclaimed King, and himself had assumed the title of Lieutenant-General of the Crown of France. Henry leaving the country about Paris, returned into Normandy, where he reduced some places to his obedience, after which he sent home the English forces.

The King of Scotland's Marriage

Though the King of Denmark had given his eldest daughter to the Duke of Brunswick, the King of Scotland persisted in his design to marry into his family, and demanded his second daughter. Frederic granted his request, but on condition he should cause her to be demanded by a solemn embassy before the first day of May. But he died in this interval, leaving his successor under age.

This did not hinder James from thinking seriously of his marriage with the Princess Ann, the new King's sister. But when he moved in Council the sending of an embassy to Copenhagen, he was told, he would hazard a rupture with the Queen of England, if he married without consulting her. The author's of this advice knew, Elizabeth would raise obstacles to the marriage.

And indeed, in her answer to the King, she tried to make him sensible of sundry inconveniences it he espoused the Princess of Denmark; and to divert him from it, proposed to him Catherine, the King of Navarre's sister, who was not yet come to the crown of France, promising to serve him to the utmost of her power.

Elizabeth's answer being laid before the council, there was not a Privy-Counsellor but what declared against the Danish match. James was so vexed to be thus contradicted, that by means of a trusty servant he caused the inhabitants of Edinburgh to rise in arms, and threaten to tear the chancellor and Privy-Counsellors in pieces, if the King's marriage with the Princess of Denmark was not concluded.

These threats terrifying the council, ambassadors were instantly appointed to negotiate the marriage. But withal care was taken to insert in their instructions a clause, which put them to a stand in the very beginning of their negotiation, and obliged them to send home the Lord Dingual to demand fuller powers, or leave to return.

This Lord arriving at court when the chancellor was absent, the King himself drew the power required by his ambassadors, whereupon the marriage was soon concluded. Presently after the new Queen was delivered to the ambassadors to be conducted into Scotland: but a storm arising whilst she was at sea, drove her upon the coast of Norway, where she was forced to land.

The wind continued so long contrary, that James, impatient to see his bride, could not stay till it changed. So, embarking in a small vessel, he went to his Queen, and passed the whole winter in

Norway and Denmark, from whence he returned not to Scotland till May the next year, bringing his Queen with him[534].

Elizabeth Keeping in a Posture of Defence Against Spain

1590 AD] The tranquillity enjoyed by Elizabeth was liable to be disturbed only from Spain. France was not in condition to create her any uneasiness, and the King of Scotland thought only of living peaceably, in expectation of the noble succession that was to come to him. Philip II was therefore the sole enemy Elizabeth had to fear. But to secure herself from all surprise, she took the most just, though expensive, precautions.

She had always a good fleet ready to put to Sea at the first notice[535]. The fortified towns and sea ports were likewise in good condition[536], and this cost her as much as if she had been in actual war with Spain. But she supplied all by her good economy, expending no money but what was absolutely necessary.

This displeased her hungry courtiers, who would have been very glad she had been a little more liberal. But though she knew herself taxed with avarice, she thought not proper to alter her conduct. She thereby avoided being troublesome to the Parliament, and when she wanted an extraordinary aid, was sure to find a ready compliance in the House of Commons, without any murmurs among the people.

This advantage outweighed the satisfaction of being called liberal by her courtiers. Besides, she was persuaded that what was termed avarice in her, was only good economy. The truth is, with the usual revenues of the crown, she found means to supply the expenses of her household, maintain a fleet, pay the public debts, and assist her neighbours in their distress, which none of her predecessors had ever done.

On the contrary, most of them, by their mistaken bounties, had ruined their subjects for the pleasure of enriching a small number of courtiers. Besides, Elizabeth had a particular reason to spare the purses of her subjects, in order to gain their affection, the strongest support of her throne. Wherefore, one of the chief objects of her care was a due management of her treasury, with intent to be always able to withstand the attacks of her enemies both at home and abroad.

Her inspection in the year 1590 into the customs, notwithstanding the endeavours, that were used to divert her from it, occasioned her raising them from fourteen thousand pounds a year (at which sum they were farmed by Sir Thomas Smith) to forty two thousand, and at last to fifty thousand. But her great economy hindered her not from parting with her money when it was necessary.

Though, in the two foregoing years she had lent about two hundred thousand crowns to the King of France, she supplied him with sixty thousand more, because she plainly saw of what consequence the ruin of that Prince might be to England.

Moreover, the garrisons of the Briel and Flushing, besides the three thousand men maintained by her in the Low-Countries, cost her yearly above four hundred thousand florins[537], because she was forced to advance the money till the States should be able to repay her. In fine, she paid also considerable pensions to several persons of the court of Scotland, whose business it was to acquaint her with all that passed there, and to keep the King well affected to England, as he had been for some time.

Affairs of France

Whilst Elizabeth enjoyed some tranquillity, France was troubled with the wars between the King and the League. In March the King gained the battle of Yvry against the Duke of Mayenne, after

which he invested Paris, and even took the Suburbs. That great city was now reduced to extremity, when the Duke of Parma arrived from the Netherlands, and forced the King to raise the blockade. That done, he returned without the King's being able to oblige him to fight.

Affairs of The Low Countries

On the other hand, in the Duke of Parma's absence, Count Maurice, who had already taken Breda by surprise, made some farther progress, which helped to put the affairs of the United Provinces in a better situation than before.

The Duke of Mercœur Overruns Bretagne

This same year the Duke of Mercœur, of the Houfe of Lorain, became master of Bretagne by the assistance of the Spaniards, who took Hennebond and Blavet. This affair disturbed Elizabeth, who did not care to have the Spaniards so near her, especially as Philip II. might claim Bretagne for his daughter the Infanta Isabella, whose mother was daughter of Henry II.

The Death of Walsingham

Sir Francis Walsingham Secretary of State, who had long served the Queen with great zeal and ability, died this year, so poor, that he was buried privately to save charges[538]. Thomas Randolph, whom I have frequently mentioned, and who had been employed in several embassies, particularly in Scotland, soon followed Walsingham.

Henry IV in Great Perplexity

1591 AD] The Civil Wars of France were then the most material affair of Europe. It could no longer be doubted, that Philip II. was thinking either to dismember that Kingdom, or procure it for his daughter Isabella, granddaughter to Henry II, notwithstanding the Salic Law. Sixtus V favoured the project to the utmost of his power, under colour of hindering a heretic from being acknowledged King of France. If this design was not executed, it must be wholly ascribed to the Duke of Mayenne's jealousy, who did not intend to labour for others.

Meanwhile, Henry IV. was extremely embarrassed. The forces of the Huguenots alone were not sufficient to enable him to surmount all obstacles, since he had no less to do than to conquer the whole Kingdom of France, and the Catholic nobles in his army served him with reluctance. Nay, they had required him, in return for their service, to be instructed, and in such manner, that this instruction should produce in him a change of religion.

In this pressing necessity, he could not be without foreign succours, and these succours could be had only from Germany or England. It was visibly the interest of Elizabeth and the Protestant Princes to support Henry, not to see the King of Spain's power increased by the acquisition of France. But however it was not easy to persuade them, that they ought to employ all their forces to maintain a war, of which Henry was to reap all the benefit.

They were very ready to supply him with troops, but not to pay them. It was his business to find money. Elizabeth plainly perceived, of what consequence it was to her to preserve France, but expected that the succours she gave the King, should be employed in driving the Spaniards out of the maritime provinces of Bretagne, Normandy, and Picardy, for that was what most nearly concerned her.

It was the King's interest, on the contrary, to expel his enemies from the centre of the Kingdom, before he thought of attacking them on the borders, and the more, as he thereby put Elizabeth under a continual necessity of assisting him.

Elizabeth Engages to Assist Henry

However, to receive aid from England, he was to promise what Elizabeth required. They agreed therefore upon a treaty, whereby Elizabeth engaged to send three thousand men into Bretagne and Picardy, to hinder the Spaniards from settling in those provinces, on condition she should be re-paid within a year[539] all her charges in raising and keeping the Troops.

Three Thousand English are Sent to France

Henry consented to every thing, not to delay the negotiation, though he was fully convinced of the impossibility to perform his promise by the time appointed. Presently after, the three thousand English passed, part into Bretagne under the conduct of Norris, and part into Picardy under the command of Sir Roger Williams.

Elizabeth Sends a Further Aid of 4000 Men Under The Earl of Essex

At the same time, Henry had negotiated in Germany, a levy of eleven thousand men, by means of the Elector of Brandenburg, and Casimire Prince Palatine. But this supply not sufficing, he sent and demanded a second from Elizabeth, and to obtain it more easily, gave her to understand, that with this reinforcement he should be able to undertake the siege of Roan.

Elizabeth's great desire to see the maritime towns of France out of the power of the Leaguers, caused her to fall into this snare. She made therefore with Henry a new treaty, whereby she engaged to supply him with four thousand men more, and pay them two months, imagining, that time was sufficient for the siege of Roan.

When these supplies were ready, she gave the command to the Earl of Essex[540], a young nobleman, who had much of her favour, and for whom it was believed, she felt something more than a bare esteem, though she was then fifty-eight years of age. The Earl of Essex, greedy of glory, departed from England full of hopes to signalise himself at the Siege of Roan, but at his arrival in France, found the siege had not been so much as thought of: That the King was employed before Noyon, and intended to fend the English forces into Champagne.

The Earl of Essex Returns into England

Whereupon he returned into England, having first given the King his parole of honour, to come and join him, as soon as the siege of Roan should be undertaken. He left his troops however in France, under the command of Sir Roger Williams.

Elizabeth was extremely offended to be thus imposed on. She writ to Henry, that since he had broke his word Henry might for the future proceed without her assistance, and that she intended to recall all her troops, unless he immediately performed his promise. Elizabeth's Letter embarrassed Henry exceedingly. He had certain advice that Duke of Parma was preparing to return into France, and, in such a juncture, the recalling of the English forces would have been very unreasonable.

The Earl of Essex Goes to The Seige Against The Queen's Orders

He was forced therefore, in order to satisfy Elizabeth, to cause Roan to be invested by the Marshal de Biron. But he took a fresh occasion from thence to demand of Elizabeth, a new supply of five thousand men, on pretence, that the troops already sent were extremely diminished by sickness and desertion.

At the same time, the Earl of Essex, knowing the Roan was invested, went over to the siege[541], contrary to the Queen's express orders; supposing, that since he had given the King his parole, nothing could free him from his engagement. Elizabeth was so displeased with the King, and the Earl, that she returned a very rough answer to the French ambassador, who pressed her for the five thousand men, demanded by the King his master, and left him no hopes of obtaining them.

Henry Comes to The Seige and Demands

At the same time, she dispatched Sir Thomas Leyton, the Earl of Essex's uncle, with an express order to him, instantly to return, if he would not be entirely disgraced. Meanwhile, Henry hearing the Duke of Parma was departed from Brussels about the end of November, repaired to his army before Roan, to the City before the Duke of Parma's arrival. Shortly after, he sent Du Plessis to try to obtain the desired supply.

He Sent Du Plessis Who Could Obtain Nothing

Du Plessis, accompanied with the ambassador in ordinary, being admitted to audience, and telling the Queen his business, she plainly answered, she would not be the French King's dupe; neither would she for the future concern herself any more with his affairs, nor was he to expect any other assistance from her than her prayers.

That he had demanded a speedy aid for the siege of Roan, which she had accordingly sent him; but instead of executing their Treaty, he had lost his time before Noyon, and suffered the English troops to decay, whilst he was making war in Champagne:

That he had given the Duke of Parma four months to prepare, and then, a speedy supply was desired of her, which would not have been wanted, had things been done in time. To this she added great threats against the Earl of Essex, saying, he would have it thought that he ruled in England, but nothing was more false, and she would make him the most pitiful fellow in the Kingdom: that, instead of sending fresh troops into France, she was determined to recall those that were there.

The Earl of Essex Returns to England

Then pretending to be indisposed, she desires the ambassadors to be contented with this short audience, hardly giving Du Plessis time to return any answer to her complaints. But he had taken care before hand, and prepared a memorial which he would have presented her, but she bid him give it the Lord-Treasurer. In short, Du Plessis returned, without obtaining any thing, and the Earl of Essex was forced to go back to England, where he found means to appease the Queen.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Parma having entered France, and being joined by the Duke of Mayenne, and the young Duke of Guise, who had escaped out of prison, raised the siege of Roan. Henry easily perceived by Elizabeth's conduct, she would not suffer herself to be amused by his artifices, and for fear of losing so necessary an assistance, laboured so effectually to be reconciled with her, that at last she sent him two thousand fresh men; but it was not till after the raising of the siege.

Thomas Howard's Fruitless Expedition

Whilst these things were transacting, the late Duke of Norfolk's son, was gone with six men of war to the Azores, to wait for the Spanish Plate-Fleet, homeward bound from America, having stayed six months in the Isle of Flores, he was himself almost surprised by Alphonso Bassano, who was sent to convoy home the fleet, with fifty three ships of war. He had the good fortune

to escape the danger, by a timely retreat, but one of his ships that was not speedy enough, was taken by the Spaniards, after a sharp engagement[542].

The English made themselves ample amends for this loss, by several prizes, and particularly by taking a ship richly laden, bound for the West-Indies, in which, it is said, they found two and twenty thousand indulgences for the Spaniards of America[543].

This year the Queen published two proclamations, the first of which prohibited the carrying of any warlike stores or provisions into the King of Spain's dominions. The second, published in October, expressly forbid the harbouring any person who should come from the English seminaries, at Rome, or Rheims, or from a third, lately founded by the King of Spain at Valladolid[544].

The war which was continued in France, made Elizabeth ever uneasy, because the Spaniards had got a footing in Bretagne, from whence they might readily make some attempt upon England. Henry perfectly knowing her extreme desire to dislodge them from that post, demanded a farther aid to carry the war into that Province.

New Treaty With Henry IV

1592 AD] Though Elizabeth had experienced, that she could not much rely on his word, because it was not always in his power to make war where he pleased, she concluded with him however a new treaty to this effect:—

That she should furnish him with four thousand men, some pieces of ordnance, and a certain quantity of ammunition:

That he should add to the English Troops four thousand foot, and a thousand horse, and this army be employed to recover Bretagne:

That he should within a year repay all her charges:

Thathe should not make peace with the Leaguers till they promised to assist him in driving the Spaniards out of the kingdom:

That England should be expressly included in the peace he should make with Spain.

Henry Deceives Elizabeth Who Resents it Highly

Elizabeth sincerely performed her engagement, and sent four thousand men into Bretagne, under the command of Norris[545]. But Henry, instead of joining his troops with the English, and carrying the war into Bretagne, ordered them to serve in Normandy, whether he was most pressed in those parts, or had made the treaty only to amuse the Queen.

However this be, Elizabeth resented it extremely to be again deceived. She often writ to the King, complaining of his proceedings, but to no purpose. In her anger, she was going to recall all her troops; but hearing the Duke of Parma was preparing to make a third expedition into France, sacrificed her resentment to the good of that Kingdom, which was in some measure her own. Indeed the Duke of Parma was upon the point of re-entering France; but death, which seized him at the same time, freed Henry as well as Elizabeth from their uneasiness.

Scotland was then disturbed by Bothwell, who made this year a fresh attempt to become master of the King's person. As his design was discovered before it could be executed, he was forced to fly into England. Elizabeth being informed of it, writ to the King, that she would cause those who had harboured the fugitive to be severely punished. And yet, when James sent and required

her to deliver him up, pursuant to their Treaty, she evaded his demand, being well pleased to keep that Prince always in a sort of uneasiness which should oblige him to regard her.

Sir Walter Raleigh's Expedition

The riches brought by the Spanish fleets from the East and West-Indies, were a continual allurements to the English who attempted almost every year to take them. Sir Walter Raleigh, with that design, departing this year with fifteen sail, met near the Azores a seven-decked carrack, one hundred and sixty five foot long, most richly laden, which he took without much difficulty. This prize made him some amends for his charges, in fitting out his fleet. But the contrary winds hindered him from executing a more important enterprise projected against America[546].

The Thames Dried Up September 6

There was a sort of prodigy this Summer at London: the Thames was so dried up, and the channel so shallow, that a man might ride over it near London Bridge[547].

Statue Against Non-Conformists

1593 AD] The Parliament meeting in February 1593[548], passed an Act which troubled not only the Catholics, but even Protestants who differed in certain points from the Church of England, and were called Puritans. By this Act, those who neglected to be present at divine service, established by Law, were liable to certain penalties[549], and so, not only was it no longer permitted to be a Roman Catholic with impunity, but even a Protestant without conforming to the Church of England.

Thus in some measure were renewed the days of Henry VIII. when it was unlawful to swerve ever so little from the religion of the Sovereign; with this difference, that under Elizabeth the penalty was not death, as in the Reign of her Father. Nevertheless there was in this last act something more hard than in those of Henry VIII.

That Prince, absolute as he was, contented himself with punishing such as, by some over-act, opposed the established Religion; but by this new Statute, were obliged openly to profess the religion of the Church of England. Elizabeth, exasperated against the Catholics, who had made frequent attempts upon her crown and even her life, would have been very glad to have cleared the Kingdom of them.

On the other hand, she could not endure the Puritans, looking upon them as obstinate people, who for very frivolous causes bred a schism in the Protestants' Church. Whilst she was in danger from the Queen of Scots, France, and Spain; in a word, whilst her affairs remained in a sort of uncertainty, She left the Puritans unmolested, for fear of uniting them in the same interest with the Catholics.

But no sooner was she firmly established, but she hearkened to the suggestions of the clergy, who represented the Puritans as seditious persons, who rebelled against the laws, and by their disobedience shook the foundations of the Government.

This is not the only time, nor is England the only state, where disobedience in point of religion has been confounded with rebellion against the Sovereign; There is scarce a Christian State, where the prevailing

Sect will suffer the least division, or the least swerving from the established opinions, no, not even in private. Shall I venture to say it? It is the clergy chiefly who support this strange principle of non-toleration, so little agreeable to Christian charity. The severity which from this time began

to be exercised in England upon the Non-Conformists[550, produced terrible effects in the following Reigns, and occasioned troubles and factions which remain to this day, and of which perhaps there will be no end these many years.

Unusual Subsidy Granted to The Queen

The same Parliament taking into consideration the Queen's great expenses, both in defending the Kingdom against the Spanish invasion, and in assisting the French King, and the United-Provinces, granted her an extraordinary aid of money. But it was inserted in the act, that so large and unusual a supply, granted to a most excellent Queen, who made so good use of the public moneys should not be drawn into a precedent[551].

She Thanks Parliament

The Queen coming to the House to give the Royal Assent to this act, made a fine Speech, wherein she forgot not to extol her love and care of her subjects, and her attachment to the Protestant-religion. She spoke in lofty terms of the bravery of the English, and shewed how formidable they were to all the Nations of Europe[552]. No person was ever more master of the art of gaining the affection of her people, by expressing an uncommon value and tenderness for them.

Suspicious Against The King of Scotland

Amidst all the occasions the Queen had to congratulate herself upon her good fortune, she still felt some uneasiness with respect to the transactions of Scotland. King James began to be ruled by suspicious persons, and the Queen received advice, that the Spaniards assisted by the Catholics, were contriving some dangerous plot[553], and were countenanced by the Earls of Huntley, Angus, and Errol.

The Queen Sends an Ambassador to James

She heard farther, that the King acted not with the vigour necessary to prevent their designs, and thereby gave cause to suspect, he was himself something inclined to innovations. She did not entirely rely on that Prince. Besides his suffering himself to be always guided by those whom he entrusted with the administration of his affairs, she was afraid, he had been inspired with the desire to revenge the Queen of his mother's death, and that his protestations of being ever attached to her interest, were only intended to amuse her. For this reason, she sent the Lord Borough to give him advice, and desire him to inform her of what he knew concerning the plots of the Spaniards and Catholics.

She wished moreover, he would shew himself a little more severe to those who endeavoured to raise troubles in Scotland, and would admit to his Council only persons of known loyalty. James answered, he would do what the Queen desired, as far as his own Interest, and the Laws of the land would allow. But withal, he told the ambassador, that his revenues being extremely diminished, he expected the Queen to furnish him with means to punish those who should dare to disturb the public peace.

The Queen Refuses to Deliver up Bothwell

He also required, she should deliver up Bothwell, who had twice attempted his life, and even sent Robert Melvil to Elizabeth, to demand him expressly. But she refused to surrender him, and only banished him out of England, as she was bound by the Treaty of League made with the King.

The Affairs of Scotland

Bothwell not being able to stay longer in England, returned into Scotland, and withdrew to his own house. Shortly after, his party so increased, by accidents, which it is needless to mention, that he had the boldness to come into the King's presence, under colour of begging his pardon.

James was surprised to see him, but was more so, when he perceived, that his whole Court, except some of ministers, were Bothwell's friends. He was therefore forced as it were to grant him a pardon, he should depart the Kingdom, and not return unless recalled.

Bothwell accepted the condition, and concealed himself on the borders of England. But at his departure, he left so strong a party in the court, that the King was at last obliged to dismiss the chancellor, the Lord-Treasurer, and others whom he most trusted. Bothwell was ready to improve this change, but the King broke his measures, by declaring to the States, he was compelled to pardon him, and by desiring their aid to free him from his yoke.

The States declaring for the King, he recalled his ministers, and Bothwell's friends were driven from the Court.

The People of Scotland Suspect The King of Inclining to The Catholics

In this assembly of the States, an ordinance was made supporting the Protestant religion, as established in Scotland. But as the King and his Council were suspected of favouring the plots of the Catholics, this ordinance was not deemed strong enough by the people, who thought that in such a juncture, the States should have taken more vigorous resolutions.

However this be, the King's obstinacy in keeping in the ministry, and about his person. Men who seemed to have no zeal for the Protestant religion, gave occasion to suspect, some dangerous plot was contriving for its destruction.

Henry Continues to Deceive Elizabeth

What passed in France made Elizabeth no less uneasy than the King of Scotland's inconstancy. General Norris was still in Bretagne with the English forces. He had been promised a place in that province for a retreat, and that the Duke d' Aumont and Espinay, should join him but he was long left there, without being thought of.

At last, Espinay being arrived, they made together some little conquests, too inconsiderable to requite Elizabeth for the maintenance of her Troops, which cost her weekly three thousand (two hundred) pounds Sterling[554]. Thus, instead of employing the English to drive the Spaniards out of Bretagne, Henry used them only to keep his enemies in awe, and hinder them from making greater progress, whilst he was warring elsewhere.

Elizabeth seeing herself thus deceived, would have recalled her troops, but was persuaded by the Marshal d' Aumont, not only to leave them, but even to send fresh supplies, upon the hopes he gave her, that the King would very soon make a powerful effort to reduce that province.

Henry Changes His Religion

The Queen's vexation at Henry's proceedings was nothing in comparison of her concern, when she heard he was going to change his religion. At the first news, she dispatched Thomas Wilks to dissuade him, if possible, from that design; but at his arrival, Wilks found the thing already

done. However Henry thought proper to inform him of the reasons of his change, that he might acquaint the Queen his Mistress with the same.

All he said on this occasion tended to this[555], that he had changed his religion against his will, and after as long a delay as possible: but being at last convinced, he should never be fixed in his throne, whilst a Protestant, he had determined to embrace the Catholic religion. That is, in other words, having put his conscience in the balance with his crown, he had given it for the latter.

After so express a declaration of the insincerity of his conversion, it is no wonder, Elizabeth should lose much of her esteem for him, and the Pope and Leaguers not to consider him as a true Catholic, or rather it is strange they should be satisfied with an outward appearance. Morlant the French ambassador at London, having told Elizabeth the substance of the King's discourse to Wilks, she writ the King the following Lines.

Elizabeth's Letter to Henry IV.

IT is hardly possible to express the extreme grief and dissatisfaction which has seized me upon Morlant's representation of things. Good God! What a miserable World do we live in? Could I ever have thought. Sir, that any secular consideration could have prevailed with you to discard a just sense of God and his fear?

Or can you ever reasonably express that providence will grant this change of your's a happy issue for could you entertain a jealousy that the gracious being, who had so long supported and preserved you, would fail abandon you at last? It is, believe me, a dangerous experiment, to do evil that good may come. But I hope you may be yet recovered to a better inclination, even the spirit of a sound mind. In the meantime I shall not cease to recommend your case to God in my daily prayers, and earnestly to beseech him that Esau's hands may not pollute the blessings and birth-right of Jacob.

The promise you make of a sacred and friendly alliance, I conceive myself to have desired, and even earned at a vast expense: But I had not mattered that, had you still kept yourself the son of the same father. From henceforth I cannot look on myself as your sister in respect to our common father, for I must and shall always pay a much greater regard to nature than choice in that relation:

As I may appeal to God, whom I beseech to recover you into the path of a safer and sounder judgment.

Your sister after the old-fashioned way.

As for the new I have nothing to do with it.

ELIZABETH

Henry Gives Elizabeth Reason to Complain of Him

This was not the only affair Wilks was charged to mention to the King of France. He had orders to complain from the Queen, that the late treaty was not executed, and d' Aumont's delay had been very expensive to the Queen. Henry threw all the blame on the Marshal, and positively promised to march himself into Bretagne, when the truce for that province was expired. He added, that in the mean time, he would advise with his council concerning the place of retreat for the English troops. But these were only empty words. The King's intention was not to employ his

forces against Bretagne, before he had reduced the rest of France, but only to use the English troops by way of diversion to the Duke of Mercœur, for fear, when he had made himself absolute master of Bretagne, he should assist the Duke of Mayenne.

Still less did he intend to give a place of retreat to the English in that province, lest he should find it very difficult to dislodge them. These things troubled the Queen exceedingly, and certainly, had {he aided Henry only from a motive of friendship and generosity, as {he would have made him believe, {he would never have suffered such infringements of the treaties.

But it was manifestly her interest to oppose the Spaniard's designs, who had a mind to become master of France, under pretence of maintaining the Catholic Religion. Henry perfectly knew Elizabeth's policy, and therefore gave her only good words, well knowing she was concerned to assist him.

League Offensive and Defensive Between Henry and Elizabeth

At length the King of Spain preparing to exert his utmost in support of the League, which was declining, since the King's turning Catholic, Elizabeth readily made a League offensive and defensive with Henry, whatever reason she had to complain of him. This League was concluded and signed at Melun in October, and among other articles it was agreed, that a peace should not be made without a mutual consent.

About this time, it was discovered in England, that one Hesquet had been sent by some English fugitives, to persuade Ferdinand Earl of Derby to assume the title of King, as great-grandson of Mary daughter of Henry VII[556].

The Death of The Earl of Derby

When this was proposed to the Earl, Hesquet added, he might rely on the assistance of Philip II, but if he refused to do what he proposed, or did not keep the thing secret, he might be assured, he should not live long. The Earl of Derby fearing to be ensnared, informed against Hesquet, who was taken and hanged. But he died himself within four months, by a strange poison which made him vomit himself to death[557].

His Gentleman of the horse was suspected of the deed, because he rid away the first day of his Lord's illness. The English fugitives imagined there were such numbers of malcontents in England, that some great Man's declaring against the Queen would be sufficient to raise a general rebellion This is not the only time, that, in the like junctures, fugitives have flattered themselves with such vain hopes[558].

The Low Countries Governed by The Count de Fuentes and D. Diego d'Ibarra

The Duke of Parma's death had not entirely hindered the expedition designed by the Spaniards against France. Their army had entered Picardy and taken Noyon, and was returned into Flanders. After Parma's death, the Count de Fuentes and D. Diego d'Ibarra were at the head of the Council, expecting a new Governor. While the administration of affairs rested in their hands, they incessantly endeavoured to excite troubles in Scotland, by assuring the Catholics of a powerful assistance from the King of Spain.

Their project was to send a Spanish army into Scotland, to assassinate or poison Queen Elizabeth, and then invade England with their Army from Scotland, which the consternation upon her death would render less difficult.

They Form Conspiracies Against Queen Elizabeth and Suborn People to Poison Her

1594 AD] To execute the design upon Elizabeth, they had cast their eyes on **Roderigo Lopez a Jew**, and two Portuguese. Lopez the Queen's Physician, had promised to poison her for fifty thousand Crowns. This Plot being discovered, the three accomplices confessed, they had been corrupted by the Count de Fuentes, and Don Diego d'Ibarra, to undertake so execrable a design.

Lopez however pleaded in his excuse, that his intention was only to draw money from the King of Spain, and that he had even presented to the Queen a rich jewel received from that Prince. But as he had given no intimation of the Plot, his excuse was not allowed. At the gallows he affirmed, that he loved the Queen as well as Jesus Christ. This was a plain indication that he was not unjustly condemned.

The day after these three villains were executed, a fourth, one Patrick Cullen, an Irish fencing master, who had been sent from the Low-Countries to kill the Queen, underwent the same fate. Edmund York and Richard Williams, who had been suborned by Ibarra to commit the same crime, were also arrested, and others were discovered who had engaged to fire the navy.

Elizabeth Complains of it to The Archduke But has No Redress

Elizabeth on this occasion writ to the Archduke Ernest, who had been appointed Governor of the Low Countries, to demand the punishment of the authors. She told him moreover, that to clear the King of Spain from suspicion, the most proper way would be to surrender all the fugitive English in his Dominions, or at least those who were concerned in the conspiracies[559].

But foreseeing that Antonio Perez, who had endeavoured to excite troubles in Aragon, and was then in England, might likewise be demanded, she told the Archduke, the King of France had sent him to his Ambassador at London, without her knowledge, and he had never been assisted by her: but all this was to no purpose. On the other hand, the Earl of Essex received Perez into his house, to learn of him the secrets of the Spanish monarchy.

Henry IV Makes Himself Master of Paris

It was not only in England that the Spaniards had the mortification to see their projects miscarry. In France likewise their affairs were in a very ill situation, since Henry's embracing the Catholic religion. The Cities and great men who had been for the League, returned in crowds to the obedience of the King, and all the people manifestly tended to shake off the Spanish yoke.

The 22nd of March, the City of Paris was surrendered to the King by Count Brissac, and the Duke of Feria, who was there, was obliged to take a safe conduct from the King, to retire with his Spanish troops to the Duke of Guise's army. It was then only that Henry seriously resolved to drive the Spaniards out of Bretagne, who were in possession of many places in that Province.

War in Bretagne

The Marshal d' Aumont having been entrusted with the management of this war, made good use of the English troops, who distinguished themselves with that bravery, that the Queen was obliged to write to Norris, not to be so lavish of the blood of her subjects. Martin Forbisher, a famous sea officer, was killed at a siege in this war[560]. Some time after, the Queen recalled Norris, to send him into Ireland.

The affairs of Scotland gave Elizabeth perpetual uneasiness. She had intimations from thence, that the Spanish faction was powerful at court; that something was contriving against the

Protestant religion, and that the King seemed to incline to the Popish party. This filling the Queen with suspicions, she resolved to send the Lord Zouch into Scotland, as well to be informed of the truth, as to fortify the English party, and instruct King James in his true interest.

Queen Elizabeth Sends an Ambassador to The King of Scotland

This Ambassador represented to the King from his mistress, that the late act of the States was not capable to restrain the insolence of the Roman Catholics, who affected publicly to exercise their religion, and held an almost open correspondence with the King of Spain.

James answered, that he would proceed against the Catholics by the established laws; and if they refused a submission to the Laws, he would prosecute them with the sword, provided the Queen, who had the same interest as himself, would contribute to the expense of the war.

The Ambassador, not satisfied with this answer, earnestly pressed him to procure other laws against the Catholics more severe than the present. To this James, with some heat, replied, he was not at the Queen's command, not did it belong to her to prescribe in what manner he should govern his Kingdom. After that, he demanded Bothwell, who was retired into England.

But Elizabeth was very far from giving him this satisfaction. On the contrary, it was probably from her that Bothwell was enabled to enter Scotland at the head of four hundred men, with whom he surprised the town of Leith. He afterwards published a manifesto, importing:—

That perfons dangerous to the Church and State, having by some artifice procured admission into the council, gave occasion by their conduct, to believe, they were forming designs against the evangelical religion:

That for some time the Romish priests had been seen running from village to village, and celebrating the Mass in the most public manner:

That they endeavoured to animate the people against the English, in order to kindle a war between the two nations, which could not but prove fatal to Scotland: that to give a check to these dangerous conspiracies, he had, with the concurrence of divers Lords and Gentlemen, taken arms to drive these pernicious counsellors out of the Kingdom, or bring them to an account for their actions:

That the thing was the more urgent, as the Spaniards were going to invade the Kingdom; and therefore he exhorted the Scots to join with him, to prevent greater mischiefs, and induce the King to favour so just a design.

He writ in the same manner to the general Synod of the Kirk assembled at Dunbar, and to the English Ambassadors. When the coherence between Bothwell's manifesto, and the Lord Zouche's representation to the King is considered, Elizabeth must be suspected of being concerned in this undertaking.

Meantime the King having assembled some forces, prepared to oppose Bothwell's designs, who declined not however to meet him. But the rebel, having some disadvantage in the first engagement, and finding himself not supported, was seized with fear, and retired to the borders. Whereupon Elizabeth forbid any to harbour or conceal him.

This was very agreeable to the Scotch King, who was afraid (he would think of supporting him. Though Bothwell's undertaking miscarried, it however produced a very good effect, James perceiving the danger he might incur by a breach with Elizabeth, resolved at last to alter his conduct, lest his vain projects should cause him in the end to forfeit the English crown. He therefore assembled the states, and prevailed to have the Catholic Lords, who had appeared too

zealous for the Spaniard, to be banished the Kingdom. They made some efforts to resist, but were at last obliged to obey.

Then the States enacted new laws against the Catholics, and even formed an association like that in England some years before. One Graham Feintry, a zealous adherent of Spain, endeavouring to excite new troubles, was punished with death[561].

Projects to Place The Crown of England upon The Head of The Infanta of Spain

1595 AD] The King of Scotland's change, and the vigour he exerted on this occasion, destroyed the hopes entertained by the Catholics, of engaging him in their interest. They therefore formed new projects to place the Crown of England on the head of some person devoted to their religion, or at least, not very zealous for the Protestant. The English Catholics cast their eyes on the Earl of Essex, who, they had observed, approved not the Laws made against them[562].

But the English fugitives in the Low-Countries were for the Infanta Isabella, daughter of Philip II. They even published a Genealogy, to shew, that, the King of Scotland being a heretic, the crown was devolved to the King of Spain, whence they inferred, he had power to dispose of it in favour of his daughter. Nor was this a bare project founded on the passion of the English Catholics.

It is certain, Philip, though he wanted not employment, since the King of France had declared war against him, intended to make extraordinary efforts to procure his daughter the crown offered her by the English fugitives.

The fame of his preparations was now flown over Europe, and produced mischievous effects in Ireland, where (Hugh O'Neal) Earl of Tir-oen had rebelled, in expectation of the assistance promised by the Spaniard. This obliged Elizabeth to prepare for the defence of her dominions, in Ireland.

Henry IV, had, as I said, declared war against Spain, though unadvisedly, if it could have been avoided, considering the miserable situation of France. But Philip II, by his continual and powerful support of the League, had sufficiently declared war against Henry, though he pretended to make war not upon, but for France. However this be, Henry was indispensably obliged to maintain a war against Spain, and therefore believed, it would be better to attack Philip directly, than to stand upon the defensive.

But as France was drained both of men and money, it was not easy for him to support the war alone, and come off with honour. He had therefore recourse to Elizabeth, as to his last refuge in his pressing necessities. And, perhaps he was encouraged to break openly with Spain by the hopes of a powerful assistance from England.

Henry IV Demands Succours From England

To that end, he writ to the Queen, that the recalling of Norris, and his forces, had broke all his measures, and he rather expected she would send greater succours, since he had declared war against Spain. Elizabeth answered,

That she commended his resolution to attack the King of Spain's Dominions:

That this was a good expedient to prevent an invasion, as she had experienced:

That as to the recalling of her troops out of Bretagne, he could not justly complain of it, since they had not only remained there longer than their treaty required, but

even, notwithstanding the manifest breach of that Treaty, and the violation of his promise:

That he had positively engaged to surrender to the English, the town of Morlaix when taken, for a place of retreat: But that this very place, conquered at the expense of English blood, had been denied to the just expectation of the English, by a fraudulent capitulation of the Marshal d' Aumont, to have none but Catholics admitted into it:

That he ought not to be surprised, if she was unwilling to be his dupe any longer, since she could rely neither on his promises nor his treaties:

That besides, she wanted her forces in Ireland, where there was danger of a general revolt.

It is certain, Henry's behaviour to Elizabeth was no encouragement to her to grant him any great assistance. And therefore, it was only her fear of the Spaniards taking advantage of the weakness of France, which still kept her attached to Henry's interest, for whom she had no longer her former esteem and regard. It may also be said, that since his accession to the throne of France, he had done nothing tending to preserve Elizabeth's friendship.

The Queen and King of Scots Heartedly United

The Queen, in the present situation of her affairs, not being able to rely much on the King of France, and looking upon all her expense, on his account, as entirely fruitless, resolved to keep her forces and treasure for the defence of her own Dominions, in case they should be attacked by the Spaniard. England was properly in danger only from Scotland; but the news she received of the change in King James, freed her from all uneasiness.

That Prince perceiving, Philip's aims were levelled as much against Scotland as England, saw at last, that the best way to break his measures, was to live in union with Elizabeth. So, to shew that he meant to preserve this union, he published a proclamation, forbidding, under severe penalties, his subjects on the borders to injure the English, and the Queen put forth another to the same purpose.

From this time he lived with Elizabeth in a good understanding, which nothing was capable to disturb, being sensible this was the surest way to ascend one day the throne of England.

York and Williams Executed

Edmund York and Richard Williams, who had been arrested the last year, being tried and convicted of a design to murder the Queen, were executed in February. They confessed, that Ibarra had promised them forty thousand florins, if they accomplished their enterprise.

Henry IV, after his declaration of war with Spain, formed a design of penetrating into the Low-Countries, and making considerable conquests; but he was soon sensible, his measures were not just. In April 1595, Ferdinand de Velasco, Constable of Castile, came into Franche-Comté at the head of eighteen thousand men, and threatened the Duchy of Burgundy. This obliged Henry to lead thither in person the best part of his army.

Whilst he was thus employed in Burgundy, the Count de Fuentes, who commanded in the Netherlands, after the death of the Archduke Ernest entered Picardy, and became master of Catelet. Then, he besieged Dourlens, beat the French, who came to its relief, and took the town by storm. Henry, upon this mortifying news, sent Chevalier immediately into England to demand a supply of forces, for the defence of Picardy, according to his treaty with the Queen.

Henry Demands Aid of Elizabeth

In the instructions given to his Envoy, he ordered him to take care, that this supply should be ready in a fortnight after the date: but Chevalier spent twelve days in his voyage. The Queen answered, she would not fail to send a body of troops into Picardy, as soon as they could be ready, to defend Calais, Dieppe, and Boulogne.

Indeed the sole motive of her treaty with Henry, was to prevent the Spaniards from becoming masters of those maritime places; but she had never pretended to defend the inland towns of that Province, for which she was little concerned. This was not what the King wanted, having no desire to put the English into these places.

He pretended, that without any distinction, the Queen should lend him a body of troops, to assist him in driving the Spaniards out of all Picardy. At the same time, the deputies of the province of Bretagne arrived at London, to demand supplies of the Queen, without specifying either the number or service, and without offering a place of retreat; but this demand of troops was rejected by the Queen.

Progress of The Spanish Conquest In France

The Spaniards, after the taking of Dourlens, besieged Cambray, and became masters of that important place. Henry seeing himself thus pressed, sent Lomenie, Secretary of State, to Elizabeth, to demand of her a speedy and powerful aid. He expected, by entering into a League with Elizabeth, to engage her to make war with Spain in the Kingdom of France, so that it should seem, she was obliged to send him forces and money, whenever he had occasion, though the treaty contained nothing like it.

But Elizabeth had no such intention, being unwilling to send her forces into France, when her own dominions were in danger, or so to make war with Spain, that all the profit should be Henry's, and the loss hers[563].

The Ambassador Threatens The Queen

Therefore she told the ambassador, she could not comply with his master's demand. Lomenie, vexed with the ill success of his negotiation, spoke to her very haughtily, and charged her with being the cause of the loss of Cambray, by her having not sent the desired supplies into Picardy. He added, that she seemed to rejoice at the misfortunes of France, but she might soon repent, and by her conduct, be forced to make a disadvantageous peace with Spain[564].

These menaces, and the haughtiness wherewith they were spoken by Lomenie, entirely offended Elizabeth. Nevertheless, as Henry's affairs were in a very ill situation, she thought it not proper to deprive him of all hopes of her future assistance.

She answered Lomenie, however, suitable to her dignity, but less sharply than she would have done at another juncture. Afterwards, when he demanded a second audience, her answer was, that she would acquaint the King of France, by her ambassador[565], with her reasons for keeping her troops and money.

Elizabeth Cold to The Interests of Henry

Elizabeth's refusal offended Henry's Council, in which Elizabeth the Leaguers had now too great an influence. Several advised him to make a separate peace with Spain, since he Henry could hope for no assistance from Elizabeth. They seemed to talk as if she had been obliged to send forces to Henry, whenever they were demanded, and had violated her engagements. This was

doubtless, what was intended by the League: the French had reckoned to manage her as they pleased, but being disappointed, were very angry with her.

Besides, Henry's Council being mostly composed of the declared enemies of the Protestant religion, and of whom some had been the most zealous Leaguers, considered Elizabeth not as a friend, whom they were hereafter to regard, but as a temporary friend, from whom they were to draw all possible advantages.

It was not without reason, that Elizabeth mistrusted the King of France, who, to obtain his absolution from the Pope, had submitted to terms unbecoming a King, and tending to the ruin of the Protestants[566], thereby shewing, he no longer considered them as his friends. It was not therefore proper for her to assist powerfully, a friend, who was only so in name.

Wherefore she left him to manage his affairs as he pleased, without giving herself any concern. Besides, she could expect from him only a bare diversion to the arms of Spain, which, probably, would last no longer than required by the interest of France. Henry's conduct gave her no room to expect anything farther, since he had left the Spaniards unmolested in Bretagne, though her greatest danger was from thence.

The Spaniards Make a Descent Upon England

And indeed, in July this year, the Spaniards, who were settled in Bretagne, made a descent in Cornwall, and burnt some villages[567]. Though this Expedition was inconsiderable, it however, obliged Elizabeth to be upon her guard, and demonstrated the necessity of dislodging the common enemy from that province. But the interest of England was not the motive of Henry's actions.

Henry Complains of The States

It was not of Elizabeth only, that the King of France Henry complained after the loss of Cambray. He accused also the States of the United Provinces of violating their alliance with him, in suffering a town of that importance to be taken, and threatened to make a separate peace. The States, seeing the advantage of a war between France and Spain, appeased the King with a round sum of money, two Regiments, and a considerable quantity of corn.

Elizabeth Demands of Them Repayment of Her Debt

This proceeding of the States caused Elizabeth to tell them[568] since they had money enough to lend the King of France, they were, doubtless, able to pay their debts, and therefore she demanded to be reimbursed of what she had advanced for them. Adding, that unless speedy satisfaction was given her, by a discharge of part of the debt, and an assurance of the remainder within such a time, she would take proper measures to do herself Justice. The States being thus pressed, had recourse to prayers and submissions to appease her.

They represented, that the state of their affairs did not permit them to satisfy her. But as excuses signified little, they urged their Treaty with her, by which they were not obliged to repay her, till the end of the war. She replied, that when she assisted them, they were reduced to a deplorable state, and she showed her bounty and generosity, in not requiring a reimbursement till after the peace, because it was not likely, they should be able to pay her before.

But since they were rich enough to lend the King of France money, it was evidently in their power to reimburse her. That therefore the Article of the Treaty on which they insisted, ought naturally to be thus interpreted. That they should not be in a condition to repay her before the conclusion of the war. There were great and even warm contests upon this subjects. But at last the affair was adjusted for a time, on these conditions:—

The Differences are Accommodated for a Time

That the States should promise for the future, to pay the English forces in their service[569], and join the Queen's fleet, with a certain number of ships, in case she should be attacked by the Spaniards.

Complaints of The Hanse Towns

Elizabeth had also a contest to maintain with the Hanse Towns, who complained to the diet of the Empire, that their corn was seized by the English in Portugal, and their privileges infringed, formerly granted them by Edward. As this affair was more warmly pushed some years after, I shall have occasion to speak of it elsewhere.

Sir Walter Raleigh Goes Upon Another Voyage into America

This year, Sir Walter Raleigh made, at his own charge, a second expedition into America, from which he reaped no great advantage. The Queen likewise fitted out twenty six ships to carry the war into that country, under the command of Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Hawkins[570]. But as the Spaniards had taken great precautions, the English Admirals performed nothing memorable. Nay, they both died in this expedition.

Affairs of Ireland

Norris, as I said, was dispatched into Ireland to command the forces against the rebels, at the head of which was the Earl of Tir-oen. The jealousy which arose between that General and the Lord Russel Lieutenant of Ireland, was the reason, the English made no greater progress in that Kingdom.

The Earl of Tir-oen even obtained a Truce, upon giving hopes he would lay down his Arms, and submit to the Queen. But this was only a feint to gain time till the arrival of the succours promised him from Spain. The war was continued for some years; but my design is not to relate the Irish affairs, which would require a separate history.

Besides, the manner in which historians then were so confused, and the Irish names as well of persons as places are so barbarous and hard to remember, that it is difficult to form a clear idea of this War [571].

Success of The Spanish Arms in France

1596 AD] Whatever resolution had been made by Elizabeth to concern herself no more with the affairs of France, she was however forced to take other measures, by reason of the success of the Spanish arms in that Kingdom. Cardinal Albert of Austria, who had succeeded his brother Ernest in the government of the Low-Countries, arrived there the beginning of the year 1596.

He immediately made great preparations as if he intended to relieve La Fere, which had been for some time blockaded by the French King, and at last besieged in form. But suddenly, after throwing succours into the town, the Archduke marched to Calais and invested it.

Henry Demands Assistance from Elizabeth

This place had been formerly of great repute, but whether from the change in the method of besieging towns, or from being neglected since it was recovered by France, it was now of little note. Henry alarmed at this siege, dispatched Sancy into England to demand Succours.

The Marshal de Bouillon quickly followed him, and so pressed the Queen, that she ordered eight thousand men to be ready under the command of the Earl of Essex. But she required, in case the siege was raised by the English, to have the town delivered to them, since in effect it was lost to France. The Marshal and Sancy evaded this demand, by saying, they had no instructions upon that subject, knowing, at the worst, the King had rather see the place in the hands of the Spaniards than restored to the English.

Calais Taken by The Spaniards

So, under pretence that the relief of Calais was too pressing to allow time to discuss that proposal, they so managed, that the Queen gave orders for the embarkation of the troops. But at the same time, news came that the place was taken, after a resistance, but of twelve days. Then, the Archduke also took Ardres with the same ease. This was the sixth place taken from France by the Spaniards, within a year.

The Succours designed for Calais not having been ready in time, the newly levied troops were dismissed; but the Queen lent money to Henry on the security of his two ambassadors.

Elizabeth Sends a Fleet Against Spain

Meantime, the Queen having advice that the King of Spain was preparing to invade England and Ireland, resolved to prevent him. For this purpose, she fitted out a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, with two and twenty Dutch ships, and seven thousand soldiers. Charles Howard commanded as admiral, and the Earl of Essex was appointed general of the land forces[572].

Expedition of The English to Cadiz

The Fleet sailed from Plymouth the beginning of June, and kept at a distance from the coasts of France and Spain, for fear of alarming the Spaniards, the commanders intending to surprise Cadiz. It was with great joy that they learned from the master of an Irish vessel returning from that Port, that every thing there was in the greatest security: That the Garrison was full of ships of war, galleons, gallies, and merchant-men freighted for the Indies.

This news filling them with hopes, they arrived the 20th of June on the west side of the isle of Cadiz, and at their approach, the Spanish ships retired to the Puntals. The next day, the English attacked them with great resolution[573], but met with so warm a reception, that the fight lasted from break of day till noon.

At last, the Spaniards despairing to make a longer defence, resolved to sink their ships, and escape to land. Their Admiral ship called the St. Philip was burnt to ashes, with two others near her, the Spaniards themselves setting it on fire to prevent its falling into the hands of the English. The St. Matthew and St. Andrew were taken, and most of the others ran ashore.

During the engagement at Sea, the Earl of Essex with the forces against the rebels, at the head of which was eight hundred men landed at the Puntals, and marched directly to Cadiz. Three or four hundred paces from the City, he met with five hundred Spaniards, who, when they saw him, retired into the town, and were so closely pursued, that the English had like to have entered with them.

The consternation was so great in the town, that before any measures could be taken for its defence, the English had time to force the gate[574] and throw themselves into the town. Though they found some resistance in the streets, yet in half an hour they made themselves masters of the market-place. Then the Garrison and inhabitants retired into the castle and town-house, but

the same or the following day, were obliged to surrender. By the capitulation, they were to have their lives on payment of seventy thousand ducats, for which four principal citizens were given in Hostage[575].

The Town being thus in the power of the English, the Earl of Essex turned out all the inhabitants, and then ordered to be carried board a great quantity of silver, ammution, and other valuable things, besides what the soldiers had plundered.

On the other hand, Admiral Howard sent Sir Walter Raleigh to burn the merchant-ships at Port-Real. The admiral was offered two millions of ducats for their ransom, but rejected the offer, saying, he came to burn and not to ransom the ships. meantime, the Duke of Medina found means to unload some of these ships and fire others to deprive the English of their riches.

Besides the merchant-men, the King of Spain lost two galleons, taken by the English, with above a hundred brass guns[576], thirteen men of war, eleven ships freighted for the Indies, and thirteen others without reckoning the stores prepared for the intended expedition against England. The English estimated his loss at twenty millions of Ducats.

The Ear] of Essex proposed in a council of war to keep Cadiz, and even offered to stay there, provided he might have four hundred men and] three months provisions; but his advice was not followed, every one being impatient to return with his plunder to England. So the fleet set sail, after burning the town with some adjacent villages.

While the fleet was sailing for England, a north wind arising, the Earl of Essex proposed to steer for the Azores, and wait for the Indian carracks: but he was not heard, every one fearing to lose what he had gained.

Mortification of The Earl of Essex

The Queen received these brave men with great marks of esteem, and expressed her acknowledgment of the service they had done her. But the Earl of Essex met with a mortification on his arrival at court, for, having before his departure, recommended Sir Thomas Bodley to be Secretary of State, the Queen, without regarding his recommendation, had conferred that office on Sir Robert Cecil the Lord Treasurer's son, who was not his friend.

Some days after, he had also the vexation to see Francis Vere made Governor of the Briel[577], though he had strongly solicited for another. This convinced him that his credit was declining, and his uneasiness at it engaged him in extravagant projects which cost him his life.

Elizabeth Demands Payment of The States

The King of Spain having been for some time unable to pursue his designs against England, Elizabeth renewed her applications to the States of the United Provinces, for payment of her arrears. The States, to be excused, alleged the same reasons as before, which were no better received.

The Queen said, it was unjust her payment should depend on a peace, which the States might defer as long as they pleased. That besides, the treaty she had made with them, contained in express terms, that the war should continue no longer than she saw convenient. But the States pretended, this article was inserted in the treaty only in honour to her.

This contest held, till the report of new preparations in Spain hr an invasion of England, caused the Queen to cease by degrees her solicitations. The truth is, the States delayed to pay her, not so much out of inability, as to keep her always attached to their interest.

On the other hand, the Queen did not make these pressing instances from want of money, but because she would not have her payment depend on the success of the affairs of her debtors. They were then able to pay, but she knew not what alterations time might produce.

A New Treaty Between France and England

When the Marshal de Bouillon was sent into England to demand aid, he had made some proposal of a stricter alliance between France and England. But the French King had neglected this affair, because he saw Elizabeth upon her guard, and unwilling to furnish him with either men or money, but upon good grounds.

Meanwhile, the designs and preparations of the Spaniard becoming public, Henry believed, Elizabeth would be more tractable, and he might treat with her upon better terms. In this belief he dispatched the Marshal de Bouillon and Sancy into England, to negotiate with the Queen a league offensive and defensive.

Articles of The Treaty

The treaty was soon concluded, for the Queen was afraid, the ill situation of the King's affairs would force him to a separate peace with Spain. The principal articles of this league were:—

That the Queen should furnish 4000 men for the defence of Picardy and Normandy:

That the King of France, in case the Queen was invaded, should find the like number for the defence of England, not to serve above fifty miles from the Sea.

That neither of the two crowns should make peace without the consent of the other.

By a secret article it was agreed, that Elizabeth should this year furnish no more than two thousand Men[578].

Very probably, Elizabeth concluded this league with France, with the sole view of keeping Henry engaged in the Spanish war, by means of the supplies she was to send him. But it is unlikely, she expected the same assistance in case of need, because Henry could not himself be without the English auxiliaries.

On the other hand, Henry knowing, that Elizabeth had consented to this treaty from the sole motive of interest, scrupled not to act on the same motive; that is, to use the Queen's assistance, till he could with honour disengage himself from a war, he had so unseasonably declared against Spain.

The States are Received into The League

There are few leagues but what have the like foundation. Wherefore they are commonly seen to cease, when the interest of one of the parties begins to change. The States of the United Provinces entered into this league, with some additional articles which concerned them in particular. But jealousy of their attachment to France, retarded some time the conclusion of their treaty.

She pretended, they ought not to come into it as sovereigns, but as associated towns which had put themselves under her protection. But the King of France prevailed with her to desist from this pretension.

Philip II. was enraged to be prevented by Elizabeth, and to be unable to defend his own dominions, he who had, his whole life, been so greedy of those of others. So, resolving neither

to desist from his projects, nor suffer Elizabeth to enjoy the satisfaction of her happy success, he determined to make another effort, not only to be revenged of Elizabeth, but also to conquer England.

Though he had received great damage from the English, yet as it was only in one of the places where he had made his preparations, he still believed himself in condition to pursue his designs. He therefore assembled all the ships he had left, freighted many foreign ones, and, by this means, had a formidable fleet, when Elizabeth thought him entirely unable to act against her. This fleet sailed from Lisbon to take up the land-forces at Fariola, and then steered directly for England.

But a violent storm arising in the midst of the voyage, several of the ships were lost, and the rest so dispersed, that the fleet was rendered unserviceable for this year. Thus Elizabeth had the pleasure to hear it was unable to hurt her, before she knew of its sailing. But not to be exposed again to the like danger, she took care to fortify the places where the Spaniards could most easily have landed[579], if heaven had not blasted their projects[580].

1597 AD] In the beginning of the year 1597, during a most severe winter, Prince Maurice gained a battle, against the Spaniards, at Turnhout. But on the other side, in March, Hernando Tellez Portocarrero Governor of Dourlens, found means to surprise Amiens. This accident disturbed the secret negotiations of peace, which by the mediation of the Pope were on foot, between Henry and Philip.

The treaty was now well advanced without Elizabeth's knowing anything of it, notwithstanding Henry's late treaty with her, of which the principal article was, that no peace should be made without a mutual consent.

Philip Forms Projects Against Ireland

Philip relying on a separate peace with France, had resolved to make an effort against Ireland, where he had correspondents, and even prepared a fleet to execute his design. The notice the Queen received of it, made her resolve to prevent him, as she had often done with success.

The Queen Sends a Fleet Against Spain

For this purpose, she equipped a fleet of six-score vessels, with six thousand land forces, and gave the command to the Earl of Essex[581]. The Earl's project was to sail to the Groyne, and destroy the armament preparing there, then to wait at the Azores for the Spanish fleet returning from the Indies. But contrary winds, storms, and a quarrel betwixt the Earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh broke these measures, and the fleet returned to England, without any memorable action.

The Fleet Returns Without Having Achieved Anything of Moment

It is needless therefore to be more particular, concerning an expedition from which Elizabeth received but little advantage. I shall only say, that whilst the English were returning, a Spanish fleet from Fariola was steering the same course, in order to make a descent in Cornwall. But a tempest from the north so dispersed the two fleets, that they could not even get sight of each other.

The Earl of Essex in Ill Humour Against The Court

The Earl of Essex being returned to court about the end of October, met with a fresh cause of discontent. The Queen had created Admiral Howard, Earl of Nottingham, and inserted in his Patent, that it was for his services to his country in 1588, against the fleet of Spain, and afterwards,

in taking the town of Cadiz jointly with the Earl of Essex. This Patent offended the Earl, who thought himself affronted by the Queen, in her ascribing any share of the taking of Cadiz to the Admiral.

Besides, by this creation the new Earl of Nottingham was to take place of him by an act of Henry VIII, which gave the precedence to the Lord High-Steward, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President, the Lord Privy-Seal; the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord High-Constable, the Earl Marshal, the Lord High-Admiral, (and the Lord Steward, who are called the great officers of the Crown) before all the Peers of equal degree[182]. But the Queen to assuage his resentment, created him Earl-Marshal of England, which preserved to him the precedence of the Lord High-Admiral.

The Dispute of The Hans Towns Revived

The Hans-Towns, as I said, had made great complaints to the Diet of the Empire, concerning the corn taken from them in Portugal, and their privileges lost in England. Elizabeth sent an Ambassador to the Diet, to answer these accusations. He represented, that the Hans-Towns by the abuse of their privileges, had caused them to be annulled by an act of Parliament in the reign of Edward VI.

That afterwards Mary had for a time suspended the execution of that act; but at last, even in her reign, those privileges had been entirely abolished, for which he alleged several reasons mentioned in Edward's reign.

That as to the seizure of their ships in Portugal, they were freighted with provisions for the Spaniards, and by the law of nations the English could seize provisions which they were carrying to their enemies, and even confiscate the ships which however were restored to the owners.

This affair seemed suppressed, and it had not been mentioned for two years, when suddenly the Emperor, at the solicitation of the Hans-Towns, prohibited the commerce of the English merchants, called the adventurers, with the Empire. This obliged the Queen to prohibit the commerce of the Hans-Towns in England.

Henry Demands Succours of England

Meantime, the King of France was greatly embarrassed, since the Spaniards were become masters of Amiens, from whence they could make incursions to the gates of Paris. He resolved therefore, at any rate, to recover this place and formed the siege about the end of May. At the same time, he summoned Queen Elizabeth to send him four thousand men, according to their treaty.

The Queen's Answer

The Queen answered, she was ready to send the forces, provided he would pay them, because her expenses in equipping a fleet, and maintaining an army in Ireland, rendered her unable. Troops without money did not suit with Henry, whose exchequer was exhausted. Wherefore to induce Elizabeth to comply with his demand, he ordered her to be told, that offers of peace had been made him with the restitution of all his places, except Calais and Ardres, if he would abandon England.

Henry Threatens to Make a Peace Without Her

He meant to insinuate, that it was solely on her account, he had refused a separate peace, though in truth, the surprise of Amiens was the real cause of the discontinuance of the treaty, which he would not have begun, without her participation, if he had retained the least regard for her.

She Justifies Herself From The Words of The Treaty

However this be, the Queen, yet ignorant of the secret, told him, by her ambassador, she could never believe, that so great a Prince would violate solemn treaty so lately made, and confirmed with reciprocal oaths. She prayed him to look into the treaty, where he would find this article in express terms:—

The Queen of England shall send this year, four thousand foot to serve the King for the space of six months:

They shall likewise serve him as long in the forthcoming years, if the Queen of England's affairs will conveniently permit, in which point the King of France is to take her honour and conscience for security.

That therefore it was manifest, the treaty was not violated by her, as she offered to send forces, provided he would promise to pay them. All this ended at last, in what, probably, Henry proposed, which was, that Elizabeth instead of forces, should supply him with money.

For security, Henry offered her Calais, provided she would recover it within such a time with her own forces. This was engaging her to make a diversion more advantageous to France, than the four thousand men he demanded. It was even uncertain, whether the town could be taken within the limited time, which probably, would have been very short.

But Elizabeth was not to be thus ensnared, especially as she knew, the King of France had, rather see Calais in the hands of the Spaniards, than of the English. But the retaking of Amiens, which surrendered in September, finished this dispute.

Henry Negotiates a Peace with Spain Without The Participation of Elizabeth

The surrender of Amiens renewed the negotiations between France and Spain, which had been interrupted. Henry's conduct on this occasion did not correspond with the services he had received from Elizabeth in his most pressing necessities. He deferred to acquaint her, that a peace was absolutely necessary for him, till he had privately settled the principal articles.

He thought, probably, as Elizabeth had only consulted her own interest in their League, he might likewise consider only his own advantage. Such a principle allows the breach of any alliance without scruple. He could not however so secretly transact this affair, but Elizabeth had notice of his proceedings and designs.

Parliament Grants a Large Supply

For this reason she called a Parliament[183] to demand an aid in such a juncture, intimating, she going to be abandoned by her ally, though he still pretended not to treat without her. The Parliament perceiving the danger of an immediate invasion, voted an extraordinary supply, on condition, it should not be drawn into a precedent[184].

Henry Makes Peace with His Allies

1598 AD] Elizabeth knew Henry was treating with Spain, but was ignorant the peace was now almost concluded, and the more, as he had desired her to send ambassadors to settle the points on which they were to treat. She sent therefore, (Thomas) Wilks, (Sir Robert) Cecil, and (John) Herbert, (Master of Requests) The first died presently after his arrival at Paris. The two others waited on the King at Angers, to know upon what terms the negotiations stood with Spain.

Henry gave a general answer, declaring, he wanted a peace, and that the welfare of his people, which he preferred to all other considerations, absolutely required it. Cecil answered, the Queen his mistress desired it no less, but wanted to know upon what conditions it was proposed by the King of Spain, and whether the States of the United Provinces were to be included.

Henry replied, the King of Spain offered to restore all the places taken in France, Calais not excepted; that this offer could not be rejected, without exposing his Kingdom to utter ruin. Adding, he would soon cause the King of Spain to grant honourable conditions to the Queen, and the United Provinces.

They Complain to no Purpose

This was sufficient to show the Ambassadors, that the peace between France and Spain was already concluded, and no care taken of Henry's allies. Elisabeth, having some intelligence of it, ordered her ambassadors to complain to the King; and the ambassadors of the States received also the same orders from their masters. But Henry not to hear himself reproached, which must have been very mortifying to him, appointed commissioners to treat with the ambassadors, instead of granting the audience they demanded.

These commissioners and the ambassadors being met, Oldenbarnevelt, one of the States ambassadors, spoke boldly of the insincerity wherewith the King had treated his masters. He adjured the King, though absent, to declare in his conscience, if he thought it beaoning a Prince, to separate from his allies without any provocation.

Then, to confound the French commissioners, he read aloud the Treaty of League, concluding with these words:—

That some Kings preferred their private interests to their alliances; but that this often proved fatal to them; for when Princes have parted with their faith and honour, it is in vain to think of supporting themselves by mere power[185].

The Chancellor, who was one of the commissioners, answered the ambassador, that what he said deserved great regard, and should be reported to the King, protesting however, that France could not subsist without peace.

Cecil spoke next, and said, That being empowered only to treat of a general peace, since the States of the United Provinces were not to be included in the King's Treaty with Spain, he could proceed no farther. Then, after a justification of Elisabeth's conduct, and a bold censure of the French King's, he demanded time to inform the Queen of what passed. But his demand being eluded, he prayed the commissioners to remind the King of the oath, he had taken before God and man.

He concluded with saying, that the Queen expected to be repaid, the sums lent the King in his pressing necessities. But whatever the ambassador alleged signified nothing, since the peace between France and Spain was concluded, and nothing was wanting, but the formality of having it publicly signed by plenipotentiaries, who were to meet at Vervins.

Elizabth Enraged

Elizabth was extremely provoked with the French King's proceedings, and the more, as she saw no other cause which could oblige him to negotiate a peace without serving her notice, than compliance to the Pope and the King of Spain. It is certain, Henry might have disengaged himself, with some appearance of good faith, if he had but pretended an unwillingness to treat without his allies, and afterwards, upon the difficulties which should arise, had urged the necessities he was under of making a peace. But concluding it without their knowledge, he clearly discovered,

that he preferred the King of Spain's interest before that of his ancient allies. This was indeed his character.

Elizabeth Writes A Letter to Henry full of Resentment

He was so impatient to see himself in peaceable possession of the crown of France, that to compass his ends, he never scrupled to sacrifice his old friends, who were unable to hurt him, to his most mortal enemies, who might still create him disturbance. He had no person about him who dared to censure such a conduct; but in Elizabeth he found one of an equal rank, who used him with less ceremony.

She sent him a letter, in which, after other severe expressions, she told him:—

That if in temporal concerns, there was such a thing as a sin against the Holy Ghost, it was, doubtless, ingratitude: That if he had obtained advantageous terms from Spain, he ought to thank England for them: and that solemn oaths, and mutual compacts, were never intended for snares, unless by the word of men.

Henry was stung with these reproaches, but as they admitted of no reply, chose to take no notice of them. He excused himself upon the urgent necessity which forced him to make peace, and endeavoured to persuade Elizabeth, that whereas he had hitherto been only a burden to her, he would for the future, give her marks of his acknowledgment, in procuring her a safe and honourable peace, and in never forsaking her interests. But this was only words, which were not much regarded by the Queen.

Henry Signs The Peace Without His Allies

During these transactions, some articles of little moment which had remained undecided, were finished at Vervins. Mezerai owns, the peace might have been concluded and signed in less than three weeks, if Henry had not affected to persuade the public, he would not abandon his allies. But all this tended only, to obtain for the ambassadors of England and of the States, an admission to the conferences without any declaration of what he would do in their favour.

But Philip, who knew how far he should be solicited, remained inflexible, and would never grant a power to his plenipotentiaries to treat either with England or the States. At last, after Henry had made all the necessary excuses to clear himself to the public, he gave orders to his plenipotentiaries to sign the treaty, promising however his allies, that he would not ratify it till forty days after, as if that time had been sufficient to make their peace with the Spaniard, who even refused to treat with them.

Meanwhile, he exhorted them, whether seriously or jestingly, to embrace the opportunity he was procuring them. This Peace was signed at Vervins the 2nd of May, and ratified by Henry the 12th of June.

It was now incumbent upon the Queen and the States to take proper measures to sustain the war against all the forces of Spain, and in order to this, Elizabeth sent Francis Vere to the States to know their resolution. Meanwhile, it was debated in council, whether it was proper to make peace, or continue the war.

The council being divided upon this question, several reasons were alleged on both sides. But the Queen, who knew perfectly her interest, readily declared for war. She perceived, that in making a separate peace, as it would have been very easy, she should oblige the States to put themselves again under the Spanish yoke. In that case, she foresaw, she would stand single without any ally, and exposed to the insults of Philip, who would never want pretences to quarrel

with her, and resume his former projects against England. Nay, it was to be feared, the King of France incited by the Pope and a Catholic council, where the antient leaguers had great influence, would suffer himself to be engaged in a plot to dethrone her.

She was also apprehensive, the King of Scots, in order to ascend sooner the throne of England, would be tempted by promises to abandon the interest of the protestant religion. In a word, by forsaking the States, she exposed herself to the danger of seeing the storm falling upon her own head, which she had all her life been labouring to turn upon her neighbours.

On the contrary, in supporting them she employed the Spaniard, and hindered him from making any considerable attempts upon England. Moreover, if by a vigorous war she could oblige Philip to a peace without any danger to the liberty of the States, she would thereby secure friends, who might be very serviceable on occasion.

These were the reasons which determined the Queen to continue the war. But she was very careful to conceal her intentions from the States, and rather showed a great inclination to peace, pretending she was unable to carry on so burdensome a war. She intimated to them, that her interest was not concerned, and that Philip's efforts against England, plainly showed, she was in no danger from him.

The States, not being able to dissemble like her, because their all was at stake, she brought them to acknowledge, that if the war was continued, it was solely for the preservation of their liberty, and therefore it was necessary to treat anew upon that foundation. In short, she so artfully managed, that they came to a new agreement with her, entirely to her advantage.

The States chose rather to submit to her terms than be forced to make a peace, by which, in that juncture, they must have lost their liberty, their religion, and the fruits of thirty years labour. The articles of this new treaty were:— [586]

That the States should give security to Elizabeth for eight hundred thousands pounds sterling, to which all her claims were limited.

That the half of this sum should be discharged by yearly payments of thirty thousand pounds sterling, as long as the war should continue; and if, at the end of the war, any thing remained of this half, the annual payments should be but twenty thousand pounds.

That as to the other half, and the restitution of the places which were in the Queen's hands, there should be an amicable agreement, when the peace was concluded.

That for the garrisons of Flushing, the Briel, and other Forts, the Queen should furnish eleven hundred and fifty men, to be paid by the States, at the rate of one hundred and seventy pounds sterling a month, besides utensils and other usual necessaries for soldiers in garrison.

That for the future the Queen should be discharged of her engagement to furnish the states with auxiliaries, and that the English, who now served, or should hereafter serve with the Low-Countries, should be paid by the States, take an oath to them, and obey the orders of their generals.

That by this means, the authority of the English deputy, stipulated in the former treaty, would be abolished, the Queen nevertheless reserving a power to put one person into the Council of State.

That if, during the war, the common enemy, or his adherents should set out a fleet to invade England, or the isles belonging to it, namely, those of Wight, Silley, Guernsey, and Jersey, the States should be obliged to assist her Majesty with a fleet of thirty or forty ships of war; and, in case of an invasion, with five thousand foot and five hundred horse:

That if her majesty should equip a fleet of fifty or sixty ships, to act offensively, either in Spain, Portugal, or the West-Indies, the States should join her with the same number of ships. And if any English forces, as ten thousand foot and two thousand horse at the least, were sent over into Flanders or Brabant, the States should furnish out half the same number of men.

The Earl of Tir-oen Formidable in Ireland

It is easy to observe from this treaty, how well the Queen knew to improve the present circumstances of the States, and their fear of being forced to make a disadvantageous peace with Spain, though for reasons before mentioned, it was her interest to continue the war.

The King of Scots Insists to be Declared Successor to Elizabeth

Besides, when this treaty was negotiating, the Earl of Tir-oen was very formidable in Ireland. In fine, the King of Scotland almost openly demanded to be declared the Queen's presumptive heir. He dispersed written or printed books, Scots in which he pretended to prove that no person whatever could deprive him of his right.

A letter was even shown to Elizabeth subscribed with his own hand, and addressed to the Pope [587]. Camden says, he had been surprised into this Letter, but that author is too partial, in every thing concerning King James, to deserve entire credit. Shortly after, one Edward Squire was apprehended in London, for having undertaken to kill the Queen by poisoning the pommel of her saddle. All this shows, she had less reason to fear for herself than for the States, and it was her interest to support them, and procure them a peace which should secure their liberty.

The death of Philip of Spain, which happened in September this year, something allayed Elizabeth's uneasiness. That Prince was seventy two years old, and had reigned forty two, in continual troubles to enlarge the bounds of his monarchy. He cast his ambitious views upon France, England, and Portugal, and of all these grand projects, the last only succeeded. But he lost seven provinces in the Netherlands, which were well worth the Kingdom he acquired.

He died a dreadful death, being devoured by lice swarming from ulcers with which he had been some time afflicted: But he bore his calamity with admirable constancy. Sometime before his death, he had assigned the sovereignty of the Lower-Countries in dower to the Infanta Isabella his daughter, when he married her to Archduke Albert. But the conditions annexed to this grant shew he had no intention to dismember those provinces from the Spanish Monarchy.

Besides the reservation of homage, and a power to keep garrisons in the Citadels of Antwerp and Cambray, he had stipulated the reversion of these provinces to the crown of Spain, in default of heirs descending from the Princess his daughter, and it is even pretended he had rendered her incapable of ever having any. He was succeeded by his son Philip III.

The Queen Gives The Earl of Essex a Box on The Ear

This year a troublesome affair happened at the English Court. The Queen consulting the Earl of Essex and the Admiral[588], concerning a fit person to be sent into Ireland, discovered an inclination for Sir William Knolles; but Earl of Essex, though his nephew, strenuously opposed it, contending for Sir George Carew, in order to remove him from Court, as being jealous of him.

He supported his opinion with great haughtiness and obstinacy, and perceiving the Queen immoveable, turned his back upon her with such an air of contempt, that provoked at his insolence she gave him a box on the ear [589]. He immediately laid his hand on his sword, and being prevented from drawing it by the admiral, swore:

That he neither could nor would put up so great an indignity; nor would he have taken it from Henry VIII himself were he alive, and instantly retired from Court. The Lord Privy-Seal representing to him, in a letter, the folly of his menaces, and advising him to ask the Queen's pardon, he sent a long and passionate answer, wherein he spoke very disrespectfully of the Queen [590].

But at last; being brought to himself, by the advice of his friends, he was re-admitted to favour. Few believed this reconciliation sincere, and the Earl's friends were in great fear for him.

The Death of Lord Burleigh

William Cecil, Baron Burleigh, Lord Treasurer, and for many years Prime Minister and confident of the Queen, died this year in extreme old age[591]. The Lord Buckhurst succeeded him in his office of Treasurer.

The Affairs of Ireland

1599 AD] The affairs of Ireland were in so ill a situation, that a speedy remedy was to be applied, or the Kingdom exposed to the hazard of being entirely lost. Since the advantages gained by the Earl of Tir-oen over the English, the whole Province of Munster had revolted. The Natives in every other part of the Isle were in the same disposition, flattering themselves that with the assistance of the Pope and the Spaniard[592], the Earl of Tir-oen would free them entirely from the English yoke.

The Queen, informed of the state of affairs, believed, no time was to be lost to reduce the Irish to their duty, and ordered her Council to consider in her presence, how to execute her resolution. The Earl of Essex spoke long upon this subject, blaming the conduct of the former Lord Deputies, who, he said, amused themselves with trifles, instead of acting directly against the Earl of Tir-oen, without giving him any respite:-

That by Truces granted him from time to time he had restored his affairs; and withal, the Queen had been put to needless expense, since her troops were as well paid in a truce as during the war.

This opinion was grateful to the Queen, who loved not to be lavish of her money without occasion. When a deputy came to be named, most of the council were for the Lord Montjoy. This was opposed by the Earl of Essex, because that Lord had never commanded in chief, and, was too much addicted to books; whereas the affairs of Ireland required an active and a warlike general.

He added, that to put a speedy end to the war in Ireland, the management of it ought to be given to a General of reputation, and who was acceptable to the people. In a word, he so plainly pointed out himself, that he was chosen to the employ. His friends thought to oblige him, and his enemies hoped that this post, and his absence from the Court, would afford them means to ruin him.

A Remark on The Earl of Essex's Conduct

What this Lord's designs were, is not known, but for some time he had made himself so popular, and gained so far upon the people by his affable behaviour, that he was almost adored[593]. He only wanted to gain the affection of the Soldiery, and probably this was his aim in desiring to

command in Ireland. But as he had enemies, intent upon his ruin, it was on this employment they founded their hopes of success.

On the other hand, his friends in serving him too zealously did him a diskindness. They affected to publish his descent from the Royal House of Scotland, and from that of England by his great-grand-mother, who numbered amongst her ancestors Edmund de Langley Duke of York, and Thomas of Woodstock, both sons of Edward III. Hence it was intended to insinuate that after the Queen's death it would be better to place him on the throne than a foreign Prince.

A book was also dedicated to him, in which the author overthrew the titles of all the pretenders to the crown, except the Spanish Infanta's[594]. His enemies, perceiving he was forming some dangerous conspiracy, took care not to divert him from it. On the contrary, they every where, and on all occasions, extolled his valour, his prudence, and his attachment to the Protestant interest, in order to engage him in measures which would more clearly discover his designs. He had a lively wit, and many amiable qualities, but was too much intoxicated with his own merit, and regarded the rest of the nobility as very much his inferiors.

The Earl of Essex Invested with Great Power

He was made Lord Deputy with a very extensive commission, to continue or end the war as he pleased; and even to pardon the Earl of Tir-oen, and the other rebels, which was an authority never before granted to any of his predecessors. But it was inserted in his Commission, that laying aside all other affairs he should apply himself wholly to pursue and ruin the Earl of Tir-oen, chief of the rebels. He could not complain of this clause, because it was only what was proposed by himself in the Council.

He Acts in Ireland Contrary to His Own Advice

About the end of March the Earl of Essex sailed for Ireland with an army of 20000 foot, and 1300 horse[595] (8). The English had never before seen so formidable an army in that island. The Queen had made this great effort pursuant to the Earl's advice, in order to put a speedy end to the rebellion, and terminate the war in one campaign.

On his arrival, he affected, whether of himself, or by the advice of his pretended friends, to act directly contrary to his instructions. He immediately gave the command of the horse to his intimate friend the Earl of Southampton, contrary to the Queen's express orders, who was offended with that Lord for marrying without her permission[596].

Then, instead of marching against Tir-oen, he turned his arms against some rebels in Munster, whom he drove indeed into the woods and mountains, but with the loss of many of his men[597]. This expedition, of little importance, detained him in those parts till the end of July,

Meantime, the Queen informed of his proceedings, writ to him in an angry style, and reproached him with acting contrary to orders founded upon his own advice, commanding him withal to march into Ulster against Tir-oen himself.

He excused himself, by saying, that the Council of Ireland, which knew best the affairs of that Kingdom, had advised him first to clear Munster, and promised positively to march at the first opportunity against the chief rebel.

But shortly after, he writ to the Court, that he was obliged to return to Dublin[598], to chastise some Irish who infested the country, and indeed he suppressed them. But after this second expedition, his army was so diminished that he writ for a reinforcement, without which, he said, he could not perform any great exploits in Ulster.

He began however to march thither, but his vanguard consisting of 1500 men, under the command of Sir Coniers Clifford, fell into an ambush and was entirely defeated.

Though it was astonishing, that with so fine an army he had done nothing considerable, but on the contrary was forced to demand a reinforcement, the Queen immediately sent him some fresh troops. But soon after, he let the Court know, that all he could do this campaign was to post himself on the frontiers of Ulster with thirteen hundred foot and three hundred horse.

On his arrival in that province, the Earl of Tir-oen desired a parley, which he refused. The next day, when the armies were near one another, Tir-oen sent Hagan, an officer, to tell him he was ready to submit to the Queen, and desired him to grant him a conference on the banks of a small river[599], where they might confer, each remaining on his own side.

The Earl of Essex Treats With Tir-oen

The Earl of Essex consented, and they talk together about an hour, without any witness. Two hours after, Tir-oen demanded a second conference, in presence of some of the chief officers of the two armies[600]. The Earl of Essex granted his request, and in the second conference it was agreed, that commissioners should be appointed to treat of a peace on the next day.

This negotiation ended in a treaty of truce which was speedily concluded. The truce was to continue (from six weeks to six weeks) till May the next year, with this condition, that either party should be at liberty to break it giving fourteen days notice.

Meantime, the Queen having received the Earl of Essex's last letter, was extremely provoked. She could not forbear saying, she suspected him of ill designs. She was advised to recall him immediately: but she feared to incense him too much, whilst he had the sword in his hand.

The Queen Writes to Him in Anger, He Meditates on Dangerous Design

Nevertheless, she wrote to him very sharply and reproached him with his contempt of her orders. This letter made such an impression on the Earl, that he instantly resolved to return to England with the flower of his army, and be revenged of his enemies, flattering himself with the general insurrection in his favour. But the Earl of Southampton dissuaded him from so dangerous a resolution.

The Queen informed of this project, countenanced a report, that a fleet was preparing in Spain to invade England, and under that pretence raised 6000 men. Some time after, she augmented her army, gave the command to the Lord Admiral, who was no friend of the Earl of Essex. But this terror of being dispelled by advice from Ireland, she disbanded the greatest part of her forces.

The Earl of Essex Comes into England Without Leave

The news of what passed in England convincing the Earl of Essex that he was suspected by the Queen, he took a sudden resolution to go and justify himself, without demanding the Queen's leave. He was accompanied by the Earl of Southampton and several officers, who on their arrival in England disposed of themselves different ways.

He reserved only six men to attend him, and posted with all diligence in order to be with the Queen before she had notice of his arrival, but he found, notwithstanding his care, he had been prevented. The Queen was then at Nonsuch, ten miles from London. She received him without any emotion, and with some marks of favour, but after some reproaches for his irregular conduct, she commanded him to his apartment till farther orders.

After that, being asked why he made a truce with the Earl of Tir-oen, which might at any time be broken at a fortnight's warning, since he was empowered to conclude a peace; he answered, that the Earl of Tir-oen was so unreasonable in his demands, that they could not be granted[601]: but it was his opinion, that a truce might bring him to more equitable terms.

This answer did not satisfy the Queen, who was moreover provoked at his leaving his Government without her permission; besides that the persons who attended him into England, were very apt to cause her to suspect him. Wherefore she committed him to custody at the Lord Keeper's, to prevent his running into new excesses.

The Earl of Essex Makes His Own Apologies

In *Camden's Annals*, there is an apology writ by the Earl himself, in which it appears, that he very lamely answered the accusation of having neglected to attack the Earl of Tir-oen, and employed his army in expeditions of little consequence. He contented himself with saying, that he had put the Irish affairs in such a situation, that, during his nine months of government, the English sustained no damage.

But he was not entrusted with an army of twenty thousand men, to stand upon the defensive. As for his return without leave, he mentioned it not. Concerning the persons who attended him, he said only, that not above six came to court with him, but of the rest accompanied him from Ireland, he did not speak.

The commission given to the Earl of Southampton, contrary to the Queens express orders, he also passed over in silence. The rest consisted only in exclamations upon the injustice of suspecting him, and in magnifying his father's merits, his brothers, killed in the Queen's service, and his own. At the same time his friends and relations loudly complained of the rigour with which he was treated representing it as excessive. Some even plotted to rescue him by force, but he would not fall into it.

The Earl of Tir-oen Breaks The Truce

Meanwhile, the Earl of Tir-oen, hearing the Earl of Essex was arrested, broke the truce, and did a great mischief to the English inhabitants in Ireland. He flattered himself with a great and speedy assistance from Spain[602], and the Pope, who had made him a present of a pretended Phoenix plume. In this expectation, performed no less a project than to drive the English entirely out of Ireland.

The Friends of the Earl of Essex Cavil in His Favour

In the meantime, the Earl of Essex friends were inciting the people to an insurrection in his favour, representing him, as the most accomplished Lord England ever saw, since the foundation of the monarchy. At the same time, they inveighed against the ministry, but without malicious reflections on the Queens conduct, as if she had no care of the Irish affairs.

The Earl of Essex's Conduct Examined Before The Privy Council

This extremely injured the Earl, and increase the Queen suspicion of him. As she had provoked him, she occasionally believed he was meditating revenge. Wherefore, in the beginning of October, she assembled the council in the Star chamber, where the Earl's conduct was examined, and unanimously condemned by all the privy councillors.

Nothing more however was done against him, the Queen only desiring to satisfy the people, that it was not out of caprice that he was under confinement. He remained therefore at the Lord

keeper's house, where he gave himself up to devotion, spending his time in prayer, and writing letters to his friends in so devout a strain, that he was thought to have renounced all worldly vanities[603].

In the close of the year, the Archduke Andrew, governor of the low countries in his brother Albert's absence, who was gone in to Spain, to marry the Infanta, proposed a peace to Elizabeth. She answered, she would freely consent to it, if the States of the United provinces were included.

This condition put a stop to the negotiations at once. The Queen suspected, the proposal was made only to amuse her, till a fleet, then preparing in Spain, should be ready to invade England. But, this pretended fleet, which gave her some uneasiness, ended at last in a few galleys, put to sea by Frederic Spinola, a Genoese, in the king of Spain's service, carried by him into the harbour of Sluys.

The Earl of Tir-oen's Progress in Ireland

1600 AD] The Earl of Tir-oen improved the disorder created by the Earl of Essex in the Irish affairs. He reduced the whole province of Ulster to his obedience, and hoped to be soon master the whole kingdom.

Lord Mountjoy Sent Thither

For his encouragement, Pope Clement VIII sent him a Bull, by which he granted to him and his adherents, the same indulgences, as to those who fought against the Turks, for the recovery of the Holy-Land. But (Charles Blount) Lord Mountjoy, appointed Lieutenant of Ireland in the room of the Earl of Essex, found means to stop the progress of the rebels, and give a check to their insolence.

A Fruitless Conference for Peace

At the same time, Archduke Albert, called for the Cardinal infant, being returned from Spain, made new proposals of peace to Elizabeth. Henry IV supported them with all his interest, and succeeded so far, that the Queen sent plenipotentiaries to Boulogne, where the peace was to be negotiated.

But after the ambassadors of the two contending crowns had been four months in that place, they parted, without ever assembling, by reason of a dispute precedency between England and Spain. After great contests on this subject, Queen Elizabeth had at last consented to an equality, but the Spaniard would not quit his pretensions. If the plenipotentiaries had met, another obstacle would have occurred, which would never have been surmounted.

This was, that the Spaniards were for a separate peace or truce with England, to which Elizabeth doubtless, would not have consented. Besides, the King of Spain pretended, that Elizabeth should surrender the places mortgaged to her by the States. The Spanish ambassadors having sounded the English of these two articles, and finding they should never obtain their desires used the pretence of precedency to break off the negotiation.

The Battle of Newport

The second day of July, Prince Boris gained the famous Battle of Newport over the Archduke. The English, to the number of fifteen hundred, under the conduct of Sir Francis Vere, distinguished themselves gloriously; but there remained eight hundred dead upon the spot.

Elizabeth being now sixty seven years old, it was with extreme vexation, that the Catholics saw the English crown ready to fall on the heads of a Protestant Prince. Clement VIII, being desirous

to prevent it to the utmost of his power, sent two briefs into England, one address to the Romish clergy, and one to the people. In these briefs, they were forbidden to acknowledge, after Elizabeth's death, any Prince who would not swear, not only to tolerate their religion, but even to support it with all his power. These briefs were privately conveyed into the nation, and communicated, but to few, all dreading the penalties enacted by law.

A Conspiracy Against The King of Scots

But at the same time, some found a more ready and effectual way to prevent the King of Scots ascending the throne of England. The Ruthvens, sons to Earl Goury, beheaded in 1584, conspired against him, and inviting him to their house, at Perth, on some pretence, designed to murder him, but he escaped by a sort of miracle[604].

The two Ruthvens were killed, and their complices condemned to die. Afterwards, by an act of Parliament, all who bore the name of Ruthven were obliged to quit it, that the very name of the family might be abolished.

The Earl of Essex's Story Continued

The Earl of Essex was still under arrest at the Lord Privy Seal's, where he closely applied himself to devotion. He writ from time to time such submissive letters to the Queen, that he seemed to have lost that extreme haughtiness so prejudicial to him. At last, the Queen, content with having humbled him, permitted him to retire to his own house, under the free custody of Sir Richard Berkley, who was to watch him.

Probably, he had been soon restored to favour, the Queen clearly discovering her sentiments in that respect[605]; but his friends and domestics ruined him. They had made such strong cabals among the people, that nothing was talked of but the Earl of Essex's innocence.

Whereas the Queen pretended to have treated him with great lenity and moderation, it was given out, that he was unjustly persecuted, and even his life attempted on false suggestions. Elizabeth, who was very nice in such a point, and considered the people's prejudices against her as a great misfortune, resolved to shew, the Earl had more reason to praise her moderation, than complain of her rigour.

The Earl of Essex Examined Before The Privy Council

To this purpose, she ordered him to be brought before the Privy-Council, to which she had added four Earls, two Barons, and four Judges. But she told these commissioners, it was not her intention to condemn him to any infamous punishment, as guilty of treason or treachery, but only to convince him of having failed in his allegiance, and slighted her orders and instructions, through excess of vanity.

The Queen's design was to shew the prejudiced people, that the Earl of Essex deserved a severer punishment than a few months imprisonment.

Articles of Accusation

When he appeared before his Judges, he was first accused of contemning the Queen's orders, in making the Earl of Southampton General of the Horse.

Secondly, of making Knights, contrary to the express words of his patent.

Thirdly, of neglecting to pursue the Earl of Tir-oen, though that was the principal end of his commission.

Fourthly, of secretly conferring with that rebel.

Fifthly, of granting a truce very prejudicial to the Queen's affairs.

Sixthly, of abandoning his Government, without vouchsafing to ask the Queen's permission. Some inferences were likewise drawn from his disrespectful expressions in his apology, and from certain dangerous principles contained in a book dedicated to him, concerning the deposing of Richard II.

He is Declared Guilty

After hearing the articles of his accusation, he kneeled down, and thanked God for all his mercies, and his Sovereign, for not ordering him a hearing in the Star-Chamber. He declared, he would neither excuse his faults, either in whole or in part, nor contend with the Queen:-

He acknowledged his guilt, but protested upon his honour, that his heart had been always free from the least thought of rebellion. However, in continuing to speak, he began to urge some excuses in his own behalf. But the Lord-Keeper interrupted him, by reminding him, that he had taken a good method, but was now swerving from it:

That in extenuating his faults, he likewise extenuated the Queen's clemency; and that in fine, a manifest disobedience was but an ill proof of a good intention.

The Lord-Keeper, in preventing him from enlarging on his justification, did him a good office.

The Queen's intention was not to have him rigorously tried, but only to shew, he had been treated more gently than he deserved. His confession led him to the same end, whereas his justification would have obliged his judges to a more severe examination. So, whether he understood his own interest of himself, or was warned what to do, he held his peace.

He is Condemned to Certain Penalties

After this, the commissioners consulting together, were of opinion, that he ought to be removed from the council-board, suspended from his offices of Earl-Marshal, and Master of the Ordnance, and committed to prison during the Queen's pleasure.

His office of Master of the Horse was untouched at the Queen's express command, who was unwilling to give occasion to believe, she had entirely withdrawn her confidence from him. She even ordered, the sentence should not be recorded. The Earl received this chastisement with so much humility[606], that the Queen, pleased with his deportment, removed Berkley from him, and left him at full liberty. But she advised him to be his own keeper, and forbid him the Court.

For some years the Queen had honoured the Earl of Essex with a particular esteem and affection. She had given him marks of it on sundry occasions; and particularly by the posts, offices, and commands he had enjoyed.

He Humbles Himself

This distinction had so filled him with pride, that he solely ascribed to his merit these extraordinary favours, which were the pure effect of the Queen's inclination. For this cause, he

had not always that regard for her she had reason to expect from him, imagining she could not be without his assistance. In a word, he was a very bad courtier.

It is not strange, that so imprudent a conduct altered the Queen's affection, and yet, it appeared in all her proceedings, that it was not entirely extinguished. Her design was only to humble that proud spirit, which seemed to vie with her, wherein she believed to have now been successful.

It seemed, he was at last sensible, that humility was the only way to restore him entirely to favour, and had resolved to pursue that method as the surest. Immediately after his sentence, while he was preparing to retire into the country, he told the Queen, by the Lord Howard,

"That he kissed the Rod and the Queen's hand, which had only corrected, and not ruined him, but should enjoy no peace, till he saw again those eyes which had once shined so propitiously on him:

That he had resolved to atone for his error, and like Nebuchadnezzar, to dwell with the beasts of the field, eat grass as an ox, and be wet with the dew of heaven, till it should please his Queen to restore him to his senses."

This submission was very agreeable to the Queen, and yet she answered, she would not be amused with vain words, but as he had so long abused her patience, she would take some time to try his humility. This was a plain intimation, that with a little patience he would appease her entirely, and it was in some measure directing him how to form his conduct.

But was so imprudent as not to improve this advantage, and to follow the interested counsels of his domestics[607], who advised him to petition the Queen for the continuation of the farm of the sweet vines[608], which had been very profitable to him. The Queen, to prove his humility, refused his petition, knowing it to be in her power to repair the loss, whenever she pleased. But instead of receiving this denial with the humility and resignation he had professed since his disgrace, he discovered passion and resentment, which made the Queen think, he was not yet sufficiently humbled.

Forms Dangerous Designs

Whereupon Cuff his secretary and confidant, suggested to him, that the Queen not only intended to humble, but beggar him, and render him contemptible to all the world. Cuff was seconded by other incendiaries, who at last inspired him with the design to restore himself to favour by force, and destroy all his enemies about the Queen's person.

After this resolution, his house was open to all the malcontents. The Earl of Southampton, who had withdrawn into the Netherlands, returned to England; and the Earl of Essex, leaving the country, came to reside in his house at London. When he arrived, Merrick his steward kept open house, for all who thought they had cause to complain of the Queen or her Ministers, and a great number of suspicious persons resorted to his house.

In short, his whole conduct shewed, he was meditating some dangerous design. His enemies improving these proceedings, found means to infuse suspicions into the Queen, and to have spies placed upon him, who informed the court of what passed in his house[609].

Snares Set For Him

1601 AD] It is pretended, his enemies, who had projected his ruin, knowing his pride and haughtiness, caused his friends at Court to write to him, not to discover so much impatience in his disgrace, but to throw himself entirely upon the Queen's mercy, as the readiest way to her

favour. These advices drew from him answers agreeable to the intentions of his enemies, which being told to the Queen, completed his ruin.

They were filled with expectations denoting his anger and impatience, and even intimating his designs. He said, that a storm was fallen upon him when he expected a harvest:-

That the Queen had reduced him to a private life, which was disagreeable to him:

That he was incapable of so vile a submission as was expected from him:

That he had been unjustly imprisoned:

That Sovereigns had not an unlimited power, nor were infallible:

That he had been wounded in every pore of his body:

That his enemies triumphed, but should never have the satisfaction to see him cringe to them.

To these expressions, which were no signs of repentance, care was taken to add reports capable to make him forfeit the Queen's favour for ever.

She was told, he had said. She was grown an old woman, and no less crooked and distorted in her mind than in her body. Camden seems to intimate, that he designedly passes over in silence things still more offensive to the Queen.

His Designs Upon The Queen's Person

Probably, the Earl of Essex thought all farther caution needless, his project being now formed, though he had laid his measures very ill. Those who speak most favourably of it, say, his project was to seize the Queen's person, and drive his enemies from Court, as was practised in Scotland with regard to King James. But he seems to have had greater designs, since he courted the King of Scotland's admittance, perhaps, to place him on the throne before the Queen's death.

It was known, he had writ to that Prince that a plot was formed to deprive him of the succession, and give the crown to the Infanta of Spain:-

That for this purpose, the projectors, who governed at court, had filled the most considerable posts with the Infanta's adherents:

That Secretary Cecil son of the late treasurer, was at the head of this party, and had engaged in it the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst with the Earl of Nottingham the Lord Admiral:

That, the better to execute his project, he had committed the government of the maritime places to his creatures[610], where the Spaniards might most conveniently land:

That the Queen was so impaired in her understanding, that she was incapable to act of herself, and was entirely guided by her Ministers:

That he was therefore necessarily obliged to proceed openly to defeat this conspiracy; and to this end, was speedily to dispatch ambassadors to England, to demand a public declaration of his title to the succession, and the removal of his enemies, creatures and pensioners of Spain, from the Court and Council.

At the same time he furnished him with proofs to be used by the ambassadors, to shew the truth of the plot.

Essex Entertains suspected Persons

Lately, he insinuated that his ambassadors should be sufficiently supported. Camden, who writ in the reign of James I, has not thought proper to tell us, how these propositions were received by that Prince: but it may be judged, they were not disapproved, since ambassadors were presently sent into England, who however came too late.

This historian adds, the Earl of Essex gained to his party some Presbyterian Ministers, and even some Papists, by commiserating their assisted condition, under the Queen's tyrannical government, and by inspiring them with hopes of being eased.

Then he hired the swords-men about London, and placed them near his house. After that, he established a council composed of the Earl of Southampton, Sir Charles Davers, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Governor of Plymouth Fort, Sir John Davis, a great mathematician, [and Surveyor of the Ordnance,] John Littleton, a man of great sense and judgment, and equally qualified for the cabinet and camp.

He Plots to Seize The Queen's Person

This junto meeting in Drury house, the Earl of Essex gave them a list of certain noblemen whom he believed at his devotion, containing one hundred and twenty Earls, Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen, and desired them to consult, whether it was most proper, to seize the palace or the tower, or both at once.

The result of their deliberation was. That the Queen's person and Palace should first be seized, and when she was in their power, the Earl should dismiss certain persons from her presence, and turn them out of their places; but that nothing should be done, till the arrival of the Scotch ambassadors[611].

Essex Sent For by The Council

Meantime, the great resort of suspected persons to Essex's house[612], some words unwarily dropped by the conspirators, and the reports of the spies, confirming the court's suspicions, the council met at the treasurer's house, and sent one of the secretaries[613] to the Earl of Essex, to require his attendance. But at the same time a note was delivered him, advising him to take care of himself.

Whereupon he told the Secretary he was indisposed and could not stir from his house. Immediately after, he consulted whether he should pursue his first project of seizing the palace, or attempt to raise the City of London, or make his escape, since his plot was undoubtedly discovered.

The first of these projects was deemed impracticable, because the guards had been doubled. The second occasioned long debates on the uncertainty of the execution, because the disposition of the Londoners was not sufficiently known. In the mean time one of the conspirators entered, affirming he came from the City, and that the inhabitants were ready to defend the Earl against all his enemies.

He added, that Thomas Smith, the Sheriffs, who commanded a thousand of the trained-bands, had promised to join him. Probably, the person who made this false report had been induced to it by some of the principal conspirators, who finding the Earl begin to relent, was willing to engage him so far, that it should not be possible for him to recede.

The Earl Of Essex Resolves to Execute His Design

This was sufficient to make the Earl resolve to raise an insurrection in the City, being persuaded the people were inclined to his cause. It was therefore agreed, that the next day the Earl, attended by five[614] hundred men should repair to the City, and assembling the Aldermen and people, require their assistance.

That if the citizens were well disposed, they should be employed to gain access to the Queen, or in case of disappointment, the conspirators should retire to some other part of the Kingdom.

Treasons of The Earl of Essex

Pursuant to this resolution, the Earls of Rutland and Southampton went next morning to Essex's house, with three hundred Gentlemen[615], and immediately the gates were shut, and no person suffered to come in or out. But Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of the most zealous of his party, was permitted on some pretence to go out[616].

It was probably he who discovered the plot to the Court; for soon after the Queen sent to the Mayor of London, to order the trained bands to be ready to march upon the first notice. At the same time she sent the Lord Keeper, the Earl of Worcester, and Sir William Knolles[617], to the Earl's house, who were let in through a wicket, without any of their attendants, except the purse-bearer, In the courtyard they saw the Earls of Essex, Rutland, and Southampton, surrounded with a crowd of armed men, and the Lord- Keeper advancing towards them, told the Earl of Essex he was sent by the Queen to know the reason of so great a concourse.

Then the Earl raising his voice, told him: "He certainly knew that it was designed to murder him in his bed[618]:

That his hand-writing was counterfeited, in order to have a pretence to destroy him:

That he had assembled his friends for the security of his life since his enemies could not be satisfied without having his blood.

The Lord-Keeper answering, the Queen would do him justice, provided he would discover his grievances, was interrupted by a voice, crying out, "My Lord, you are betrayed, they design only to ruin you, we lose time, let us be gone." Upon this, the Earl made a sign to those sent by the Queen to follow him[619], and while they were crossing the Court, they heard a confused noise, saying, kill them, away with that Great Seal, secure them in prison.

When they were in the house, the Earl told them, "if they would have a little patience, he would go and advise with the Lord-Mayor and Sheriffs, and return immediately." Upon these words, he left them, and, ordering the door to be shut, set a guard upon them,

He Marches Into The City to Raise an Insurrection But Without Success

Immediately after, he began to march with his company, and entering the City, cried out. "For the Queen! For the Queen! "A Plot is laid for my Life! Then he went to the Sheriff's house, which was at a distance[620], and during his march was not joined by one citizen, though numbers led by curiosity crowded to see him pass. In vain but without, did he cry, arm, my friends, or you can do me no good, not a man stirred in his favour.

The Sheriff, who saw him approaching, withdrew himself by a back door, to the Lord Mayor's. The Sheriff's flight convinced the Earl he had been deceived, when he was told, he might depend

on his assistance. While he was at the Sheriff's, uncertain what to do, he was informed that a herald[621] had proclaimed him a traitor, in one of the wards of the City, and that the Earl of Cumberland had done the same in another. Upon this, he left the Sheriff's house, and crying in the Streets, that England was going to be delivered to the Infanta of Spain, conjured the inhabitants to take arms for the prevention of so great a misfortune.

But seeing no man prepare to support him, and hearing withal, that the Lord Admiral was marching against him with a strong party, he resolved to return to his own house. But coming to Ludgate he found Sir John Levison posted there with a company of soldiers to oppose his passage. He instantly sent Gorges to desire leave to go through; but being denied, was obliged to return to St. Paul's.

Here Gorges represented to him, that it would be proper to discharge the three counsellors, and having the Earl's leave, he freed them immediately, and accompanied them himself to White Hall. Probably, Gorges had betrayed him from the very beginning.

The Earl is Opposed in Returning to His Home

Meantime, the Earl persisting in his resolution of returning home, found the street chained, and guarded by Soldiers[622]. As he saw no other way to pass than by attacking the guard, he ordered Blunt to fall on, and seconded him sword in hand, with great resolution. But he was repulsed and shot through the hat[623], and Blunt was taken prisoner.

By this resistance, he was forced to go to Queen-Hithe, and taking boat with a few followers, the rest being dispersed, retired to his house on the Thames side[624]. When he came there, his first care was to burn some papers, and then, fortify his house in the best manner he could, still expecting to be relieved by the Londoners.

The Earl of Essex Surrenders

Shortly after, the Lord Admiral inverted the house, both from the street and the gardens which reached to the river[625]. Then, he summoned those within to surrender, to which they answered, they would die sword in hand.

The Earl of Essex and His Principal Followers are Committed to The Tower

This was the opinion of the Lord Sands, who pressed the Earl of Essex to fight his way out, representing, it was more honourable to die by the sword, than the axe. And indeed the besieged seemed to be all fixed to that resolution. But the Earl of Essex suddenly changed his mind, and offered to surrender on these three conditions:—

That they should all be civilly treated; tried according to the Laws; and that Ashton the Minister should be sent to him to comfort him in prison.

The Lord Admiral answered, that he engaged for the first; that the Queen would doubtless perform the second; and as to the third, he promised his interest to obtain it. Ashton was a Presbyterian Minister and with this done, the Earls of Essex, Rutland, Southampton, the lords Sands, Cromwell, Monteaule, with Davers and Bromley, were put into boats and conducted to the Tower, The rest were committed to other prisons.

The next day the Queen by Proclamation thanked the Londoners for their fidelity, warning them withal to have a watchful eye on whatever passed in the City, the conspiracy being, as she said, was more dangerous than was imagined.

Thomas Lee Executed

The thirteenth of February, Thomas Lee, the Earl of Essex's creature, and intimate friend of the Earl of Tir-oen, was hanged for saying to a certain officer, that it would be a glorious action for six brave fellows to force the Queen to release Essex and the other prisoners.

Two days after, the Queen published a proclamation, ordering all vagabonds to leave the City on pain of death. The Court had received information, that a great number of such persons lay hid in the City, to rescue the Earl of Essex, when an opportunity offered.

Essex and Southampton are Condemned to Die

At last some of the prisoners having discovered the most secret resolutions of the conspirators, the Earls of Essex and Southampton were to be tried the 19th of February[626]. They were accused of the crimes I have mentioned, and their sole defence was, that they had done nothing but for their own preservation, however, they could not prove their lives had been in danger.

The Earl of Essex expressed a disregard of his life, but the Earl of Southampton implored the Queen's mercy, and desired the peers to intercede for him. They were both condemned to die as traitors.

The Earl of Essex very Penitent

The Earl of Essex after his sentence seriously reflected on his part conduct, and appeared very penitent. Ashton greatly contributed by his exhortations and remonstrances, to put him into this disposition. But because this Presbyterian minister advised him to declare whatever he knew, and probably, by that means, the King of Scotland was known to be concerned in the conspiracy,

Camden speaks of it in such a manner as shews, he approved not this conduct. By the impressions (says he) left upon him by his minister, Essex could think of nothing but damnation, unless he discovered the whole scene, and confessed who were his complices. An author who talks in this manner, is easily perceived to be secretly interested in the deposition of the criminal.

However this be, the Earl of Essex desiring to speak with some of the Privy Counsellors, the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral, and Secretary Cecil went to him. He immediately asked the Lord Keeper's pardon for detaining him at his house, and Cecil's for accusing him of asserting the Infanta's, title to the Crown of England, and was sincerely reconciled to both.

Then, he declared, that the Queen could not be safe whilst he lived, and desired he might suffer privately in the Tower. He owned, that some of his friends and domestics were wicked persons, and public pests, and desired to speak with Blunt and Cuff, who were immediately sent for. When he saw them, he exhorted both to ask pardon of God and the Queen, and told Cuff that this disloyalty was owing to his advice.

The Ambassador to France Privy to The Conspiracy

He declared that Sir Henry Nevill, ambassador to France, was privy to the conspiracy. This probably occasioned the recalling of that ambassador as he was going to Paris, and his being ordered into the custody of the Lord Admiral. The Earl of Essex said also, that Montjoy Lord Deputy of Ireland, and several others in Scotland, France, and the Low-Countries were accessory to the design. But the Lord Montjoy's behaviour in Ireland, had so recommended him to the Queen, that she took no notice of the Earl's deposition against him.

In short, the penitent criminal made a full discharge of his conscience, and concealed nothing of what he knew. Essex, (says Camden) thought a verbal confession too little, and therefore being moved by the dismal scene presented to his conscience, by the person whom he chose to guide it, he delivered the same in writing under his own hand, which his enemies shewing the King the crimes some time after, brought the Earl and his friends into great disesteem with that Prince.

If King James had not been concerned in this affair, there is no visible reason why Essex's declarations should have made him forfeit his esteem. But according to the Earl's project, the ambassadors of Scotland were now on their way to London and King James ever after spoke of this Lord as of one who was his martyr.

The 25th of February was appointed for the Earl Essex's execution. That day the Queen appeared somewhat irresolute. She even sent an order to the Lieutenant of the Tower to countermand his execution: but presently after, ordered him to proceed. This irresolution, pretended or real, has afforded plenty of matter for plays and Romances, in which Elizabeth is represented as struggling with love and anger, not knowing which of the passions she should obey.

She was now however in her 68th year, an age wherein the motions of love could not be very violent. But without dwelling on these trifles, it suffices to say, that the Earl of Essex died like a good Christian, with all the signs of a serious repentance. His head was not separated from his body till the third stroke, but the first deprived him of all sense of pain. The Marshal de Biron being told in what manner he died, ridiculed it, and said, such a death was more becoming a priest than a soldier.

Thus ended the life and projects of the Earl of Essex, projects which were never yet thoroughly known. Though they seem to have tended only to dethrone Elizabeth, and set the crown on the head of the King of Scotland, however, it is not unlikely that he only used that Prince's title as a pretence to ruin Elizabeth, and that his confidence in the people's affection inspired him with greater designs.

It is certain, the Queen had given occasion to think she had more than a common esteem for this Lord. When he was yet but one and twenty years old, she forgave him what she had lent his father, for his expedition into Ireland; and he was the only person to whom she was ever so liberal. The Earl of Leicester dying shortly after, she ordered his goods to be exposed to sale, for payment of the sums she had lent him.

Before the Earl of Essex had done her any great service, she made him Knight of the Garter, and gave him a place in her Privy-Council. She continued afterwards to distinguish him from all other courtiers, not only by the posts, offices, and commands she honoured him with, but chiefly by particular marks of her favour, which were visible to all, and made him to be considered as a favourite.

These favours produced their usual effect, that is, rendered him proud and vain. He could not bear that any person should be promoted but by his means, and was a sworn enemy to all who were trusted by the Queen. Nay, he grew so excessively proud, that he pretended to lord it over the Queen herself, and force her to follow his advice in every thing. This procured him that unfortunate Box on the Ear, which, doubtless, inspired him with thoughts of a signal revenge.

For, from that time, he began to meditate projects which proved his ruin, and might have been attended with that of the Queen herself; so careful ought sovereigns to be, not to affront persons of honour. His Family was originally from Eureux in Normandy, and from hence borrowed its surname. It was noble and antient, as may be inferred from his alliances with the best families in England, some of which were derived from the Royal Family. Walter his father was however the first of his house honoured with the title of Earl[626].

Six Others of The Earl's Accomplices Executed

The Earl being dead, his principal complices were brought to their trials[627]. In Blunt's examination, Essex's written confession was read to him. Blunt, seeing it signed with the Earl's own hand, was so confounded, that he could only say, with his eyes lifted up, Lord, thou knowest from what designs I endeavoured to divert him.

After that, Lee's confession, who had been executed, was read, in which he said, Blunt had permitted him to send to the Earl of Tir-oen, who told the messenger, "that if Essex would be guided by him, he would make him the greatest man in England." Lee had likewise deposed, that the two Earls and Blunt were in the same plot, and formed the same projects. Blunt made a weak defence, as well as Davers, Davis, Cuff the Earl's secretary, and Merieke his Steward, and they all received sentence of death.

Blunt said upon the scaffold, that for three years he had observed the Earl was discontented, and fired with ambition. That when they were in Ireland, the Earl told him his design of taking with him the flower of the army: of seizing Milford-Haven in Wales: of raising men in those parts, and marching directly to London. That he had dissuaded him from an undertaking, so dangerous and difficult; but had indeed advised him to take a select company of men and seize the Queen's person, and in her name, to act afterwards as he saw convenient: But, added Blunt, though it is true, that in all our debates we never thought of imbruing our hands in the Queen's blood, yet had we succeeded, I cannot say but her life might have been in danger.

He declared, that he died a Roman Catholic, but such a one, as solely relied on the merits of Christ's death and sufferings.

The Queen Pardons Several Conspirators

The Queen and Council believed it prudent to end the executions with these few persons, by reason of the number and quality of the accomplices. The Earl of Southampton was kept in prison, and the rest were fined, though very few paid their fines. Henry Nevill was only condemned to imprisonment at the Queen's pleasure, though it was proved against him that he knew of the conspiracy, and made no discovery[628].

Ambassadors From Scotland

The Earl of Mar, and the Lord of Kinloss, the Scotch ambassadors, arrived too late, when the Earl of Essex was in custody. It is well known with what view the Earl of Essex had desired them, but we are ignorant of the instructions given them by the King of Scotland concerning the Plot. It seems, however, it may be inferred from Essex's proposal, and the arrival of these ambassadors at the very time the conspiracy was discovered, that King James was not against it.

Their Demands

Be this as it will, these ambassadors confined themselves, to congratulate the Queen upon the discovery of so dangerous a plot; to demand the punishment of one Valentine Thomas, who in 1598, had accused their master of ill designs against the Queen, for which he was now in prison; to complain that two English fugitives had been drawn out of Scotland by stratagem, who had fled thither for protection; And lastly, to demand the assignment of some lands in England for the King their master[629].

The Queen's Answer

Elizabeth, without taking notice of what she knew, answered. She received very kindly the King's

congratulation, and wished that no such thing might ever happen in his Kingdom:

That she had not put Valentine to death, to shew how little she credited his deposition:

That the two fugitives had been artfully recovered by the Warden of the March, who was to blame for suffering them to escape, and that she was astonished, the King of Scotland should demand them, since to protect the seditious subjects of another Prince, was teaching his own to rebel:

That as to the assignment of the lands, she had given a sufficient answer before:

However, she would make a yearly augmentation of two thousand pounds, provided he would sincerely maintain their mutual friendship, without suffering himself to be influenced by men, who sought their own private advantage in the public calamities.

Ostend Besieged

The siege of Ostend, begun in July this year, furnished ample matter for the affairs of the Netherlands. Sir Francis Vere, the first Governor during the siege, and the English troops which served under him, signalised themselves, and were a great honour to their nation[630].

Mutual Compliments Between Henry IV and Elizabeth

Henry IV. came to Calais in August, as it were to see more nearly what passed at the siege, which made the Archduke uneasy. But this journey was not so much to observe the siege, as to confer more easily with Elizabeth on his project against the House of Austria. Mezerai pretends, Elizabeth first conceived this design, and earnestly desired to confer in person with Henry, in a vessel between Dover and Calais. But I can hardly believe, that at her age, and having no children, she would form a design of this nature, the execution whereof required much time and expense.

I still less believe, that she would have exposed herself to the dangers of the sea, to confer with Henry, whom for some time she had neither valued nor trusted. It is more likely, this Prince meditating then the design which he would have afterwards executed, was desirous to engage Elizabeth in it.

The English historians only say, that the Queen hearing of the King's arrival at Calais, sent Sir Thomas Edmunds to pay him her compliments, and that in return, Henry sent the Marshal de Biron, and the Count d'Auvergne, with Duke d'Aumont, who were received very graciously. Mezerai adds, that the Queen shewed these French Lords the Earl of Essex's skull in her closet. But Camden has confuted this story in his Annals, by affirming, the head was buried with the body.

He says only, that the Queen speaking to the Marshal de Biron, concerning the Earl of Essex, told him, that it was her advice to the King of France, never to spare the heads of those who attempted to disturb his tranquillity.

Monopolies Complained of

The Parliament meeting in October[631], great complaints were made in the Lower-House, concerning divers Monopolies authorized by the Queen's Letters-Patents, which gave private persons the sole privilege of selling certain commodities, exclusively of all others. The Queen being informed, that the Commons considered these monopolies as so many breaches of the people's privileges, annulled most of these grants, and left the rest to be tried by the Laws.

The Queen Annuls The Monopolies

This proceeding, even before she had been addressed, was so pleasing to the Commons, that one hundred and forty of their members were appointed to wait upon her with their thanks. She did not omit this opportunity to testify to the House her great affection for her people. When she had received the compliment of the members, she returned an answer in the following speech:—

The Queen's Speech to The Deputies of The Commons Gentlemen,

I Owe you hearty thanks and commendation for your singular good-will towards me, not only in your hearts and thoughts, but which you have openly expressed and declared, whereby you have recalled me from an error proceeding from my ignorance, not my will.

These things had undeservedly turned to my disgrace, (to whom nothing is more dear than the safety and love of my people) had not such harpyes and horse-leaches as these been made known and discovered to me by you. I had rather my heart or hand should perish, than that either my heart or hand should allow such privileges to monopolists, as may be prejudicial to my people.

The splendour of regal Majesty hath not so blinded mine eyes, that licentious power should prevail with me more than justice. The glory of the name of a King may deceive Princes that knew not how to rule, as gilded pills may deceive a sick patient. But I am none of those Princes: For I know that the Commonwealth is to be governed for the good and advantage of those that are committed to me, not of myself to whom it is entrusted; and that an account is one day to be given before another Judgment-Seat.

I think myself most happy, that by God's assistance I have hitherto so prosperously governed the Commonwealth in all respects; and that I have such subjects, as for their good I would willingly leave both Kingdom and life also. I beseech you, that whatever misdemeanours and miscarriages others are guilty of by their false suggestions, may not be imputed to me: Let the testimony of a clear conscience entirely in all respects excise me.

You are not ignorant, that Princes servants are oftentimes too much set upon their own private advantage; that the truth is frequently concealed from Princes, and they cannot themselves look narrowly into all things, upon whose shoulders lieth continually the heavy weight of the greatest and most important affairs.

Elizabeth had the good fortune to be believed when she spoke in this manner, because in reality, the English, in her reign, were the happiest people under the sun. They saw no designs upon their liberties, nor any infringement of their privileges encouraged. Justice was administered impartially, and the revenues of the crown, and the subsidies granted by Parliament for the public occasions, were not idly consumed. They had therefore reason to think the Queen truly loved them, since she caused them to enjoy so great happiness[632].

Some successors of this illustrious Queen have talked in the same manner to their Parliaments, nay, it is in great measure become customary: but they have not all gained the same credit, because it is not words but deeds that persuade. This affair did not end in mutual compliments. The Commons willing to shew their gratitude to the Queen, granted her the largest subsidy they had ever given her since the beginning of her Reign[633].

Happy are the Kings of England, who by a free and sincere conduct: wisely preserve such a correspondence between them and their Parliaments[634]!

Continuation of The Irish War

The War in Ireland was carried on this year more successfully than in the two former. The rebels received. however an aid from Spain, under the command of Don Juan d' Aquila, who landed at Kingsale, and became master of the town. He instantly published a manifesto, declaring that Elizabeth being lawfully deposed by the Pope, her subjects were absolved from their oath of allegiance, and he was come to deliver Ireland from the laws of the Devil[635].

Succours From Spain to The Earl of Tir-oen

But instead of making the progress he expected, he found himself besieged in Kingsale by the Lord Tir-oen his Deputy. Shortly after, the Earl of Tir-oen approaching the English to raise the siege, was utterly routed, after which the Spanish general was forced to capitulate. He was permitted to retire with his forces into Spain, having first surrendered the castles he had taken.

This capitulation was signed the 2nd of January 1602. During the rest of the winter, the Lord-Deputy had such success against the rebels, that the Earl of Tir-oen's affairs were reduced to a very ill state.

The Spaniards Return Home

1602 AD] Meanwhile the Queen, to divert the Spaniards from making fresh attempts upon Ireland, armed eight large ships with some others of lesser burthen, under the command of Sir Richard Levison and Sir William Mounson.

Fleet Against Spain

These two commanders being separated, Levison met with thirty eight Spanish vessels. coming from the West-Indies, and attacked them, but without success. Mounson pinning him some time after, they went together and assaulted a large carack of sixteen hundred tons, richly laden from the East-Indies, and which lay under the Castle of Zizambra in Portugal, where she was guarded by eleven gallies, commanded by Spinola.

Notwithstanding the difficulty of the undertaking, they attacked the Carack, and after dispersing the gallies, took that rich ship, valued at a million of crowns, and brought her to England, with the loss only of twelve men.

Gallies Taken by The English

In September following, Spinola, with six gallies he had saved, sailing for Flanders, met in the Channel some English and Dutch ships[636], with whom he had a sharp engagement. Two of his gallies were sunk, one taken, and with the other three he retired into Sluys.

A Quarrel Between The Jesuits and Secular Priests

This same year, there was a great contest in England between the Jesuits and the secular priests; These last accused the Jesuits of being the sole cause, of the severe laws, enacted against the Catholics, because they had been concerned in all the conspiracies, and had even suborned assassins to murder the Queen.

Proclamation Against The Jesuits

In the midst of this quarrel, the Queen had intelligence, that the Jesuits and such of the secular Priests as espoused their principles and party, were contriving something against the government. Whereupon she banished them the Realm by Proclamation, forbidding them ever to return to England, on pain of death. The other secular priests, who joined not with the Jesuits, were also liable to the same penalty, unless they would take the oath of allegiance.

Conspiracy Against Henry IV

It was likewise in the course of this year, that King Henry IV. ordered the Marshal de Biron's head to be struck off, for conspiring with some others to dismember the French monarchy. The Marshal had been his right-hand, whilst his affairs were in an ill state. But since the peace with Spain, he thought, the best way to procure quiet was to gain by favours the French Lords, who had most opposed him.

Bouillon Desires The Queen Intercedes for Him

This could not be done without neglecting his old friends, and from thence sprung the plot whereof the Marshal de Biron was head. His accomplices, as the Count d'Auvergne, and some others, easily obtained their pardon. But the Martial de Bouillon who was also of the number, thought it safest to withdraw into Germany, from whence he writ to Elizabeth, desiring her to intercede for him. The King of France writ to her also, acquainting her with the conspiracy, and asking her advice concerning the Marshal de Bouillon. The Queen answered, she could not advise him, till she certainly knew, whether the Marshal were guilty. She warned him also to take care that it was not a Spanish artifice to cause him to entertain suspicions of his best subjects.

But Henry, not considering the Marshal as such, told the English ambassador, that the Queen his Mistress had a better opinion of him than he deserved, since it was certain he was concerned in the Earl of Essex's plot, and had not even disowned it.

The Earl of Tir-oen Submits to The Queen

The Earl of Tir-oen's affairs in Ireland daily declined. Tir-oen The Lord Deputy having closely pursued him, without giving him any respite, even to the places where he thought himself most safe[637], compelled him at length to cast himself upon the Queen's mercy: but would not receive his submission without an express order from the Court. The order coming at last, the Earl of Tir-oen yielded himself to the Lord Deputy[368], who resolved to carry him into England and present him to the Queen.

The Queen Sickness

1603 AD] About the end of January 1603, Elizabeth began to feel the first attacks of a distemper, which carried her at length to her grave. Her being obliged to have the ring she wore on her finger filed off, was looked upon as an ill omen, because she was wont to say, with that ring she had been married to her people.

Her Courtiers Forsake Her

As she was now very old, it was easily believed she would not recover. Accordingly, sometime before her death, she had the mortification to see herself forsaken by most of her courtiers, who strove with emulation to court the favour of the King of Scotland her presumptive successor. This threw her into a melancholy, of which it was not possible to conceal the cause, especially as it was openly talked of sending for King James before she expired.

She Grows Melancholy

In the beginning of March she was seized with a heaviness in all her limbs, which rendered her motionless, and even caused her to speak with great difficulty. This was attended with great frowardness, so that she could not bear any one near her but the Archbishop of Canterbury, who comforted her, and joined with her in prayer.

In short, when it was perceived she was near her last hour, the Council sent the Lord Admiral, the Lord Privy-Seal, and the Secretary, to pray her to name her successor. She faintly answered, that he had. always said, her Throne was the Throne of Kings, and she would have no mean person to succeed her.

She Names for Her Successor The King of Scots

The secretary representing to her, that these words were very obscure, and the Council desired she would declare her pleasure more plainly, I will, (said she) that a King succeed me: and who would that be but my nearest kinsman, the King of Scots? Then being admonished by the Archbishop to fix her thoughts upon God. That I do, (said she) neither doth my mind wander from him at all.

When she could no longer pray with her tongue, she lifted up her hands and eyes to heaven, and giving some other signs of her confidence in the mercy of God, she expired on the 24th of March, old style, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fourth of her Reign[639].

Elizabeth's Character

Elizabeth's to display in few words the Eulogy of this illustrious Queen, it seems to be sufficient to observe, that her name is still of blessed memory with the English, now when flattery cannot be supposed to have any share in the veneration they pay her. But Elizabeth banished from England the Catholic religion, and restored the Reformation.

This alone was the cause that two parties have been formed on her account, who mutually tax each other with flattery or animosity. The Protestants, considering that this Queen was the sole bulwark of their religion, which probably without her would have been destroyed in England, Scotland, Ireland, and perhaps in France and the Low-Countries, cannot forbear giving her great commendations, and feel themselves inclined to excuse her failings.

For the same reason, the Roman Catholics look upon her with another eye; nay, some have not scrupled to paint her in the blackest colours, and give her the most odious epithets. This makes it impossible to give her a character that shall please all the world. I shall content myself therefore with making some reflections which will assist those who seek only truth, to pass an impartial judgment on this famous Queen, free from party passion and prejudice.

Her Ability

Her ability. Elizabeth had great sense, and a judgment naturally sound and solid. This appeared in her whole conduct, from the beginning to the end of her reign. Nothing shews her capacity more, than her address in surmounting the difficulties and troubles created by her enemies, especially when it is considered what these enemies were, the most powerful, the most artful, the most subtle, and the least scrupulous in Europe[640].

The bare naming of them is a sufficient demonstration. The Court of Rome under several Popes, Philip II. King of Spain, the Duke of Alva, Henry II. and Charles IX. Kings of France, Catherine de Medici, the Duke of Guise, the Cardinal of Lorraine, Mary Queen of Scots, all the Romish

Clergy, and particularly the Jesuits. Had her forces been proportional to those of her enemies united together, there would be nothing very extraordinary.

Strength often supplies the want of capacity. But in what manner did she withstand so potent, so formidable Enemies? It was by two or three maxims which she made the rule of her conduct, and from which she never swerved:

To make herself beloved by her people:

To be frugal of her treasure:

To cherish dissension amongst her neighbours.

If things are rightly considered, she had no other way to secure herself. It cannot therefore be denied, that this is a clear evidence of her ability. But as her ability was never questioned, it is not this I am chiefly to describe.

Her Dissimulation

On the contrary, her enemies have taken occasion from thence to defame her, by representing as vices. Her dissimulation disguised, what her friends extol as so many virtues. They pretend, that her ability consisted wholly in an overstrained dissimulation, and a profound hypocrisy. In a word, they say she was a perfect comedian.

For my part, don't pretend to deny that she made great use of dissimulation, as well to the Courts of France and Spain as to the Queen of Scotland and the Scots. This would be denying a manifest truth. The Court of Rome was the only Court she never dissembled with. I am also persuaded, that being so much concerned to gain the love and esteem of her subjects, she affected to speak frequently, and with exaggeration, of her tenderness for them, and desired to have it believed, that she did through an excessive love to her people, things wherein her own interest was mostly concerned.

But the question is to know, whether in her circumstances her dissimulation was blameable. What injury was it to her subjects to endeavour to persuade them, she loved them tenderly, since she actually and really did whatever was necessary to convince them?

As to foreigners, it must be carefully observed, that her dissimulation and artifices tended not to invade their possessions, but to preserve her own. Her enemies frequently attempted to deprive her both of crown and life, and she saved both by her policy and dissimulation. Where is the harm of such a conduct?

Can the dissimulation and artifices which aim only at self preservation, be, without extreme prejudice, confounded with the dissimulation and artifices that tend to surprise the innocent, and invade the property of others; can these, I say, be considered upon the same foot?

For my part I am so far from thinking that this sort of dissimulation is any blemish to Elizabeth's reputation, that I rather believe it ought to be reckoned among her commendable qualities.

Avarice is another failing imputed to her by her own friends. I will not deny that she was too parsimonious, and upon some occasions stuck too close to her maxim, not to be at any expense but what was absolutely necessary.

Concerning Her Avarice

However in general I maintain, that her circumstances required her, if not to be covetous, at least not to part with her money, but with the greatest caution, both to preserve her people's affection, and enable her to withstand her enemies.

After all, whom did she wrong by her extreme frugality? A dozen of hungry courtiers, who would have been very glad she had lavished her treasure, like the King her Father in the beginning of his reign.

As for the rest of her subjects, instead of having cause to complain of this pretended avarice, they had reason to be pleased with it, since it consisted not in robbing them of their property by illegal methods, as Henry VII her grandfather had done, but in husbanding her revenues and consequently their own[641].

Slanders Upon Her Chastity

She is also accused of not being so chaste as she affected to appear. Nay, some pretend, there are now in England the descendants of a daughter she had by the Earl of Leicester. But as hitherto no proof of this accusation has been produced, it may be safely reckoned among the calumnies with which her reputation has been attacked, as well during her life as after her death.

Reflections on The Death of The Queen of Scots

It is not so easy to justify her concerning the death of the Queen of Scots. Here it must freely be owned that she sacrificed equity, justice, and perhaps her own conscience, to her safety. If Mary was guilty of her husband's murder, as there is reason to believe, it belonged not to Elizabeth to punish her. And indeed it was not for that she took away her life, but she used that pretence to detain her in prison, under the deceitful excuse of making her innocence appear.

On this occasion her dissimulation was blameworthy. This first injustice engaged her afterwards, to use numberless arts and devices to have a pretence to render Mary's imprisonment perpetual. Hence arose at last the necessity of putting her to death on the scaffold.

In short, this excess of violence gave birth to more artifices and acts of dissimulation to justify herself, and cast the blame on the innocent. This, doubtless, is Elizabeth's, great blemish, which manifestly proves to what height she carried the fear of losing a tottering Crown. This continual fear and uneasiness, is what characterises her reign, because it was the spring of almost all her actions.

All that can be said for Elizabeth, is, that the Queen of Scots and her friends had brought things to such a point, that one of the two Queens was to perish, and it was natural that the weakest should fail. But this does not excuse Elizabeth's, injustice to Mary, in detaining her in prison, which had no other foundation than Elizabeth's fear concerning her crown.

Concerning Elizabeth's Religion

I come now to Elizabeth's religion. I don't believe her being a true Protestant was ever questioned. But as it was her interest to be so, some have taken occasion to doubt whether the zeal she expressed for her religion, was the effect of her persuasion or policy. What may have occasioned this doubt, is, that it clearly appears in her history, that in assisting the Protestants of France and the Netherlands, as well as those of Scotland, she had only temporal views, namely, her own safety and defence against impending invasions.

But it cannot thence be inferred, she was not a good Protestant, or had no religion at all, since this is not impossible that her religion should agree with her temporal interest. All that can be said, is that she happened sometimes to prefer her temporal, before her religious concerns.

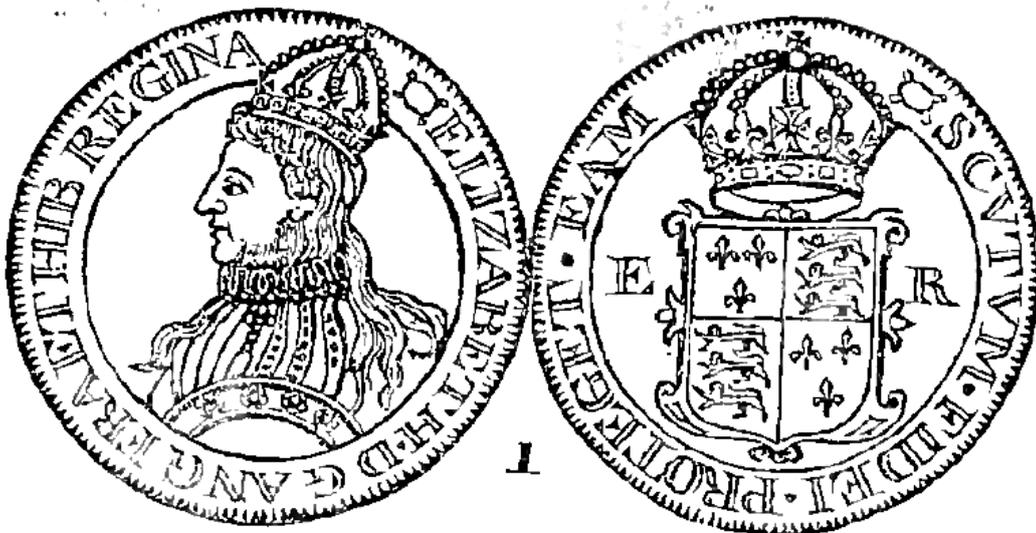
Concerning Her Persecution of The Catholics

She is warmly accused of persecuting the Catholics, and putting several to death. This is true, there were some that suffered death in her reign. But one may venture to affirm, that none were punished but for conspiring against the Queen or State, or for attempting to destroy the Protestant Religion in England, and restore the Romish by violent methods.

The Catholics, who lived peaceably, were tolerated, though with some restraint as to the exercise of their religion, but with none as to their consciences. If this may be called persecution, what name shall be given to the sufferings of the Protestants in the reign of Mary[642]?

The Presbyterians think also they have reason to complain of the statutes enacted in this reign, which deprived them of liberty of conscience, though they were Protestants. I shall not take upon me to determine whether they had cause to complain of this rigour. I shall only say, that, in my opinion, they had too much obstinacy, and their adversaries too little charity.

To sum up in two words what may serve to form Elizabeth's character, I shall add, that she was a good and illustrious Queen, with many virtues and noble qualities, and few faults. But what she ought to be esteemed for above all things, is, that she caused the English to enjoy a felicity unknown to their ancestors, under most of the Kings her predecessors. This, doubtless, is the test, by which we are to judge of those whom God has set over us.



By an indenture of the 2nd of Elizabeth, a pound weight of gold, of the old Standard, of 13 Carats 3 Grains and a half fine, was coined into 36 pounds by tale, namely, into 24 Sovereigns, at thirty shillings a piece, or 38 rials, at fifteen shillings, or 72 Angels, at ten shillings a piece or 114 half-angels, at five shillings a piece.

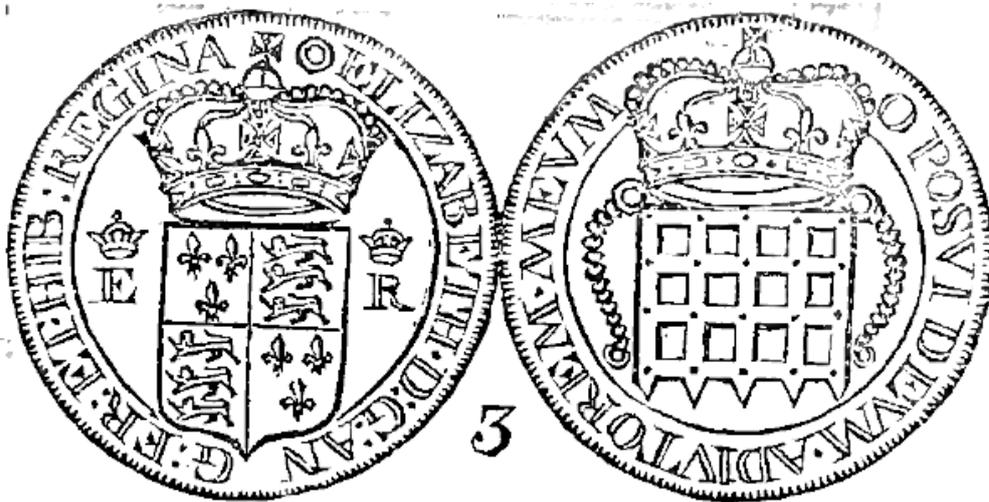
And a pound weight of crown gold of 22 carats fine, and 2 carats alloy, was coined into 33 pounds by tale; namely, 33 sovereigns at twenty shillings apiece, or 66 half-sovereigns at ten shillings apiece, or 132 crowns at five shillings a piece or 264 half crowns.

And a pound weight of the old sterling silver, viz. 11 Ounces 2 penny weight fine, and 18 penny-weight alloy, was coined into 3 pounds by tale, of half shillings, groats, quarter-shillings, half-groats, three half-penny-pieces, pence, and farthings—In the 19th of her reign a pound of gold, of the old standard, was coined into 72 angels, at ten shillings a piece, 144 half angels, at 5 shillings a piece, or 288 quarter angels amounting in tale to 36 pounds; and a pound of old sterling silver, into half-shillings, threepences, three half-penny, or three farthings to make three pounds by tale—And in the 25th into sixty shillings, or into three pounds by tale. In the 26th a

pound troy of old standard gold was coined into 48 nobles, at fifteen shillings a piece, or 24 double nobles, at thirty shillings a piece, making 36 pounds. In the 35th year of this reign, a pound weight of gold of 22 carats fine, and 2 carats alloy, was coined into 33 sovereigns, at twenty shillings a piece, or 66 half-sovereigns or 132 crowns, or 264 half-crowns, making 33 pounds by tale. In the 43rd the pound weight of old standard gold, was coined into 73 angels at ten shillings apiece, or 146 half angels, or 292 quarter-angels, making 36 pounds, 10 shillings in tale, and the pound weight of gold of 22 carats fine, and 2 Carats alloy, into 33 sovereigns and a half, at twenty shillings apiece, or 67 half-sovereigns, or 134 crowns, or 264 half crowns making 33 pounds, ten Shillings in tale; and the pound weight of old standard silver, into three pounds, two Shillings by tale; viz. into crowns half-crowns, shillings, sixpences, two-pences, pence, and half-pence.



The corruptions which the last year of Henry VIII. had brought into the English money, were not quite rooted out until Elizabeth's reign, but her first business was to mark all the base pieces with either a greyhound, portcullis, lion, harp, rose or fleur de lis. Her gold coins as appears from the forgoing indentures, were, sovereigns, half-sovereigns, rials, nobles, double-nobles, angels, half angels, pieces of an angel and a half three angels, crowns and half-crowns. The sovereign has, on one side, the Queen's figure in amour and ruff, hair dishevelled, crowned with the imperial crown of England (consisting of a double arch, as born ever since, all, except Henry VI, having borne it before her, with the single arch). **ELIZABETH. DG ANG FRA ET HIB REGINA.** Reverse, the arms crowned between E. R., A wool pack the mark. **SCVTVM FIDEI. PROTEGET EAM** (Fig. 1) the half sovereign has her head, as upon the shilling. The angel has her titles as before, reverse the ship and arms, with E. And a rose **DNI. FACTVM. EST.**



ISTVD. ET. EST. MIRAB. The double rose noble, or rose rial, which is a noble medal, has on one side the Queen in her robes, sceptre, ball, upon her throne,

at her feet a portcluse, **ELIZABETH DG ANG FRA ET HIB REGINA.**



Reverse a large rose filling the area, with the arms in the centre. **A. DNO. FACTVM. EST ISTVD. ET. MIRAB. IN. OCVL. NRIS.**—Queen Elizabeth's silver money are crowns, half-crowns, shillings, six-pences, groats, threepences, twopences, pennies, penny, half-pennies, half-pence and farthings. All of silver, for there was no brass or copper money coined in England before James I. This silver money from the crown to the three pence is the same, viz., **ELIZABETH. DG ANG FRA ET HIB REGINA.** Reverse, the arms **POVI &c.** On the crowns and half-crowns, she appears with a ball and sceptre (Fig. 2), which never appeared upon the monies from the reign of Henry III.

The shillings are of several kinds, some with a cross crosslet, another with a dove or Drake upon it, which last is said to be in memory of Sir Francis Drake's voyage around the world, a third, a very fair, milled, a star the mint mark (Fig. 4). The portcluse shilling and crown piece, both which are very rare, instead of the Queen's head, have the arms crowned between E. R., And **ELIZABETH. DG ANG FRA ET HIB REGINA.** Reverse a portcullis, crowned and **POVI**, &c an annuler the mint mark. The six-pences are different mints, as the shillings, some with a rose behind her head, another marked with the Belgick lion upon the Queen's breast. Of the groats there are the Drake, star or milled and cross crosslet, mint marks &c. Of the three pences some have a cross, others a sword for the mint mark, others the star, cinque foil, pheon &c., all having the rose behind the head, and motto as the larger pieces.

The two pence has two dots behind the head, **E. D. G. ROSA SINE SPINA.** Reverse, the arms, and **CIVITAS LONDON.** The three half penny piece (coined by this Queen only) has the rose without the Queen's head **CIVITAS LONDON.** Of these there are with the drake, crescent, cross crosslet, tun, figure II and annulet. They are from six grains and a half, to ten and half. The farthings all have the rose on each side, and these weigh from five to six grains. Besides these, Elizabeth also coined Irish money, namely, shillings called harpers, from the arms of the Kingdom, viz., three harps crowned in reverse (Fig. 5).

Notes to Chapter I

- 1) Bishop's Hatfield, then a Royal palace, and exchanged by King James I. With Robert, Earl of Salisbury, for Theobald's.
- 2) All the Bishops went and met her at Highgate. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 374.
- 3) And at the same time, she took care of securing all the ports and the Tower of London, ordered a new commission to be sent to Thomas Ratcliff Earl of Suffolk, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who had kept that mutinous country quiet, only with three hundred and twenty horse, and eight hundred and sixty foot; and also, that the judges patents should be renewed; new justices and sheriffs appointed in every county; no bills of exchange be lent beyond sea; and that preachers should not meddle with controverted points. Camden, p. 369. *Complete History.*
- 4) William Brooke.

5) The haughty Pope told Karne, that England was held in fee of the apostolic see, and Elizabeth could not succeed, being illegitimate. That it was great boldness in her to assume the crown without his consent; for which reason she deserved no favour at his hands; but if she would renounce her pretensions, and refer herself wholly to him, he would shew a fatherly affection to her. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 374.

6) The Roman Catholic counsellors, continued in the new council, were, Heath, Archbishop of York, William Paulet, Marques of Winchester, Lord High Treasurer, Henry Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Edward Fynes, Baron of Clinton, Lord High Admiral, William Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord-Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir William Petre, Sir John Mason, Sir Richard Sackvil, Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury. Most of these had complied with all the changes that had been made in religion, backward and forward, since the latter end of King Henry's reign, and were so dextrous at it, that they were still employed in every new revolution. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 375.— To these were added, all Protestants, William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, Francis Russel, Earl of Bedford, Sir Thomas Parry, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Ambrose Cave, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir William Cecil, and a little after Sir Nicolas Bacon, made keeper of the Great Seal. Camden.

8) The persons employed in this revision were, according to Camden Dr. Matthew Parker afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Richard Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely, Dr. May, Dr. Bill, Dr. James Pilkington, afterwards Bishop of Durham, Sir Thomas Smith, Mr. David Whitehead, Mr. Edmund Grindal, afterwards Bishop of London, and then Archbishop of Canterbury. The management of this affair, and the care to have it done, was left to William Parr Marquis of Northampton, Francis Russel Earl of Bedford, John Grey of Pyrgo and Sir William Cecil. Camden, p. 371.

9) She was buried on December 13, in Henry VII's chapel, on the north side of that King's monument. Stow, p. 635. White Bishop of Winchester preached the funeral sermon, in which he applauded the late reign, and lamented the present state of affairs with such freedom, that it was proper to shew some resentment, and accordingly he was confined to his house till the meeting of the Parliament. Burnet, Tom. II. p- 378.

10) Rapin by mistake says, he lived but six months after his resignation. He resigned his Spanish dominions, October, 25, 1555. and the Empire, January, 17, 1556, and died September 20, 1558. Strada. I, p 1

11) In Poitou.

12) His name was Walter Mills, who was cited before the Bishops, abbots, and divines. Buchanan, I. 15.

13) September 1st St. Gile's day, whom the inhabitants of Edinburgh honour as their patron. Buchanan I., p 16.

14) Buchanan and Melvil differ in relation to the time when this toleration was granted to the Reformed. Rapin.

15) Her cousin German by Mary Boleyn.

16) January 14. Stow; p. 635. The 15th says Stanford, p. 509. and the 25th according to Hollingshead, p 1180. But it appears from Rymer's Foed that it was on the 10th. A patent was granted to Henry Fitz-Alan Earl of Arundel, to perform the office of High Constable on the day before the Coronation, and the office of High Steward on the Coronation day. Rymer, Tom. XV. p. 494, 495.

17) It met the 23rd and was prorogued to the 25th.

18) He was the first that was by patent created Lord Keeper. Formerly those that were keepers of the seal, had no dignity nor authority annexed to their office; they did not hear causes, nor preside in the House of Lords, but were only to put the seals to such writs or patents as went in course; and so the seal was only put in the hands of the keeper, but for some short interval. But now Bacon was the first Lord Keeper that had all the dignity and authority of Lord Chancellor conferred on him. He was Father to the great Sir Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans and was one of the most learned, most pious, and wisest men of the nation. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 380.

19) This Bill was read in the House of Lords, January 30, 31, and February 4, and in the House of Commons, February 6, 17, and 21. The bishops that opposed it were, Heath Archbishop of York, Bonner Bishop of London, Pates of Worcester, Kitching of Llandaff, Bayne of Coventry, Tubeville of Exeter, Scot of Chester, Oglethorp of Carlisle, D'ewes's Journ. p. 19.

20) And accordingly it began to be so on May 8, which was Whitsunday, Stow, p. 639.

21) The dissentients from it were, the Archbishop of York, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Viscount Montague; the Bishops of London, Ely, Worcester, Landaff, Coventry, Exeter, and Chester; the Lords Morley, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton, Rich, and North. D' ewes, p. 28.

22) This Parliament granted the Queen a subsidy of 2s. 8d. in the pound of goods, and 4s. of Lands, to be paid at two several payments. They also granted her two tenths, and two fifteenths, and tannage and poundage for life, as they were granted to Edward VI, and Mary. Stevens. Stow, p. 639.

23) The Points to be discussed in this conference were, worship in an unknown tongue, the Power of particular Churches to alter rites and ceremonies, and the propitiatory sacrifice in the Mass. The conference was begun the 31st of March in Westminster Abbey, before the Privy-Council, both Houses of Parliament, and infinite crowds of people. The Protestant disputants were, Storie Bishop of Chichester, Cox, Whitehead, Grindall, Horne, Sands, Guest, Ailmer, and Jewel. And the Popish were, the Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, Carlisle Chester, Coventry and Lichfield, Cole Dean of St. Paul's, Langdal Archdeacon of Lewis, Harpsfield Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Chedsey Archdeacon of Middlesex. The Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, seeing their cause in great danger, said, that the faith of the church ought not to be examined but in a synod of divines. That the Queen and council ought to be excommunicated, for suffering the Catholic faith to be argued before an unlearned multitude. Fox, Tom. III. p. 979, &c.

24) These bishops were, Heath Archbishop of York, Bonner Bishop of London, Thirlby of Ely, Bourn of Bath and Wells, Christopherson of Chichester, Bain of Lichfield, White of Winchester, Watson of Lincoln, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, Turbeville of Exeter, Pole of Peterburgh, Scot of Chester, Pates of Worcester, and Goldwell of St. Asaph, Burnet, Tom, II. p. 396. By whom they were succeeded, See Ibid. p. 401, 403, and in Camden, p. 377.

25) Melvil says, Throchmorton got but Dutch excuses; for the French court alleged, that in Dutchland, all the Princes brothers, cousins, of children are titled Princes, or Dukes of that same house, p. 23.

26) At the late congress, the Cardinal of Lorraine told the Spanish commissioners, "That his niece, the Queen of Scots, was the true and undoubted Queen of England, and that the King of Spain ought to endeavour to have Calais put into the hands of his niece, who was the rightful Queen at England. Camden, p. 373.

- 27) The Pope, The Emperor and Kings of Spain, and France, had then entered into a combination, to reduce again the most part of Europe to the Roman Catholic religion, and to pursue and punish with fire and sword, all heretics, who would not condescend to the same. Melvil, p. 23.
- 28) A little before Easter, Idem. p. 14.
- 29) She also ordered Patric Rruthen, Mayor of Perth, to suppress all tumults for innovating of religion, who answered her. "That he had power over the abodes and estates of the inhabitants, and those he would take care should do no hurt, but that he had no dominion over their consciences, Buchanan. 1. 16.
- 30) Criminals were allowed to come to those trials attended with their relations and friends. Rapin
- 31) Alexander Cunningham.
- 32) By the Scotch forces were commonly understood the natives which were in the pay of the Kingdom; and by the French, not only those forces which were sent from France, but those Scots likewise which were in the pay of France, Rapin.
- 33) By reason of the equivocal meaning of the term Scotch forces. Rapin.
- 34) This is supported by the testimony of Melvil, and destroys what is advanced by Camden, concerning James Stuart, afterwards Earl of Murray, Rapin.
- 35) He died July 10. Rapin.
- 36) At a great tournament, held on account of his daughter's marriage with Philip II King of Spain, he was wounded in the eye with the splinter of a lance, June 29, and died of the wound. Thuanus, 1. 22.
- 37) She was natural daughter of the Emperor Charles V, and was first married to the Duke of Tuscany, and afterwards to the Prince of Parma, Strada, I.. 1.
- 38) This year, on November 18, died the famous Cuthbert Tostal, late Bishop of Durham, and was buried in Lambeth Chapel, Hollingshead, p. 1186,
- 39) The Queen of Scot's uncle; these forces were levied in Germany, by the Rhinegrave's assistance. Camden, p. 379.
- 40) The English commissioner, was, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Lieutenant of the north; and on the Duke of Chateleraut's side appeared. Lord James Steward, Patrick Lord Ruthven, Sir John Maxwell of Teiregles Knight, William Maitland of Lethyngton, John Wyschert of Pitcarrow, and Mr. Henry Balnaves of Halhil. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XV p. 569.
- 41) For six, or four, months each; and to be then exchanged, and so on.
- 42) One thousand foot, and one or two cornets of horse. Camden, p. 380.
- 43) This first was commanded by Vice-Admiral William Winter. Stow.
- 44) William Lord Grey of Wilton, his assistant was Sir James Croft. And the Lord Scrope was Earl-Marshal; Sir George Howard General of the men at arms; Barnaby Fitz-Patrick his Lieutenant; Sir Henry Percy General of the Light-Horse; Thomas Huggens Esq Provost Marshal; William Pelham Captain of the Pioneers, &c. Stow, p. 641.

45) March 30th Stow, 641.

46) Anthony Brown.

47) This justifies Buchanan's account of the design laid to arrest and detain the Earl of Arran in France. Rapin.

48) And at the same time took Sir Maurice Berkley prisoner. Camden, p. 381.

49) See an account of it a little lower.

50) They came to Berwick, June 13. Stow, p. 645.

51) The Reader will naturally ask of what service it would be to Francis and Mary to have sixty men of their French subjects left in Scotland.—And Buchanan gives this reason, that the Queen might not seem to be thrown out of the entire possession of Scotland.

52) Camden says, he was recommended to her by the Protestants of Scotland, with the view and hopes of uniting the two Kingdoms, p. 382

53) Henry Fitz-Alan.

54) Sir William Pickering (whom Rapin by mistake calls Sir George) was of a descent inferior to few of the nobility; he was honoured with the garter, and had by his embassies in France and Germany, displayed his great ability for public affairs. Camden, p. 383.

55) Richard Shelly late Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England, Thomas Harvey, Sec. Camden, p. 383.

56) It was a proviso in the antient Laws of England, that under pain of forfeiting goods and chattels, none but peers of the first rank, and merchants, should (without the King's special licence) leave the Kingdom and reside in foreign countries, beyond such a fixed time. The Condé de Feria married the daughter of William Dormer by Mary Sidney. Camden p. 213.

57) This was the famous Council of Trent, which had been opened many years before, but interrupted in its sessions by continual wars, or the intrigues of the Popes.

58) The greatest allay was in the 5 of Edw. VI. See the coin note of Edward VI. Queen Elizabeth reduced the silver coin to eleven ounces, two pennyweight fine, and eighteen pennyweight allay, the present standard, see coin note at the end of this reign.

59) For a dean, twelve prebends, a schoolman, an usher, forty scholars, besides chaplains, singing men, twelve pensioners, &c Camden, p. 385.

60) The 5th of December. Rapin.

61) They were so called, either from Hugo's Gate, in the City of Tours, where they used to meet at first; or from King Hugo's ghost, which was the scarecrow used in that town to frighten children, and which was said to walk in the suburbs in the night, it being the usual time and Place where the Protestants were wont to meet. Charles IX forbad this name by an edict. Thuanus, l. 24.

62) This affair being thus put off from time to time, Queen Elizabeth began to suspect some plot was hatching against England and therefore resolved to prevent it. Accordingly, she dispatched

Sir Thomas Randolph into Scotland, to cultivate a good understanding between the English and Scotch nations. Camden, p. 385.

63) Camden speaks quite otherwise of James Stewart. Rapin. Camden says, he advised Queen Elizabeth to intercept Mary in her passage, and that Lidington was also of the same mind, lest at her return, she should treat the Protestants of Scotland with extreme rigour, not as traitors, but heretics, as Queen Mary of England had done before her. Camden, p. 387.

64) Buchanan is in the wrong to omit the conditions on which Elizabeth was willing to grant a safe-conduct. Rapin.

65) That Queen Elizabeth intended to intercept the Queen of Scots, is not positively affected by the Scottish Historians. Buchanan says, that Queen Elizabeth had prepared a great fleet, on pretence to scour the sea of pirates; but some thought, that it was to intercept the Queen of Scots, if she adventured to pass against her will. So that it was only a suspicion, l. 17. Thuanus affirms that James prior of St. Andrews, in his return from France through England advised Queen Elizabeth to detain the Queen of Scots; thinking she would come through England. l. 29.

66) It is true, there arose a great fog in her passage. (See Brantôme, Dam. illustrated p. 130.) But that does not prove she was pursued by the English fleet. Rapin.

67) And at first, following the counsel of her friends, she behaved herself humanely to them all, committing her affairs to her brother the prior of St. Andrew's, and to the secretary Lethington, or Lidington as meeteth both to hold his country at her devotion, and also to beget a strict friendship between her and the Queen of England. Melvil, p. 32.

68) For it was provided by an ancient act, that the Pope's Nuncio should not set foot in England, without leave, and before making oath, that they would attempt nothing prejudicial to the King, or liberties of the people. The council did not think proper to admit the present Nuncio, when there were so many papists in all parts of the Kingdom, who were endeavouring to involve the nation into troubles. Camden, p. 387

69) She bought up abundance of arms in Germany, and caused a great number of iron and brass cannons to be cast. Camden, p. 383.

70) Near Reswick, lying at the foot of the tall mountain Skiddaw.

71) The Queen also increased the salary of the judges, and first allowed them provision for their respective circuits. Camden, p. 388.

72) Camden observes, that she gave very little out of her own documents, or indeed any thing else, but on condition it should, in default of issue male, should return to the crown. It is to be wished this rule had always been observed! p. 388.

73) This year, on June 15, the spire of St. Paul's cathedral in London, the timber part of which was two hundred and sixty foot high; and the roof seven hundred and twenty foot long, and one hundred and thirty broad, were burnt down, by lightning, as it was then thought; but a plumber confessed on his death bed, that it was set on fire by his carelessness, in leaving a pan of coals in the steeple, when he went to dinner. Stow, p. 647. Heylin's History, p. 312.

74) The Earl was committed to the custody of the master of the rolls, and the countess, to the custody of Sir Richard Sackville, Camden, p. 389.

75) Great grandchildren to George Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV.

76) Rapin says to the Earl of Pembroke, but the Lord Henry Herbert was divorced before his Father died. Camden says, when she was divorced, she had suffered a long slight and contempt, and was so far gone with child, as to be near her time. p. 389.

77) And nine years Imprisonment. Camden, p. 389.

78) The validity of their marriage was afterwards brought to a trial at the Common-Law; where the minister who married them being present, and other circumstances agreeing, the Jury found it a good marriage. Dugdale's Baron, vol. II, p. 369—They were married in the church of Great Bedmin in Wiltshire: Lord Beauchamp, a son of this unfortunate pair lies buried there, with this inscription on his tombstone:—

**Beth campus erum. Graiâ genitricis Semerus:
Tres babui Natos, est quibus una foror.**

79) Anthony of Bourbon.

80) And for the very same reason Queen Elizabeth was to be deposed. Camden, p. 389.

81) Sir Henry Sidney.

82) This was commanded by Sir Adrian Poynings, Camden, p. 390.

83) Ambrose Dudley, created December 16, 1561, Baron Lisle, and Earl of Warwick Stow, p. 648.

84) Inverness.

85) John, one of his sons, was executed a few days after. Buchanan, I. 17.

86) Melvil who was then in Germany, says nothing of this conspiracy of the Earl of Huntley. Camden, whose aim was only to blacken the reputation of the Earl of Murray, contents himself with saying, (in his annals of the year 1566,) that Murray had ruined the illustrious house of the Gordons, without saying one word of this conspiracy. Rapin.

87) This year, Shane O'Neill, had broke into a rebellion, came and made his submission to Queen Elizabeth, and received her pardon. Camden, p. 385, 391.—This year also, on December 25, died William Lord Grey of Wilton. Stow, p. 652.

88) He pleased himself with the with the hopes of being Lieutenant-General of France, and husband to the Queen of Scots. Camden, p. 391.

89) There were some recruits sent thither, two hundred whereof perished by shipwreck, with their commander Sir Thomas Fench Kt. and two brothers of the Lord Wentworth. Ibid, Hollingshead, p. 1201.

90) The plague swept away all their famous officers, Francis Somerset, John Zouch, Alberic Darcy, Thomas Drury, Wilfrid Answissal, Edward Ormesby, Cuthbert Vaughan, Richard Croker, John Cockson, John Prowd, William Saule, Thomas Kemeys, &c. Stow, p. 656.

91) Most of them embarked July 31. Stow, p. 656.

92) Twenty thousand one hundred thirty six. Ibid.

- 93)** His lady daughter of Sir John Robsart, was lately dead of a fall from a pair of stairs, at Cumnore in Oxfordshire, and lies buried in St. Mary's in Oxford. Camden, p. 393. Dugdale, Vol. II, p. 222.
- 94)** She lies buried in Westminster Abbey. Sandford, p. 537-- This year also died William Lord Paget, and Henry Manours Earl of Rutland. Camden, p. 394.
- 95)** This year, a Parliament met at Westminster, January 12, and was prorogued on April 10. They granted the Queen a subsidy, and two fifteenths and tenths; and the clergy gave a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. D'ews--The most remarkable acts during this session, were these: **1).** An act against holding or maintaining the authority of the bishop of Rome. **2).** That no one shall procure a false witness, upon the penalty of forty pounds; nor any one be a false witness, upon the penalty of twenty pounds, and six months imprisonment. **3).** An act making the clipping and wasting of coin, treason. **4).** That any person which shall be seen or found, for one month, in a company of Egyptian, shall be deemed a felon. **5).** An act for the due execution of the writ *Je Excommunicato Capiendo*. **6).** An act for translating the Bible and Common Prayer into Welsh. Lastly, an act passed to establish and confirm the Queen's supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs. The work of the Reformation, which, with several interruptions had been carrying on above thirty years, was in great measure completed, and the articles of the church of England settled by the convocation, and induced to the number of thirty nine, as they stand to this day.
- 96)** One hundred and twenty thousand crowns of gold, de soleil, each worth fifty one pence Tournois. See Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XV. p. 644, 645.
- 97)** On pretence of coming to France without a Pass. He, and Sir Thomas Smith, were the commissioners employed in negotiating this Peace, Camden, p, 392, 394.
- 98)** Henry Carey.
- 99)** Don Diego Gusman de Sylva. Canon of Toledo.
- 100)** Camden observes here, that the English wool proved to the Netherlands more than an imaginary golden fleece, and from thence was derived that famous order of the golden fleece, instituted in 1429, p. 395.
- 101)** She desired Mary to take heed, that in shewing pleasure to the Earl of Lenox, she did not displease the House of Hamilton, seeing thereby trouble and strife might arise in her country Melvil, p. 42.
- 102)** At any other time this advice would not have been ill taken; but now all advice given by Elizabeth were misconstrued, partly on account of her having hindered the marriage with the Archduke, and partly because Rizzo, the Queen of Scot's secretary for the French tongue, was not very skilful in indicting French letters. Ibid.
- 103)** Not Queen Mary's letter; but an angry answer to it, which she had writ, and intended to send. See Melvil, p. 46, 47.
- 104)** On September 30. Stow, p. 657
- 105)** With Sir Thomas Randolph, Camden, p. 396.
- 106)** In November.

- 107)** Queen Elizabeth herself told Melvil, that she is esteemed Dudley as her brother, and best friend, she would have herself married, had she ever been minded to have taken a husband. Melvil, p. 47.
- 108)** He was the author of the Scotch tunes.
- 109)** And about this time, she created the Lord Darnly, Baron of Ardamanack, Earl of Rosse and Duke of Rothsay, which are the usual titles of the eldest and second sons of Scotland. Heylin's History, Ref. p. 343.
- 110)** 2) By Liddington. Camden, p. 396.
- 111)** The two Queens had an interview this year, in May or June; but what the effect of it was, does not appear. Strype's Annals. Tom. I. p. 510.
- 112)** Queen Elizabeth on June 22nd, ordered the Countess of Lenox, and her son Charles, to be put in custody. Camden, p. 397. Melvil, p. 58.
- 113)** Melvil says, that Queen Elizabeth had, by her Ambassadors, promised to hazard her crown in their defence, in case they were driven to any strait for appearing against the marriage, p. 57.
- 114)** Melville says, that had some of the Protestants in England, who favoured the Scots exiles upon the account of their religion, interposed with Queen Elisabeth, they would not have been permitted to have remained within her dominions; though she had promised a little before to give them assistance. And as for secret help, she gave them none, only they obtained a small contribution among some of their own religion. p. 57.
- 115)** Buchanan says, when she had read about half of the letter, Rizzo stood up and bid her read no more, she had read enough, she should stop.
- 116)** And on the 28th and 30th July 1565, issued out two proclamations, whereby she ordered, he should be styled King of Scotland. See them in *Anderson's Collection*. Tom. 1 p. 33 &c.
- 117)** We find, (in the Lord Ruthen's relation of the death of David Rizzo) the King thus complaining to the Queen, "since yon fellow Davie fell in credit and familiarity with your Majesty, ye regarded me not, neither treated me nor entertained me after you wonted fashion; for every day before dinner and after dinner, ye would not come to my chamber, and pastime with me, and this long time ye have not done so; and when I come to your Majesty's chamber, ye bear me little company, except Davie had been the third morrow: and after supper your Majesty hath a use to set the cards with the said Davie to one or two of the clock after midnight; this is the entertainment that I have had of you this long time. p. 30.
- 118)** Blackwood says, it was the Earl of Morton that put it into the Kings head. Martyre de Marie, p. 203. &c., Coll. Jeb. So says Castelnan, Mem. C 13.
- 119)** This year, on July 16, there was such a terrible storm of thunder, with violent showers of hail, that at Chelmsford in Essex, there were 500 acres of corn destroyed. Stow p. 659 —This year also, Armigill Wade Esq., And William Herrlle gentlemen having found out a way of making brimstone and extracting out of roots of certain roots and herbs, an oil proper for the dressing of cloths, obtained a patent for the same. Rymer's Fœd, Tom XV, p. 650.
- 120)** The reader may see this writing, in a curious relation of the death of Rizzo written by the Lord Ruthven, and published at London 1699.
- 121)** Who was father to Margaret Douglass Countess of Lenox the King's Mother. Melvil, p. 64.

122) The outer hall. Melvil, p. 65. This was contrary to the design of those who conspired his death; for they had resolved to hang him publicly. Buchanan.

123) The account of this matter is thus given by the Lord Ruthven, the principal actor in this business. "Upon Saturday the ninth day of March, the Earl of Morton, Lord Ruthven, and Lord Lindsay, with their complices, passed up to the Queen's upper chamber; and the said Lord Ruthven passed in through the King's chamber, and up through the privy way to the Queen's Chamber, as the King had learned him, and through the chamber to the cabinet, where he found the Queen's Majesty fitting at her supper, at the midst of a little table, the Lady Argyle sitting at one end, and Davie Rizzo at the head of the table, with his cap on his head, the King speaking with the Queen's Majesty, and his hand about her waist.

The Lord Ruthven at his coming in, said to the Queen's Majesty, It would please your Majesty to let yonder man Davie come forth of your presence, for he hath been over long here. Her Majesty answered, what offence hath he made? The said Lord replied again. That he had made great offence to her Majesty's honour, the King, her Husband, the nobility and commonweal of the realm.

And how? Saith she. It will please your Majesty, said the said Lord, he hath offended your Majesty's honour, which I dare not be so bold to speak of. As to the King your husband's honour, he hath hindered him of the crown matrimonial, which your grace promised him, besides many other things which are not necessary to be expressed.

And as to the nobility, he hath caused your Majesty to banish a great part, and most chief thereof, in so far as he suffered not your Majesty to grant or give any thing but that which passed through his hands, by taking of bribes and goods for the same; besides many other inconveniences that he solicited your Majesty to do. Then the said Lord Ruthven said to the King, Sir, take the Queen's Majesty your sovereign and wife to you, who stood all amazed, and wyst not what to do.

Then her Majesty rose on her feet, and stood before Davie, he holding her Majesty by the plates of her gown, leaning back over in the window, his whiniard drawn in his hand. Arthur Erskin, and the abbot of Holyrood House, and others, began to lay hands on the said Lord Ruthven, none of the King's party being present. Then the said Lord pulled out his whiniard, and freed himself while more came in, and said to them, lay not hands on me, for I will not be handled, and at the incoming of others into the cabinet, the said Lord Ruthven put up his whiniard.

And with the rushing in of men, the Board fell to the wallwards, with meat and candles being thereon, and the Lady of Argyle took up one of the candles in her hand, and in the same instant, the said Lord Ruthven took the Queen in his arms, and put her into the King's Arms, beseeching her Majesty not to be afraid, for there was no man there that would do her Majesty's body more harm, than their own hearts; and assured her Majesty, all that was done was the King's own Deed and action.

Then the remanent gentlemen being in the cabinet, took Davie out of the window and after that they had him out in the Queen's Chamber, the said Lord Ruthven followed, and had to take him down the privy way to the King's Chamber; and the said Lord returned to the cabinet again, believing that the said Davie had been had down to the King's chamber, as is said. But the press of the People hurled him forth to the utter chamber, where there was a great number standing, who were so vehemently moved against the said Davie, that they could not abide any longer, but through him at the Queen's far door in the utter chamber." Relation of the Death of David Rizzo, by the Lord Ruthven, p. 27 - 29.

124) Melvil says, it appeared to be done to destroy both her and her child. For they might have killed Rizzo in any other part, and at any other time, p. 66. The Lords concerned in this murder,

were for dispatching Rizzo in his own chamber in a morning, or elsewhere. But the King insisted it should be done as it was. *Relation of His Death*, p. 22, 23.

125) Buchanan says, there was a great tumult in the city, and that the citizens took up arms; but according to Melvil, the tumult was not very considerable. - Rapin.

126) Buchanan does not fully explain this, and thereby makes his account very obscure. Rapin

127) At Midnight, March 12. Melvil, p. 66.

128) Buchanan says, she compelled him to go with her; but in the condition she was in, it was hardly possible for her to use force, and consequently it is much more likely that he followed her voluntarily, Rapin,

129) And therefore advised her to imprison him, till she was delivered. Melvil. p. 67.

130) This Man was to appear to be a zealous favourer of Mary's right and title to the crown of England, and to inform her of the great friendship divers of the Catholics had for her, who durst not deal with the Scotch ambassador, being a Protestant; but that he would deal himself betwixt her Majesty and them. Melvil, p. 68.

131) It was only one Letter, wherein Secretary Cecil promised Ruxby to see him rewarded, and desired him to continue in his diligence. Melvil, p. 69.

132) The letters were both writ to Melvil, of which the Queen was to see one, and Cecil the other. They are to be seen, p. 73 of Melvil's memoirs.

133) Thus, p. 77. he says, that the Earl of Bothwell ruled all at court, having brought home the banished Lords, and patched up quiet friendship with the Earl of Morton; and in the same page he affirms, that the Earls of Bothwell and Huntley enterprised the daughter of the Earl of Murray at Jedburgh, but the Lord Hume came there with forces, and prevented that enterprize.

134) He was accompanied by George Carey, eldest son of the Lord Hunsdon, Christopher Hatton, Esq; Mr. Lignish, &c. Melvil, p. 76. The Prince was baptized December 18. Stow, p. 660.

135) Camden says not a word of this poisoning. Rapin Melvil's account is this, "The King followed the Queen about whithersoever she rode, but got no good countenance. So that finding himself slighted, he went to Glasgow, where he fell sick, it being alleged, that he had got poison from some of his servants", p. 77.

136) It was not the bearer, but King Charles his master that was honoured with the order of the Garter. Ramboutilet, in the King his master's room, took his place amongst the knights of St. George at Windsor, says Camden, p. 399.

137) He left the Kingdom after the expense of a vast treasure, on the vain hopes of enjoying the Queen—At the same time others of the English nation went into Hungary to war against the Turks; the chief of whom was Sir John Smith, son to the sister of Jane Seymour, King Edward VI's mother, Henry Champnoon, Philip Butshide, Richard Greenville, William Gorges, Thomas Cotton, and others. Camden, p. 399.

138) She staid there seven days. Ibid.

139) She returned the university thanks for their civilities in a Latin speech. Camden, ibid.

140) It met by adjournment on September 30. D'aves, p. 93.

141) Huick the Queen's physician dissuaded her, it seems, from marrying, on pretence of some natural detail. Camden, p. 399.—Here it may not perhaps be disagreeable to the reader, to peruse a story related by Melvil. He was told at Newcastle, by an Englishman, one of the gentlemen of Queen Elizabeth's privy chamber, that King Henry VIII. had been so curious as to enquire of diviners or necromancers, what should become of his son Edward, and of his two daughters Mary and Elisabeth. He was answered, that Edward should die, having few days and no succession; and that his two daughters should succeed one another. That Mary, his eldest daughter, should marry a Spaniard, and that way bring many strangers into England, which would occasion great strife and alteration.

That Elisabeth should reign after her, who should marry either a Scotchman, or a Frenchman. Whereupon the King caused to give poison to both his daughters, but because this had not the effect he desired, (for they finding themselves altered by vehement vomiting and purging, and suspecting poison, had taken remedies,) he caused to proclaim them both bastards. But the women that attended about Queen Mary, alleged, that her matrix was consumed. For she was several times supposed to be with Child by King Philip of Spain, yet brought forth nothing but dead lumps of flesh. Therefore to be revenged of her father, she had caused, secretly in the night to take up her father's bones, and burn them. Melvil, p. 28.

142) The Earls of Pembroke and Leicester did openly, and the Duke of Norfolk with more caution, profess this to be their opinion. But they made their submission, and obtained their pardon. Camden, p. 399. Most of the lords and other great men in England, were then well affected to the Queen of Scots, and kept a correspondence with her, as may be seen in Melvil, p. 46, &c.

143) This Petition was presented to the Queen November 5. D' ewes, p. 104, 105.

144) These and other points were first moved in the House by Mr. Molineux; and were insisted upon by Bell and Monson, great lawyers, with Dutton, Kingsmill, Wentworth, and others. Camden, p. 400. D' ewes, p. 124, &c.

145) There is mention in the journals only of a subsidy, and one tenth, and fifteenth. The Bill for it was first read in the House of Commons, October, 28 and in the House of Lords, on December 17, and for the second and third times, on the 18th. See D' ewes, p. 111, 125, 126.

146) The reason of this refusal seems to be, that the declaration of a Successor, and the subsidy bill, were ordered by the House of Commons to proceed together: So that the one could not be rejected without the other. See D' ewes, p. 114. She remitted only the third payment of the subsidy, as before rated, granted by Parliament, to induce her to declare a successor. See D' ewes, p. 131.

147) Rapin mistaking the thirty members sent for by the Queen from each House for so many deputies from the Parliament, makes the Queen speak the following speech to them, and not to both Houses, as she did at the end of the session. Had he happened to see the original speech which is here inserted, instead of the Abridgment in Camden, he would have perceived his error. What is inferred between the two crotchets, is supplied from Camden in order to rectify Rapin's mistake.

148) The Queen about this time cast one Thornton, a reader of law in Lincoln's Inn into the Tower, upon the Queen of Scot's complaint, that he had called her title in question. Camden, p. 401.

149) This last mentioned Parliament, which was dissolved on January 2, granted the Queen a subsidy, and one tenth, and a fifteenth. The clergy granted at the same time a subsidy of four shillings in the pound, to be paid in three years The acts made in this session were these: **1).** An act declaring the making and consecrating of bishops within this realm, to be good, orderly, and

lawful. **2).** That no man shall send any rams, sheep, or lambs alive out of the Realm, upon pain, for the first offence, of forfeiture of all his goods, and one year's imprisonment; and for the second, of being declared a felon. **3).** That cut-purses and pick-pockets shall not have benefit of clergy. **4).** Whereas there was but one sheriff for Surrey and Sussex, one for Essex and Hertfordshire, one for Somerset and Dorset, one for Warwick and Leicester, one for Nottingham and Derby, and one for Oxford and Berkshire, it was ordered, that for the future (the year 1567 being the first) each of these Counties should have a sheriff a-piece. See Statute.

150) This year, on the 7th day of June, the foundation of the Royal Exchange in London was laid by Sir Thomas Gresham, Kt. Hollingshead p. 1209.

151) Camden's words upon that point are very inconsistent. He says, that Buchanan often blamed himself with tears in the King's presence, for having employed his pen in too virulent a strain against Queen Mary and wished on his death bed, that he might live so long as to recall the truth of it, before he came to be on his death bed. See Thoyrus, Addit. ad Vol. III. p. 982.

152) Many believe Camden writ nothing in his annals about Scotland, but what was dictated to him, or enjoined by James, I. We must therefore understand here by Camden the real author of the annals whoever he be. Rapin—Osborn says, that Camden lines were directed by King James, and helped rather to vindicate the honour and integrity of his mother than to do right for a mistress, that had from a schoolmaster, raised him to a capacity of being the first King at Arms. Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, §. 16.—It is something remarkable, that the records of the criminal court, or judiciary in Scotland, commonly called, *The Acts of Adjournal*, are missing during the government of Queen Mary, and also of her son King James, till after the trial and execution of the Earl of Morton in 1581. In which records was the Earl of Bothwell's trial, and the trials of some others of the retinue of King Henry Darnley. The records of the Parliament of Scotland held in August 1560, by appointment of Queen Mary, and her Husband Francis, wherein the authority of the Pope was abolished, and the Protestant religion established, are likewise missing; as are also those of the Parliament in December 1567, wherein the acts concerning the Protestant religion were ratified, with several acts concerning Queen Mary. Anderson's Collection. Preface to the first volume, p. 7, 8.

153) In short, it may be said of these three historians, in regard to Queen Mary, that Camden has scarce said one word of truth, that Buchanan has said all the truth, and more than the truth, and that Melvil has said the truth, but not the whole Truth.

154) Pretending that the house where he was kept was inconvenient, and Sterling a moist and cold place, where he should catch cold. Buchanan. Melvil says nothing of this journey; but he supposes it afterwards, when he says, the Queen delivered the Prince to the Earl of Marr, that the castle of Edinburgh might be taken out of his hands, Rapin.

155) Attended only by the Hamiltons, and other enemies of the King. Buchanan.

156) His words are, the King was afterwards brought to Edinburgh, and lodged in the Kirkfield, as a place of good air, where he might best recover his health, but many had suspected that the Earl of Bothwell had some enterprise against him; p. 78.

157) Uninhabited for some years. Buchanan.

158) Melvil says, that he was retired from the Court several days before, p 78.

159) This advertisement, says Melvil, moved the Earl of Bothwell to haste forward his enterprise; he had before laid a train of powder under the house where the King did lodge, and in the night did blow up the said house with the powder; but it was spoken, that the King was taken forth,

and brought down to a stable, where a napkin was slopped in his mouth, and he therewith suffocated.

160) Sebastian, one of her musicians. Buchanan.

161) February 10. two hours after midnight. See Anderson's Collection. Tom. I. p. 36. Conœus varies from this account in some circumstances with it in the main. See Jebb's collection, Tom. 2, p. 29.

162) Though the nobility there present had decreed to give him a magnificent burial, Buchanan.

163) But Bothwell attempted to dispatch him out of the way. See Buchanan, 1. 18.

164) Since, as Buchanan observes, the Earl of Bothwell was to be the accused person, the judge, the examiner, and the punisher too. I, 18.

165) John Habroun, Talla, Dagleish, and Powry, were executed for the King's Murder January 3rd, ensuing. See Buchanan's *Detection*.

166) Six hundred men, at Almon Bridge. Buchanan.

167) The Queen, in her instructions to the Bishop of Dunblane says. That the Earl partly extorted, and partly obtained, her promise, to take him for her husband. See. Anderson's Collection, Tom. I. p. 99.

168) Some say he had a Bull to absolve him from this incest. If so, he would not plead it, that he might give occasion to the annulling of the marriage. Rapin.

169) And yet the Queen, in her instructions to the Bishop of Dunblane, makes this writing to have been signed before she was carried away. See Anderson's Collection Tom. I. p. 94, and 104.

170) May 15. At the palace in Holyrood House, by Adam Bothwell Bishop of Orkney. Melvil, p. 80.

171) And people began to think, that the prince was in danger to be cut off, by him who had slain his father. For Bothwell boasted, that if he could get him once in his hands, he should warrant him from revenging his father's death. Melvil, p. 78, 81.

172) Melvil speaks not of this confederacy. He says only, that the Earl of Murray retired into France, without showing the reason. Rapin.

173) And for that purpose assembled about three thousand men together. Melvil, p. 82.

174) These Letters were first published at the end of Buchanan's *Detection*; others have since been printed at London in 1726, by Mr. Edward Simmons p. 90. under Mary's name, but do not agree with the former.

175) Dated April 5. See Buchanan's *Detection*.

176) And from thence to the Shetland Isles. Buchanan.

177) Lidington, and some others, were for restoring her to her authority on these terms, That the King's murderers should be punished; That care should be taken of the Prince's person; and that Bothwell should be divorced from her, and religion established. Others were, for her abdicating

the Kingdom on behalf of her son, and being sent in perpetual exile, either in France or England. Others were of opinion, that she should be tried, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and her son crowned in her room. And others again, that she should lose her crown and life together. Camden, p. 405.

178) And the Lord Ruthven. Spotiswood, p. 211.

179) Melvil says, she desired the Lord Murray to be the first regent, p. 85.

180) Matthew Earl of Lenox, John Earl of Athol, James Earl of Morton, Alexander Earl of Glencairn, and John Earl of Marr, Camden, p. 405. Buchanan.

181) The Lords Hamilton, Pasly, Fleming, Boid, John Hamilton Bishop of St. Andrews, &c. Melvil, p. 85.

182) He came to Edinburgh, August 11. Spotiswood, p. 211.

183) He was elected Regent, August 20. Spotiswood, p. 212.

184) Eleven only. Melvil, p. 88.

185) There was an express treaty for Calais; but there was none for Paris, Rapin

186) He took an accurate map of Russia, and was the first Englishman who ventured through the Caspian Sea, into the country of the Bactrians. Camden, p. 408.

187) She was his third wife, with whom he had lived about a year. Her Name was Elisabeth; she was daughter of Sir Francis Lebourne, Knight, and widow of Thomas Lord Dacres of Gillesland. Dugdale's Baron, Vol. II. p. 276.

188) This year also, in January, died Doctor Nicolas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York, often mentioned in this history. Camden, p. 408.—On June 8, Sir Thomas Sackville was created Baron of Buckhurst. Stow, p. 661.

189) Charles Lamorel, Count of Egmont was beheaded at Brussels in the beginning of July. The French ambassador, who was a private spectator of the execution, is said to have writ to Charles IX. King of France, "That he had seen that head struck off, whose valour had made France twice tremble: Alluding to the battles of St. Quintin and Graveling. The Flemings were so fond of him, that his execution made them lose all patience. No offers from Philip could quiet them, and they never left pursuing their revenge, till they had entirely shook off the Spanish yoke. Strada la Bell, Belg. 1. 7.

190) ___Man. Camden, p. 410.

191) Her consenting to marry him so soon after her husband's murder, carries with it a very strong presumption, which nothing but a direct proof can possibly overturn.

192) By Bothwell, Queen Mary had a daughter, who was a nun at Notre Dame de Soiffons. Jebb's Collection. Tom. II, p. 610.

193) On May 2. By the assistance of George Douglas, half brother to the Regent: whose mother was likewise thought to be concerned in it Buchanan, Camden, p. 410.

194) Chiefly the House of Hamilton. Some said, that the Archbishop of St. Andrews intended to cause the Queen to marry the Lord Hamilton, in case they had obtained the victory. And the Queen herself feared the same. Melvil, p. 91.

195) Buchanan says, it confined of about six thousand five hundred fighting men, I. 19. On the Queen's side, the Earl of Argyle commanded the battle, and the Lord of Arbroth the vanguard. And on the other side, the Regent led the Battle, and the Earl of Morton the vanguard. Melvil, p. 91.

196) Melvil describes this Battle at large, (which was fought on May 13. Buchanan, I. 19.) The victory was owing to the conduct of the Laird of Grange. See Melvil's Memoirs, p. 91.

197) Dundreven in Galloway. Blackwood, p. 231.

198) Camden's account is confirmed by Lesley's negotiation, from whence it is visibly taken, and on whose credit it entirely reflects. See Anderson's Collection, Tom. III. p, 10, &c.

199) She got into a fisher boat at Kircadbright, with eighteen or twenty persons. Spotiswood, p. 217. Anderson's Collection, Tom. 4. p. 2, &c.

200) The contrary appears by the testimony of Melvil's abovementioned. Rapin.

201) The words in Camden are: "They went so far as to charge me with a new pretended crime, and sign this accusation with their own hands." Which words don't seem to give Camden occasion to say, as Rapin here imagines.

202) And June 16, was removed to Bolton, a house belonging to the Lord Scroop, Warden of the West Marches. Anderson's Collection. Tom. IV. p. 6.

203) Camden's words are, she seemed at last touched, (for who can dive into the of Princes, of which they who are wise always keep the key) with a hearty sense of, &c.

204) It was at first resolved in the English Council to use the Queen of Scots well, and restore her to her Crown and Country, as is shewn by Bishop Burnet, *History of The Reformation*, Tom. II. p. 417.

205) Melvil names seventeen, including no doubt all those who attended the Regent. He was himself of this number. Rapin. As were also secretary Lidington, Macgil, a famous civilian, George Buchanan. And on the Queen's side, the Lord Fleming, Sir Robert Melvil, Brother to the author of the memoirs, &c. See Melvil, p. 93. Rapin was mistaken in the names of the Scottish deputies, but his mistake is here rectified out of the original commissions extant in Anderson's Collection. Tom. 4, part 2. p. 34, 35.

206) Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Spotiswood, p. 219.

207) And, in the presence of Lidington, it was agreed between the Regent and Murray, and the Duke of Norfolk, that the Regent should in no ways accuse Queen Mary; and that the Duke should obtain to him the Queen's favour, with a confirmation of the Regency. Melvil, p. 95.

208) Rapin by mistake, calls him all along Earl of Lidington, whereas he was but Laird Lidington.

209) The reasons of the conferences being removed to London, were. a suspicion entertained by Queen Elizabeth against some of her own commissioners, as also, that the Scottish deputies were ever slow, and loath to enter into the grounds of the cause. Lesley's Negotiations, p. 24.

210) Edward Fynes, Lord Clinton and Saye.

211) Together with the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earls of Arundel and Sussex. They met at the painted Chamber at Westminster. Anderson's Collection, Tom 4. Part 2. p. 97 Lesley's Negotiations. P. 28.

- 212) The Duke of Norfolk had by a secret hand advertised the Queen, and she again told it to one of her familiars, who advertised the Earl of Morton thereof. Melvil, p. 96.
- 213) Their protestation, dated October 7, is extant in **Anderson's Collection**. Tom. 4. Part 2. p. 49.
- 214) It was on the first day of the meeting. See Melvil, p. 94.
- 215) He added. The Kingdom of Scotland was freer than England itself had been lately, when it paid St. Peter's penny to the Pope, Melvil, p. 94.
- 216) He was only one of those that accompanied them. See above, p. 85.
- 217) The conference was held at Westminster, November 25, 26, 29, 30. December 1, 6, 8, 9. and at Hampton Court, December 3, 14, 15, 16. a full and curious account of it in Anderson's Collection, Tom. 2. Part 2. p. 101, &c.
- 218) On November 6, the accusation against Queen Mary was produced; and indeed it was very home and express. "It is certain, and we boldly and constantly affirm, (says the Regent, and the rest of the Deputies) That as James, some time Earl of Bothwell was the chief executor of the horrible and unworthy murder, precipitate in the person of the late King Henry of good memory, father to our Sovereign Lord, and the Queen's lawful husband; So was she of the foreknowledge, counsel, device, persuader, and commander of the said murder to be done, maintainer and fortifier of the executors thereof, by impeding and stopping of the inquisition and punishment due for the same, according to the laws of the Realm, and consequently by marriage with the said James, sometime Earl of Bothwell, universally esteemed chief author of the above named murder." To this the Queen's commissioners replied. By charging that accusation with falsehood; by asserting that some of the accusers were privy to, nay, the first inventors of, the conspiracy for the death of the late King, as was made manifest before ten thousand people at the execution of some of the principal offenders; and lastly, by refusing to proceed, unless Queen Mary was admitted to answer for herself. See Anderson's Collection, Tom. 4. Part .2. p. 126, 127, 129, 130, 145, &c.
- 219) These letters and verses are to be found at the end of Buchanan's *Detection*; and in *The Tragical History of Mary Queen of Scots*, which is little more than a French translation of the *Detection*; together with the contracts and dispositions of the witnesses. Rapin.
- 220) Melvil says, that Elizabeth was very well satisfied with the advantage she thereby received. First, she thought, she had matter to shew, wherefore she detained the Queen, when she was challenged by the foreign ambassadors. Then she was glad, of the Queen's dishonour. She also sent immediately to the Queen to comfort her, praying her to look on herself in a better case, though for a while restrained of her liberty, than to be in Scotland, among so unworthy subjects, who had accused her falsely and wrongfully, as she was assured; that she would neither be judge, nor give out any sentence thereupon, nor should any part of the said false accusation be made known by her, or her council to any. Melvil, p. 97.
- 221) The memoirs of the State of France in the Reign of Charles IX. may be consulted upon this occasion, printed in octavo at Middleburg, 1579, Tom. I. p. 81 –144.
- 222) According to Buchanan, they were compelled singly and severally to confess, that they knew nothing of themselves, why Murray, or any of his, be accused of the King's Murder 1. 19.
- 223) She had been informed of it before, by means of the Earl of Morton. Melvil, p. 97, 98,
- 224) At York. Camden, p. 415.

225) In Staffordshire, where she was committed to the custody of George Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury. Camden, p. 411.

226) Melvil says, that after their reconciliation, Murray discovered everything to the Queen, especially his design to marry the Queen of Scots, and to give his daughter to the young King of Scotland. The Duke had caused the Queen to give to Murray, who was in great want of money, two thousand pounds, for which sum he became security, and was afterwards forced to pay it. Melvil, p, 99,

227) They settled at Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Maidstone, and Southampton, which turned to the great advantage of England; for they were the first that brought into the nation the art of making boys and says, and other linen and woollen cloths of the like kind, Camden, p. 416.

228) To raise a panic there. Camden, p, 416.

229) He came to England, September 13, this year. Stow, p. 662.

230) Under the fictitious name of Amadis Oriana. Camden, p. 417.

231) This year, a new English translation of the Bible was published at London, It was done by the bishops of Exeter, St. David's, Worcester, Winchester, Norwich, Ely; and other learned men, and is commonly called the *Bishop's Bible*, See Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, and his Annals. This year also, on December 30, died the learned Roger Ascham, who was for some time tutor to Queen Elizabeth and her secretary for the Latin tongue. Camden, p. 416.

232) Particularity Sir Nicolas Throckmorton, Camden, p. 417.

233) He had practiced with one Bestall, a conjurer, against the Queen's Life, and had given the Duke of Alva directions how to invade England. Ibid.

234) The Czar granted them an exemption from all customs, with leave to vend their Manufactures through his whole dominions, and to transport them into Persia and Media by the Caspian Sea, the merchants of other nations being not permitted to trade beyond Muscovy. And now did the English venture to transport their goods in boats made of one entire tree, up the River Dwina, as far as Wologda. From thence in seven days by land to Yerastaw, and then thirty days and nights down that river to Astracan, by the Wolga. where they used to build their ships. From Astracan, they crossed the Caspian Sea, and made their way through the vast deserts of Hyrcania and Bactriana to Teverin and Casbin, cities of Persia, in hopes at length to discover Cotbay. But by reason of the war between the Turks and Persians and the robberies committed by the Barbarians, the Londoners were discouraged from pursuing this glorious enterprise Camden, p. 417, 418.

235) Melvil seems to say the Duke mentioned it first. p. 98.— But Lesley affirms, that the Earl of Murray first set it on foot, or at least promoted it strenuously. By comparing Camden with Lesley's negotiations, it plainly appears, that what the former relates about Mary Queen of Scots is mostly taken from the latter. See *Lesley's Negotiation*. p. 34, &c.

236) She was then in confinement at Whinfield in Derbyshire, in the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury. Camden, p. 420. Where it seems she used to bath herself in wine. See Strype's Ann. Tom. I. p. 575.

237) At Farnham in Surrey, where she was on her progress. Camden, p. 420.

238) Cecil who was told all by Leicester, advised the Duke to speak to the Queen himself. Camden, p. 420.

239) Camden says, it was the Spanish Ambassador. p. 420.

240) The Lord Hunsdon's son.

241) Brought by the Abbot of Dunfermling; wherein she received information, that the Duke had been practising with the Earl of Murray at Hampton Court, to favour and assist his marriage, &c. See Camden, p. 321.

242) One Nicolas Morton, a Priest, was the great incendiary, who had been sent from the Pope to pronounce Queen Elizabeth an heretic; and therefore to have forfeited her right to her crown and Kingdom. Camden, p. 422.

243) With the bearers thereof. Camden, p. 422.

244) And committed to the custody of the Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon. Camden, p. 422.

245) And was accompanied with Edward Earl of Rutland his Lieutenant, the Lords Hunsdon, Evers, and Willoughby of Parham, Camden, p. 422.

246) First to Raby, the chief seat of the Earl of Westmorland, and then to Hexham, and Newworth castles.

247) The occasion of his revolt was, a supposed wrong done him by the Queen, in granting away from him a rich copper mine, found upon his estate. Camden, p. 422.

248) Threescore and six were executed at Durham, and several at York and London. Camden, p. 423.

249) As also Edward Dacres of Morton, John Nevil of Leverage, J. Swinborne, Thomas Markenfeld, Christopher Nevil, Richard, Christopher, Marmaduke, and Thomas Norton, Robert and Michael Tempest, George Stafford, and about forty more of noble extraction. Ibid.

250) Second son to William Lord Dacres of Gillesland. The cause of his disgust was this: His brother's son dying young, (on May 17. this year, Stow, p. 663) a great estate fell to his nieces, who were contracted, by the Duke of Norfolk their father-in-law, to two of his sons. He entered a suit against his nieces, and the cause going against him, he fell to plotting, and attempted to rescue the Queen of Scots, though in vain. Ibid.

251) Greystock, Naworth, and ether castles. Ibid.

252) Which consisted only of fifteen hundred horse and foot. Hollingshead, p. 1213.

253) They were raised by Edmund and Peter Buteler, brothers of the Earl of Ormond, who being sent over, persuaded his brothers to lay down their arms. Camden, p. 423.

254) On February 12. Anderson, Tom. IV, p. 196

255) Or thereabouts, in the copy in Anderson, Tom. IV. p. 188. Camden has very much contracted or curtailed this protestation.

256) This protestation is in Mr. Anderson's Collection, Tom. IV. Part. 2. p. 188, &c. but it is taken from a copy, without either hands or date. However, it is to be observed, that in the same Collection there follows an answer of the Earl of Murray's, to the aforesaid protestation, wherein he says, "In case any man say and affirm that ever I was present when any purposes were holden at Craigmillar in my audience, tending to any unlawful or dishonourable end; or that ever I

subscribed any band there, or that any purpose was holden about the subscribing of any band by me to my knowledge, I avow they speak wickedly and untruly; which I will maintain against them as becomes an honest man, to the end of my life; only thus far the subscription of bands by me is true, That indeed I subscribed a band with the Earls of Huntley, Argyle, and Bothwell, at the beginning of October, in the year 1556 which was devised in sign of our reconciliation, in respect of the former grudges and displeasures that had been among us: Whereunto I who constrained to make promise before I could be admitted to the Queen's presence, or have any shew of her favour, and there was never any other hand, made or subscribed, nor yet proposed to me in any wise, before the murder of the late King. Anderson, *ibid.* p. 194, 195.

257) Rapin has it here and elsewhere September, which. I suppose, is a mistake, for it is December in Camden, from whom he takes this protestation. King James was christened December 15, 1566.

258) Here Rapin is mistaken. Melvil's expressly says, "That Captain Crawford was directed to accuse Lidington before the Privy-Council (of Scotland) of the late King's murder and being accused of so odious a crime, he was committed to ward," p. 100. The same is attested by Buchanan, I. 19 and Spotiswood, p. 232. But Melvil observes, in the same page, that he and Sir James Balfour "were wrongfully pursued, only by the malice and envy of their enemies for their offices."

259) Sir Nicholas Throckmorton. Spotiswood, p. 230.

260) He was accused of having had a hand in the late King's murder as is observed above. Buchanan, I. 19.

261) He counterfeited a warrant under the regent's hand, by virtue of which the Laird of Grange was delivered into his hands. Buchanan and Spotiswood. p. 232.

262) Melvil says, Kircaldie rescued Lidington, with the consent of the King's party, which is not very likely. Melvil was an intimate friend, and great admirer of the Laird of Grange.—Rapin Melvil says, the Regent sent Grange word, the Lords had forced him to take Lidington against his will, and therefore Grange rescued him, thinking, if he was arrested against the Regent's will, the Regent would be glad of it. And if the Regent were dissatisfied at what he had done, it would be a certain token of his dissimulation. Melvil, *Mem.* p. 101.

263) They were commanded by Henry Champernoon, with this motto on his Colours, *Finem det mihi Virtus*. Amongst the volunteers was Walter Raleigh, a very young Man, who now first began to be taken notice of. Camden, p. 423.

264) This year, in September, died Edmund Boner, late Bishop of London, and was buried on September 8, in St. George's Churchyard in Southwark. He is commonly reported to have been a bastard; but Mr. Strype affirms, that he was assured in 1695, by the late Baron Lechmere, that Boner was born at Hanley in Worcestershire, of one Boner, an honest poor man, in a house called Boner's Place to this day, a little cottage of about five pounds a year, purchased of Bishop Boner by the said Baron's great grandfather. See Strype's *Ann.* Tom. I. p. 574, 575.

265) It was done by James Hamilton, nephew to the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who, after the battle of Langside, had been sentenced to be hanged. But escaping, by surrendering his estate, which he endeavoured in vain to recover, he vowed revenge, which he accomplished at Linlithgow, on the 23rd of January 1570, Upon the Regent, who was most innocent, and had restored him to liberty. The Regent, it seems, was told of it, and yet would not be at the pains to search the house. The Murderer escaped into France, v/here, it is said, he was offered a great reward to assassinate Admiral Coligni, but refused to do it, saying, though he had, to his sorrow, revenged his own just grievances, he would never commit murder for reward. Buchanan. Thuanus,

I. 46. Melvil, p. 103.— Thus fell the Regent, “the good Regent,” as Melvil calls him, who adds, for so he was, and will ever deservedly be called. He was at first of a gentle nature, well inclined, good, will and stout. In his first uprising, his hap was to light upon the best sort of company. He was religiously educated, and devoutly inclined. So that Buchanan relates, he caused always, after dinner and supper, a chapter of the Bible to be read in his house. Above all his virtues, which were not a few, he shined in piety towards God, ordering himself and his family in such a way, as it did more resemble a church than a court, says Spotiswood, p. 233. Melvil, p. 103. Thuanus highly extols him, for his courage, justice, humanity, and other virtues, in these words, *Dum viveret, scisso factionibus regno, sinistris rumoribus ab aemulis laccratus, sed postquans mortuus est, veris laudibus etiam ab inimaicis laudatus, qui & praesentiam animi in periculis, felicitatem in praeliis, injure dicundo aequitatem, morum gravitatem cum liberalitatis & humanitate summa conjunctam praedicabant*, I. 46.

266) Walter Scot, and Thomas Carr, or Ker, of Farnibest, entering England, the next night after the Earl of Murray's murder, ravaged all places with greater cruelty than was used in former times, on purpose to engage the two Kingdoms in a war, Buchanan, 1, 28. Spotiswood, p. 234.

267) The Hamiltonians, particularly the. Bishop of St. Andrew's. Buchanan.

268) He was put off till the first of May. Buchanan.

269) Thuanus calls him Verac, and speaks of him as one sent by the Guises, and not by the King of France The English and the Scots call him Verac, and mention him as the French King's envoy. Rapin.

270) On April 9. Buchanan.

271) He also declared to Melvil, that he looked upon the Queen of Scotland and the Prince her son, as true heirs, to the crown of England. Melvil, p. 105

272) The Lord Scrope, warden of the west marches, entering also Scotland, April 18, burnt and destroyed as far as Dunfrise. There was raised, overthrown, and burnt by the English, in this expedition, above three hundred towns and villages, says Stow, p. 666.

273) The reader may see the Articles of the article of this truce in Lesley's Negotiations, p. 95, &c.

274) However, he sent them ten thousand crowns. See Lesley's Negotiations, p. 108. Hamilton, Rector of Dunbar, had, sometime before, privately procured out of the Netherlands, great store of arms and powder, seven great guns, and some money, for Huntley, the Queen's Lieutenant in Scotland. Camden, p. 426.

275) This Bull is dated February 25. 1569, and may be seen in Speed, p. 842. and in Camden, p. 427. It was fixed on the Bishop of London's Palace Gate. Camden, *ibid*.

276) Their design was to set the Duke of Norfolk at liberty. *Idem*, p. 428.

277) John Felton was not one of the three Norfolk rebels; but he was executed for setting up the Bull. He would not fly, but boldly owned the fact; for which he was arraigned and hanged in Aldersgate Street, near the Bishop's Palace. However, he got hereby the empty repute of a glorious martyrdom. Camden, p. 428. Thuanus, 146.

278) Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Stanley, the Earl of Derby's younger sons by the Duke of Norfolk's daughter. Their accomplices were, Thomas Gerard, Rolston, Hall &c. Rolston's son, one of the band of gentlemen pensioners, discovered the plot. Camden, p. 429.

279) Where the Plague, which then raged in London, was got, and he was remitted to his own house, the Charter house, where he lived under the easy confinement of Sir Henry Nevil. Camden, p, 429.

280) And Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in October, The Queen of Scots was then at Chattesworth in Derbyshire, Camden, p. 419. Lesley's Negotiations, p. 100.

281) Queen Elisabeth sent Charles Howard, with a fleet, in which were several noblemen, to convoy her from Zealand in Spain. Camden, p. 430.

282) This year, on March 16, died William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, at Hampton Court, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, April 18. Stew, p. 669. This year also died Henry Clifford, the second Earl of Cumberland of the name; and Sir Nicolas Throckmorton. Camden, p. 430. On the 1st of October, there was a terrible tempest, which did an incredible damage in several places. See an account of it in Hollingshead, p. 1212, 1223.

283) James Macgil. Buchanan.

284) Namely, the Earls of Leicester and Sussex, Nicholas Bacon Lord Keeper, the Earl of Oxford Lord Chamberlain, William Lord Burleigh, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir Francis Knolles. Spotiswood p. 248.

285) The Lords demanded, were the Duke of Chateleraut, the Earls of Huntley and Argyle, the Lord Hume, the Lord Henry, and another; and the places required were the castles of Dunbarton and Humes, for three years. Camden, p. 431. Lesley's Negotiations. p. 127.

286) John Hamilton, one of the chief authors in this murder, discovered the whole matter to his confessor, who revealed it to others. Buchanan. 1. 20.

287) He went over in February, and came back a little before Easter. Stow, p. 668, 669.

288) Who had laid down, the last year, when the Bull was published, a hundred thousand crowns, whereof twelve thousand had been distributed by Ridolpho himself, among the English fugitives in Flanders. Lesley's Negotiations. p. 154.

289) Affirming, that the King of Spain would furnish him with four thousand horse, and six thousand foot, which might be transported to Harwich in Essex, and without the least suspicion, in the beginning of summer, when the Duke of Medina-Celi was coming in the Netherlands with a fleet. Ibid.

290) And the Lord Lumley. Camden, p. 434.

291) And conveyed a while after to the isle of Ely. Sir Thomas Stanley, and Sir Thomas Gerard, and Rolston, were sent to the tower. And Henry Howard, who had aspired to the Archbishopric of York, was, upon suspicion, committed to the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Ibid.

292) Two thousand crowns, Camden says, the money was sent by Queen Mary to the French ambassador, to be by him conveyed to her party in Scotland, p. 434.

293) This memorial, according to Camden, was not found about the Duke, but being sent to him by Queen Mary, with the copy of her letters to Rome and Madrid, he ordered it to be burnt with the rest of the papers, but Higford, upon his being taken up, discovered to the Council where it was hid, with the letters. It was a draught of Queen Mary's designs, which the Duke of Norfolk imagining Higford had burnt, denied at first every thing that Higford had confessed; but then the

council produced Higford's and others confessions, together with the draughts and letters to the Duke's face, he was amazed, thinking they had been burnt. The Earls of Arundel and Southampton, the Lords Lumley and Cobham, Thomas Brooke, Henry Percy, Lowder, Powell, Goodyer, Banister, &c. were taken up also, who all confessed what they knew. Camden, p. 434, 435.

294) Rapin, by mistake, says, the judges were consulted, but it was not their business. The civilians were, Daniel Lewis, Valentine Dale, William Drury, William Aubrey, and Henry Jones, Camden.

295) The answer to the first part of the query being omitted by Rapin, is supplied from Camden, and placed between crotchets.

296) He was brought before the Earl of Bedford, Clinton Lord Admiral, the Lord Burleigh, Sir Francis Knolls, and Sir Thomas Smith, with the Queen's attorney and solicitor, at the Lord Mayor's House. Lesley's Negotiations. p. 189.

297) By the Lord Burghley, Sir Francis Knolles, and Sir Thomas Smith. Lesley's Negotiation p. 197.

298) If Bothwell lived ten years in Denmark, as Camden says in another place, it is not to be conceived how Queen Mary could promise with an oath to marry the Duke of Norfolk in 1570, seeing Bothwell was then alive. Rapin.

299) This Parliament met at Westminster April 2, and was dissolved May 29. The clergy granted a subsidy of six shillings to be paid in three years; and the Lords and Commons two fifteenths and tenths, and a subsidy of two shillings and eight-pence in the pound. D'ewes, Stow, p. 669.

300) The act goes on: if any one, during the Queen's life, should by Book written or printed, maintain that any person is or ought to be the Queen's heir and successor, except the natural issue of her body, &c. Some looked upon this as too severe, thinking the naming of an heir would tend to the establishing the quiet of the nation. But it seems, abundance of jests were passed upon the clause, except the natural issue of her body, since, in law, those children are called natural which are begotten out of wedlock. So that Camden says, being then a young man, he himself often heard people say, that the word natural was inserted into the act by Leicester with a design, one time or other, to impose some bastard son of his upon the England for the Queen's natural issue. Camden, p. 436.

301) The other acts made in this Parliament were these: **1)** That fraudulent deeds made to avoid the debts of others shall be void. **2)** That fraudulent conveyances or deeds made by spiritual persons, to defeat their successors of remedy for dilapidations, shall be void. **3)** That no Ecclesiastical person shall be admitted to any benefice with cure, except he be twenty three years of age at least; and shall first subscribe the articles of religion in presence of the ordinary; and within two months after induction, read the same in his Parish Church, in the time of Common-Prayer; and declare his unfeigned assent thereunto; and all this upon pain of deprivation. That no person shall retain a benefice with cure, being under the age of twenty one years, or not being a deacon at least. That none shall be admitted to preach or administer the sacraments under the age of twenty four; nor without a testimonial of his honest life; nor unless he is able to render to the Ordinary an account of his faith in Latin.

302) The English having, since the year 1552, carried on a gainful trade for gold with the Negroes on the coast of Guinea, wherein they had often been disturbed by the Portuguese, who laid claim to that country, as the first discoverers of it; at last, all differences between the two nations were adjusted, by a treaty concluded this year. Camden, p. 437. The exchange having been some time finished, namely, ever since November 1567, Queen Elizabeth came, January 23, this year, to

see it, and by sound of Trumpet, her Herald named it. The Royal Exchange. Stow, p. 668. Camden, p. 431. On September 22, died the learned John Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury. Stow, p. 670, This year also died William Parr, Marquis of Northampton. Camden, p. 437.

303) George Talbot. Earl of Shrewsbury, was constituted Lord High-Steward of England for that day, and with him sat twenty five Peers. Camden.

304) Namely, John Powlet of Basing, the Marquis of Winchester's son, Henry Compton, Henry Cheney, and Henry Norris. Camden, p. 440.

305) Before arraignment, forfeiture of estate during life, and imprisonment during the Queen's pleasure. If arraigned, Death: if condemned, the penalty of High-Treason was to be incurred. This was only during the Queen's life.

306) He was attended on the scaffold by Alexander Newel, Dean of St. Paul's; and was buried in the tower chapel. Camden, p. 440. *State Trials*, Vol. I.

307) The persons sent to expostulate with the Queen of Scots, were, William Lord de la Ware, Sir Ralph Sadler, Dr. Wilson and Thomas Bromley. Camden, p. 442. Rapin, by mistake, says there were but two.

308) Camden's, words are, "to expostulate with her by way of accusation."

309) Since Bothwell was alive, how could she be contracted to the Duke of Norfolk? Rapin.

310) He set out, May 26, with a great train of nobility, among whom were the Lords Dacres, Rich, Talbot, Sandes, &c. Camden, p. 672.

311) About three thousand. See P. Daniel, Tom. VIII. p. 730. Others say, ten thousand. See Stripe's Annuals, Tom. II. p. 158.

312) There were Medals struck in memory of this horrible fact; having on one side the King sitting on a throne, and treading on dead bodies: with this motto *Virtus in Rebelles*, and on the reverse, the Arms of France crowned between, two columns, and *Pietas excitavit Jusjiciam* 24th August, 1572. See a print of this medal in P. Daniel, Tom. VIII, p. 786.

313) In one of his letters to Sir Thomas Smith, he informs him, that all the Huguenots lands, which would amount to many Millions, were to be sold, and employed in the conquest of countries. And if so, England was in no small danger. See Digges's Compl. Ambos, p. 245.

314) There was for some considerable time, a large French fleet stationed between Rochel and Bordeaux, which caused her no small uneasiness. See Digges's Compl. Ambos, p. 245—259

315) Thomas Percy Earl of Northumberland, was for a sum of money delivered to the Lord Hansdon, Governor, of Berwick, by Morton, who had been extremely beholden to the Earl during his exile in England. He was beheaded at York, on August 22. Stow p. 673.—This year died also two great men in an advanced age; William Powlet Lord Treasurer of England, (in which he was succeeded by Cecil Lord Burleigh), Marquis of Winchester, Earl of Wiltshire, and Baron of St. John of Basing. He died March 10. in the 97th year of his age, and lived to see a hundred and three persons descended from him—The other was Sir William Petre, Secretary to Henry VII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elisabeth. He was a great Benefactor to Exeter College in Oxford, wherein he was educated; and left in Lands to the value of one hundred pounds a year. He died January 13. This year also, on November 24, Edward Stanley Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley and Strange, of Knocking. Camden, p. 445. Stow, p. 671, 673.

316) Melvil says, it was shortly after, p. 113.

317) He rode to Sterling. Melvil, p. 113.

318) He received also succours from England; for Thomas Morgan carried over three hundred men to Flushing; and afterwards procured nine companies more, which were commanded by Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Camden, p. 443.

319) This year Queen Elizabeth had the Small Pox. After her recovery, she ordered Portsmouth to be strengthened with new fortifications, her navy to be increased, musters to be observed in every county, &c. Camden, p. 445 July 13, William Lord Howard Baron of Effingham, was made Privy-Seal; Thomas Radcliffe Earl of Sussex, Lord Chamberlain; Sir Thomas Smith, Principal Secretary of State; and Christopher Hatton, Esq; Captain of the Guard. Stow, p. 673. This year, on May 8, a new Parliament was held at Westminster, and was prorogued June 30. The acts made now, were these: **1.** An act, making the coining or counterfeiting of foreign coin, misprision of treason. **2.** That Justices of peace, at the quarter-sessions, shall rate every Parish within the Shire to which they belong, for the relief of the prisoners in the Common-Goal.

320) He carried with him a font of gold weighing 316 ounces. Stow, p. 675. He came back to England, February 27. Hollingshead, p. 1257.

321) The following project was formed between the Court of France and Queen Mary's Party: That the Marquis de Maine should land at Air, with one thousand shot, and, after joining the Queen's party, repair to Edinburgh, whose castle Lidington and Grange had promised to deliver to the French, and in consideration thereof, were to receive a pension, or some other livelihood, in France after which they were to fortify themselves in Loughbreton brochty, Dundee, and Aymouth. And then the Duke of Guise was to cross over with forces to deliver the Queen of Scots; and at the same time, her enemies in England, who were very numerous, were to rise in arms, and deliver her in spite of Queen Elizabeth. See Digges's Compl. Ambas., p 314.

322) To which he adds, seeing he might have obtained his intent without the help of England, having all Scotland at his devotion, saving that few numbers without the castle, which would likewise have agreed upon any reasonable condition. p. 120.

323) Melvil says, that having told the Regent, Grange, for his honour's sake, was resolved to agree for the whole party. The Regent answered, He would not agree with all because then their faction would be as strong as ever; and besides, as the troubles had occasioned great wrongs and extortions, he chose rather that the crimes should be laid upon the Hamiltons &c. because their estates were greater than those of Grange, and the rest in the castle, and consequently more land would escheat to him as the reward of his labours. Melvil telling Grange of the Regent's resolution, he insisted upon agreeing with all; and Morton hearing of it, pretended to like him the better for standing upon his reputation and honour, and seemed as it he had been resolved to agree with those in the Castle. He thanked Melvil for the trouble he had been at, desiring him to go home, and in the meantime he would propose the matter to the rest of the Noblemen of his side, who, he doubted not, would be very well satisfied with his proceedings, and then he would send for him again, and put the form of the agreement in writing. But he took immediately another course, and sent and offered an accommodation to the Hamiltons, &c. who accepted of it as above. Melvil, p. 118 - 120.

324) Melvil gives Grange an extraordinary character. He says he heard Henry II. of France say, (pointing to him) yonder is one of the most valiant men of our age. The great Constable of France would never speak to him uncovered. Camden says, a hundred of the family of Kirkcaldie, offered to be vassals for ever to the Regent, to pay a yearly pension of three thousand marks, and two thousand pounds Scottish in hand, if he would spare his life. He was (says Melvil) gentle and

meek, like a lamb in the house, but like a lion in the field. King James when he came of age; took up his bones, and buried them honourably, restoring his heirs. p. 122, 123.

325) The Lord Hume died shortly after in Edinburgh castle, where he was confined. Melvil, p. 122.

326) Probably, she had some evasion to excuse the sending of her troops into Scotland. Rapin.

327) In the beginning of the year 1573, viz. January 12, died William Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord. Privy Seal, son of Thomas Howard, the martial Duke of Norfolk, by his second wife, Agnes Tilney. He was made Lord High-Admiral by Queen Mary, and afterwards Lord Chamberlain, in which post he received Queen Elizabeth, and was succeeded by his son Charles, who a while after was made Lord Chamberlain, and also High-Admiral—Not long after, on march 17, died also Reginald Grey Earl of Kent, whom the Queen, the year before, raised from a private man to the dignity of Earl of Kent, after the title had lain dormant fifty years. His brother Henry succeeded him in his honour.—John Caius. a famous physician, born at Norwich and bred up at Padua and Cambridge, died about this time, and lies buried in Convil and Caius college, to which he was a great Benefactor, with this inscription on his tomb, **FU I CAIUS** The commerce between England and the Netherlands, which had been prohibited ever since 1568, was renewed, in January, this year, and the articles agreed upon at Bristol concerning it, were ratified by the King of Spain.—This year also Queen Elizabeth renewed and confirmed the charters of the City of London. Camden, p. 446, 449, Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 15. p. 701, 719.

328) This year, in order to avoid excess in apparel, which had spread itself all over England, the Queen, by proclamation, commanded that every one should within fourteen days wear clothes of such a fashion, which she herself began to wear in her own court. sumptuous buildings crept in also about this time; and, as Camden observes, to the great ornament of the great ornament of the Kingdom, but to as great decay of hospitality, p. 452—On April 1, the Queen granted a commission to the Lord Burghley, High-Treasurer of England, and to Sir Walter Mildmay chancellor and under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, to manumise and enfranchise bondmen and bondwomen, (or, as they are now called, copy holders)] regarding and appertaining to the royal manors and possessions, within the Counties or Cornwall, Devon, Somerset and Gloucester. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. II, p. 731.

329) Whereupon the Prince of Orange began to think of applying to the French, but Elizabeth sent Daniel Rogers to dissuade him from it; which not being able to do, the Queen sent Henry Cobham to the King of Spain, to inform him of the Prince of Orange's designs. Camden, p. 543.

330) And Governor of Berwick. Camden, p. 453.

331) With Francis Russel, son of the Earl of Bedford, and son-in-law to Forster, Cuthbert, Collingwood, Henry Fenwick, &c. Camden, p. 454.

332) James Hamilton Duke of Chateleraut, and Earl of Arran, was great grandson to James II of Scotland by his daughter. He was appointed tutor to Mary Queen of Scots and Governor and presumptive heir of the Kingdom during her minority. Upon his delivering her to the French, he was made Duke of Chatel Herault in France. Camden, p. 454 This year also, on May 17, died the learned Matthew Parker Archbishop of Canterbury. Strype, Stow, p. 679.

333) Being constrained to give over his enterprise in Ireland, he returned into England, having much wasted his estate, where openly threatening Leicester, whom he suspected to have done him ill office, he was by his cunning court tricks sent back into Ireland, with the insignificant title of Earl Martial of Ireland; where grief and sorrow throwing him into a bloody-flux, he died September 22, 1576, the 36th year of his age. Upon which, Leicester putting away Douglas

Sheffield (whether his wife or mistress is not known) he made love to Essex's widow, daughter to Sir Francis Knolls, to whom he was afterwards doubly married, first privately, and then publicly. For Sir Francis's satisfaction, who doubted of the private marriage. Camden, p. 455, 457.

334) This year, the Parliament met, by prorogation, at Westminster, on February 8, and was prorogued again March 15. The Lords and Commons granted to fifteenths and tenths and a subsidy; and the clergy gave a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. See statute. The acts now made, were:— **1.** That all persons which by any means whatsoever impair, diminish, or falsify the coins of the real, shall be guilty of treason. **2.** An additional act to those already made for the repairing of the highways et cetera. See statute 18 Elizabeth.

335) This year, on June 11, died Sir Anthony Cook of Gyddy Hall in Essex one of the tutors to King Edward VI. One of his daughters married William Lord Burghley, and Another Sir Nicolas Bacon Lord-Keeper. Strype's Ann. Tom. 2, p. 467. This year, on June 15, Martin Frobisoer sailed from England, with two small barks and one pinnace, with design to go upon the discovery of a passage to Cathy and China by the north parts of America. On the 20th of July, he discovered a high land, which he called Queen Elizabeth's Foreland, and afterwards, those Straights which bear his name. He proceeded sixty leagues further, and went on shore, where he caught one of the natives, whom he brought to England, when he returned thither in August. He made a second voyage to the same place the next year; and a third in 1568. Stow, p. 680, 681, 685

336) An office answering to that of doctor among the Romans, Strada, 1. 9.

337) The Marquis of Hauree, and Adolph Metkirk. Camden, p. 466.

338) For eight months. She told the ambassadors, that if they could borrow that sum of money anywhere, she, and the city of London, would become security for it; on condition, that certain towns in the Netherlands, which she should name, would become bound to repay the money within a year. She had sent them £20,000 last year, and exhorted them at the same time, not to change their religion nor their Prince, and not to receive the French into the Netherlands. Camden, p. 456, 458.

339) Queen Elizabeth concluded, on January 7, this year, a league offensive and defensive with the States, which in effect contained no more than this. See Rymer's Fœd. Tom 15. p. 784.

340) By Thomas Wilks, whom she dispatched to him. Camden, p. 456.

341) This year died the learned Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State. Camden, p. 460.

342) The Pope made him Marquis of Lemster, Earl of Wexford and Caterlaugb, Viscount Morough, and Baron of Ross. This Stukely was a profuse bragging man, who, after spending his estate, fled into Ireland, where being disappointed of the hopes he had of being Steward of Wexford, he vented many scurrilous things against the Queen, and then made his escape from Ireland into Italy to Pious V. Camden, p. 462.

343) The chief were John North, the Lord North's eldest son; John Norris the Lord North's second son; Henry Cavendish and Thomas Morgan, Colonel Norris, General of the English, in the first battle fought stoutly, having three horses killed under him. Camden, p. 460.

344) About this time, Count Swartzenberg from the Emperor, Pompon de Bellievre from the King of France, and the Lord Cobham, and Sir Francis Walsingham from Queen Elisabeth, repaired to the United Provinces, to find out some way for making a peace; but nothing could be agreed on. Camden, p. 460.

345) He was in England from January 22 to February 14. Stow, p. 685.

346) Egremont Ratcliffe, son to Henry Earl of Sussex by his second wife, who had been a violent man in the northern rebellion, and now served under Don John, was accused by the English fugitives, that he was secretly sent to assassinate Don John, upon which he was taken up and put to death, with Grey his accomplice. The Spaniards give out, that at his death he confessed he was let out of the tower on purpose to commit this murder. But the English, who were present, deny he made any such confession. Camden, p. 460, 461. Strype's Ann. Tom. II, p. 494.

347) Though he was not yet twelve years old.

348) Margaret Douglass Countess of Lenox, niece to Henry VIII, by his eldest sister, widow of Matthew Stewart Earl of Lenox, and grandmother to James I. King of Great Britain, having survived eight children, died this year, on March 10, in her grand climacteric, and was buried at Westminster, with a stately funeral at the Queen's charges. Camden, p. 461. Sandford, p. 525, 526.

349) Against the Pope and his confederates. Camden, p. 470.

350) This year died the Lady Mary Grey, one of the daughters of Henry Duke of Suffolk, sister to the Lady Jane Grey, and widow of Martin Keys. Strype's Ann. Tom. II. p. 548.

351) She also settled a yearly pension on him. Camden, p. 471.

352) He is called by the French writers, the Baron de Simier. See P. Daniel, Tom. IX. p. 188. Thuanus gives him this character, *Johannes Simieus, homo blandimentis, & assentatiunculis innutritus aulicis*, I, 66.

353) If Sussex, though his deadliest adversary, had not generously dissuaded her, being of opinion, that no man ought to be troubled for lawful marriage. However, Camden affirms, that Leicester was ordered not to stir out of Greenwich castle. Camden, p. 471.

354) Camden says, only Simié, with the Earl of Lincoln and Hatton her Vice-Chamberlain, were in the boat with her. Ibid.

355) The Lord Burghley; the Earls of Sussex and Leicester, Hatton and Walsingham. Camden, p. 471.

356) See the articles proposed by the Duke for his marriage, in Strype's Ann. Tom. 11. p. 561.

357) This year, on February 20, died Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral. He was succeeded by Sir Thomas Bromley, Lord Chancellor. This same year, on November, 21, died also Sir Thomas Gresham Knight, founder of the Royal Exchange, and of Gresham College in London, and was buried in St. Hellen's Bishopsgate Street. Stow, p. 685, 686. This year also, Amurath Cham, Emperor of the Turks, upon treaty betwixt William Harbourn an Englishman, and Mustapha Beg, a Turkish Bassa, granted, that the English merchants might freely trade throughout the Turkish dominions, in like manner as the French, Venetians, and other neighbouring nations did. Whereupon the English merchants, by the Queen's privilege, associated themselves into a company, called the Turkey Company. Camden, p. 472.

358) And ordered, that no more than one family should dwell in a house. Camden, p. 476.

359) Namely, Hansel, Nelson, Main, Sherwood. Stow, p. 682, 684, 655. Camden, p. 476.

360) Robert Parsons was born in Somersetshire, and brought up at Baliol College. Edmund Campian was a Londoner, Fellow of St. John's College, and Professor of the University in 1568. Camden, p. 477.

361) Camden likewise published his *Decem Rationes*, in defence of the Romish communion. His book was answered by Dr. Whitaker, Camden, p. 477.

362) Within four months. Camden, p. 476. There was another proclamation against Jesuits and seminary priests, April 24, 1582. which may be seen in Strype's Ann. Tom. III. p. 83, &c.

363) There came also about this time seminaries out of Holland, who called themselves of the family of love, and maintained. That those only were elected, and should be saved, who were admitted into their family, and all the rest were reprobates, and should be damned; and the like absurd tenets. Camden, p. 477.

364) Admiral Winter had waited a good while for their coming, and returned to England about Michaelmass; but upon news of their landing, he went back to Ireland. Camden, p. 475.

365) He sailed from Plymouth the 15th of December 1577, and returned to the same port November 3, 1580. When the ship was hauled up, the same day some Winchester scholars set up some verses on the Main mast in praise of Drake, which I suppose were the inscriptions mentioned by Rapin, two of the verses were as follows:—

**Plus ultra Herculeis inscribas, Drace, Columnis,
Et magno dicas, Hercule major cro.** Camden, p. 477—480.

366) This year, on January 16, the Parliament met by prorogation at Westminster, and was prorogued again March 18. They Temporality granted the Queen a subsidy and two fifteenths; and the clergy a subsidy of 6 s. 8 d. to be paid in three years. See Statute.

367) From the time of Richard Allan, who, (being descended from the Albeney's, antient Earls of Arundel and Sussex) in the reign of Edward I. Received the title of Earl without any creation, in regard of his being possessed of the castle and Lordship of Arundel. Camden, p. 481.

368) He was also made Chamberlain of Scotland, and Captain of Dunbarton Castle. Camden, p. 472.

369) There were seventeen companies sent thither. Melvil, p. 127

370) Among whom Aldegond Governor of Antwerp dispatched letters away into the Netherlands to signify as much. And Antwerp testified her joy by bonfires and peals of ordnance. Camden, p. 486.

371) Camden says, she sent for him, p. 486.

372) Strada, and some other historians say, that Queen Elizabeth set this treaty of marriage on foot, only to break off the design of a match between the Duke of Anjou, and a daughter of the King of Spain, which had been some time in agitation; And this is very probable, considering how afraid Queen Elisabeth was of an union between the crowns of France and Spain, Dec. 2.

373) John Stubb's of Lincoln's-Inn published a Book against the marriage, entitled, the Discovery of a gaping Gulph, wherein England is like to be swallowed by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the Banns, by letting her see the sin and Punishment thereof: upon which he, and William Page who dispersed the copies, were taken up and condemned to lose their right hands. Which was done accordingly, (by virtue of an Act of Philip and Mary against seditious

writings) by driving a cleaver through the wrist with a mallet, upon a scaffold at Westminster. I remember, (says Camden) being present, that Stubbs, after his right hand was cut off, pulled off his hat with his left, and laid with a loud voice, God save the Queen. But the multitude stood silent, either out of horror of the punishment, or pity to the man, or their hatred of the match. Camden, p. 487. The Queen, upon occasion of this book, published a long proclamation, dated September 27, which the reader may see in Strype's Ann. Tom. II. p. 562, &c.

374) Ralph Sherwin, Luke Kirby, and Alexander Brian. They were indicted upon the Treason Act 25 Edward III. Before these, there had been no more than five Papists put to death in this Reign. Camden, p. 487.

375) There was no session of Parliament this year. The act here mentioned, was made in the session held in the year 1580, and of which notice has been taken above. See p. 113. Note (8). and D'ewes, p. 266, &c. Rapin has been misled in this particular by Camden, p. 487.

376) A hundred thousand crowns of gold sol, each crown worth six shillings sterling, or sixty sols French money. See Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XV. p. 792.

377) He was attended by the Earl of Leicester, Charles and Thomas Howard; the Lords Hansdon, Willoughby, Windsor, Audley, and Sheffield; Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Francis Russel, Sir George Bouchier, &c. Camden, p. 488. Stow, p. 690.

378) Peregrine Bertie, whom she, as being sparing in conferring honours, had, with much ado, made Baron Willoughby of Eresby, though his mother Catherine was the only daughter and heir of William Lord Willoughby of Eresby. She married first Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, by whom she had no issue: and secondly, Richard Bartue, or Bertie, Esq; father of this Peregrine. See Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II, p. 87, 408. Strype's Ann, Tom, II, p. 670.

379) And published a proclamation, of which the reader may see an account in Strype's Ann., Tom. III, p. 79.

380) William Ruthven had been very lately created Earl of Goury, Camden, p. 488.

381) He went along with Davison, Queen Elisabeth's Ambassador. Camden, p. 491.

382) This year, about the end of September, died the learned George Buchanan. Spotiswood. p. 315. This year also, one Peter Morris, a Dutchman, invented an engine, and pipes, for conveying the Thames water for the use of the City of London. Stow, p. 696.

383) Three hundred and sixty-five days six hours, exceeding a year by about eleven minutes, a day is gained in about a hundred and thirty two years, by which means, from the year 325, wherein the Council of Nice was held, to the year 1582, ten whole days were gained. Whereupon, to set matters right again. Pope Gregory ordered the 5th of October 1582, to be called the 15th, and to prevent the like error again, he decreed, that three days should be taken out of every four hundred years; (which comes to almost the same as taking out one day every hundred and thirty two years) and this was done by making every hundredth year common, which, according to the Julian account, is always leap year, but every four hundredth year to continue leap-year. Though this be the truest and most exact way of reckoning, yet such is the perverseness of the English and Swedes, that they still keep to the old way; and hence comes what we call old and new stiles, which differ now by eleven days, and are thus written 1/11 of July, 1733

384) To treat with her, together with George Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, in whose custody Mary was. Camden, p. 491.

385) Arran insinuated to the King, that it would be a troublesome business to be encumbered with so many contrary opinions. He desired him to recreate himself with hunting and hawking, and he would attend the council, and report to his Majesty all their opinions and conclusions. This he did two or three times, but at length, he gave account of no man's advice but his own, and made the King believe, it was all their opinions, that it was his interest to follow a violent course, Melvil, p. 139.

386) Camden turns this whole affair to the King's advantage, by passing over in silence all the particulars related by Melvil. Rapin.

387) The Earl of Arran put all the affronts that could be invented upon him. See Melvil, p. 148.

388) June 9. this year, died Thomas Ratcliffe Earl of Sussex, Lord Chamberlain; and was buried at Newhall, or rather Borham, in Essex. Also, July 6, died Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, and was succeeded by Dr. John Whitgift. Stow, p. 697. Grindal was the first who brought Tamarisk into England. Camden, p. 494.

389) He made all the inhabitants of Scotland to tremble under him, and every man to depend upon him, daily inventing and seeking out new faults against several persons, to get the gifts of their escheats, lands, benefices, &c. Melvil, p, 155.

390) Because the Earl of Arran was fully resolved to have his Lands, and therefore to effect his design, he engaged to divide them with several others, upon condition they would assist him in ruining the Earl of Garry. Melvil, p. 156.

391) Eldest son of John Throckmorton, chief justice of Chester, who had lately been put out of the Commission. Camden, p. 497.

392) These persons were particularly suspected, Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, and his son; Philip Howard Earl of Arundel, and his Brother William, with the Earl of Arundel's wife; and Henry Howard, their Uncle, the Duke of Norfolk's brother. Camden, p. 497.

393) The Author of these Books was never discovered, but the suspicion lighted upon Gregory Martin an Oxford man, very learned in the Greek and Latin tongues. Carter a bookseller was executed, who procured them to be printed. Camden, 497. Stow, p. 698.

394) Gasper Haywood, James Bosgrave, John Hart, and Edward Rishton, were the chief. Camden, p. 497.

395) The rest of Throckmorton's coffers being searched, there were found in them two catalogues; one, of the ports in England, that were convenient to land forces at; and the other of the gentlemen all over England, that professed the Romish religion. Camden, p. 498.

396) And to that end, he had drawn these two Catalogues. Ibid.

397) He was clerk of the council, Camden calls him Woadus, or Woad, but others Sir William Wade, which last was his true name.

398) Sir Amias Powlet was also joined in the commission with him, to take care of Mary. She was then in Tutbury Castle. Camden, p. 501.

399) This year, in April, Walter Raleigh Esq; went to discover the country adjoining to Florida in the West-Indies, and returned in August, bringing two of the natives along with him. Hollingshead, p. 1369. Within the compass of this year also, Charles Nevil the last Earl of Westmoreland of his house, ended his life in a miserable exile. From this family sprung (besides

six Earls of Westmoreland) two Earls of Salisbury and Warwick , an Earl of Kent, a Marquis Montacute, a Duke of Bedford, a Baron Ferrari of Osley, Barons Latimers, Barons Abergavenny, one Queen, five Duchesses, not to reckon Countesses and Baronesses, an Archbishop of York, and a great number of inferior Gentlemen. Camden, p. 501.

400) Henry, King of France, having the last year been chosen into the Order of the Garter, Queen Elisabeth sent this year, in January, Henry Earl of Derby to France, to invest the King with the robes and ensigns of the order. Camden, p. 501. Stow, p. 700.

401) He said, that the bill favoured of treasons, was full of blood, danger, despair, and terror to the English Subjects of this realm, and full of conflictions, &c. D'ewes, p. 340.

402) Rapin, by mistake, calls him Henry. He claimed the inheritance of the Nevils Earls of Westmoreland, and the title of Lord Latimer as next heir male. Camden, p. 501.

403) During his stay abroad, he held a correspondence with the Lord Burghley, pretending to be mighty zealous for Queen Elizabeth. See Strype's Ann. Tom. 3. p. 79, &c. 188.

404) This was done in the 4th session of the Parliament, which met by prorogation November 13, 1584, and was prorogued again March 29. 1585. In this session the Lords and Commons granted the Queen two fifteenths and a subsidy; and the clergy a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. See Statute.

405) Besides the two acts already mentioned, it was also enacted in this session, that no person shall be returned to serve upon juries, but what has an estate of freehold lands, tenements, or hereditaments, to the clear yearly value of four pounds at the least.

406) As his Brother Thomas was in the Parliament held this year. Sec D' ewes, p. 341, 343.

407) He was sent to the King of Denmark, the Elector-Palatine, the Dukes of Saxony, Wirtemberg, Brunswlck, and Luxemburg, the Marquis of Brandenburg and the Landgrave of Hesse. Camden, p. 504.

408) The Earl of Arran had promised her, that he would not let the King marry within the space of three years. Melvil, p. 166.

409) See towards the end of Queen Mary's reign, where mention is made of this snare, p. 46.

410) They were several times upon the point of returning to their country. Wotton was so deceitful, that he frequently visited them, seemed sorry they were so abused, offered to lend them money, &c. See Melvil, p. 162, 163.

411) Rapin calls him Patrick. See Melvil, p. 167.

412) And Sir John Forster, Wardens of the middle Marches. Camden, p. 709, The Earl of Bedford, Sir Francis's father, died the next day. Stow, p. 709.

413) The Scots were about three thousand in number, and the English not above three hundred. Camden, p. 505.

414) Namely, the Earl of Bothwell, the Lord Humes, Maxwell lately created Earl of Morton, Patrick Gray, Belenden, Justice Clerk, and Maitland, Lord Secretary. Ibid.

415) Of which Sir John Norris was appointed general. Speed, p. 855.

416) Sir Philip Sidney was appointed Governor of Flushing, and Sir Thomas Cecil of the Briel. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XV. p. 801, 802.

417) The King of Sweden, when he heard of this treaty, said, Queen Elizabeth had now taken the diadem from her bead, and adventured it upon this doubtful chance of war. Camden, p. 508.

418) Sir Francis Drake was Admiral of the Fleet, and Christopher Carlisle General of the land forces. Camden p. 509.

419) Keeping on their course along a desolate coast, they lighted upon some Englishmen, who had planted themselves in Virginia, so named in honour of the virgin Queen Elizabeth and whom Sir Walter Raleigh had, in April this year, carried over thither for a colony. See Hollingshead, p. 1401. Ralph Lane, one of them, came home with Drake, and was the first that brought tobacco into England. Camden, p. 509, Tobacco was so named from the island Tobago, one of the Caribbee islands, where it plentifully grows.

420) He sailed with two ships, set forth at the charge of William Sanderson, a globe maker, and other Londoners. Camden, p. 510.

421) This year also, licence was granted to several merchants of London to trade to Barbary, Camden, p. 510. In January this year, died Edward Fynes Lord Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, and Lord High Admiral, and was buried at Windsor. He was succeeded by Charles Lord Howard of Effingham. Stow, p. 700, 709.

422) He came before, in 1580, to solicit for succours, but could not obtain any. See Strype's Ann., Tom II, p. 619.

423) He set out from England, December 8, with fifty sail, and a splendid retinue, being accompanied by the Earls of Essex, Oxford, and Northumberland, the Lords Audley, Willoughby, Sheffield, Burroughs, and North; Sir William Russel, Sir Thomas Shirley, Sir Arthur Basset, Sir Walter Wallor, Sir Gerwase Ciston, Sir Philip, Robert, and Henry Sidney, Sir William Pelham, and other Knights, with a select troop of five hundred gentlemen. Camden, p. 510. Stow, p. 710, 711.

424) On February 6. See Stow, p. 712.

425) He was attended with a noble Guard, and saluted by all men with the title of your excellency, upon which he began to take upon him as if he were a perfect King. Camden, p. 511.

426) 4) She also added these words, "We little thought, that one whom we had raised out of the dust, and prosecuted with such singular favour above all others, would with so great contempt have slighted and broken our commands, in a matter of so great consequence." Camden, p. 511.

427) In an engagement near Zutphen, the learned and ingenious Sir Philip Sidney received a wound in the thigh, of which he died, October 17, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral. Camden, p. 512. Stow, p. 737, 739.

428) The Jesuits began about this time, to forge a new and pretended title to the succession of the Kingdom of England for the Spaniard; and to that end, sent into England one of their society, to draw noblemen and gentlemen to the Spaniard's party. Camden, p. 513.

429) The intended pension was to be £5000 sterling a year. Strype's Ann. Tom. III. p. 302.

430) This league was signed July 5. The English plenipotentiaries were, Edward, Earl of Rutland, William, Lord Euers, Vice-President of the Council of the North, and Thomas Randolph Esq;

And the Scottish were, Francis, Earl of Bothwell, Robert, Lord of Boyde, and Sir James Home. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XV. p. 803.

431) Mr, Rapin, in his account of Rymer's Fœd, suspects, that King James I. ordered the archives to be cleared of every act relating to the Queen his mother, on purpose to deprive posterity as far as possible of the knowledge of her affairs. Acts Reg. Vol. IV. p. 2.

432) Rapin by mistake calls him Stephen Parker.

433) Rapin has mistaken the Christian names, which are rectified from Camden and Hollingshead

434) At the same time they wrote a sort of pastoral letter to the English Roman Catholics, not to disturb the government, or attempt any thing against their Queen; but to have recourse to tears, prayers, watching and fasting, the only justifiable weapons of Christians against persecution. They also got a report spread, that George Gifford, one of the Queen's Gentlemen pensioners, had sworn her majesty's death, and had received a sum of money from the Duke of Guise for that purpose. All this was done to amuse the Queen and Council. Camden, p. 515--Thuanus says, that the day pitched upon for the Queen's assassination, was August 24. 1. 86.

435) This was judged to be a very proper time, whilst the best English troops were employed in the Netherlands, and the Spaniard, the Duke of Guise, and the Prince of Farms, ready to invade England. Camden, p. 515.

436) Of Dabick in Derbyshire. Ibid.

437) Rapin says, Babington offered to be one of the six; which is a mistake, for Babington tells Queen Mary in his letter to her, that whilst these six persons were to commit the tragical execution (as he called it) he himself; with an hundred more, was at the same time to set her at liberty. Ibid.

438) And to gain privately the estates of Northumberland and Arundel, and the latter's brothers to her party. Also, that the association amongst them should be entered into, upon pretence that they stood in fear of the Puritans. There were likewise commotions to be raised in Ireland. Ibid.

439) Either by overturning a cart in the gate, setting the stables on fire, or carrying her away, as she rid abroad for diversion in the fields, betwixt Chartley and Stafford. Camden, p. 516.

440) Edward Windsor, Thomas Salisbury of Denbigshire, Charles Tilney, one of the gentlemen pensioners, Chidioc Tichbonrne, Edward Abington, Robert Gage of Surrey, John Travers, and John Charnock of Lancashire, John Jones, Barnwel an Irishman, and Henry Dun, Ibid,

441) The Motto was, *Quorsum bac alio properantibus* (What are these things to men hastening to another purpose?)

442) Camden says, he had often come to her about the Earl of Kildare's business. Camden, p. 516.

443) By Polly, Camden.

444) Thomas Phillips was his decipherer, and one Arthur Gregory opened and sealed them again. Camden, p. 517.

445) Walsingham had carried on matters himself as far as Ballard's taking up, without acquainting the rest of the Queen's Council, and would have gone on, but the Queen would not suffer him. Wherefore he sent a note to his man Scudamore, whom he had ordered to watch Babington, that he should observe him more strictly. The man read the notes so, that Babington sitting there him,

read it along with him. Whereupon suspecting all was discovered, he rose from the table, as they were at supper in a tavern, and leaving his cloak and sword behind him, went out of the room, as if he intended to pay the reckoning, and make all the haste could to Westminster, and changing clothes with Charnick, withdrew into St John's Wood with him and others, and lurking about for ten days, were at last discovered near Harrow on the Hill, hid in barns. And dressed like Countryman. Ibid.

446) She was led from one gentleman's house to another in the neighbourhood. Camden, p. 518.

447) Camden says, the ambassador was to deliver the letters from the Queen or the fugitive, to the person who should bring him the counterpart, mentions no papers left in the ambassador's hands by Gifford, p. 518.

448) On 13th of September, seven were arraigned and condemned of high treason; and two days after, the other seven were sentenced in like manner. The first seven were executed on the 20th cut down, their privies cut-off, and their bowels taken out whilst alive. But on the morrow, the other seven, by the Queen's order, hung until they were dead before they were cut down and bowelled. Camden, p. 518.

449) There were found in it many letters from persons beyond sea, from several English nobleman, et cetera, and answers to them, with about sixty tables of private ciphers and characters. Ibid.

450) Some historians say, that Queen Elizabeth endeavoured to have her poisoned by her cook. And that afterwards, the Earl of Leicester advised to dispatch her by poison, and privately sent a divine two Walsingham to persuade him to do it. But Walsingham urged, that, besides the injustice of the thing, it was both dangerous and dishonourable to the Queen. Martyre de Marie, p. 275. Camden, p. 519. Spotiswood, p. 351.444) 1) Thomas Phillips was his decipherer, and one Arthur Gregory opened and sealed them again. Camden, p. 517.

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451) The rest of the commissioners were; the Lord Burleigh, the Marques of Winchester, the Earl of Oxford Great Chamberlain, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl Marshal of England; the Earl of Kent, the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Worcester, the Earl of Rutland, the Earl of Warwick Master of the Ordnance; the earls of Pembroke, Leicester, and Lincoln; Vicecount Montague; the Lord Howard High Admiral of England; Hunsdon Lord Chamberlain; Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Cobham Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Stafford, Gray of Wilton, Lumley, Stourton, Wentworth, Mordant, St. John of Bletsho, Buckhurst, Compton, Cheney; Sir Francis Knolles Treasurer of the Household, Sir James Crosis Comptroller, Sir Christopher Hatton buys Chamberlain, Sir Francis Walsingham and William Davison Secretaries of State, Sir Ralph Sadler chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Sir Walter Mildmay Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Amias Powlet Captain of Jersey, John Woolley Esq; secretary for the Latin tongue, Sir Christopher Wray, Sir Edmund Anderson, Sir Roger Manwood, Sir Thomas Gawdy William Periam, judges. Camden, p. 519.

452) Very great care was taken in drawing up this commission, as the reader may see in Strype's Ann. Tom. 3. p. 362, &c.

453) Rapin, by mistake, says the 9th See Camden.

454) Rapin says, by mistake, the commission was sent to her. The letters were sent next day to Mary, by Sir Walter Mildmay, Powlet, and Edward Barker public notary, who were deputed by the commissioners. Camden, p. 520.

455) By Sir Amias Powlet, and Barker. Ibid.

456) Rapin says again, by mistake, in the commission.

457) To this the Queen replied. That she refused not to answer in full Parliament, provided she might be declared the next in succession; yea, before the Queen and her council, so as her Protestation was admitted, and she was acknowledged the next of kin to the Queen; but to the judgment of her adversaries she would never submit. Camden, p. 521.

458) At the upper end of the room was placed a chair of State for the Queen of England, under a canopy of State. Over against it, below, at some distance, near the beam that ran across the room, stood a chair for the Queen of Scots. By the walls on both sides were placed benches, on which sat the commissioners. Camden, p. 522. Thuanus observes, that some of these commissioners were papists, *Inter quos suere nonnulli Majcesrum religioni addicti*— I, 86.

459) He read the commission to her in which the act was specified. Whereupon she boldly and resolutely offered her protestation against the said act, as made directly and purposely against her. But upon the Lord Treasurer's saying, every person in the Kingdom was bound by the laws, though never so lately made; and that the commissioners were resolved to proceed according to that law, what protestations soever she interposed, she answered at length, that she was ready to hear and answer touching any fact whatsoever committed against the Queen of England. Camden, p. 522.

460) What she said to this, was. That there had passed letters betwixt her and many men, yet it could not thence be inferred, that she was privy to all their wicked designs. Ibid.

461) Thuanus also affirms, that Babington and Ballard confessed, and their incepted letters confirmed the same, that Mary was informed of the conspiracy, and the design of destroying Queen Elizabeth was undertaken for her sake, and upon her account, *Qui feorsim interrogati, ac post confeffiones inter fe commissi, alque ex episto is interceptis postremo convicti, in eo conveniebant, ut Mariam facti non ignaram, atque ejus caussa conjurationem susceptam ad Elisabetham è medio tollendam dicerent, l. 86,* And the continuator of Hollingshead says, that the conspirators owned, the Scottish Queen to be the principal comforter, director, and embracer of their treasons, p. 1578.

462) Upon her charging Walsingham with forging the letters, he rose up, and protesting that his heart was free from all malice, said, I call God to witness, that, as a private person, I have done nothing unbecoming an honest man; neither in my public condition and quality have I done any thing unworthy of my place. I confess that, oat of my great care for the safety of the Queen and realm, I have diligently endeavoured to search and sift out all plots and designs against the same. If Ballard had offered me his assistance, I should not have refused it, yea, I should have rewarded him for his pains and service. If I have tampered anything with him. Why did he not discover it to save his life? With this answer (she said) she was satisfied; and prayed him not to be angry that she had spoken so freely what she had heard reported, and that he would given, more credit to those that slandered her, than she did to such as accused him. Spies, (She said) were men of little credit, and desired he would not in the least believe, that ever she had consented to Queen Elizabeth's destruction. Camden, p. 523.

463) But no competent witness, ibid.

464) Even though she promised to deliver her son, and the Duke of Guise's sons in hostages. Camden, p. 524.

465) Before Burleigh asked her this, the solicitor put the commissioners in mind, what would become of them, their honours, estates and posterities, if the Kingdom were assigned to the Spaniard. But the Lord Treasurer showed, the King of England could not be conveyed at all, but was to descend by right of succession, according to the laws; and then asked the Queen if she had any more to say. Camden, p. 525.

466) Upon which she rose up, and had some conference with the Lord Treasurer, Hatton, Walsingham, and the Earl of Warwick, apart by themselves. Camden, p. 525.

467) This conjecture is however grounded upon the difference between Camden's account, and that of Thuanus, Lib. 86. Tom. 3. p. 156 and 162, Rapin.

468) This is indeed the best, and the only excuse that can be alleged in vindication of Queen Elisabeth. Accordingly, The Welwood observes, "That when every day produced some new conspiracy against the life of Queen Elizabeth, and that in most of them the Queen of Scots was concerned, either as a party, or the occasion; Queen Elisabeth was put under a fatal necessity, of either taking off the Queen of Scots, or exposing her own person to the frequent attempts of her enemies." Memoirs, p. 13. Du Maurier also expressly says, That Queen Mary was the cause of her own ruin, by her restless temper, and her repeated designs against Queen's Elizabeth's life, preface to his Memoirs. For Queen Mary's friends would never suffer her to be quiet, but were eternally plotting and contriving, bribing and conspiring, how to murder Queen Elizabeth. and set up the Queen of Scots in her stead, to restore her beloved popery here in England. Bobun's character of Queen Elisabeth, p. 129.]

469) The Earls of Shrewsbury and Warwick were absent, being then sick. Camden, p. 525.

470) The last Parliament was dissolved September 15. this year; so that the present Parliament was called upon the discovery of the plot, and, in order to take the business of the Queen of Scots into consideration. See D' ewes, p. 374, 375, 377.

471) In the Journals of the House of Lords it is said, that the Committees of both Houses, upon hearing the sentence, and divers of the special evidences and proofs whereupon the sentence was grounded, openly read unto them, after long deliberation and consultation had betwixt them, both publicly and privately, they all with one assent allowed the same sentence to be just, true, and honourable. D' ewes, p. 379.

472) See the petition in D' ewes's Journal, p. 380; and in the appendix to Elizabeth's Reign, p. 667, of the second volume of the Complete History.

473) The Queen came not to the Parliament the first day of the session, but granted a commission to John Archbishop of Canterbury, William Lord Burleigh and Henry Earl of Derby to supply her place. See D' ewes, p. 375, 377.

474) Speaker of the House of Commons. Camden, p. 527. It was not he that was sent with that message, but Sir Christopher Hutton; and then it was but the 12th , as Camden affirms, but the second day after. See D' ewes, p. 403.

475) Or rather adjourned to February 15th, when it met again, and was at last dissolved March 23, after granting the Queen one subsidy, and two fifteenths, and tenths. The Clergy granted also a subsidy of six shillings in the pound,, to be paid in three years. And moreover, gave a contribution or benevolence of three shillings in the pound for the support of the wars in the Netherlands. In this Parliament were confirmed the attainders of Thomas Lord Paget, and of the late executed rebels. See statute. and D' ewes, p. 375, 387, 390, 414, &c. Rymer, Tom. XVI. p. 5. Stow, p. 742.

476) She desired to have a Catholic priest allowed her, to direct her conscience, and administer to her the sacraments. The Lord Buckhurst and Beale recommended a bishop and a dean to her for this purpose, whom she absolutely refused. Camden, p. 528.

477) On December 6, and then throughout the Kingdom. Stow, p. 741. Camden, p. 528.

478) She desired her body might be buried in Catholic ground, particularly in France near her mother: That she might not be put to death in private without Queen Elizabeth's knowledge, but in the sight of her servants, who might give a true testimony of her faith: That her servants might peaceably depart whither they pleased, and enjoy those legacies which she had bequeathed them by her will and testament. Camden, p. 529. Spotiswood, p. 354, In this her will, Queen Mary provided, that, if the prince her son, did not renounce the false and heretical persuasion in which he had drunk in, the inheritance of the Crown of England should never descend to him, but devolve to Philip King of Spain, Burnet, Tom, III., p. 327. Jebb endeavours to confute this account. Preface to Vol. II. of *Queen Mary's Life*.

479) Nay, this was not so secret, but that after the death of the Duke of Guise, Henry III. was accused by the leaguers of having caused the Queen of Scots to be put to death. Rapin.

480) This year, Thomas Cavendish sailing from Plymouth, .on the 21st of July, with three ships, and a hundred and twenty-five men, began his voyage round the world; entering in at the Straights of Magellan, and returning by the Cape of Good Hope. This Voyage he performed in about two years and two months, arriving at Plymouth, September 9, 1588.— May 7, Philip Howard Earl of Arundel was condemned in a fine of £10,000, and to remain in prison at the Queen's pleasure. This year, Ludgate, in London, was rebuilt by the citizens, and the charges amounted to above £1500. Stow, p. 720, 741. Hollingshead, p. 1561.

481) He bribed only one Edward Stafford, who abhorring the fact, recommended one Moody as a fit person ; but Stafford discovered the matter to the council. Camden, p. 532.

482) And only have it in readiness, in case any danger happened to break out in that time of jealousy and fear. Camden, p. 534. Melvil says, that it was not to be delivered, without her Majesty's express command; nevertheless, Davison being deceived by the council, delivered it to them, p. 172.

483) This Davison absolutely denied in his examination. See Strype's Ann. Tom. III. p. 375.

484) Rapin says, the Queen sent Davison word to hasten the warrant. But it is a mistake, for Camden says the Queen changed her mind, and sent to him not to draw it. Camden, p. 534.

485) And yet Thuanus thinks so. 1. 86.

486) Camden says, Davison persuaded the council that the Queen had commanded it should be executed, p. 534.

487) Upon which she told them, I did not think the Queen my sister would have consented to my death, whom am not subject to your law and jurisdiction; but seeing her pleasure is so, death shall be to as most welcome. Camden, p. 534.

488) When the earls had told her to prepare for death, she desired that she might have a conference with her almoner, confessor, and Andrew Melvil the master of her household. But they would not allow her confessor to come near her, but recommended to her the Bishop or Dean of Peterborough, who she refusing, the Earl of Kent, out of his zeal to the reformed religion, said to her the words above mentioned. After they were gone, she ordered supper to be hastened, that she might have the more time to dispose of her concerns. She supped temporarily, as she used to do. Towards the end of the supper she drank to all her servants, who pledged her in order upon their knees, begging pardon for their neglect of duty, as she also did of them. After supper she pursued her will, and wrote down the names of those to whom she bequeathed her goods and jewels. At her wonted time she went to bed, slept some hours, and then awaking, spent the rest of the night in prayer. The fatal day being come, she dressed herself as she was wont to do on festive days, and calling her servants together, commanded her will to be read, and then retired into her oratory, where she's stayed till Thomas Andrews the sheriff acquainted her that she must now come forth. She appeared with a composed countenance and cheerful look; her head was covered with a veil hanging down to the ground, her beads hanging at her girdle, with a crucifix in her hand. In the porch she was received by the earls, and other nobleman, where speaking a short speech to Melvil, who bewailed his hard hap, that he was to carry into Scotland the woeful tidings of the unhappy fate of his lady and mistress, she bade him farewell; and turning to the earls, desired that her servants might stand by her at her death. Then the earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, and Thomas Andrews the squire; sheriff of Northamptonshire, going before her, she came to the scaffold at the upper ends of the hall, which was placed a chair, a cushion, and a block covered with black cloth. As soon as she was sat down, Beal read the warrant, to which the Queen listened with a careless, or rather merry countenance; which done, Dr Fletcher Dean of Peterborough began a long speech to her, concerning her life past, present, and to come. She interrupted him, praying him not to trouble himself, for she was resolved to die in the Catholic religion. Then they appointed the dean to pray: after which, the executioner having asked her forgiveness, a woman took off her upper-garments and covered her face with a handkerchief, she laid down her head on the block, which was severed from her body at two strokes. She was buried in a royal manner, in the Cathedral of Peterborough on August 1, where she laid till her son King James' accession to the Crown of England; but he had her corpse removed in 1612, into the south aisle of King Henry VII's chapel at Westminster, where it now lies; and a stately monument erected to her memory, which the reader may see a print in Sandford, p. 533 – Camden,

p. 534, 535. Melville, p. 172. *Martyre de Marie*, p. 301, &c. *Mort de Marie*, p. 615, &c. Edit. Jebb.

489) And particularly to Lord Burleigh; who upon this disgrace, wrote several very submissive letters to the Queen, which the reader may see in *Strype's Annals*, Tom. III p. 371, 372. He chiefly pleaded ignorance, and offered to resign his places. If there was any precipitation used in this affair, of the death of the Queen of Scots, the Lord Burleigh, secretary Walsingham, and a few others, may reasonably be supposed the authors of it, in order to secure themselves, for they had acted so openly against Mary, that had she ever mounted the throne of England, they must have been utterly undone.

490) He was kin to her by Ann Boleyn her mother. Rapin.

491) The commissioners, being thirteen in number, made each a speech, wherein they owned, that sentence was justly pronounced against the Queen of Scots, but that Davison deserved to be punished, for acting without the Queen's advice and consent. Camden, p. 537.

492) This matter is also undeniably confirmed by two letters, inserted by McKenzie, in his *Life of Queen Mary*, (if they are genuine). In the first, written on February 1 1586 – 7, by Walsingham and Davison, to Sir Amias Powlet, and Sir Drury, it is said – "her Majesty doth note in you, both a lack of that care and zeal for her service, that she looketh for at your hands, in that you have not all this time, (of yourselves, without other provocation) found out some way to shorten the life of the Scots Queen, considering the great peril she is hourly subject to, so long as the said Queen shall live. – She taketh it most unkindly, that men professing that love towards her that you do, should the kind of sort, for lack of the discharge of your duties, cast the burden upon her, knowing, as you do, her indisposition to shed blood." – Sir Amias Powlet, in his answer, dated February 2, has these words, "– my answer – I shall deliver unto you with great grief and bitterness of mind, is that I am so happy, as living to see this happy day, in which I am required by direction from my most gracious sovereign, to do an act, which God and the law forbiddeth. – God forbid I should make so foul a shipwreck of my conscience, or leave so great a blot to my poor posterity, and shed blood without law or warrant," p. 270 – 273. Osborn also observes, that, "our Queen may be found in many of her letters, intimating so much (as the making her away) to such as kept her, who were so wise, as not to understand what was meant." Mem. Sect. 4.

493) Some of her friends in Scotland, and the Lord Hunsdon governor of Berwick. Camden, p. 539.

494) He assigns himself these reasons for not revenging his mother's death. **1)** His tender youth, not trained up in arms. **2)** His excessive cowpity (or poverty) from hand to hand, from neydie to neydie, to greedie and greedie. **3)** the factions of his kingdom et cetera. See Strype's Ann. Tom. III. p. 382.

495) **4)** The preparations were so extraordinary great, that Sir Francis Drake says in a letter, the Spaniards had provisions of bread and water, sufficient to maintain 40,000 men the whole year. See Strype's Ann. Tom. III. p. 451 – that these great preparations were aimed at England, was discovered by Walsingham in the following remarkable manner; he had intelligence from Madrid, that Philip had told his counsel, he had dispatched an express to Rome, with the letter written with his own hand to the Pope, acquainting him with the true design of his preparations, and asking his blessing upon it; which for some reason he would not yet disclose to them, till the return of the courier. The secret being thus lodged with the Pope, Walsingham, by the means of a Venetian priest retained at Rome as his spy, got a copy of the original letter, which was stolen out of the Pope's cabinet by a gentleman of the bedchamber, who took the keys out of the Pope's pocket while he slept. Welwood's Mem., p. 8, 9.

496) With forty galleys. Strype's Ann. Tom. p. 391.

- 497)** The English so fully understood by the merchants papers the rich value of the Indian merchandises, and the manner of trading into the eastern world, that they afterwards setup a gainful trade and traffic, establishing a company of East Indian merchants. Camden, p. 540.
- 498)** There was another remarkable thing which retarded this expedition, and was the contrivance of the great statesman Walsingham; namely, he got all the Spanish bills, that were to supply the King with money to carry on his preparation, projected at Genoa. Welwood's Mem. p. 9.
- 499)** This place was defended a while by Sir Roger Williams, Sir Francis Vere, and Captain Nicolas Basterville. Camden, p. 541
- 500)** Thomas Sackvil Lord Buckhurst, Sir John Norris, and Bartholomew Clerk. Idem. p. 540.
- 501)** The Bulls of Pius V, and Gregory XIII, were renewed by Cardinal Allen, sent for that purpose into the Low-Countries. A crusade was also published against Queen Elizabeth, Camden, p. 543.
- 502)** The Spaniard, the more to advance his glory, and terrify his enemies, published an account of this fleet in Spanish, Latin, French, and Dutch. The Spanish book soon came into the hands of the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, in divers places whereof Strype saw notes added by that Lord soon after the defeat. From this book he has inserted a brief account of the Spanish Armada, in his *Appendix of Original Papers*, Ann. Vol. III. N. 51. The sum whereof is this. That there were in all 130 Ships of 57,868 Tuns, 19,1295 soldiers, and 8,450 mariners, 2088 Slaves, and 1630 great brass pieces of all sorts besides 20 caravels for the service of the army, and 10 Salves with six oars a-piece. Strype's Ann. Tom. III. p. 519, 520. Speed, p. 858 Queen Elizabeth's fleet consisted of not much above a hundred sail. See Stow, p. 749.
- 503)** One hundred and three companies of foot, and four thousand horse, among which were seven hundred English Fugitives, commanded by Stanley, the Earl of Westmoreland was also with them. Camden, p. 543.
- 504)** Moreover, the Duke of Guise brought twelve thousand men down to the coast of Normandy, which was to join the Spanish Armada as they went by, and land in the west of England; but for want of money, or some other reason, their design proved abortive. Stow, p. 746.
- 505)** These were ordered to lie at the Channel's mouth, and about the western parts of England. Camden, p. 543.
- 506)** For the Land-service there were disposed along the southern coasts twenty thousand men. Besides which, two armies were raised of choice well disciplined men, the one under the command of the Earl of Leicester, consisting of a thousand horse, and twenty two thousand foot, which encamped at Tilbury, where the Queen was pleased to come and review them; and made a very kind Speech to them, which see in Cabala, p. 373;) the other was under the leading of the Lord Hunsdon, consisting of thirty four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to guard the Queen's person. Upon this emergency the City of London lent the Queen great sums of money. And being desired to furnish five thousand men, and fifteen ships, they granted ten thousand men, and thirty ships. No words, says Stow, can express the great forwardness of the people, in their zealous love and duty cowards their sovereign, at this juncture. See Stow, p. 744, 750; Camden, p. 543, 548. Strype's Ann. Tom. III. p. 517.
- 507)** Particularly Milford Haven, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portland, the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth. the Downs, and about the Thames mouth, Harwich, Yarmouth, Hull, &c., Camden, ibid.
- 508)** Arthur Lord Grey, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir John Norris, Sir Richard Bingham, and Sir Roger Williams, excellent soldiers, were made choice of to consult about the best way of managing the war at land. Camden, p. 543, 548.

509) April 17, this year, died Sir Thomas Bromley Lord High Chancellor, and was succeeded by Sir Christopher Hatton, the Queen's Vice-Chamberlain. Stow, p. 742. This year also died, ninety years old, Ann Stanhope, relict of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, and Protector of England. And Sir Ralph Sadler, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Camden, p. 541. And likewise, on April 18, John Fox Martyrologist. Strype's Ann. Tom. III. Append. p. 209.

510) May 29, says Camden, p. 545.

511) On the 26th, the Lord Admiral knighted the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, John Hawkins, and Martin Forbisher, for their good service; and a resolution was taken not to attack the enemy any more, till they were come into the Straights of Calais. Camden, p. 547.

512) Amongst others, the Earls of Oxford, Northumberland, Cumberland, Thomas and Robert Cecil, Henry Brooke, Charles Blunt, Walter Raleigh, William Hatton, Robert Carey, Ambrose Willoughby, Thomas Gerard, Arthur Gorges, Sir Thomas Vavafor, and others of good quality. Camden, p. 547. Stow, p. 747.

513) Under the conduct of Young and Prose. Camden, p. 547.

514) Ashby, the Queen's ambassador in Scotland, made King James the following offers; namely, the title of a Duke in England a yearly pension of £5000, a guard to be maintained at the Queen's charge, and some other matters, whether (says Camden) of his own head, or by command of others, I cannot tell. Camden, p. 548.

515) Of the Spanish Armada were taken and destroyed in July and August, fifteen great ships, and 4791 men, in the fight between the English and Spanish navies in the Channel: And on the coast of Ireland in September, seventeen ships, and 5394 men. In all thirty two ships, and 10185 men. See Strype's Append. Numb. 53. Upon the disappearance of this mighty fleet, the following writing was fastened up to Posquil at Rome: *Pontisicem mille annorum Indutgentias largiturum esse de plenitudine potestatis suæ, siquis certo sibi indicaverit, quid sit factum de classe Hispanicâ, Quò abierit: in cælumne sublata: an ad Tartara detrusa: vel in aere alicubi pendeat, an in aliquo mart fluctuet.* Strype's Ann., Tom. 3. p. 522.

516) This is Camden's account. But according to Anthony Copley, a fugitive gentleman in those times, when the news was brought to Philip being at Mass. He swore (after Mass was over) that he would waste and consume his crown even to the value of a candlestick, (pointing at one that stood upon the altar) but either he would utterly ruin her majesty and England, or else himself and all Spain become tributary to her. Strype, *ibid.* p. 525. The Duke of Medina returned to Spain about the end of September with only sixty sail, out of his hundred and thirty, and those too very much shattered. Stow, p. 749.

517) Where eleven Colours and Standards taken from the enemy were hung up, Camden, p. 549. Stow, p. 750.

518) Rapin, by mistake, says the 14th of December.

519) Robert Dudley, first son of John Duke of Northumberland, died the 4th of September at Cornbury in Oxfordshire, in his way to Kenelworth from whence he was carried to Warwick and there interred. The titles and places he enjoyed were these: Knight of the Orders of the Garter, and St. Michael, Privy-Counsellor, Master of the Horse, Steward of the Queen's Household, Constable of Windsor Castle, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Justice in Eyre of all the forests South of the Trent, Lieutenant and Captain General of the English Forces in the Netherlands. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. 2, p. 221, Camden, p. 549.

520) The Lord Willoughby General of the English (who had made Sir William Drury Governor, though the Queen, by her letters, had given the place to Morgan) to reward military valour, knighted Sir Francis Vere, who now began to grow famous. Sir Thomas Knolles, Sir Nicholas Parker and Sir John Pooley, for their courageous behaviour. Camden, p. 550.

521) What occasioned this name, was, that the Streets were blocked up with Barriques, i.e. Hogsheads, &c. See Thuanus, l. 90.

522) The Bishop of St. Andrew's and the Lairds of Segie and Barnbarrow. Melvil, p. 176.

523) As this name is thus writ in Melvil's Memoirs, it was not thought proper to alter it. But there is room to suspect it should be Du Bartas, a famous poet. who was indeed sent to Scotland by the King of Navarre, though one cannot be sure it was this very year. Thuanus, Tom. 5. p. 100. Rapin —Melvil says, that King James had this Dubartus in great esteem, for his rare poetic set out in the French tongue, which puts it out of all doubt that it was Dubartas, Melvil, p. 176.

524) And also the Earls of Arrol and Crawford. Camden, p. 551.

525) And then invade England, in revenge for the death of the Queen of Scots. Ibid.

526) Namely, Robert Bruce a priest, and Chreicston, and Hayes, Jesuits. Ibid.

527) He was accused of having held private and secret conference and communication of several treasons, with Allen and other Popish priests and of having had Mass said for the happy success of the Spanish Armada. See *State Tryals*, Vol. I.

528) Henry Earl of Derby was made Lord High Steward of England for this purpose. Camden, p. 551.

529) Six ships of war, and about £60,000, in money. Stow, p. 752.

530) One hundred and forty six, says Stow. He makes the number of the soldiers to have been fourteen thousand, and of the sailors four thousand. Ibid,

531) And all manner of naval stores, to equip a new fleet against England. Camden, p. 554.

532) The English brought home a hundred and fifty pieces of great ordnance, and a very rich booty, says Camden, p. 555.

533) He was accompanied by Sir Thomas Wilford, Sir John Borroughs, Sir Thomas Drury, and Sir Thomas Baikervill. Camden, p, 556.

534) This year, on February 4, a new Parliament met at Westminster, which was dissolved March 29. The temporality granted the Queen two subsidies, of 6s. in the pound, and four fifteenths, and a tenth besides, says Stow, p. 751. The clergy gave two subsidies of 6s. in the pound, to be paid yearly by two shillings in the pound. See statute. In this Parliament it was enacted; **1.** That no person, except the party grieved, shall be received to inform or sue upon any penal Statute. **2.** That no person, or body politic or corporate, which hath election or voice, in the nomination and choice of any fellow, scholar, or any person in any church, college, school, hospital, or other society, shall take any reward, directly or indirectly for his vote; nor for his presentation nor for presentation or collation to any benefice or dignity. **3.** That no person shall build, maintain, or uphold any cottage, unless he lays to it four acres of ground at least. The penalty for building one is £10. and for upholding it 40s a month. See Statute, and D' ewes, p. 419, &c— This year died Frances, Countess of Sussex, and sister to Sir Henry Sidney; foundress of Sidney-Sussex College in Cambridge. About the same time also, died Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor and

Under Treasurer of the Exchequer, and founder of Emanuel College in the foresaid University. Camden, p. 587.

535) Towards the repairs of which, she appointed a yearly sum of £8970 sterling. Camden, p. 558.

536) This year she fortified Milford Haven in Wales, and Dunganon in Ireland. Ibid.

537) She paid 12500 Florins every two months, i.e., 750,000 yearly; besides 26000 more to three thousand horse and foot, which served in the Netherlands. Camden, p. 558.

538) He died April 6, and was buried by night in St. Paul's Church. Camden, p. 560. He spent his whole time and estate in the service of his Queen and country; and had the best intelligence from all parts that any Minister ever had. He left only one daughter, who was married, first, to Sir Philip Sidney; secondly, to Robert Earl of Essex; and thirdly, to Richard Bourk Earl of Clanrickard in Ireland. Ibid. This year also, on February. 21, died Ambrose Dudley Earl of Warwick, without issue, and George Talbot seventh Earl of Shrewsbury; as also James Crostes. Ibid, Stow, p. 760, 781.

539) Provided the Enemy were dispossessed by that time. Camden, p. 561.

540) Sir Thomas Leighton, and Sir Henry Killigrew were appointed as assistants to him. Camden, p. 562.

541) During which, his brother Walter was slain. Stow, p. 762.

542) Sir Richard Greenvil, in the Vice-Admiral called the Revenge, out of a rash piece of bravery, would not let his men sail, and being pent up between the island and the Spanish fleet, resolutely attempted to break through. But was taken, after a hot fight of fifteen hours. Greenvil himself was slain. Camden, p. 565.

543) About this time, George Riman, an able seaman, and James Lancaster, made a voyage to the East-Indies, and had the good fortune to double the Cape of Good Hope. Ibid.

544) In the year 1593, March 26, the Queen granted a Commission to thirty four persons, to search and find out all suspicious persons, as well as English as strangers, that had, since the 31st of the Queen, come, or should thereafter repair into the Kingdom from beyond sea; and also those that wilfully abstained from resorting to Church, or depraved and contemned the Laws made in that behalf; and finally, all those that were guilty of counterfeiting, clipping, or carrying the coin out of the Kingdom. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVI, p. 201, &c. November 20, 1591, died Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor of England, and was succeeded by Sir John Puckering, who was made only Lord-Keeper. Stow, p. 764, 765 The 30th of the same month, Bren O'Royrk Lord of Bieny O'Royrk in Ireland was executed at Tyburn for Treason.

545) Who had been called home to inform the Queen of the state of affairs in Bretagne. Camden, p. 569.

546) This prize was valued at £150,000 Sterling. Raleigh's design was to make himself master of Panama, or else to intercept the Spanish fleet. Bothwell. Camden, p. 569.

547) It was occasioned by a very strong westerly wind, which blew vehemently for two days together. There had been a very great drought the summer before. Stow, p. 765. Camden, p. 570. October 19. died Anthony Brown Viscount Montacute. Camden, ibid.

548) It met Feb. 19, and was dissolved April 10, D' ewes, p. 456, &c. Townshend, p. 31, &c., whilst it was sitting, viz. Feb. 14. Peter Wentworth, Esq., and Sir Henry Bromley, prepared a petition for entailing the succession of the Crown; for which Wentworth was sent to the tower, and Bromley to the fleet. D' ewes, p. 470.

549) In the preamble it is said. That this act was made, for the preventing and avoiding such great inconveniences and perils, as might happen and grow by the wicked and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries, and disloyal perfons. The act ran, That if any person above the age of sixteen years, shall refuse to repair to some church, or forbear to do the same for the space of a month, shall be committed to prison, there to remain without bail or mainprise. till they shall conform and make such open submission and declaration of their conformity, as by this act is appointed. The offenders against this statute, who refused to make the submission, were to abjure the Realm, and not to return without her Majesty's licence, under the penalty of suffering as felons, without benefit of the clergy. This Bill met with great opposition in the House of Commons, as the reader may see in D' ewes, p. 474, &c. where the speeches on both sides are inserted. There was an act made also against Popish recusants, by which they were confined within five miles of their respective dwellings, on forfeiture of all their goods and chattels, together with lands, during life. By another act, all the Abbey-Lands are confirmed to the Crown and grantees.

550) These severities were probably occasioned by the disturbances caused by Hacket and some other enthusiasts. However this be, the same Hacket, on July 28. 1591, and also Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, Daniel Studley, and two more, were executed April 6. 1593, for writing and publishing seditious Books, as was the next year John Penry, for writing a book called, *Martin-Mar-Prelate*. See Stow, p. 764—766.

551) The laity granted three subsidies, of 21s. 8d. in the pound of goods, and 4s. of lands; together with six fifteenths and tenths, amounting in all to £280,000. And the clergy advanced two whole subsidies, of 4s in the pound, to be paid in two years. This subsidy-bill passed with great difficulty; the Lower-House, being debated on Feb. 16. March 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 16, and 19. See the Debates in D' ewes, p. 473, 477 &- 483. Let it be observed here, that a fifteenth and a tenth was a certain tax on every City, Borough and Town, not upon every man in particular, but a general Sum, in proportion to the fifteenth part of the wealth of the respective places. Subsidy was imposed on every single person, as they are affected by poll, according, to the value of their goods and lands.

552) She made this speech the last day of the session April 10, 1593.

553) This plot was, to raise a subscription for a large sum of money in Scotland; and then an army of thirty thousand Spaniards was to land in that Kingdom, about the end of the year 1592, which was to be joined by Bothwell, &c. with a body of troops: And all these were to march into England, to revenge the Queen of Scots death. See Rymer's Fœd, Tom, XVI, p. 190- 194.

554) It appears by a paper in Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVI. p. 194.. that the King of France was then indebted to her £52,783.

555) The King's whole discourse to Wilks is to be seen in Camden's Annals. Rapin.

556) Henry Stanley Earl of Derby, father of this Ferdinand, died just before. Camden, p, 574.

557) He died, April 16, in the very flower of his youth. There was found in his Chamber an image of wax, with hairs thrust through the belly of it, of the same colour with his own, which was thought to be placed there on purpose to avoid the suspicion of his being poisoned. He was succeeded by his Brother William, who had afterwards a famous trial with Ferdinand's three daughters, for the dominion of the the of man. Camden, Ibid, Stow, p. 767, &c.

558) This year Queen Elisabeth ordered a garrison to be kept in the Isles of Scilly, and a fort to be built in the island of St. Mary, She also fortified the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey, Camden, p. 574.,—There died of the plague this year, in London 10,675 persons. Stow, 769.

559) Namely, Hugh Owen, Thomas Throckmorton, Holt the Jesuit, Gifford and Worthington, &c. Camden, p. 577.

560) He was wounded in the hip at the Siege of Crodon, and died just alter his return, with the Fleet, to Plymouth. In the same siege, Sir Anthony Wingfield, and Bruder, Jackson, and Barker, all brave Officers, were slain. Camden, p. 578.

561) This year died William Allen, Cardinal, and founder of the English Roman Catholic Seminaries, at Douay, Rheims, Rome, and in Spain. He was educated at Oriel College in Oxford, and was Proctor of the University in Queen Mary's Reign, and Canon of York. But upon Queen Elisabeth's accession, he retired beyond Sea. This year also died Gregory Fienes, the last Lord Dacres of that Sirname. Camden, p. 580. Bevis Bulmar, Gentleman, set up this year, an Engine at Broken-wharf, for conveying the Thames water through the several parts of the City of London;

562) Camden words are: He could never endure the maxim of murdering people for the sake of their religion.

563) The Expedition to Bretagne had stood the Nation in 47,248 Crowns de soleil, and above 2,000,640, more were spent upon the forces under the Earl of Essex, besides the money lent. Camden, p. 582.

564) According to Camden, Lomenie said, she would, by her conduct oblige the King of France to make peace with Spain, p. 582.

565) Sir Thomas Edmonds.

566) See the terms at length in Camden, p. 583.

567) They came early with Gallies and burned Paul's Church, which stood alone in the fields, besides Mouse Hole, Newlin and other towns, without taking or killing a man. These were the only Spaniards, that ever set foot in England as enemies, Camden, p. 583.

568) By Sir Thomas Bodley her envoy to the States. Camden. p, 585.

569) The Charges of which were computed at £40,000 a year. Besides that, they promised to pay £20,000 sterling for some years: And upon the conclusion of a peace, a yearly sum of £100,000 for four years. Camden, p. 586.

570) Sir Thomas Baskerville was appointed general of the land-forces. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 16. p. 277. He, and Captain Troughton, had a warm engagement, near Cuba, with the Spanish fleet that was come to intercept them; but the English fleet got clear of them. Camden, p. 585.

571) This year, on November, 19th, died, in his confinement in the tower, Philip Howard Earl of Arundel. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p- 277. This year also died Sir Roger Williams, and Sir Thomas Morgan, two brave officers. Camden, p. 587.

572) The Fleet was divided into four squadrons; whereof the first was commanded by the Lord Admiral Howard, the second by the Earl of Essex, the third by the Lord Thomas Howard, and the fourth by Sir Walter Raleigh. The officers of the army (of which the Lord Admiral and the Earl of Essex were joint Generals) were, Sir Francis Vere, Lord Marshal, Sir John Wingfield Camp master General, Sir Conyers Clifford Sergeant General. Sir George Carew Master of the

Ordnance. The Colonels were, Robert Earl of Sussex, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Sir Richard Wingfield, Sir Edward Wingfield Captain of the volunteers; Anthony Ashley was Secretary at War. Stow, p. 772. Camden, p. 591.

573) This was done by the Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Southwell, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, Sir Robert Cross, &c., Camden, p. 592.

574) It was done by Sir Francis Vere. Idem. p. 593.

575) The Spaniards were to pay 520,000 Ducats (or, according to Stow, 620,000) and to give forty hostages. No Englishman of note, except Sir John Wingfield, was killed. Ibid.

576) Twelve hundred pieces of ordnance, says Stow, were either taken or sunk in the sea, p. 775

577) Upon the Lord Sheffield's voluntary resignation. Camden., p. 594.

578) Gilbert Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury was sent ambassador to France, to see the King swear to this treaty; and also to present Sir Anthony Mildmay to be the Queen's Ambassador, in the room of Sir Henry Unton deceased; and to invest Henry with the Order of the Garter. Camden, p. 595. see an account of his magnificent reception, in Stow, p. 777.

579) She caused the following castles to be fortified, Sandsfort, Portland, Hurst, Southsea, Calsbot, St. Andrew's, and St. Maudits. Camden, p. 594.

580) This year, Thomas Arundel of Wardour returned to England, after having done the Emperor signal service against the Turks, and been, as a reward for it, created Count of the Holy Empire; the Queen was highly offended at Arundel's accepting that title, as the reader may see in Camden, p. 595, &c. and Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XVI. p. 284, 289, 301. Within the course of this year died Henry Carey Lord Hunsdon; Sir Francis Knolles; as also Sir John Puckering Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, who was succeeded by Thomas Egerton Master of the Rolls. Stow, p. 771. Camden, p. 596.

581) The Fleet was divided into three Squadrons. The first commanded by the Earl of Essex; the second by the Lord Thomas Howard; and the third by Sir Walter Raleigh. Charles Blount Lord Montjoy commanded the land forces under the Earl of Essex, Sir Francis Vere was Marshall de Camp, Sir George Carew Lieutenant of the Ordnance, and Sir Christopher Blount first Colonel. Camden, p. 597, Stow, p. 783.

582) The Chancellor, Treasurer, President of the Council, Privy Seal, being Barons, sit above Dukes in Parliament. The rest of the great officers sit after the Privy Seal above all of their degree only. See Statute. 31 Henry VIII. c. 10.

583) This Parliament met at Westminster October 24, 1597, and was dissolved Feb 9. 1598. D'ewes, p. 522 The acts made were these: 1. An Act for the punishment of rogues, vagabonds, and ruddy beggars. By this Statute, all the following persons are to be adjudged rogues and vagabonds. people that go about begging, as poor scholars; or on pretence of losses by fire or shipwreck; collectors for gaols; or persons delivered out of gaol, and begging for their fees; such as use any subtle craft, or unlawful games; fortunetellers; Gypsies; fencers; Bear-waids; common players, and minstrels; jugglers; tinkers; peddler; and petty Chapmen; fellows not working for reasonable wages, when they are able, and the like. Their punishment is to be whipped, and sent from Parish to Parish, by the officer in each, the next straight way to the Parish where they were born, or last dwelt for the space of a whole year. 2. An act for erecting of hospitals, houses of correction, and work houses for the poor. 3. One for the increase of mariners, and maintenance of the navigation. 4. An act against lewd and wandering persons, pretending to be soldiers or mariners, and travelling without testimonials from justices of peace.

584) The laity granted three subsidies of 2s 8d. in the pound of goods, and 4s. of Lands, with six fifteenths 3 tenths. The clergy gave three subsidies to be paid on six several days. These several subsidies were granted without any opposition or difficulty. See D' ewes, p. 565.

585) Then he proposed, that if the King of France would lay aside the thoughts of peace, and besiege Calais, the States would advance pay for seven thousand men to assist in it, and furnish twenty five men of war; and at the same time lay siege to some other place, to divide the enemy's forces. Camden, p. 605.

586) It does not appear from whence Rapin has taken this treaty, his abstract of it is extremely faulty which is here rectified from the original in Rymer's Fœd, Tom XVI, p. 340, &c.

587) The letter is extant in Winwood's Memorials Tom, I, p. 1

588) There was none present then, but the Earl of Essex, the admiral, Sir Robert Cecil, and Windebank, keeper of the Privy Seal. Camden, p. 608.

589) And bid him go and be hanged. Ibid.

590) Rapin says here by mistake, that the Lord Privy Seal talked with him instead of sending a letter; but the reader may see Essex's answer at length in Camden, p. 609. Vol. II. *Complete History*.

591) This great Man was born at Bourn in Lincolnshire, in 1521, and died this year on August 4. and was buried in the Church of St. Martin in Stanford. Camden, p. 609. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 406. He used often to tell the Queen, that the treasury was not her own money, but committed to her care for the safety of her people; and therefore it was not to be spent in useless ways, or in satisfying the avarice and knavery of her Ministers, but for the benefit and welfare of the State; and that the best thing which could possibly be done by any person, was to do that which tended to the good of his country. *Bobun. Character. of Queen Elizabeth*. p. 96. —This year also died the famous poet, Edmund Spenser. Camden.

592) King James sent Queen Elizabeth notice, that he was informed, there were twelve thousand men preparing in Spain, to land in Ireland by the beginning of April, this year. Rymer's Fœd Tom. XVI. p. 336.

593) Sir Robert Natinton says, that there were in this young Lord, together with a most goodly person, a kind of urbanity or innate courtesy, which both won the Queen, and too much took upon the people; but then he was noted for too bold an ingrosser both of fame and favour, p. 64, 65. See *Declaration of his Treasons*, p. 6, &c.

594) This was the book writ by persons, under the feigned name of Doleman of the succession,

595) Which was afterwards made up two thousand. Camden, p. 614.

596) He had married Elizabeth Vernon, daughter of John Vernon Esq; and of the Earl of Essex's aunt, without the Queen's permission, which men of quality used to ask in such cases. Camden, p. 616.

597) A party of English, under the command of Henry Harrington, were shamefully defeated. Ibid.

598) To Ophalie near Dublin to quell the O'Conors and the O'moils, who were up in arms. Ibid,

599) At Balla Clinch, near Louth. Camden, p. 165.

- 600)** The English, officers that attended the Earl of Essex, were, the Earl of Southampton, Sir George Bouchier, Sir Warham St. Leger, Sir Henry Danvers, Sir Edward Wingfield, and Sir William Constable. Ibid.
- 601)** The Earl said, that these demands were, a general amnesty; the restoring of the Irish to their estates then possessed by the English; and the free exercise of the Romish religion all over Ireland. Camden, p. 616.
- 602)** From whence he had lately received some supplies of ammunition, money, and provisions. Camden, p. 617.
- 603)** This year died the learned Richard Hawker, Master of the Temple, and Author of *The Ecclesiastical Polity*. Camden.
- 604)** Chiefly through the assistance of Sir Thomas Areskin and John Ramsey. Spotiswood, p. 458. Some imagined, this conspiracy was a contrivance of the King's, to get rid of the Earl of Gourey, who was then held in great esteem. But Burnet thinks it was a real conspiracy and the rather, as the Earl of Gourey, upon the King's death, stood next to the succession of the crown, as being descended from Margaret, daughter of King Henry VII. See Burnet's History of His Own Time, p. 18.
- 605)** She protested, that all she did or designed against him, was for his reformation, not his ruin. Camden, p. 626.
- 606)** He protested, "That he had made an utter divorce with the world, and he desired her Majesty's favour, not for any worldly respect, but for a preparative for a Nunc dimittis; and that the tears of his heart had quenched in him all humours of ambition." Treasons of the Earl of Essex, by Francis Bacon Esq. 1601.
- 607)** Particularly of Merrick his Steward, and Cuff his Secretary. Camden, p. 628.
- 608)** So all were called, except French and Rhenish. Camden.
- 609)** This year, Queen Elizabeth erected the East-India Company, and endowed it with large privileges. James Lancaster, who in 1594, had taken Farnambuck in Brazil, was the first that was sent by the Company to the East-Indies, with three Ships. Camden, p. 626,
- 610)** That in the western parts of England, Raleigh was Governor of the Isle of Jersey; in the eastern, the Lord Cobham was Warden of the Cinque Ports; the Lord Burleigh was President of the North; and Sir George Carew, President of Munster in the South of Ireland. Camden, p. 629.
- 611)** Sir Christopher Blunt was with a detachment, to possess himself of the Palace-gate; Davis was to seize the hall; Davers the guard-chamber and presence-chamber; and Essex was to rush out of the Meuse, and come and throw himself at the Queen's feet. Camden, p. 630.
- 612)** Under pretence of hearing sermons. Ibid.
- 613)** Sir John Herbert. Ibid.
- 614)** Three hundred Gentlemen. Camden, p. 630. and *Treasons of Essex*.
- 615)** And among the rest the Lord Sands, Henry Parker Lord Monteagle, &c. Treasons of Essex.
- 616)** He went to Sir Walter Raleigh, who sent for him, and waited in a boat for his coming. Camden says, Gorges was suspected of having at that time discovered the whole matter to Raleigh. Camden, p. 631.

617) And Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England. Camden, p. 631.

618) He pretended the Lord Cobham, and Sir Walter Raleigh, had formed such a design. See Winwood's Mem. Tom. I. p. 300.

619) This he did not: He went abruptly from them into the house, and they followed him, thinking he would have private conference with them. See Camden, p. 631. and *Treasons of Essex*.

620) Near Fenchurch. Camden, *ibid*.

621) And Thomas Lord Burleigh. Camden, *ibid*,

622) This was done by the care of the Bishop of London. Camden, p. 631.

623) Rapin by mistake says in the thigh.

624) By Temple bar; where Devreux Court, and Essex Street, &c. now stand.

624) The house was invested on the Strand side, by the Earls of Cumberland, and Lincoln, the Lords Thomas Howard, Gray, Burghley, and Compton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Gerrard, &c. And on the riverside, by the Lord Admiral, the Lords of Effingham, and Cobham, Sir John Stanhope, Sir Robert Sidney, Mr. Falk Grevil, See. *Treasons of Essex*.

625) The Lord Buckhurst was made High-Steward upon this occasion. See the names of the rest of the Peers (twenty five in number) in Camden, p. 633. and *Treasons of The Earl of Essex*, as also in *State Trials*.

626) He was beheaded in the 34th year of his age. Osborn, and some others, affirm, that he was cut off by the intrigues of **Sir Robert Cecily** that he might have one competitor in the management of state affairs Sect. 23. 24, The Earl of Essex owed his Estate and Barony to his marriage with Cecily daughter of William Bouchier, whose grandmother was sister to Edward IV. and her great-grandmother, daughter to Thomas of Woodstock. by one of the daughters of Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hertford and Essex. Hence his great-grandfather Walter was made Viscount Hereford by Edward IV, and his Father Earl of Essex by Elizabeth. He left one son and two daughters, by his wife Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham. Camden, p. 637.

627) Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Charles Davers, Sir John Davis, Sir Gillie Mericke, and Henry Cuff, were tried on March 5, before the Lord High Admiral, the Lord Hunsdon, Secretary Cecil, Secretary Herbert, Lord Chief Justice Popham, Sir John Fortescue Chancellor of the Exchequer, and divers of the judges. Mericke and Cuff were executed at Tyburn, March 13, and Sir Christopher Blunt, and Sir Charles Davers, beheaded on Tower-Hill, March 18. *Treasons of The Earl of Essex. State-Trials, Vol. I.*

628) By Winwood's Memorials, it appears, that Sir Henry Nevill was with Essex as a spy from Secretary Cecil. Tom. I.

629) Their business also was to clear King James of the imputations thrown upon him, for dealing with the Pope, and King of Spain, and for suffering his subjects to carry provisions to the Irish rebels. *Winwood's Mem. Tom. I.* p. 324.

630) See an account of the English slain at this siege, in Camden, p. 642. *Complete History*. John Carew of Antony Esq; having one of his arms shot off in a sally, and carried at a great distance from him, went and took it up without any concern, as if he had felt no pain, and brought it into the Town, *ibid*.

631) It met October 27, and was dissolved December 19. D' ewes, p. 597,

632) Sir Robert Naunton partly ascribes the cause of this mutual love between the Queen and her Parliaments, to the choice of Parliament-men. For, says he not that they were at any time given to any violent or pertinacious dispute, Elections being made of grave and discreet persons, not factious and ambitious of fame; such as came not to the House with a malevolent spirit of contention, but with a preparation to consult on the public good, p. 14.

633) The laity granted her four entire subsidies, and eight fifteenths and tenths. And the clergy gave four subsidies of four shillings in the pound. See statute, c. 17, 18. The reader may observe, that when in 1592, there were granted to the Queen three subsidies, and six fifteenths and tenths, it was especially provided, that it might not hereafter be drawn into a precedent for future times. And yet in the very next Parliament, the same subsidies were granted again; and increased in this. From whence it is plain, as Sir Simmons D' ewes justly observes, p. 574. That whatsoever is once granted by the subject, may often be raised, but seldom falleth. —The acts made in this Parliament, were, **1.** An act for the relief of the poor; appointing the chousing of overseers, and the manner of raising money for the relief of the poor. **2.** That every parish in England, shall pay a weekly sum for the relief of sick, hurt, and maimed soldiers and mariners. **3.** An act to reduce the mis-employment of lands, goods, &c. given to charitable uses. **4.** That persons cutting and carrying away corn growing, robbing orchards, breaking or cutting up hedges, pales, &c. digging or pulling up fruit trees, cutting or spoiling wood, or underwood, not being felony by law; shall be obliged to make satisfaction, or be whipped.

634) This year died Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, husband of the renowned Mary, Countess of Pembroke, sister of Sir Philip Sidney This year also died Peregrine Bartie Lord Willoughby of Essex,. Camden, p. 643.

635) Which are his very words. Camden, p. 648.

636) Sir Robert Mansel waited for him with two or three men of war. Camden, p. 648.

637) Namely, in Ulster, The Lord Montjoy was chiefly indebted for his good success against Tir-oen, to the Bravery and conduct of Sir Henry Docwray, and Sir Arthur Chichester, Knights; the latter of whom succeeded him afterwards in his office of Lord Deputy. Camden, p. 651.

638) He came to the Lord Deputy at Millefont, with a downcast look, and in a habit mean and careless. The Lord Deputy received him sitting in a chair of state, and attended by several officers; Tir-oen fell on his knees, as soon as he came to the threshold, and continued for some time in that posture upon a sign made to him to come near, he made a few nearer approaches, and fell again upon his knees. Idem, p. 562.

639) She lived sixty nine years, six months, and seven days; and reigned forty four years, four months, and eight days, and lies buried at Westminster in Henry VII's Chapel. Her successor King James erected a stately monument to her memory, which the reader may see in Sandford, p. 519. her epitaphs are also in Speed, p. 881.

640) Pope Sixtus V used to speak of Queen Elisabeth and the King of Navarre, as the only Princes that understood what it was to govern, and profanely wished, he might enjoy her but one night, saying, they would beget a new Alexander the Great between them. Burnet's ref, Tom. II. p. 417.

641) She was not so covetous, but that four subsidies having been granted her in one of her Parliaments, and finding that three would do her business, she by proclamation discharged the fourth, and so much of the other three as was not levied. Bohun, *Character of Elizabeth*, p. 158.

642) The secular priests themselves shewed in their writings: That in the eleven first years of Queen Elisabeth's reign, not one Papist was persecuted for religion, in ten years after the

publication of Pope Pious V's Bull, not above twelve priests had been put to death, and most of them for treason, till the year 1580, when the turbulent and restless Jesuits first set foot in England, and yet, in the ten next years after that, not above fifty priests were executed and fifty-five banished. See Camden, p. 649.

Book 17 Rapin's History of England



Queen Elizabeth's Funeral Procession





The Death of Queen Elizabeth I



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