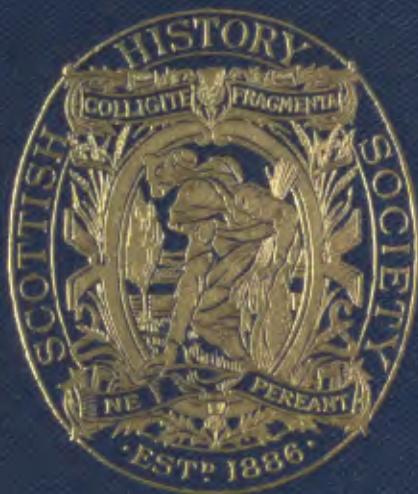

Q^NMARY'S
LETTER TO
GUISE

1562

Scottish
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PUBLICATIONS
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SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY
VOLUME XLIII

QUEEN MARY'S LETTER TO THE
DUKE OF GUISE

JANUARY 1904

*This volume is presented to the members of
the Scottish History Society by the family
of the late Mr. Scott of Halkshill.*

January 1904.

A LETTER FROM
MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS
TO THE DUKE OF GUISE

JANUARY 1562

Reproduced in Facsimile from the Original
Manuscript in the possession of the late
JOHN SCOTT, of Halkshill, Esq., C.B.

Edited, with Translation, Historical Introduction
and Appendix of Original Documents, by
JOHN HUNGERFORD POLLEN, S.J.



EDINBURGH

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1904

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Photographic facsimile of Queen Mary's Letter.

PREFACE

THE MANUSCRIPT AND ITS OWNER

[References to the pages of this volume are inserted directly into the text. Thus p.10 means—See below, p.10. Similarly p.x means—Introduction p.x and MS. p.x refers to the facsimile and its literatim reprint.]

WE know but little of the previous history of the document under our consideration. Sixty years ago it formed part of the great collection of manuscripts made by Mr. Dawson Turner at Yarmouth, but how, or whence he obtained it I have not discovered. We may surmise that it passed from Queen Mary to her secretary, William Maitland of Lethington, for it seems probable that a century later it was in the keeping of one of his family, James Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale.¹

After Mr. Turner's death the manuscript was sold by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson on Saturday, July 16, 1859,² and ten years later came into the possession of the late Mr. John Scott of Halkshill.

¹ The British Museum Catalogue says this of Mr. Turner's Scottish manuscripts.—*Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum* (1877), vol. ii. 888. The duke was born in 1616, and died in 1680.

² In Puttick and Simpson's sale *Catalogue* for the 6th of June 1859 (p. 178), the letter formed part of lot 416, entitled a series of 'Scottish State Papers,' and is summarily described as being a magnificent autograph of Mary Stuart, covering thirteen pages. Lot 416 would appear, however, either to have been withdrawn from sale on that day, or else bought in, and set up for sale again on the 16th of July following. A new and much more detailed catalogue was prepared for this occasion, in which we read, 'Lot 26, Mary Queen of Scots. Autograph letter, 14 pages folio, in French, to her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine [*sic*] (1561-2). *A magnificent example.* A most important historical letter, on the 10th page the Queen writes 'Vous pouver pancer que les autres,' etc.—Twelve lines are then quoted:

A copy of our document, made for Mr. Turner, is now in the British Museum, Egerton, 1819, fol. 28. It is written in a French hand, upon English paper, bearing the watermark 1842. As it has no heading, signature, or date, the transcript, with its confusing want of punctuation, escaped notice for many years, and was not even catalogued. My attention was attracted to it by the notes of the late Father Joseph Stevenson, and having ascertained from internal evidence its writer, purport, and value, I included it in an appendix to my *Papal Negotiations with Queen Mary*,¹ because of the great light it threw upon her aims and policy, at a period when we otherwise know little concerning her.

On my mentioning this to Mr. Scott, he perceived that the letter must be a copy of his manuscript. He had long meant to publish it, but had not hitherto done so, because it still offered various problems which, with customary thoroughness, he would not let pass unsolved. Seeing, however, that I had now got the text and translation in type, he generously lent me his invaluable original, that I might correct my text by it.

Ere long he saw his way to readjusting his own plans. He resolved to reproduce the whole manuscript in facsimile, to present it to the Society as a gift, while I was to have assisted him in arranging the introductory matter, and editorial comments. But very soon after the manuscript had been photographed, and the size, *format*, and some other details of the publication had been settled, health began to fail him. A slow decline set in, and he peacefully passed away on May the 19th, 1903.

Were it possible for me to give an adequate summary of all that Mr. Scott has done in behalf of the literature and history of his native country, I would have gladly endeavoured to do so. But my acquaintance with him began very late, and his chief

¹ Scottish History Society's Publications, vol. xxxvii. (1901).

services to history were not rendered with the pen—in books, publications, and correspondence, which can be definitely catalogued and enumerated—but by zeal for what is historically valuable, for documents, manuscripts, books, muniments, and their orderly description and publication. He was a member of several learned societies, and did not spare time, or energy in their service. He was also a great collector, and he gathered in no miserly spirit, being ever ready, as even my own short experience showed me, to assist others with generous loans from his historical treasure-house. May this little volume help to preserve the memory of his bright example, his unselfish labours, and his many merits.¹

Before we enter on the study of the history, which Queen Mary's letter opens out to us, it may not be amiss to ask ourselves the object of such a preliminary, and the extent to which it may legitimately be pursued. In a certain sense the letter before us is not a very important one. It treats of a short period of six weeks, in which there fell no event of first-rate importance. It contains the most meagre references to contemporary Scottish affairs. Indeed, one might almost say that the letter was written under a misconception, and that it is too purely personal to reflect or illustrate the spirit of its age or country.

But there is at least one test for its value which will be easily understood. The writer intended it to be read in

¹ His most noteworthy publication was for the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, and is entitled, *A Bibliography of Works relating to Mary Queen of Scots, 1544-1700*, pp. viii, 96. Edinburgh, 1896. For a full account of his literary activities a search would have to be made through the proceedings of the various learned societies to which he belonged, *viz.*, the Scottish History Society, the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the Institute of Naval Architects, the Institute of Civil Engineers, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, etc. In 1901 he delivered a lecture on *The Genesis of Libraries in Scotland in connection with the early Printers there* (Glasgow, 1901). For the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, he wrote a paper on *The Arithmetica of Jordanus Nemorarius*, and he left another paper on the Darien Scheme in preparation, which will appear in a future issue of that Society.

connection with a long series of enclosures, perhaps eighteen in all,¹ most of them state-papers of great importance. The entire despatch would indeed have been accounted a treasure if it were now in existence.

Moreover, the Scottish queen took her part of the communication most seriously, and put into it all the knowledge, all the most recent information which she possessed on the subject. More than this, she threw her whole heart into the composition, with the result that she reveals to us her character in a singularly clear and interesting light. She was addressing one whom she styled 'all, all she held dear in the world,' and she had much to tell him, and much to persuade him. The result is that, at least in passing, we find mention of all that occupied her at that moment, and we see everything with her eyes and in her perspective.

To appreciate her work we must therefore put ourselves into her place. We must try and see the events of the day as they presented themselves to her. We must try and supply from other sources the place of the lost enclosures. This will involve a somewhat broad survey of the affairs of the day, and the repetition of several details, which will be familiar enough to historical students. But I trust that in the end we shall come to know much better than before that queen who is one of the most interesting personalities in Scottish history.

¹ See below, p. 31. Six of these enclosures survive, and have been printed in the Appendix.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

SECTION I.—RELATIONS WITH ELIZABETH.

Mes voisins se montrent plus assurés amis, que je eusse osé espérer
ms. p. ii).

La Royne d'Angleterre . . . se montre bien fort désireuse de mon
amitié (ms. p. ix).

Les autres seront estonnés, si nous voient si bien, la royne d'Angle-
tere et moy (ms. p. x).

Je lui assuré bien . . . que je auroys l'amitié [de la royne d'Angleterre]
la plus seure que je pouvois, voiant . . . que elle m'en rechershoit par
tant de bons ofises, qu'elle faisoit vers moy, etc. (ms. p. xi).

AT the date when our letter was written, that is, by the 4th or 5th of January 1562, Mary had been back in Scotland nearly five months, and they had been months of peace, during which the political situation had much improved. Before she landed, disaffection had been very strong. The leading officials in her government had accepted pensions from England, and from time to time it had seemed as though there would have been a new revolt but for the moderation of the Lord James. From the moment she landed, however, the danger of rebellion, though it did not at once pass away, became remote.¹ The predominant feeling was now one of

¹ 'I assure your honour there is not yet such security, but she has good cause to take heed how she proceeds in matters of religion, and now in special, where [her] uncles' authority and credit hangeth in balance.'—Randolph to Cecil, 7 December 1561. Other warnings were sent on November 11th.—Mr. Joseph Bain, *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, 1547-1563* (1898), i. 578; Joseph Stevenson, *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, 1561-1562* (1866), p. 426. These two volumes will henceforth be briefly referred to as Bain, *Scottish Calendar*, and *Foreign Calendar*.

relief, to find that former adversaries were not so implacable as they had appeared to be. Mary had come prepared for death. Lethington and Knox were expecting persecution and revolt. Elizabeth had blusteringly threatened an appeal to force.

Now the English queen found in her young cousin an enthusiastic friend. Mary writes that '*toutes choses sont bien issi*' (MS. p. i); 'my neighbours are more trusty friends than I had dared to hope' (MS. p. ii); 'my brother the prior and Lethington show themselves well affected,' and Lethington in particular '*me sert fort bien*' (MS. p. xiv), the others, 'except for the difficulty about religion, conform in the rest to what I want.'

Knox indeed would not own that his prognostications were falsified, but Lethington and, to a lesser extent, the Lord James were happy to find themselves in the service of a princess who was at once trustful and inspiring, and who was opening out to them careers worthy of patriotic statesmen.

This she did by setting them to extract from Elizabeth a recognition of her rights as heiress to the English throne. Elizabeth's ministry was trying to rob her of these: on the one hand encouraging her rivals in England, on the other insisting that she should sign the treaty of Edinburgh. The main objects of that treaty had been to make France give up its position in Scotland, and acknowledge Elizabeth's right to the English throne. These ends had been gained, but it was now found that Mary's claim to the English succession, the right by which our royal family now holds, had been unfairly treated, more so than had been recognised at first.

This, for instance, is the sixth clause in the treaty :—

VI. Seeing the kingdoms of England and Ireland do by right pertain to the most serene Lady and Princess Elizabeth, etc. Therefore it is appointed, agreed and concluded, that the most Christian king and queen Mary, and both of them, shall at all times coming abstain from using and bearing

the said title and arms of the kingdoms of England and Ireland, etc. etc.¹

Thus instead of recognising Mary's rights, these unrestricted expressions, '*shall abstain at all times coming (deinceps, quovis modo, etc.)* from using the said title,' without any clause limiting the operation of the words to Elizabeth's life, involved the tacit rejection of Mary's claims. And this injury was made clear and undeniable by the evident desire of the English Privy Council to exclude her altogether, according to the provisions of the testament of Henry VIII.²

In France, Mary had refused to sign the treaty before she had consulted her Scottish advisers, and when she did so, they heartily supported her in her refusal. But as they were all anxious to uphold the substance of the convention, they sought to have its terms revised. Lethington was therefore sent to London, formally to announce the queen's return, but the 'principal matter' was to have the treaty amended. His letters from the Scottish nobility on this subject went further than those from their queen. Indeed the final paragraph of the *Proposition made in name of the Nobility* is worth quoting here; for its writers, in terms which Elizabeth rightly declares to be 'somewhat menacing,' effectually renounce their former alliance with England, and declare the sincerity of their new-found loyalty to their own sovereign.

Gif it suld chance, as God forbid, that the said Quene of England wald use any discourtesy towertis the Quene thair Souveraine, quhilk we will not suppose in sa humane ane Princes, or gif

¹ Bishop R. Keith, *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland* (ed. Lawson, 1845), i. 292, from the Latin in Rymer's *Foedera*, xv. 594. The sections are not marked in the original, and they are counted differently by different authors. In her instructions given to St. Colme (*Foreign Calendar*, p. 250), Mary ably defended herself against the imputation of causing injury to Elizabeth by her refusal to sign. Cf. Camden, *Annals of Queen Elizabeth* (1635), p. 39.

² When, for instance, Elizabeth was thought to be dying of the smallpox in October 1562 (Appendix No. 9), the Privy Council met, and all agreed to exclude the Scottish queen.—*Spanish Calendar*, 1558-1567, p. 262.

occasioun upoun hir part to violat the gude amyitie and peax standing betwix thair tua Majesties; then may sho be wele assurit, that thay acknowledging thaimselfis to be subjectis, will nocht forzett thair dewite for maintenance of the Quene thair Souverane's just querel, bot sa assist hir Hienes as becum-mis obedient and naturall subjectis to thair native Princes, and as she wald wyss hir awn subjectis suld do in hir awn querell.¹

When Lethington presented these papers to Elizabeth a curious scene ensued. She began by imperious and repeated demands that Mary should sign the treaty. Lethington, after several diplomatic answers, at last said that he had no further instructions upon that point. Then Elizabeth enlarged on her affection for his mistress, whom she acknowledged as her nearest relative, and yet would not recognise as heiress, for characteristically selfish reasons.

In the time of most offence . . . I could never find it in my heart to hate her. . . . She cannot allege that ever I did anything which may hurt the right she may pretend. What it is I have not much considered, for the succession of the crown of England is a matter I will not meddle in; but, as in the Sacrament of the Altar some think one thing some other, whose judgment is best God knows. In the mean time *unusquisque in sensu suo abundet*; so leave I them to do with the succession of the crown of England. If her right be good, she may be sure I will never hurt her; and I here protest to you in the presence of God, I for my part know none better, nor that myself would prefer to her, or yet, to be plain with you, that case occurring that might debar her from it.²

Elizabeth then went on to speak somewhat scornfully of the English claimants. 'Poor souls! what power or force has any of them?' and thereupon 'made a short digression' upon Lady Catherine Grey's late marriage. When Lething-

¹ Keith, *History*, ii. 73; Hill Burton and Masson, *Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland*, xiv. 170. The formal letter of the Lords to Elizabeth is in Bain (No. 1011, cf. No. 1012), and is dated 1st September 1561.

² Appendix No. 1, § 5.

ton urged that the Scots only wanted Mary's rights safeguarded, Elizabeth answered:— .

If I meant to do anything to hurt her right, they have occasion to desire me to reform it. But this desire is without an example, to require me in my own life to set my winding-sheet before my eye. The like was never required of any prince.¹

At a later audience she added that an argument on the succession would draw in question the lawfulness of her own birth, a subject she did not care to discuss. Moreover, there might be a law forbidding Mary's succession, 'though I protest to you I know none, for I am not curious to inquire.' Then she feared that the recognition would make jealousies. 'Princes cannot like their own children. Think you that I could love my own winding-sheet?'²

But the third consideration is most weighty of all.

I know the inconstancy of the people of England, how they ever mislike the present government, and have their eyes fixed upon that person that is next to succeed, and naturally men be so disposed. *Plures adorant solem orientem quam occidentem.*³

So they fenced on, Elizabeth steadily refusing to acknowledge her good sister's rights, from the mistaken idea that thereby her own might possibly suffer. At length Lethington launched out:—

Marry if your Highness desire to know my own opinion, I will freely speak it. I think the treaty [of Edinburgh] so prejudicial to her Majesty [of Scotland] that she will never confirm it. [Also that it is] conceived in such form as her Majesty is not in honour bound to do it. . . . I think assuredly, it being so prejudicial to her estate, [that] when time served, she would always seek occasion to break it. . . . I enter not in dispute how that treaty was passed, nor by what authority. But this far I am assured, the commission was very slender, to transfer from the

¹ Appendix No. 1, § 8.

² *Ibid.* § 11.

³ *Ibid.* § 12.

queen, my sovereign, the title of a kingdom, and debar her from it perpetually.¹

The words had their effect.

After some replies she came to this point, that if the queen her sister would require that commissioners were appointed to review the treaty, she would be content thereof, and by them come to a qualification. . . .

This was all that could be obtained at her hands, and therefore the matter was left *re integra*. In the end she thought good, if it came to the naming of commissioners, that before they should meet, all matters they had to treat upon were first digested betimes betwixt their Majesties secretaries . . . rather than [to let] matters come to a manifest break.²

The whole report should be studied with attention, for it describes fully and precisely what the relative positions of Mary and Elizabeth to one another really were at this juncture. It will be impossible to appreciate what follows, if we imagine that they regarded each other at this time in the same light as they viewed each other twenty years later.³ Untoward events had by then embittered their mutual relations to the utmost. At the moment we are

¹ Appendix No. 1, §§ 16, 18.

² *Ibid.* §§ 21, 22.

³ I do not think that this warning is superfluous, for this very report has been so misinterpreted as to make it support the anachronism mentioned above. Elizabeth's round-about excuses for not declaring Mary her successor, on the plea that it would prevent her from *loving* Mary, have actually been mistaken for a 'plain' declaration that she feared assassination, and that 'Maitland admitted the danger.'

The sentences in question have been quoted above from sections 8 and 11. 'This desire is without an example, to require me in my own life to set my winding-sheet before my eye. . . . Think you that I could love my winding-sheet?'

Buchanan translated: 'Hæc autem postulatio, ut viva mihi linteum sepulchrale ante oculos proponam, exemplo caret. . . . Credisne tu me libenter funeris mei apparatus semper ante oculos habituram?'—*Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, lib. xvii. § xvi. (ed. Ruddiman, 1725; i. 594, 595).

Spottiswoode re-translated: 'To desire me to prepare my own winding-sheet is a thing without example. . . . Think you that I will behold willingly the preparation of my own funerals?'—*History of the Church of Scotland*, 1668, p. 181.

Mr. Froude: 'With no obscure intimation of her own probable fate, Elizabeth said, "she was not so foolish as to hang a winding-sheet before her eyes, or

now considering they were nearer to being genuine friends, than at any time before or after. 'Les autres seront estonés, si nous voient si bien, la Royne d'Angleterre et moy' (ms. p. x).

Not long after the interviews described above, Elizabeth returned Mary's compliment in sending her Lethington, by despatching Sir Peter Mewtas to Scotland. After appropriate compliments had been exchanged, the envoy began to press Mary to confirm the treaty in its original and inequitable form. This Mary, as might be imagined, again refused to do, but once more pressed for its revision.¹

Her answer had been received before November the 4th, but though its fairness was evident, Elizabeth's courtiers were afraid to cross their mistress's whims. Cecil told Throckmorton 'that he did not dare to be busy therein for fear of wrong construction.'²

SECTION II.—INTERCOURSE WITH THE GUISES

Je lui dis . . . que j'esperoys que l'on conoitroit que ces dresseurs de querelles là, seroient conus pour meschants et manteurs, et euls [MM. de Guise,] pour gens de bien et sens, qui avoient fait pour le service du Roy, ce que autre maison, quelqu'elle soit, n'oseroit se vanter (ms. pp. v., vi.).

Si je ne vous pensois plus nuire que servir, en mestant en doute, ce que il se devoit croire de vous sans respondant que je respondrois pour toute notre mayson (ms. p. vii.).

Je vous [ne] dirays la poine en quoi je suis, pour les bruits qui courent ici (ms. p. ii.).

The bearer of Mary's answer to Mewtas's message was passed on his way southward by one of her French esquires,

make a funeral feast while she was alive." Maitland admitted the danger.—*History of England*, vi. 526; cf. 527.

The latest version of these words appears to be this: 'Elizabeth told Maitland plainly that she could not recognise Mary as her successor, for fear of assassination.'—W. L. Mathieson, *Politics and Religion in Scotland*, i. 125.

¹ The answer made to Mewtas, in its original Scottish form, will be found in Appendix No. 1. It was printed in French by Labanoff, *Recueil*, i. 115.

² *Foreign Calendar*, p. 389 (2).

Philibert Sieur du Croc, who was bringing her news of her uncles of the house of Guise.¹ It was bad news, destined to have a sinister effect upon the general course of events, and to cause the Scottish queen no little grief.

Of her uncles Mary was justly proud. There was probably no family in Europe which could boast of six brothers so eminent as they in peace and war, in Church and State.

Our letter mentions in particular the two eldest, Francis of Lorraine, Duke of Guise, to whom this letter is addressed, and Charles, the Cardinal of Lorraine. The duke was the most brilliant general in Europe, whose courage and ability at Metz, Calais, Thionville and elsewhere had won for France her noblest laurels in that age of war. The cardinal, though perhaps not a really great man, had certainly a very great reputation, both as a diplomatist, an orator, and a financier, and from this time also as a Church reformer. Besides these two, there was another cardinal, Louis, and three more soldiers, Claude, Duke d'Aumale, Francis, Grand Prior of the Knights of St. John of Malta, and René, Marquis of Elbœuf, besides four sisters, Mary (wife of James v.), Louise, two nuns Renée and Antoinette, and two boys who died infants.

Though these brothers of the house of Guise divided the opinions of mankind very deeply, and were destined to be unpopular with future generations, because they were such ardent partisans of the old order of things—we can see that they would have been just the sort of men towards whom Mary's loyal soul would have gone out with enthusiasm. 'Madame,' wrote Bishop Pellevé, another ardent admirer of the house, 'je ne vous scavois celler que Messeigneurs voz oncles sont tant honorez et bien voulluz par tout ce royaume,

¹ Two of his despatches, dated St. Germain, 13th October 1561, are extant. They are letters of compliment only, from the Duke of Brissac and Carnavalet (see below, p. xxvi), and were consigned to the same *fonds*, to which our present study owes so much, now British Museum, Additional MSS., 19,401, Nos. 29, 30.

que chacun ne cesse de leur desirer toute prospérité. L'on a bien raison, car *c'est la France de tous les bons.*¹

'C'est la France de tous les bons.' Mary would most heartily have re-echoed those words. Whilst she was queen, she had studiously promoted them to the most influential and honourable positions in France. Since her widowhood, Catherine de Medici had as systematically deprived them of power. If none of her co-religionists could regard their fate with indifference, we can be sure that Mary was most painfully affected by their change of fortune.

For it was not that Catherine merely deprived them of emoluments and influence. In their place she exalted the enemies of their house and their faith, who openly aimed at bringing to nought that 'France de tous les bons,' of which they were the impersonation. She called the Huguenots to court and gave them power, in order (so far as she was concerned) to balance that of the Catholics. Beza and Peter Martyr were allowed to preach in Paris, though at this time their followers were in their most aggressive mood.² The royal princes themselves were placed under unorthodox or non-Catholic tutors, and many of them passed through a phase of adherence to Protestantism, which, however, did not prevent them from showing themselves extremely irritated against the New Religion when they had returned to the Old.³

These changes were in progress before Mary left France, and reached their height during the colloquies of Poissy (September, October 1561). When du Croc left St. Germain (October 13), it seemed as though the royal house of Valois

¹ Pellevé to Queen Mary, 21st April 1562, *Papal Negotiations*, p. 446.

² Tandis qu'on restait à Poissy sur le terrain des discussions théologiques, les réformés en province mettaient la main sur les églises, brisaient les images, brûlaient les reliques,' etc.—Count H. de la Ferrière, *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, 1880, i. Introd. 99.

³ Baron A. de Ruble, *La Première Jeunesse de Marie Stuart*, Paris, 1891, pp. 122 *et seq.* See also the note on Carnavalet and Villequier, below, p. xxvi.

might throw off Catholicism as the Tudors had done, and make the country follow their example. The Duke of Guise had warned Catherine in the previous June that he would raise the country against her the moment she did so,¹ and was preparing to leave Paris rather than countenance heresy *à la mode* by his presence.

He actually left on the 20th, and this act, in itself an evident breach with the court, was given even more significance than it really possessed by the contending parties. The Protestants believed that the Guises were now disgraced, and would soon be humbled. Catherine had told the duke when he was leaving, that she knew he had had correspondence with Germany, 'mais qu'il eût bien à regarder comme il en useroit.'²

This was a hint that she suspected he meant to raise an army against her, but that she would be beforehand with him. Both Catholics and Protestants employed German mercenaries to fight their battles, so that all correspondence with that country was liable to grave misinterpretations; and accordingly we shall find Mary complaining of de Foix, that 'he said to a Scotsman that the letters, which you [the Duke of Guise] sent into Germany could be found, which it is said had been sent back to the queen by those to whom you wrote them. . . . Notice would not be taken of it till two years hence, owing to the affairs [*i.e.* troubles of France] and the want of money, but that then they would be quits, and neither kings [*e.g.* of Spain] nor empires [*i.e.* Germany] should make them afraid of speaking' (MS. p. viii.).

Mary appears to have feared that the Protestant faction meant to impute (*prester*) to him forged letters (*fausetés*) (MS. p. viii.), which would give his intercourse with Germany a treasonable complexion. There were really plenty of good

¹ De la Ferrière, *C. de Médicis*, i. Introd. 94.

² *Ibid.* p. 112.

reasons for the duke to hold correspondence with that country, as his duchy lay near its border.

Moreover, at the conclusion of the short period we are surveying, we shall find him at Saverne in conference with the German Lutherans for a purpose which did credit to both: the plan of meeting on common ground at the Council of Trent.

Thus though, as Lethington says, Mary 'doth delight in nothing more than often to visit and be visited by letters of such as she doth love,'¹ yet the messages brought her by du Croc were anything but pleasant reading. 'The news she hath of the cardinal and duke leaving court pleases her but little.'² Yet it was the sort of news that also made her anxious to know more, and she had soon resolved to send back into France Sir James Stuart of Doune, Commendator of Inch-Colme, but called in our documents simply St. Colme or Lord St. Colme.

On November the 11th Randolph wrote:—

Yesterdaye I sought occasion to have spoken with her grace my self, but she was busye abowte St. Comes dyspache into ffrance who within two dayes taketh hys yornaye. Her grace purposethe to vryte unto the Quenes majestie her self in her owne hande. St. Comes arrant into ffrance is to understonde the state of thyngs ther, to fasshon as nere as she maye all thyngs accordinglye here, to intertayne amytie by kynde words and to fette newe instructions howe matters shalbe governed here.³

The chief matter on which Mary wanted guidance was the ecclesiastical policy, which she was commencing, and which would be definitely formulated in the 'General Convention' summoned for December. Our letter opens with a reference to this, and we shall return *ex professo* to this subject in a future section.

Besides this St. Colme would have taken an account of Mary's negotiations with Elizabeth, and it seems to me hardly

¹ Bain, *Scottish Calendar*, i. 573.

² *Ibid.* p. 570.

³ British Museum, Caligula, B. x. fol. 195.

doubtful that Lethington's important paper (Appendix 1.) was drawn up for him to carry, as it accounts for all that was done up to the time he started.

St. Colme's formal letters were dated at Edinburgh, 16 November 1561.¹ He was very well received in London, as he passed, of which he sent back news to his mistress, and then crossed to France. His first objective was Joinville, where he delivered his messages to the Guises, and he then went to Paris, where we shall hear of him again.²

SECTION III.—THE AFFAIRE OF THE DUKE DE NEMOURS

J'ai reçu une confession que l'on disoit que Monsieur avoit faite de Monsieur de Nemours. Je la recouvris de Ledinthon, qui l'avoit eue d'Angleterre (ms. p. ii.).

[M. de Foix] me dit que . . . Monsieur de Nemours s'estoit oublié jusques à ça d'avoir voulu enmener Monsieur (ms. p. iii.).

Je lui dis . . . que de moy, si je ne vous [*i.e.* the Duke of Guise] pensois plus nuire que servir, en mestant en doute, ce qu'il se devoit croire de vous sans respondant, que je respondrois pour toute notre mayson (ms. p. vii.).

The Guises, as we have already heard, left the French Court on the 20th of October, and their departure gave rise to reports of every description. A few days later the world was informed that a great and abominable plot had been discovered of their contrivance, the objects of which included the murder of the King of Navarre, and the abduction of the Duke of Orleans, the heir to the throne.³ After a while it

¹ Bain, No. 1043.

² *Foreign Calendar*, pp. 418, 433, 458; *Papal Negotiations*, p. 85. A letter is extant to Mary, which he received at Joinville on 20th December, from Antoinette de Lorraine, one of the two nuns in the family. She says that her mother (*i.e.* Mary's grandmother) was well, as were all the rest of the family, but that she herself has been ailing for the last six months.—British Museum, *ut supra*, Add., 19,401, No. 32.

³ Edward Alexander, sixth child, and fourth son of King Henry II., was Duke of Anjou at the death of Francis II., when he became Duke of Orleans.

was found that these accusations came from different sources. The evidence for the intended murder was furnished by a vagrant Italian or Greek, John Baptist Beltrano; the witness for the abduction was the little prince himself, a copy of whose story reached Mary through Lethington about a month later. It will be well to quote this story at once, in the form in which it was subsequently published.¹ This was also the version which Mary obtained from Lethington (she quotes it ms. p. v.), and which she sent back again to the Guises in the despatch which we are studying.

There exists however a previous, or rather an original version of this deposition, which does not seem to have been printed before, and which will be found below in Appendix III.² The most cursory comparison of the two texts will show what freedom—not to say licence—has been taken in preparing the published document. Sentences have been excised, which betrayed the partisan nature of the tribunal before which the deposition was taken. Entire clauses were omitted, when they showed that evidently unreliable evidence was mixed up with what professed to be trustworthy. The charges against the Guises are seen to have been dovetailed into the original text, in a manner which must be strongly condemned.

It would doubtless be very interesting to investigate further into the discrepancies between the two documents.

When he succeeded to the throne of the brother next above him Charles Maximilian (Charles IX.), he took the name of Henry III. (L. Paris, *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 894). As heir to the throne he was in court parlance called 'Monsieur,' without other addition. Following de Ruble, I erroneously described him as Duke of Anjou at this period in my *Papal Negotiations*, p. 444.

¹ *Brief discours . . . des principales conjurations de ceux de la maison de Guyse contre le Roy et son Royaume*, 1565, Sig. c. i.; and subsequently also in the *Mémoires de Condé*, 1743, iv. 374, and recently by H. de la Ferrière, *Lettres de C. de Médicis*, 1880, i. 246, from British Museum, Vespasian, F, v, fol. 224.

² Baron de Ruble was, I believe, the first to indicate the existence of this earlier text, but the account he gives of it is anything but scientifically accurate. —*Première Jeunesse de Marie Stuart*, 1891, p. 127.

But this would be a distinct digression. We see in our letter that Mary was extremely sceptical as to the authority of this document, and a glance at the two versions printed side by side in the Appendix will enable us to understand that her scepticism was not unreasonable. With this in mind we turn to the published version of the *affaire*.

On Saturday the xvijth of October, the day when the king began to leave his room after the cure of his illness, Monsieur, the king's brother, being in his said majesty's chamber, Monsieur de Nemours came in, and asked him if he was huguenot or papist; to which Monsieur answered that he was of the religion of the queen his mother. Then M. de Nemours asked him, if he would not be so good as to let him have five and twenty words. Monsieur answered, yes. M. de Nemours drew him aside on to a coffer which is near the door of the king's closet, and said to him:

‘Monsieur, I see that the kingdom of France is destroyed and ruined by these huguenots, and that the king and you are not in security because the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé want to make themselves kings, and will do it in such a way as to cause the death of the king and you. So, Monsieur, if you would avoid this danger, you must take counsel, and if you so wish it M. de Guise and I will help and succour you and send you away into Lorraine or to Savoy.’

Monsieur replied that he did not wish to leave the king and queen.

M. de Nemours then said again, ‘Think well, Monsieur, on what I say to you, for it is to your advantage’—to which Monsieur made no answer.

M. de Nemours said to him, ‘Do you not trust in Carnavalet¹ and Villequier?’²

¹ François de Carnavalet was justly suspected by the Catholics of endeavouring to ‘acheminer’ the Duke into Huguenotism *à la mode* (de Ruble, 130). De Foix expressly asked Mary if she ‘suspected’ him (MS. p. vi.), *i.e.* of having got up the abduction scare; but she would not say that she did. He had written her a letter, which du Croc brought, as has been mentioned above, p. xx. In it he speaks as follows of his pupil, ‘Votre frère continue de telle façon à donner bonne espérance de lui, que je ne doute point que vous ne le voiez un jour, tel que vous l’avez espéré.’ From the whole tone of the letter one would gather that the writer thought that Mary regarded him with favour. It is signed François de Kernevoy. See also L. Paris, *Négociations*, p. 128.

² René de Villequier is given the worst possible character for morality by de Ruble (p. 132), following a contemporary Huguenot pamphlet. It seems,

‘Yes,’ said Monsieur.

Then he [Nemours] said, ‘Tell nothing to them of what I say to you, nor about my having kept you so long engaged,’ and then the Sieur de Nemours left him.

In the meantime M. de Guise was before the fire talking with the Prince de Joinville, his son, who, on seeing M. de Nemours leaving Monsieur, said to him, ‘Monsieur, I have heard that the queen wishes to send Monsieur your brother and yourself into Lorraine to a very fair castle to take the air; and so take thought, if you would like to come thither with us, we will make you good cheer.’

Then said Monsieur, ‘I do not think that the queen, my mother, would like me to leave the king.’

The Prince de Joinville replied, ‘If you will come to Lorraine and listen to what M. de Nemours has said to you, it will fare well with you.’

Monsieur made no answer to that.

On the morrow the Prince de Joinville came back to Monsieur and again addressed him in similar language, and said that if he wished to know by what means they would convey him away, he would tell him.

Monsieur replied that he would very much like to know.

The Prince de Joinville said to him, ‘You would be carried off in the dead of night, smuggled through a window which faces the park entrance, and then placed in a chaise—and so you would be in Lorraine before they could get an inkling of what was a-foot.’

To this Monsieur replied nothing, and the prince left him.

The next day M. de Nemours went away, and coming to take leave of the king, while bidding farewell whispered to Monsieur, ‘Bear in mind what I have said to you, and say not a word of it to any one’; and so the Duc de Nemours took his departure.

That this story was true, in the sense in which it was charged against the Guise party, is surely incredible even on internal evidence. Any one can see that to have abducted the heir to the throne, in order to set him up as a rival to the court, meant open war, for which the Guises were not

however, clear from this passage and ms. p. vi. that he had received his place as a partisan of the King of Navarre, and was at present regarded as such. He continued to be the adviser of the prince until 1571 at least.—La Ferrière, *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, iii. 63.

prepared, and for which they could not have commenced preparations without manifesting their intention to all the world. Moreover the story comes to us through a very suspicious channel, from the political adversaries of the Guises, men notoriously unscrupulous in their use of accusation; men whom Mary calls, 'ces dreseurs de querelles la, meschants et manteurs' (MS. p. v.) 'The plan of escape appears extremely childish. 'Il y avoit peu d'esperance qu'il le peut faire, quant la volanté i seroit' (MS. p. v.).

Chantonnay and de Quadra, in despatches where they would presumably speak their real minds, disbelieved in the allegations,¹ and so eventually did Elizabeth herself, as the event showed. Beltrano was soon discovered to be a mere 'babelar,' and a swindler,² and had to fly the country, while Nemours was received back into favour, and served the crown with distinguished loyalty and courage, for which, in truth, he had also been remarkable before. As the story stands therefore one can hardly give it much credit.

On the other hand it would be rash to affirm that there was no foundation at all in fact for the certainly exaggerated superstructure. Many historians have thought that Nemours, perhaps half in play, did make overtures to the prince. Certainly that daring and unscrupulous Savoyard was not incapable of such an attempt.³

No juridical investigation of the *affaire* was attempted, nor did Nemours put out any set defence. He sent Lignerolles to court to negotiate in his favour, but with a result that was at first infelicitous, as we shall see. Afterwards he seems to

¹ *Mémoires de Condé*, ii. 18; *Spanish Calendar*, p. 220.

² *Foreign Calendar*, p. 402.

³ Baron de Ruble, p. 121, appears to believe the story in its entirety. R. de Bouillé, *Histoire des Ducs de Guise*, ii. 166, also credits it. Le Laboureur, *Les Mémoires de M. de Castelnau* (1731), appears to believe in it, though Brantôme did not, and Castelnau is doubtful (i. 775, lib. iii., cap. ix.). H. de la Ferrière calls the *affaire* 'peu grave en apparence.'—*Lettres de C. de Médicis*, i. Introd. 92.

have left events to speak for him, no explicit refutation of the charges against him seems to be on record.

We must therefore even now make up our minds on the subject in the way that Mary made up hers, by arguments from probability, by knowledge of the persons derived from other sources, and by other general considerations. Of these we have now seen at least enough to show us what Mary would have concluded as to the truth of the story as it came before her, a conclusion which was ensured by the fact of Nemours being a kinsman: 'Il estoit aysée de faire dire à un enfant ce que l'on vouloit' (MS. p. vi.).

SECTION IV.—DE FOIX'S MISSION

Le sieur de Foix [est venu] ici ambassadeur de par le Roy, la Royne et le roy de Navarre. . . . Il me dit pour la créance, qu'il estoit venu, ayant charge de me visiter de leur part, et m'offrir toute leur puissance, si en quelque chose j'en avoys besoin. . . . Je les remersiay le plus honestement que je peus, aveques semblables ofres (MS. p. iii.).

Après il me dit que . . . M. de Nemours s'estoit oublié jusqu' à ça, d'avoir voulu enmener Monsieur . . . Je lui dis que . . . je ne me pouvois persuader que M. de Nemours . . . voulut se tant oublier, etc. Je ne me sens garder de pleurer. Le dépit me surmonta. . . . Si j'ai mal fait, pardones moy (MS. iii. iv. v. viii.).

Un jour il m'en donna des atakes . . . , et me dit plainement que je ne devois oublier la France pour l'Angleterre, mes anciens enemies. Je lui asuré bien, qu' ainsi ne ferois-je. . . . Et de vray je ne m'oblige en rien (MS. pp. x.-xi.).

Catherine de Medici resolved to include her daughter-in-law among those to whom the *affaire* of Nemours should be officially communicated, and she despatched Paul de Foix¹ to Scotland for that purpose about the 10th of November.

¹ Paul de Foix (1528-1584) was a kinsman of Jane d'Albrecht, Queen of Navarre, and took with him to Scotland letters from her to Queen Mary (*Foreign Calendar*, p. 415, § 4). He was a Protonotary and a 'Senator' of the city of Paris, and had been imprisoned for his Protestant tendencies during the reign of Henry II. (*Papal Negotiations*, p. 418). After his embassy to Scotland he received the appointment of resident ambassador for France in

Catherine was so nervous about her children, that she could not have helped fearing that the plot was a genuine one. The escape from danger, therefore, formed a definite reason for an interchange of compliments. There were also other matters to discuss. Ostensibly de Foix went to carry congratulations from the boy King of France, the queen mother, and the King of Navarre to Mary upon her happy return to her realm. In reality the most important matter, which he had to negotiate, was the continuance of the ancient alliance between France and Scotland.

Catherine had been glad enough to see Mary return, resolved not to sign the treaty of Edinburgh. She might naturally hope that the Scottish queen after so many injuries received from England would lean upon France even more than her predecessors had done. Instead of this she now saw Mary enthusiastically courting the amity of England, and almost altogether directed by ministers who were in English pay. For the French it was a matter of the gravest consequence to prevent the further extension of English influence, which had been, and was destined to be, so injurious to the peace of France.

Recent events too might have given Catherine new reasons for fear. Her quarrel with the Guises might perhaps make Mary distinctly averse to the French alliance. In that case the friendship of the Earl of Arran and the Protestant party was to be solicited. Throckmorton wrote:—

They have begun a practice and employed their ministers to win to their devotion the Duke of Châtelherault, the Earl of Arran, and all their well-wishers, and are in mind to draw unto them the Earl of Huntly, Lord Hume, and such as depend upon the said earl, so that they may have a great faction there, and, in time to come, the whole realm at their devotion.¹

England (1562-1566), in the place of M. de Seurre, who had been appointed during Mary's reign in France (Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, ii. 174). Chérueil describes him as 'one of the first statesmen of those days.'—*Marie Stuart et Catherine de Médicis*, 1858, p. 31.

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, p. 438, § 3.

These words are taken from a later despatch of Throckmorton's. At the moment he did not suspect the danger.

Another reason for sending de Foix was the advent in Paris of Bertino Solaro di Moretta, a Piedmontese, who was also bound for Edinburgh. The precise nature of his mission was not known, and great was the curiosity to discover what it might really be. Morette (his name generally meets us in its French form) had been in Rome, and was somehow connected with the Papal Legate Hippolito d'Este, Cardinal of Ferrara, how far we shall see later. Here it is sufficient to note that these antecedents were enough to cause apprehensions of Papal leagues and the like, and made the French government, in which the King of Navarre and his Huguenot brothers had so much influence, anxious to forestall him at Edinburgh.

M. de Foix was therefore speeded on his way, and in effect managed to get his audience in London on the 18th of November before the Italian, and so secured a day or two's start on the northern journey, and seems to have reached Edinburgh about the first of December.

The story of his interviews with Mary must be read in her own surpassingly vivid narrative. The first meeting was confined to compliments, a contest in which Mary was not likely to be outdone. It may make us smile to hear her offering in effect to lend France 'all her forces if in anything they were needed' (ms. p. iii.).¹

In a further interview de Foix broached the *affaire* of Nemours. But here too he met his match. Mary had been

¹ We have records of many of Mary's compliments to Elizabeth, uttered 'in her merry mood,' as Randolph termed it. At one time 'she would have none other husband but the Queen of England' (Keith, ii. 127; Bain, 580). At another, 'she took out of her bosom' a letter from Elizabeth, and, after reading to Randolph 'a line or two, put it back in the same place . . . next unto her skin . . . saying, "If I could put it nearer my heart, I would"' (Bain, pp. 632, 633). At another time, 'she said she was ashamed of her own [hand-writing] in comparison of that she saw in hers [Elizabeth's]' (*ibid.* p. 585).

forewarned, and she was forearmed. The conflict of wits is intensely interesting to watch. The French envoy, 'one of the first statesmen of those days,' introduced smoothly and little by little, now by innuendo, now by profession of good-wishes, his story, which, if blurted out, would have set Mary at once and for all upon the defensive (ms. p. iii.).

But however admirably he played his cards, however reasonably he might flatter himself that he was steadily bringing round the conversation to a point when he might draw his conclusions with unanswerable logic, it was she, as the event showed, who was managing him, not he her. Finally, though the tears came, *et le dépit me surmonta* (ms. p. viii.), she was left with the last word, and presented her case with an entirely captivating directness and persuasiveness, while de Foix had to laugh it off, to change the subject, and to declare that he had nothing more to say (ms. p. vii.). The victory was hers.¹

The account of this interview, which she describes not triumphantly, but rather apologetically (ms. p. viii.), should be compared with the descriptions, most of them written by hostile pens, of her encounters with other able men of her day, with Throckmorton, Knox, or Mauvissière,² and finally with her judges at Fotheringay. However masterful and clever her antagonist, and however weak, womanly, obstinate,

¹ Randolph, with his usual affectation of oracular wisdom, wrote, 7 December, 1561, 'Out of the countenances of princes he that is able to judge may pick out sometimes great likelihoods of their thoughts, or find how they are disposed. The time of her talk with Mons. de Foyes, it was marked by others before I came in, and after I saw myself many alterations in her face; her colour better that day than ever I saw it. When I talked with her she was very merry, and spake with such affection as I think came from the heart.'—Keith, *History*, ii. 121; Bain, *Scottish Calendar*, p. 577.

Morette's account of the interview will be found below. 'De Foix talked of the flight [*i.e.* the abduction scheme] and the marriage of the Duke of Nemours, and spared not to touch the Guises. To this the Queen answered in few words, but with spirit.'—Appendix No. 6, ii.

² *Foreign Calendar*, p. 150; Knox's *Works*, ed. D. Laing, 1848, ii. 277-286; Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, ii. 249-257.

or mistaken she herself may be, in the end she wins admiration, sympathy, and respect, and brings out her case so clearly that it cannot be ignored.

Though de Foix told Mary that he was not instructed to say anything further (ms. p. vii.), he took care to tell some of her courtiers, who would bring the words back to her ears, that there was still worse to come (ms. p. viii.), that treasonable letters had been discovered from the Guises to the princes of Germany, that her uncles were in reality 'bien brouillés' in the *affaire* of Nemours. For a year or two, he added, the French government would dissemble, because of its want of money and other difficulties. After that it would speak out, and would be revenged despite of kings and emperors—that is, despite of Philip and Ferdinand, the King of Spain, and the Emperor of Germany (ms. p. viii.).¹

The inglorious method of retaliation used by de Foix was effective, in so far that it really aroused Mary's fears. She 'did not dare take notice of it to him,' but when later on some further rumours of a disquieting nature arrived, she could restrain herself no longer, and Montignac's mission was the result.

De Foix's last interviews were really the most important of all. 'Il me donna les attaques,' saying 'I ought not to forget France for England, my ancient enemy' (ms. pp. x., xi.). These are strong words, and imply that Catherine fully believed in the sincerity of Mary's negotiations with Elizabeth, and that she recognised how entirely Scotland was now under English influence. But on this point Mary reassured him. She said with excusable exaggeration that it was really Elizabeth who was wooing her, while she held the French alliance 'to be the better for many reasons' (ms. p. xi.). But she 'would do nothing to break off' friendly relations

¹ The allusion to Spain needs no comment. The objection about Germany has been already explained, above, p. xxii.

with Elizabeth, unless she or hers were attacked. In conclusion, she dexterously hinted to de Foix that, if Catherine wanted to win her, she should conciliate 'mes parents, qui étoient ceux du conseil desquels je reçois le plus' (ms. p. xi.).

De Foix left Edinburgh about the 10th of December. Mary had given him a handsome present,¹ and Randolph wrote to beg Cecil to befriend one who 'professethe Chryste, for whose cause your honour knowethe what he hathe indured.'² The vigilant agent, always suspicious of the misdoings of papists, had not scented the ill-service to England which his co-religionist had attempted.

SECTION V.—LE SIEUR DE MORETTE

Monsieur et Madame de Savoie m'ont envoyé Morete me visiter. Sa despesche seroit trop longue à écrire. . . . Le Croc . . . vous contera tout . . . car je ne lui celle rien (ms. p. xiv.)

L'ocasion de la venue du sieur de Morete, qui n'est autre que me visiter de la part de mon oncle, Monsieur de Savoie and Madame ma tante, laquelle m'avertit que Dieu lui a fait ceste grace de avoir santie son enfant.—LETTER TO ELIZABETH, Appendix VII.

We have already had occasion to notice the effect upon French diplomacy of the advent of Bertino Solaro di Moretta in Paris on his way to London and Edinburgh. It was not his first visit there. In 1558 he had taken part in the negotiations for the marriage of his master, the Duke of Savoy, with the French Princess Claude of Valois, third sister of Francis II., and Mary Stuart's companion in childhood, as well as her sister-in-law. Thus he had had previous acquaintance with most of the persons, whom he would now have to address. Mary, we see, speaks of him to her correspondent

¹ Elizabeth, to whom he had been commended in the same form as to the Queen of Scots, let him return without a gift.—*Foreign Calendar*, p. 481, §7.

² Bain, *Scottish Calendar*, p. 579.

as if he were well known to both, using his surname without prefix.

At Turin and at Modena I found a considerable number of letters relating to Morette, but not his instructions for this mission. This is a pity, for he appears to have had so many irons in the fire, that there is some difficulty in saying what his commission did not extend to. His chief business was, of course, to negotiate for his master, the Duke of Savoy, and to endeavour to regain from the French some of the border lands and castles which had been lost in the late war. Besides this he was to deliver compliments from his mistress, the Duchess of Savoy, to her sister of Scotland, and we shall find him, layman though he was, endeavouring to facilitate the reunion of the Council of Trent, and lastly endeavouring to discover a suitable match for the Duke of Ferrara. Indeed we may feel sure after reading the letter of the 'Cavalier' Bernieri,¹ that this latter object was really the principal one which drew him to these islands. Bernieri was agent for the Duke of Ferrara at Turin, and he writes to him:—

Monsr. di Moretta . . . left for France on the 23rd, and before he went, he came to see me, and to beg me to commend him most respectfully to your excellency, for he is evidently desirous of serving you most heartily, and he has promised to inform me regularly of the affairs of France, Scotland, and England. The gentleman knows that the Queen [Catherine] and the legate [Cardinal d'Este] will not be very pleased that he should go to these places, the one because of his suspicion as to matters of religion, the other because of the ill-will she bears [to Queen Mary]. Nevertheless his Highness [the Duke of Savoy] has given him commission to carry out his journey, and the other orders you gave to him.

[He will also treat with the King of Navarre, and will probably even go to the King of Spain. In this case] when a fit occasion offers he will speak to his Majesty about your Excellency, in order to hear about projects of marriage. Of all this he will, by

¹ The letter is printed in Appendix No. 2.

the Duke of Savoy's command, send special messengers by post to give information.—From Rivoli, 26 October 1561.

Hence we see that whatever other commissions Morette was charged with, on behalf of Savoy, he does not seem to have been engaged to go to England except on the Duke of Ferrara's marriage affairs. From the cardinal legate, at all events, and from Catherine de Medici, he so far only anticipates opposition.

On his arrival at Paris, however, Morette found that though Catherine was hostile, the legate on the contrary was most ready to encourage his journey. Cardinal d'Este, it will be remembered, was uncle to the Duke of Ferrara, which doubtless accounts for some of his complaisance in this matter. De Quadra with more experience, and no predilections, saw from the first that it would not lead to any substantial good. The predominant tone, however, of all Papal diplomacy at this moment was that of friendliness. Endeavours were being made on all sides to renew the communications which the late revolutions in religion had sundered.¹ The Cardinal therefore engaged Morette to negotiate for the sending of representatives from England to the Council of Trent, and gave him a formal letter to Elizabeth for this purpose on the 10th of November.² Already on the 6th Morette had visited Throckmorton,³ explained to him the commissions he had received from Savoy, and obtained a pass for England.

At this point we find the report current that Morette's mission was principally intended to negotiate a marriage between the now unpopular Duke of Nemours and Elizabeth or Mary. Both Throckmorton, Randolph, and de Quadra mention this in their letters. It was evidently believed by many.⁴

¹ *Papal Negotiations*, Introd. p. xlvii.

² *Foreign Calendar*, p. 396.

³ *Ibid.* p. 401, § 17, cf. p. 376., No. 629.

⁴ In my *Papal Negotiations* (Introd. p. xlix, *n.*) I gave credit to the report, relying upon Ercole Ricotti, *Storia della Monarchia Piemontese*, Firenze, 1861,

But all the above-mentioned statesmen eventually altered their minds on this point, and rightly so, as our papers indicate.

However ill-founded the rumour was, it explains something of the anxiety of de Foix to forestall Morette at starting. And as we have seen, he succeeded in doing so. But Morette lost nothing by this. On the contrary he got an audience of three full hours with the English queen on Sunday, November the 23rd, and wrote back that same night a long account of it to Cardinal d'Este, which will be found below (Appendix No. 4).

Elizabeth was evidently pleased to see him, and delighted to talk upon the topic of marriage. But when he attempted to come to a conclusion, she raised difficulties as usual, and no real progress was made. She was also ready to talk and dispute about the 'matter of religion.' But as to sending representatives to Trent, she would give no answer beyond the refusal which she had given to de Quadra in the previous May.¹ Morette's letter was sent on to the Duke of Ferrara by the Cardinal d'Este, who added a note of his own, which will also be found below (Appendix No. 4). His comments give us the assurance that there was really no *arrière pensée* in this negotiation.

De Quadra also wrote an account of Morette, which will be found together with the above-mentioned letters. Its most instructive feature is perhaps its ill-concealed jealousy of France. This jealousy was at that time the chief characteristic of Spanish diplomacy, and it is well to have this fact clearly before us, for we are inevitably prone to imagine that these two nations were then united against the foe to their common faith, whereas it was their antagonism which paralysed the Catholic forces.

p. 206, where some account of Morette's mission will be found. Unfortunately this author quotes with insufficient discrimination papers of great value and others of small account. Major Hume in his *Love Affairs of Mary Queen of Scots*, 1903, p. 133, repeats the misstatement.

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, p. 99, No. 172.

Morette reached Scotland on the 3rd of December, and stayed a fortnight. I have not found his own report of his proceedings, but with the accounts of Randolph, de Quadra, and Cardinal d'Este before us, we can form a clear idea of what he did.

On the 17th of December Randolph wrote :—

‘Yester daye mons^r de Moret departed owte of this towne to Seton to his bedde. He goythe in yornaye, and therefore I trust my lettres shalbe with your honour before hym. Our fyrste metinge was upon the sandes of Leethe, beholdinge the runnyng at the ringe. Our acquayntance was sone made. We tawlked longe of dyvers commen purposes. In the prayse of the Quene’s maiestie, of the courte and countrie he spake mucche and well. Of all hys doyngs here ether thys was the effecte, or els the counsell is mervilous secret from all men of thys nation. He was sente onlye from the Duke of Savoye to congratulate her saulf retorne, and to signifie unto her of the ingrossement of the Duk’s wyf, [and] to confirme her what he coulde in her opinion touchynge religion, which he dyd bothe in worde and deade, more to hys shame and discredyt then ever he shall gette honour of hys viage. Our nexte metinge was in the Quen’s chamber in her syghte. I lamented and pyttied to see suche a princesse of suche yeres unmarried, and merrilye asked of hym what good newes he had broughte her grace from some noble prince or other, of mariage. (The brute was then commen that he came to prefer the Duke Nemours cause unto her, other[s said] the Duke of Florence, I know not whether he be married or not). He answered that he was no feete man to intreate of so vayghty affayres, And by hys tawlke I perceaved that he had not seen the Duke Nemours long before his departure owte of Fraunce, always he showth hym self well affectioned unto hym and wysshethe hym no les honour then a Quene to hys wyf. I perceave that he was well taken with by the Quene, verie welcome to the marquis, better lyked then mons^r de Fois amonge all the French. Ther accompnied hym all wayes mons^r de Crok. He lodged at the L. Robertes howse bysyds the courte. He hade geven hym at hys departeur a chayne of xxx unces, as I here, and iij geldings. Bonart is also departed with hym. He trustethe to have a geldinge or two in Englande. I have wrytten unto your honour by hym, to no suche purpose or effecte as I care what becomethe of my lettres, nor

that I wolde your honour sholde waye above that, that he hathe deserved. The Quene hathe wrytten her owne hande to the Duches of Savoye. Yf anye mater be of mons^r Nemours yt is rather in credit then in wrytinge. When anye purpose fawlethe in of mariage, she saythe that she wyll nonother howsbonde but the Quene of Englande. He is righte nere about her that hathe oftayne tymes harde her speake yt. I desyer that yt may be in perfet neighbrode, seinge it cane not be in perfet mariage. . . .¹

On January 15th Randolph added:—

‘Mons^r de Moret travailed with the Queen to send a man thither [to the General Council], but being willed to confer with Lethington, he otherwise persuaded her, little to the other’s contentment. Both in that, and more apparent favour to be borne to the Duke of Nemours, he was more wyfull then resonable.’²

Morette took a full fortnight on the journey to London, which he reached on January the 2nd, and visited de Quadra on the 3rd. That ambassador’s account of the interview, sent to Cardinal Granvelle, will be found below.³ The most important paragraph for our present purposes is that which explains why Mary gave no ear to the projects of marriage which he had come to propose:—

Moretta also says that she is resolved to marry very highly, and speaks without dissimulation of our Lord the Prince [Don Carlos]. When he asked her how the heretics of that kingdom would take that match, she answered him that they would take it very well. It would displeasethem on the score of religion, yet such were their expectations from the execution of her right to this kingdom [of England], that they would not make a difficulty over it. They were thereby assured that she would not leave Scotland until she had children, and that then, if a successor remained behind, they would set her free to go where she

¹ British Museum, Caligula, B. x. ff. 203, 204.

² Bain, *Scottish Calendar*, p. 593.

³ Appendix No. 6. This letter is much fuller than that described by Froude (vi. 533), and Hume (*Spanish Calendar*, p. 222), as addressed to the Duchess of Parma. The paragraph quoted above is, however, common to both.

would. He said that the Lord James and all, or most of the Lords of the Kingdom were of that opinion. In Scotland, he says, there are an infinity of Catholics, and foremost among them the Earl of Huntly, who, he added, would cause the Mass to be said throughout the kingdom despite all the heretics, whenever the Queen wishes.

Moretta further stated that that queen told him that the Queen here holds friendly intercourse with her, and has a mind to declare her her successor. The other queen appears to trust this, especially as some of the principal Lords of this realm have sent to offer their services to her.

He also told me that the said queen had written through him to the Pope, certifying and assuring him that she is prepared to die rather than abandon her religion.

The references to the match with Don Carlos are very valuable. For though the scheme was impracticable, and though it is very likely that the Lord James and others saw that it was so, we have here clear evidence that Mary had already won round a large number even of her reforming nobles to support her ambitious scheme,¹ and had done this, so far as I can see, unknown to Randolph.

The discovery that Mary entertained such hopes was equivalent to receiving a negative answer to Morette's marriage offers. This is regretfully acknowledged in the letter which the Cardinal of Ferrara sent home to the duke, after Morette's return to Paris. The idea of a match with either Mary or Elizabeth, he says, may as well be laid aside. Elizabeth is not decided or not serious. Mary is, for the present, out of the question, as her domestic difficulties, *i.e.* those of religion, are almost overwhelming. Moreover, she is leaving the final choice to her uncles, and there was the talk ('mere words with little foundation') about Don Carlos.²

¹ The Cardinal of Lorraine knew by this time that Philip would not sanction this match.—*Papal Negotiations*, p. 86 *n.*, 87. It was, however, talked of in France.—*Ibid.*, p. 97, § 4, and p. 111.

² The letter is printed in full in Appendix No. 6.

Thus Morette's mission meant little to Mary that was of real consequence, and we come to see that her two descriptions of it, though apparently contradictory, are perfectly reconcilable. To her uncle she said that it was only the length of his despatch which prevented her from copying it at once. To Elizabeth she wrote that he only came to announce her cousin's pregnancy. The apparent inconsistency vanishes when we remember that Morette's serious subjects were unpractical for her, and that their multitude made it difficult for him to urge any with force.

For Mary the most important result by far was that Morette left Rizzio behind him.¹

SECTION VI.—LES BIENS DE L'ESGLISE

[J'ai] envoié querir . . . une grande partie de la Noblesse et de l'esglise, pour empescher que à cause des biens de l'esglise il ne vint quelque broullerie. . . . J'avois delliberé [resolved] vous envoyer tout le discours de ce qui s'y passeroit (ms. p. i.).

Immediately after the departure of Morette, Mary's first Parliament met at Edinburgh, in order to settle the many burning questions which had arisen out of the seizure and redistribution of the property of the Church of Scotland. The question could not but cause Mary the gravest anxiety. Other difficulties seemed to be clearing up, relations with England were notably improved, but the position of the Church was desperate, and there might be further fighting for the spoils.² These had been carried off wholesale during the iconoclastic outbreak of 1559 and the subsequent insur-

¹ Carlo Tenivelli, *Biographia Piemontese* (five vols., Turin, 1784), *sub* Davide Ricci, says that he was born about 1500 at Turin, of a good family, feudal lords of St. Paolo e Collarengo nell' Astigiana. The name *Riz* or *Rizzio* is, he adds, originally 'oltramontano,' *i.e.* Savoyard, rather than Italian.

² The difficulty is alluded to by Lethington.—Appendix No. 1, § 3.

rection, and the offence had been condoned by the Crown in July, 1560, at the treaty of Edinburgh. The Parliament held in the August following allowed the actual holders of the invaded property to retain their fruits 'quhil they get commandment of the Counsal quhom to it sould be payid.' In May 1561 the ravages of 1559 were renewed, and every effort was made to exterminate all that appeared to recall the memory of the old faith¹ before the queen could return.

Now therefore the young queen was called upon to find a settlement for the highly contentious claims arising from all this violence and injury. On the one hand there were the priests of the old church pleading for rights which Mary sincerely believed to be sacred. On the other the rebellious barons snarling over the plunder they had amassed. There were also the new preachers loudly claiming for themselves the property of the rivals whom they had displaced. The nobles were, of course, too strong to be ousted, and the first condition of any final settlement would therefore have to include a recognition of their titles.

In fact a compromise not altogether unsatisfactory to all was eventually found. Broadly speaking, the old churchmen were to retain their rights in theory, and this in practice enabled the nobles to retain all that they had seized, without getting other title-deeds to them than those they had already squeezed out of the former holders.² The clergy too were hereby enabled to save some portion of their old possessions, at least the rents, trifling though these generally were, for which they had sold the ecclesiastical rights they could no longer enforce. Nor were the preachers left without a part

¹ 'Shortly all was ruined, and what had escaped in the time of the first tumulte did now undergo the common calamity.'—Keith, iii. 37. 'The preachers say, in order not to have any more rabbits (by this they mean religious men) the warrens must be destroyed.'—Fuensanta del Valle, *Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, lxxxvii. 363.—Despatch of 23 July 1561, *Spanish Calendar*, p. 210.

² See the note at the end of this section.

of the spoil: a third of all the old benefices was taken up by the crown officers, and from this fund stipends for the new ministers were provided.

Adroit as the compromise was, and decried, as it was sure in any case to have been, by those who hoped for more, the cause of the Reformation undoubtedly gained most by it. The Church and the Pope were not only not mentioned, but their supreme rights were now exercised by the crown. Indeed the new religion may henceforward be said to have held Scotland in feof, for every attempt to restore Catholicism would henceforth be resisted by the most powerful nobles, because of the doubts regarding titles to property, which would arise as soon as any mention was made of a reversion to the old order of things. When therefore the new men and their English patrons complained of Mary's favour to the ancient Church, Maitland could answer that the papists were far indeed from having gained an advantage since Mary's return. 'They are, to be plain, in worse case a great deal than before.'¹

Yet the followers of the old faith had really reaped some benefit by the settlement, at least by comparison with their previous evil plight. Before they had been treated as mere outcasts, the proper prey of every violent fanatic. Whereas now, though still liable to all manner of penalties, for the exercise of their religion, they had some sort of legal status, which the crown might amplify, when it was strong enough to do so. In effect Mary gave secular offices to some of the old churchmen, and paid pensions to some of the homeless nuns and friars; little concessions which sorely vexed the extreme reformers, and raised in the religious exiles the most exaggerated hopes.²

Our business at present, however, is not with the legal forms under which the compromise was made, nor with its

¹ *Foreign Calendar*, p. 489, § 3.

² *Papal Negotiations*, pp. 94, 96.

effects, but with what Mary says about it. This in truth is so little, that it may be hazardous to push our analysis of her words very far. Still it cannot but hold our attention to find that in November Mary had, through St. Colme, informed the Cardinal of Lorraine that she was 'advised to take possession of church goods, as otherwise the nobles will usurp them, *but she would not do so.*'¹ Yet now, in December, at the head of her government she has claimed and exercised sovereign dominion over all ecclesiastical possessions, and has done so without making any apology even to her Catholic relatives. We might surely have expected her to say that, objectionable as the late measures were, from the point of view of Roman canon law, she had not been able to prevent their passing; or she might have pointed out that what she had done was not as bad as it seemed to be; or again she might have expressed the hope that she had not offended the Church in the difficult circumstances in which she had found herself. But in fact all that she does say is, that she has taken sweeping measures, '*pour empescher que à cause des biens de l'esglise, il ne vient quelque broullerie.*' This is the language of compromise, even of cheerful compromise, not that of one who is afflicted at not being able to act up to her principles, and is anxiously looking forward to the time when she will be able to do so.

This is, I think, highly characteristic of her. Hers was a cheerful disposition, and in religious matters she was less enterprising and energetic than in others which touched her heart and feelings deeply. She saw her Church oppressed, but she could not help it, and would not on that account break with those who governed in her name. She could do nothing to remedy the evil, and she did that nothing gracefully, even

¹ *Papal Negotiations*, p. 88. It appears from the same document that the cardinal was about to advise her to take possession of them 'as a trust, with the obligation of giving an account of it afterwards.' But this advice cannot have reached her till a month or two later than the time we are considering.

feliculously. For Scotland was then in a paroxysm of intolerance, and her calmness and patience, joined with her genuine fortitude in maintaining her own observances, were probably the happiest and most efficacious means that could have been devised for bringing about a more satisfactory state of affairs. Of this her reign might have offered a striking proof, had it not terminated so unhappily from other causes.

We may therefore fairly say that our letter shows Mary acting in this delicate matter with a praiseworthy combination of opportunism and adherence to principle.

That she was really not far from striking the right mean could I think be established by a series of citations from the statements of the various extremists. One describes her as obstinate, another states that she was ruled by expediency. While she was in power her advocates extolled her moderation; when she had fallen, they said that her clemency had ruined her. It would, however, take too long a space to set forth these opinions in their proper circumstances, and to balance their respective values. Yet it will be worth while to quote the words of Bishop Pellevé: 'As for religious matters, you have done, or had done, all that the times allowed you. It seems to me that in God's sight you have discharged your duty, and are justified before the world.'¹

As Pellevé was to have acted as legate for Scotland, if circumstances had permitted, his approval must be taken as of more weight than that of a mere court prelate. It may, however, be noted that in the Papal briefs, which were sent to Mary from time to time, we find no expressions either of approval or disapproval as to her religious policy. This we ought probably to interpret as meaning, that the Pope

¹ *Papal Negotiations*, p. 447. Laureo, on the other hand, blamed her 'unjust indulgence' to the enemies of her religion (*ibid.*, p. 370, § 3), and 'overmastering compassion' (p. 278, § 12). But Laureo was evidently judging by debased standards, quite inapplicable to Scotland.

recognised the necessarily opportunist character of her government, and that her justification depended on circumstances, as to which he was not fully informed.

Note on Mary's Policy with regard to Church Property

I presume *first* that Mary knew very well the strictness of the ecclesiastical prohibition against the unauthorised assumption of the right of dominion over Church property.

Secondly, I presume that the Roman Pontiffs never gave her power to exercise any such rights.¹

Now, there are about one hundred and fifty charters in the *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, 1546-1580*, vol. iii., Nos. 1600 to 1790, which illustrate Mary's policy as to Church property. They may, broadly speaking, be said to be the confirmations of those charters by which the old clergy sold their former property to the nobles, and a perusal of them will throw light upon the reasons for the sale, the prices given, and so forth. To draw definite conclusions from all these particulars is not yet possible. The series would have to be completed by a study of the Privy Seal documents of corresponding dates, and an enormous amount of local knowledge would be required to interpret with any security the references to land marks, etc.

Yet the dates at which Mary issued them is noteworthy. From 1560 to 1563 none. Then she confirms very large grants of Church property to the Lord James, to Lethington, and to Patrick Moray. Then it seems to have occurred to her that, if she was to confirm the land seized by the enemies of her Church, she might just as well confirm those sales which had been made to some extent for the benefit of that Church. Accordingly in the year 1565 we find about forty, in 1566 and in 1567 about fifty, confirmations of the surreptitious transfers made by churchmen during the wars of 1559-1560, in order to get some equivalent by sale for what they could not actually save. These sales were presumably made to friendly persons, and the documents frequently express that this was so, *e.g.*, 'pro servitiis sibi multis annis preteritis, presertim illo tempore turbulentissimo [*i.e.*, 1559-1560] quam diligentissime

¹ We nowhere hear or read of any such faculty being granted; indeed it appears to be excluded by Papal documents, such as that printed in the *Papal Negotiations*, p. 517, § 5, and in the *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, iii., 1604.

nocte dieque impenso, ac pro magna pecuniarum summa' (No. 1771). 'Pro ecclesiastica libertate conservanda illis periculosus Lutheranisque diebus' (No. 1632), etc. Such sales were technically illegal, I presume, having been made void *ab initio* by the statute of 24th August 1560 (cf. No. 1577). If so, we also see the meaning of the clauses 'dispensavit cum statutis,' 'ordinavit quod dicte carte sub dictis actis parliamenti non comprehenderentur,' 'dispensavit circa acta parliamenti in contrarium' (No. 1475).

Passing over innumerable other problems which these papers present to us, I wish to propose this question only: Why did not Mary do this sooner? Partly, perhaps, because she had not at first the power to do so. But may we not also suppose that her religious principles at first held her back. She began by assuring the Cardinal of Lorraine, as we have seen, that she would not assume dominion over Church property, and yet she did not prevent her government from doing so in her name. So in regard to her charters; at first, it seems, she scrupled to use in this personal way the powers which the Scottish Parliament had thrust upon her, powers which were disallowed by the Roman Canon Law. Yet after a time, and possibly for reasons described above, she does use them without attempting to obtain ecclesiastical sanction. The matter is far from clear, but we have probably before us another instance of her opportunist policy with regard to religion.

SECTION VII.—MONTIGNAC'S MISSION

In a previous section we have followed out the negotiations about the treaty of Edinburgh down to the answer given to Sir Peter Mewtas (Appendix No. 1), which was received by the English government at the beginning of November. That answer contained the request that Elizabeth should name commissioners to revise the treaty; but this did not at all fall in with Cecil's plans. It would not have pleased Elizabeth, and to give her pleasure was one of the chief objects of his policy. It would also advance Mary's rights, and that was still less to his liking. Even if he were not resolved (as he probably was) to settle the crown upon an English Protestant,

he had certainly laid it down as a principle, that it would be well for his party that the Scottish queen's affairs should 'hang in an uncertainty.'¹

So he wrote back to Lethington on the 10th of November a letter which is unfortunately now lost, but which was certainly important, for with remarkable caution he desired his correspondent to return it to him ; and Montignac eventually took it back. A copy of it was also enclosed in Mary's large despatch which we are now studying ; but this copy seems to have perished like its original, and we can only conjecture its contents from the change in the tenor of the correspondence which ensued. The proposal which now comes into notice was an amendment to the scheme of revising the treaty by commissioners. It was a suggestion that the two queens should confer in person. Elizabeth had told Lethington that it would be well if he and Cecil ascertained what answers would be acceptable to their respective courts before formal proposals were made (Appendix No. 1, § 22). Cecil in this letter of November 10 was presumably inquiring in this spirit.

However this may be, another letter was sent off from London two weeks later, November 23, which was in effect the official answer to Sir Peter Mewtas's message. Though Elizabeth's tone was less imperious than before, and though she now asked for Mary's reasons for refusing the ratification, yet the English queen gave no hopes that she would relent in the 'principal matter' (Appendix No. 8). This letter must have been received just at the time when de Foix was soliciting Mary to relax the English and strengthen her French alliance. Yet she was not led into any indiscreet retaliation, though we can now understand her phrase, that their correspondence 'proceeds rather from good-will than from anything else.' Of an intimate and sincere union of hearts there was little real probability.

¹ *Hardwicke State Papers*, i. 173.

When de Foix was leaving, 7 December 1561, both Lethington and Mary wrote to England. Mary's letter to Elizabeth will be found printed in full below. The hitherto inedited passage is interesting because of the allusion to the proposed interview with Elizabeth. Mary began to write under the impression that the meeting was impossible. Then she began again and wrote without making any reference at all to the subject. In Lethington's letter to Cecil, however, of the same date, we find the clause, 'Let not [correspondence], I pray yow, be neglected on your part, onto suche tyme as it shall please God to grant thoccacion that ane enterveu may be betuix them, which I know for her part the Quene my maistres most earnestly wished with all her hart to bẽ sone.'¹

The important point, as Randolph told Cecil, was that Mary suspected no danger, and that, 'the bruit of her good will to go into England is much spread and commended here.'² It was only the extreme men, he continued, who feared it. The Catholics dreaded her conforming to Anglicanism, the Protestant zealots feared that Mary might intervene between them and their English protectors. It was their opposition which eventually led to the abandonment of the project. Cecil did not answer Lethington's letter about the interview, 'Although I wish it, yet I knowe it dangerous to be any singular doer therein.'³ The subject does not come up again for discussion during our short period, and we turn to what pressed most upon Mary's mind, her fears for her uncles.

Her letter to Elizabeth is almost entirely devoted to this theme, and Lethington's letter to Cecil is also largely occupied with it. Mary's letter (Appendix No. 5) forms an admirable introduction to her long missive to her uncle. The same phrases recur constantly in both, while the motive and inspiration are identical. She begs Elizabeth to believe that

¹ Bain, *Scottish Calendar*, p. 573.

² *Ibid.* p. 575.

³ Cecil to Throckmorton, 22 December 1561, *Hardwicke State Papers*, i. 179.

the Guises will now be friendly and faithful to her, 'because they see us fast friends,' and requests Elizabeth to show some correspondence in friendship, and 'to make a declaration of it.' Lethington adds more plainly to Cecil, 'I pray you in the answer off her Majesties lettre presently sent to the quene let some mencion be made off them, that my maistres may understand that not onely youris doth love her, bot also, for her sake, all those that be her friendes.'¹

Those who know the coldness which Mary too often experienced at Elizabeth's hands, would perhaps have expected that Mary was here exposing herself to a rebuff which would be more annoying than silence about the treaty, especially as the Guises had been such open enemies to the English queen. And so, in all probability, it would have been, had not a letter from Throckmorton at Paris, calculated to have a considerable effect upon Elizabeth, reached London about the same time as Mary's from Edinburgh. Throckmorton had just discovered de Foix's attempt to separate Mary from England:—

The Frenche do begine and are in good hope to wyne agayne the erle of Arrayne to their devocion, for they do begine to despayre of the Q. of Scotland, and yet I am suer they have made her great offres if she will hange her keyes at their girdle.²

On the receipt of these letters Elizabeth's tone immediately became more cordial. 'Elle se montre bien fort desireuse de

¹ Bain, *Scottish Calendar*, p. 573.

² Throckmorton to Cecil, 10 December 1561, Hardwicke Papers, recently acquired by the British Museum, Additional 35,830, f. 213 *verso*. On the 13th he wrote again in similar terms, that the French had offered Mary a hundred men-at-arms and the nomination of the principal officers in the Scottish Guard, with other overtures, 'annexed with a condition that this king may strike a stroke in her marriage. . . . These solicitations tend to alienate the mind of the Queen of Scots from amity with the queen. . . . If this does not succeed, they have a practice to win the Duke of Châtellerauld and the Earl of Arran, etc.'—*Foreign Calendar*, 1561, 1562, p. 438. This letter probably arrived too late to influence Elizabeth's letter of 21 December, but it would have had its effect on the further progress of the negotiation.

mon amitié.' She wrote with her own hand a letter to Mary,¹ which was despatched on the 21st of December, and was delivered by Randolph on the 29th, and 'it appeared to the men who stood about her that she was pleased therewith, by the time she gave to the reading thereof.' Cecil at the same time (MS. p. ix. and Appendix No. 7), 'offered the favour of her ambassador,' that is to say, she might call upon Throckmorton to look after Scottish business for her.

Cynics may believe that Elizabeth did this in order to find out what Mary's business in Paris really was. But the Scottish queen 'would not refuse' the proffered civility. Indeed it appeared to her likely to afford providential assistance to her much loved uncles, who, she thought, were again in serious danger.

For together with these expressions of good-will from England bad news had come from France, which revived her apprehensions. Behind her back de Foix had muttered threats, which at the time she had not dared to challenge, and now she heard with dismay that Lignerolles, whom the Duke de Nemours had sent to the French court with his explanations and excuses, had been arrested, examined, and sentenced to be hanged, and that the Duke of Guise was summoned to Paris (MS. p. viii.), while Carnavallet, the discoverer of the alleged plot, was knighted.² To Randolph, who gave her a copy of Lignerolles's examination (it is now missing), she affected to be rather relieved than otherwise by reading it, 'thinking it rather a purgation of the Duke, than anything his enemies may wrythe against him.'³ But the sum total of the news dismayed her. 'Cela me fasche' (MS. p. viii.). 'Je suis en poine pour les bruits qui courent issi' (MS. p. ii.).

¹ Maitland solicited this favour in his letter of 26 December (which, however, would have crossed Elizabeth's), and perhaps in earlier letters now lost.—Bain, *Scottish Calendar*, p. 581.

² *Foreign Calendar*, p. 430.

³ Bain, *Scottish Calendar*, p. 584.

But far from being cowed by the danger, with the innate diplomatic skill of a born queen, she at once thought out a plan for rescuing her friends from danger, and even for turning defeat into victory. 'Si ceux, que [vous] savez, ne se guardent, il ne tiendra qu'à vous, si je puis, qu'ils ne perdent une de leur plus belles plumes' (MS. p. xii.). Her plan, which her Scottish ministers approved (MS. p. xiii), was to strengthen the Guises with the moral support of the English embassy at Paris, which Elizabeth had just offered to her.

She therefore straightway summoned Jehan de Montignac, one of her 'escuyers d'escurie' (equerries), who had been promoted to that post after good service in carrying despatches from Mary of Guise during the war of 1560.¹ After having explained to him by word of mouth many things which she could not well commit to paper, she set to work to write the characteristic draft-letter of which the facsimile is now before us.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton said of Mary's letters written under the influence of her first enthusiasm for Darnley, that they 'wanted neither eloquence, despite, anger, love nor passion.'² The same qualities are strikingly displayed in our letter. They appear both in the treatment of the subject, and in the literary style, and they are hardly less evident in the actual penmanship; the feverish activity of the hand proving a true index to the passionate loyalty which was venting itself in writing.

In the first place we notice that long as the letter is, it has evidently been written off without a break. The forms of the letters are a little stiff at first, as if they had been made with a fresh quill, but soon the curves become round and full, and the words flow from the pen with the greatest facility.

¹ Louis Paris, *Négociations sous François II.* (1841), p. 747; Bain, *Scottish Calendar*, p. 314.

² *Foreign Calendar*, 1565, No. 1159.

In the first half of the letter, indeed for nine folio pages, the writing betrays no signs of fatigue. Then indications of weariness begin to show themselves; they abound on the last page, where slips in writing and grammar are very frequent.

The simplest test for the influence of fatigue on the writer is to count the number of lines per page. The numbers arrange themselves as follows :

Number of page—i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii, xiii, xiv.
 Lines per page—23, 23, 23, 21, 22, 23, 22, 21, 22, 20, 18, 19, 20, 17.

The diminution in the number of lines per page is partly accounted for by an increase in the size of the letters. Her letters, instead of becoming small, shapeless, or scrawly as she gets tired, grow taller and more decided. The graceful curves, indeed, give way to sharp, angular turns, but the definite characteristics of each sign are firmly maintained. But the most noticeable alteration in the handwriting, and that which has most to do with the falling off in the number of lines per page, is the ever-increasing down-slope of the writing direction. This sign of weakness may be noticed in most of Mary's autographs, and it is interesting to watch its manifestations here.

While fresh she keeps the first two or three lines of the page quite horizontal, her eye being probably aided by the guidance of the top paper-edge. After the third line that edge was no longer clearly in the field of vision, and the writing direction at once begins to droop downwards. The angle of decline tends to increase until she gets to within two or three lines from the foot of the page. Then the bottom paper-edge (as I presume) catches her eye, and the last lines at once become parallel to it.

When tired, however, the fall commences in the second, on the last page even on the first line. The angle of decline becomes twice the size of what it was at first (the increase

is from about five to about ten degrees), and as a result only seventeen lines go into the page, which at first held twenty-three.

A word, probably 'heure,' was omitted while turning from page ix to x. A still more remarkable omission is made while turning to the last page. She not only omits one word (probably 'prie'), but forgetting also the *verso* of p. xiii, she went straight from xiii, a *recto* page, to the next *recto*, i.e. p. xv, and there continued her sentence, writing 'lui montrer.' Then noticing her mistake, she goes back to p. xiv, without, however, having deleted the words on p. xv.¹ But she is now evidently tired. The sentences will admit of no analysis: 'My letter is so long that I leave the rest to the bearer.' That she was sitting up at night may be inferred from the remark, made when she was three-quarters through, that she has still to indite 'tres lettres de créance' . . . 'mesmes encores a seste [heure].'

Besides the draft-letter to the Duke of Guise, Mary also wrote an autograph note to Elizabeth (Appendix No. 7). Next day, Monday, January 5, the draft may have been ready copied (possibly by Rizzio), and would have been signed and sealed together with the official letter to Elizabeth, which was issued under Mary's signet. In contrast to the *lettre intime*, which is in French and begins *Ma Dame, ma bonne sœur*, this letter (which is doubtless of Lethington's composition) begins, 'Richt excellent, richt heich and nichtie Princesse, owr dearest sister and cousine, we grete yow wele.' It sets forth Mary's reasons for refusing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh (Appendix No. 9). This explanation Elizabeth had requested in the letter printed in Appendix No. 8.

Montignac had now all his papers. The long letter to the Guises, which we are editing, was swelled up with a large number of enclosures, perhaps eighteen in all (below, p. 31),

¹ It has not been considered necessary to reproduce p. x., which contains only these two words.

and with a proportionate number for the courts of England and of France (including a request for Elizabeth's portrait), he started on his journey to deliver them, a task which took him nearly six weeks to accomplish.¹

SECTION VIII.—SEQUEL AND RETROSPECT

Though Mary did not know it, affairs in France had already taken a turn favourable to the house of Guise when she began her letter. The conferences at Poissy (dissolved October 8th) had told against the Huguenots, as well as for them, and had resulted in the gradual reversion of the King of Navarre to the Catholic party.² France too was on the whole declaring itself decidedly upon the Catholic side, and Throckmorton reported (8 January 1562), that 'the court fears the Guises more than the Guises fear the court.'³

When Montignac set out, therefore, he had very much in his favour. His chief difficulties might perhaps have been expected in London, but none were raised, and at Elizabeth's order Throckmorton was instructed to comply with Mary's requests (13 January 1562).⁴ In London he also met the Commendator of St. Colme's Inch, who was returning from France with news of the improving position of the Guises. On hearing of his mistress's anxiety, the envoy at once hurried on northwards, taking with him a friendly note from the English court. There was not yet time to answer the more

¹ On the 16th of February, Throckmorton says that Montignac has 'lately' arrived and delivered him a letter from Mary (*i.e.* that in *Foreign Calendar* to him of January 5.—Labanoff, *Recueil des Lettres de M. Stuart*, i. 128).

² Vincenzo Laureo, who afterwards as bishop and cardinal reappears not infrequently in Mary's history, was one of the chief intermediaries on this occasion.—R. Tritonio, *Vita V. Laurei, Cardinalis*, etc. Bologna, 1599.

³ *Foreign Calendar*, p. 479.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 487. In the draft, Throckmorton was originally told to confer with Montignac or the Duke of Guise *privately*. But Cecil prudently corrected this, and forbade conference 'in any secret manner for avoiding of jealousies.'

important letters. 'Neither can we presently send you our picture, which it pleaseth you to require, for that the partie that ought to draw it in portrature is at this tyme seely, and thereby unhable to sett it out. But we assure yow [it] shall not be forgotten. As to the other private letter written with your owne hand, for the which we thank you, we have touching the contents therof (and that with right good will) given to Montegnac our special letter to our ambassador in France.'¹

Meantime Montignac continued his journey southwards, passed Paris on 24 January, where he found Throckmorton in a not unfriendly mood. He gave him Elizabeth's orders about the conference with the Duke of Guise, left him a packet of letters to be sent back to Scotland, and then sped on towards Lorraine.

Throckmorton reported the matter to Cecil (24 January 1562), showing himself ready to obey, though for curious and characteristic reasons:—

I do well perceave how moche hyr majestie hathe the saffetie off the howse off guyse syngulerly recemendyd for the Q off Scottlands sake. I thynke they stond yn as good case now as any other famyly yn thys realme: And as farr as I perceave suche as were thought to haue wyll and meyne to overthrowe them ar yn no more suertie then they. The papysts agayne do begyne yn thys contre to rayse theyre crestes, and that so hyghly as the champyons on the other syde do begyne to drowpe. And therefore you theyr must beware that your doyngs theyr do not quayle all here. It shall be ower saffetie that nether parte overthrow

¹ *R. O. Scotland*, vol. vii., No. 7. Also in Keith, ii. 136, from a Scottish Register. Elizabeth's portrait was eventually sent by Lethington, and reached Mary, 15 July 1562 (Bain, *Scottish Calendar*, p. 639). Dr. D. Hay Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots*, i. 295, n. 57, has gathered a full list of references to the continued interchange of verses and other compliments between the two queens at this period. It would be interesting to discover whether the painting of Elizabeth's portrait above mentioned led to the Royal Proclamation prohibiting the drawing of her portrait 'until some conning person mete therefor shall make a naturall representation of H. Majesty's person.' The date of this is unknown.—*Domestic Calendar*, 1547-1580, p. 232.

iche other : for feare off after clapps, I wyll use my doyngs to the howse of guyse accordyng to hyr majesties instructions.¹

Montignac soon found the Duke of Guise, and delivered to him Mary's despatch and his various messages. It had been previously agreed that Michel de Castelnau, Sieur de Mauvissière, should be sent to her about this time with news, and it was now decided that it would be best for him to go forthwith, and inform her by word of mouth how matters stood in France.

The duke wrote a hitherto unpublished note in this sense to Mary, which will be found in Appendix No. 10. It would seem, however, that Castelnau did not really go to Scotland at this juncture, but that Montignac returned again. Montignac was also the bearer of a very defiant letter from the Duke of Guise and his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, to Catherine de Medici.² Instead of being frightened by Mary's warnings of the supposed troubles in store for them, it will be seen that they simply copy out Mary's words and send them boldly to the queen-dowager.

It was a daring course, but a successful one, as the sequel showed. In March the Guises returned to Paris. The Duc d'Aumale came first, and Throckmorton informed him of Elizabeth's friendly intentions. In sending home his report of the interview, however, the English ambassador advises his mistress to compensate for the favour shown to one side by 'secretly animating the queen mother, who being well inclined to set the Protestant religion forward, finds great peril in the matter.'³ Three days later he says that 'the Papists look higher every day.' On the 19th the Duke of Guise entered Paris in triumph, though his followers had been engaged in

¹ R. O., *Foreign, Elizabeth*, vol. xxxiv. No. 637.

² A Chéruef, *Marie Stuart et Catherine de Médicis*. Paris, 1858, p. 33, and reprinted below in Appendix No. 10.

³ *Foreign Calendar*, p. 549.

the shameful massacre of Protestants at Vassy but a few days before.

On the 13th, the meeting which Mary had planned between Throckmorton and her uncle took place at the Hôtel de Guise. The duke publicly embraced him, and thanked him for Elizabeth's good-will to his niece. So far as he was concerned, he was quite ready to sanction Mary's visit to England for the interview with Elizabeth. At last they came to the subject of the doings at Vassy, as to which the duke was anxious to justify himself. But before his explanations were finished he was called off to the king's council, and so, after all his brothers had joined in acknowledging their obligations to the English queen, the meeting came to an end, and with it the negotiation we have had under review.¹

Happy may we feel that we may let the curtain fall here! If it had remained up but a few weeks longer we should have witnessed the outbreak of an atrocious war of religion, disgraceful to all concerned, to 'perfidious Albion,' not less than to frenzied France. The age was, alas! characterised by these outbreaks of violence, and we shall regard the period we have studied with the more satisfaction when we remember that, compared with previous and subsequent years, it was upon the whole a time of peace.

Looking back over our story, we find that it has offered us a favourable opportunity for observing Queen Mary's character. She has told us much about herself, and we have seen her in many moods. Yet we have been able to look on quite unmoved, even at her distress, knowing that it was only due

¹ Elizabeth's letter (Appendix No. 11), though somewhat later in date, is inserted as a sample of her style. It is, I believe, the only *lettre intime* (addressed to Mary) belonging to this period which survives. It treats chiefly of the unhappy war which had just begun.

to a misapprehension. The Guises were not destined to be overthrown, the Valois would not turn Protestant, Lignerolles was not to be hanged.¹

But though her forebodings were not destined to come true, her fears were natural enough under her circumstances, being due to the rapid flight of bad news, while the counterbalancing good tidings travelled slowly. Her distress was genuine, but this only stimulates her resourcefulness and energy in devising plans to aid her friends.

It is true that these plans were girlish. The alliances she sought to establish were unstable, the neighbours whom she thought 'sure' were unreliable, the ministers whom she believed to be 'well-affected,' and 'serving her right well,' would be as faithless in the future as they had been in the past. Pellevé flattered her when he said that her letters were 'full of as much good and wise reasoning as the greatest king or a well-advised queen would have been able to make.'² She does not come before us here as prudent beyond her years, or as a martyr to principle, but as a spirited, resourceful, and courageous young lady. In religion she is faithful and broad-minded. To all approachable, sincere, kindly. She is laborious with her pen, earnest in her business. She understands and uses the language of diplomacy with perfect facility, and without affectation. While bandying compliments, she does not forget her dignity or the object she has in view.

But it is her burning, passionate loyalty to those she loves which eclipses all else. It is loyalty which overrules all other motives, which inspires her purpose, strengthens her against fatigue, and emboldens her to attempt what would have seemed impossible to a less generous soul. For who, that knows of the hatreds lately aroused by the wars of religion in France, would

¹ He was restored to favour; and in 1567 came to Scotland as ambassador. Not long afterwards, however, he was killed in a duel, Le Laboureur, *Mémoires de Castelneau* (1731), i. 776.

² *Papal Negotiations*, p. 447.

have thought of trying to make Throckmorton, the representative of the stiffest and sternest Protestant power, publicly embrace the great chief of the Guises in Paris? Mary conceived that idea, and at her word the enemies actually kissed, and spoke words of conciliation and friendliness. What though the vision of peace was momentary, and the progress of strife only checked for a passing hour! The woman who could accomplish so much as that has a claim, which can never be ignored, upon our admiration and esteem.

SECTION IX.—DIPLOMATIC

The handwriting of the document before us is so excellent, and careful, the corrections are so few, that it has hitherto been described (both in Mr. Dawson Turner's catalogue and by myself) as a letter proper or missive. Yet there can be no doubt that in 'diplomatic' it should be called a draft. It bears no date or signature or address or endorsement, neither has it been pierced for the fastening to go through it, nor is there any trace of a seal,¹ which are fairly sure indications that the letter was never despatched. Moreover, it is found to be derived from a Scottish source, made up of missives addressed to Scottish sovereigns, and drafts of letters from them, but containing no letter which had been sent from the Scottish to a foreign court, and which was destined to remain there.

The two letters from Mary Stuart which are printed in the Appendices illustrate the significance of these details. That from the Scottish source (originally) is a draft, and shows all the peculiarities of our manuscript (Appendix No. 5). The document from the Record Office printed in Appendix VII. shows signature, address, piercings, etc. etc., the characteristics of a letter properly so called.

¹ In my *Papal Negotiations* I had noticed these points, and described them as exceptional. I had not then realised that the paper had been derived from the Royal Scottish Chancery.

The handwriting is that which was then called 'Roman hand,'¹ to distinguish it from the every-day script of debased, gothic cursives, then sometimes called 'secretary hand,' and which we now sometimes call 'court hand.' Before our letter was despatched, the draft would have been fair copied in this 'secretary hand,' though to us it would have seemed far more difficult to read afterwards than before.

The entire absence of punctuation, dots and accents, is partly the fault of the penwoman, partly that of her age. Punctuation had not yet received the definite position it enjoys in our days. Even in books printed with the greatest care but few points and accents were then inserted, and those rather irregularly. Letter-writers frequently omitted such trifles altogether. Even in Mary's carefully written letter to Elizabeth (Appendix VII.) there is no sign of a stop. In other carefully written letters of hers, however, as in that reproduced in the *National Manuscripts of Scotland* (vol. iii., No. lxxv), there are a few of these minutiae, showing that the queen did not reject them on any principle.²

It is not unnatural that a draft should show signs of hasty writing. There are such signs, and they have a certain amount of interest, as has been shown above (pp. liii, liv).

Several characteristics in Mary's spelling may be noticed,

¹ But our printers now use the name 'Italic' for this shape of letter, and the name 'Roman' for ordinary print, such as that in this note. The small characters are an imitation of a mediæval alphabet called in paleography 'caroline minuscules.'

² In our photographic reproduction the minute holes in the paper, and the marks caused by scratches, dirt, or rubbing, look somewhat like points made with the pen. When I inspected the original manuscript I noted that *i* was dotted in 'Paris' (twice over), 'pais' and 'puis,' also the second *i* in *issi*. There might have been one full stop. Final *e* seems sometimes to be accentuated, especially in the fair written letter, Appendix VII.; but I believe this only comes from writing *e* in two strokes instead of one. *U* is more than once either dotted or accentuated (*û* and *û*).

though of course they are not peculiar to her in the sense of not being found elsewhere:—

I. CHARACTERISTICS UNIVERSALLY OBSERVED—

- (a) *votre, notre*—not *vostre, nostre*.
- (b) *aeques*—not *aecques*.
- (c) *poine*—not *peine*.
- (d) *-ois, -oit, -oient*—not *-ais, -ait, -aient*, for imperfects, etc., of verbs. But futures, *j'aurays* (i. 19), *dirays*, *fairays* (ii. 6, 7), and *osay* (viii. 13).
- (e) *i*—not *j* or *J*.
- (f) *tieuls, seuls, deus, mieuls*—not *telles, ceux* (or *seulx*), *deux, mieux* (or *miculx*).
- (g) *z*, never used, nor *ç*.
- (h) *ê*—not *et*.
- (i) *u* and *v*. When initial always *v*, when not initial always *u*.
- (j) *sch*—not *ch*.
- (k) *se, sette*, etc.—not *ce, cette*, etc.
(There are, however, a few exceptions to the last two rules.)

II. CHARACTERISTICS COMMONLY BUT NOT UNIVERSALLY OBSERVED—

- (a) *am*, and *an*, for *em*, and *en*:—
thus, *tamps, randre, samble, pretandre, mantir, vraisamblable, an, fidelemant, anemi, rebrandre*,
but *en* is also frequent:—
thus, *attendre, entendre, repentir, commandement*.
- (b) Double letters reduced to single letters:—*ss* and *rr* are generally reduced to *s* and *r*; but *ll* generally remains:—
thus, *asurance, angletere, ambassadeur, puisance, persone, ele, ofice*;
but also, *lettres, vallent, issi, alliance*, etc.
- (c) Though soft *c* is generally changed to *s*, yet after *n* the contrary takes place, and *s* goes into *c*:—
thus, *pancer, responce, creance*;
but also, *commense*.

- (d) *n* after *n* becomes *eu*, as *conneu*.
- (e) A characteristic weakness may be noted in the use of *gn*: a second *n* is often placed before it:—
thus, *Allemangne*, *moingns*, *congneu*.
- (f) *n* not *m* before *p*:—*inpossible*, *inportuner*, *inployer*
(*inprimer*, *enpescher*, in Appendix v).
- (g) *l* inserted:—*doulte*, *peult*, *fault*.
- (h) Capitals are used to commence pages four times. They are *almost always* used for those who were in Mary's eyes kings and queens *par excellence*,—*i.e.* for the *Roy* and *Royne* of France. The *Queen* of England is *generally* honoured by a capital. The *Noblesse* are thus distinguished once. Otherwise the capitals are *never* used,—not even for *dieu*.

The letter covers four double sheets (*i.e.* eight folios or sixteen pages), the last two pages being blank. Each double sheet bears as watermark two gothic E's back to back, under a crown, which is surmounted by a quatrefoil, a French mark, I believe. The manuscript is now at Halkshill, beautifully bound in red morocco, and lettered on the back, 'Autograph Letter of Mary, Queen of Scots.'

A study of the characteristic features of this interesting letter is sure to suggest the question, What may be the bearing of these conclusions on the chief unsolved question of Mary's life,—the disputed authenticity of the Casket Letters? Unfortunately the original manuscripts of these are wholly wanting, but scholars have of late years found that certain French texts (extant only for Letters III., IV., V., VIII., and the sonnets), may be called 'original French,' *i.e.* they are directly descended from the texts shown during the conferences of Hampton Court. But a comparison of these texts with the tables of characteristic spellings found in this autograph will at once prove that these so-called 'original' letters are not *literatim* Mary's composition.

Are we, therefore, on this ground to call them forgeries? Certainly one would, if the printed copies had been made in recent times. In modern trials the test of spelling is constantly applied, when it is necessary to make sure of the authenticity of a document. But with those uncritical days the case is different. Scribes wrote their own script and kept to their own peculiar abbreviations and spellings quite mechanically. Amongst the Mary Stuart papers seized just before her trial, and now at the Record Office, there are a few examples of her autograph drafts, and at their side are now bound up the secretarial fair copies. The latter are made without the least consideration of her characteristic spellings. Instances might be quoted of letters in English officially registered in Scottish at Edinburgh, and *vice versa*, of Scottish letters copied mechanically into English at London.

No conclusion, therefore, can yet be drawn from these premises regarding the authenticity of the letters, not even in the case of No. vi. at Hatfield, where the copy has been corrected with some minuteness.¹

With regard to the sonnets, it is harder to come to a conclusion. They are not in Mary's spelling, and in the first verse we find these rhymes, 'certane,' 'vain,' 'peine,' 'incertane' (feminine). Now Mary always wrote 'poine,' not 'peine,' and as spelling presumably followed pronunciation, the presumption is that Mary could not have made the rhymes in question. This, however, is after all only a small point, and I do not as yet see that any other rhyme would be affected.

The prevalence of forgery at this period is indicated in Mary's words, *Les gens de bien sont bien souvant en poine pour fausetés* (ms. p. viii, cf. above, p. xxv).

¹ In my *Papal Negotiations* (p. 525), I did not feel at all sure upon this point, but further study of the Mary Stuart papers at the Record Office has removed all doubt. A facsimile of this Hatfield paper was published by Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove.

Mr. Andrew Lang, in his *Mystery of Mary Stuart*, 1902, p. 421, had the happy thought of employing an 'expert' to copy a part of one of the Casket Letters in an imitation of Mary's hand. No doubt it proves what it was meant to prove. There is no antecedent impossibility in forging Mary's writing. His expert, however, took as his model Mary's later writing, when her strength was breaking down under stress of sickness, and the ceaseless miseries of her captivity. The strokes are very different from the graceful, flowing, girlish curves of the letters now before us.

Suppose, however, that the imitation had been irreproachable in this respect, we should still have been able to detect the unauthenticity of the letter by the peculiarities of spelling tabulated above. Though the expert has paid attention to this point, and made, while copying ninety-three words, no less than twenty-four alterations (counting all dots and stops), and all in the right direction, yet not a few of Mary's pet spellings are disregarded. For instance, we find *vottre* (for *votre*), *d'un* (for *dun*), *celuy* (for *seluy*), *accuserai* (for *accuserays*), besides double letters where she preferred singles, and other suspiciously correct orthography. If the letter had reached a thousand words, or had contained some words over which the queen was wont to stumble, the test would presumably have been applicable with much greater clearness.

It remains for me to express my thanks to my *confrère*, Father Patrick Ryan, S.J., whose aid in the work of collation has been invaluable. To Miss Scott I am obliged for assistance and information which I could hardly have obtained from others. Nor can I omit to record my grateful appreciation of the many acts of kindness which Dr. T. G. Law, Secretary of the Society, has shown me both during the production of this volume and at other times. I would also compliment Mr. W. B. Blaikie, and the members of

Messrs. Constables' staff, on the success with which they have dealt with the peculiar and not inconsiderable difficulties involved in the production of a volume like this. Their skill and resource have overcome all obstacles so well, that any one, even though not previously acquainted with sixteenth century manuscripts, can now trace back to Mary's original any phrase or peculiarity in her style, any detail or irregularity in her handwriting, and do so easily and with pleasure.

J. H. POLLEN, S.J.

31 FARM STREET, LONDON, W.

November 1903.

QUEEN MARY'S LETTER
TO
THE DUKE OF GUISE

NOTE

THE following pages give an exact typographical reproduction of Queen Mary's autograph. Page corresponds with page and line with line. The use of italics gives, with great exactness, the forms of letters which Mary employed, showing, for instance, her use of long and short s. The general rule was, long s (*f*) at the commencement of words, short s (*s*) in the middle and at the end. But when a prefix has been placed before a word commencing with s, the long *f* is retained.

The queen's disregard of punctuation, capitals, apostrophes, and accents has also been imitated; but the words have been divided by the spaces which would have been used if punctuation and apostrophes had been inserted.

The sign † signifies a very small correction. These generally consist of the first letter of a word, which word the writer then discarded in order to change the structure of her sentence.

QUEEN MARY'S LETTER

TRANSLATION

Connection of this letter with previous correspondence.

MY UNCLE,—According to what I previously informed you by St. Colme that I meant to do, I have already sent to summon a large part of the nobility and of the Church, in order to prevent disturbance arising over the goods of the Church; [and as] I had intended to send you the whole discourse of what took place, this kept me from informing you sooner about things, for the sake of which it seemed to me necessary to despatch this bearer, Montignac, to you, and he also has since been a little delayed by a slight sickness. When starting I instructed him at good length, in order to report to you how well all things go here. [As] I found him well affected to your faithful service and to mine also, this made me rather wait, and write to you by him, in order to be able to send all freely.

Montignac's instructions.

Plans for Le Croc.

I am keeping Le Croc, in order (according as I shall have news of you by St. Colme) to use him when necessary in something important for your service, in which I wish to employ not only all that is in my power but myself.

AUTOGRAPH, page 1

Mon oncle ayant enuoie querir sellon se que desia par
St cosme ie vous auois aduertir que ie delliberoyz faire
vne grande partie de la Noblesse & de l'esglise pour
empescher que a cause des bien de l'esglise il ne
vint quelque broullerie ie auoyz dellibere vous
anuoier tout le discours de se qui si passeroit
qui me guarda de vous aduertir plustost
des choses pour lesquelles il m'a samble
necesaire vous despecher montignac present
porteur lequel a este retarde aussi depuis
d'une petite maladie car ~~ie~~ j'en allant ie
lay instruit † bien au long pour vous
randre conte comme toutes choses sont bien
issi ie lay conneu fort affectione a vous faire
seruice & a moy aussi fidellement qui m'a
fait plustost attendre a vous ecrire par
luy pour vous pouuoir librement tout
mander & sellon que par st cosme ie
aurays de vos nouuelles ie garde le
croc pour sil est besoign l'emploier a quelque
chose d'importance pour votre service au
quel ie veuls non seulement emploier
tout ce qui est en ma puissance mays moy

QUEEN MARY'S LETTER

TRANSLATION

The writer's head is full of her purpose in writing.

As I should rather have the means of proving this by deed than by letter, I shall beware of occupying you with fair words, but rather—for my head is full of the reasons for writing, not of the desire of talking, and I am sure that time will make known to you my good intentions well enough—I will make you my discourse without treating you any longer as a stranger.

She has received distressing news.

I will tell you then of the distress in which I am, because of the reports current here. Although they are not true, it seems to me that I ought to make it my duty to inform you of them, and to offer you all I can to serve you herein, both by myself and by my neighbours, who show themselves more trusty friends than I had dared to hope. You will see what you may look for, and what help you may like to accept, both from the discourse which I shall make you about it, and by the duplicate letters which I am sending you.

The Duke of Orleans's confession.

First, I have received a confession, which they say Monsieur made about Monsieur de Nemours, and which I send you. I obtained it from Lethington, who had it from England, with

AUTOGRAPH, page ii

comme ie desireroys plus auoir le moien vous
 tesmoigner par effect que par escrit qui me
 gardera vous vser de belles parolles may
 pour auoir plus la cause de ma despesche en
 la teste que d'auie de haranguer m'asurant
 que le tamps vous fera asses connoitre ma
 bonne volonte ^{ie vous fairays le discours} ~~ou~~ ~~donques~~ sans plus vser en estrang
 ere ie vous dirays ~~que~~ la poine en quoi ie
 suis pour les bruits qui courent issi les
 quels encores qu'ils ne soient vrais me
 samble meriter que ie me mete en deuoir
 de vous en aduertir & ofrir tout ce que
 ie puis pour vous i seruir & de moy & de
 mes voisins qui se montrent plus asures
 amis que ie n'eusse ose esperer vous voires se
 que en pourres pretandre & de quoy vous
 vuelles ayder tant par le discours que ie vous
 en fairays que par les doubles que ie vous
 enuoie premierement ie reseus vne confession que
 l'on disoit que monsieur auoit faite de monsieur de
 nemours que ie vous enuoie ie la recourris de †
 ledinthon quil l'auoit eue d'angleterre aueques

TRANSLATION

The arrival of de Foix, his compliments.

the news that the Sieur de Foix was to come here as ambassador from the king, the queen, and the King of Navarre. This came to pass two days later. He brought me the letters, of which I send you the copies. There is not much in them. He said to me [when explaining his] credentials, that he was come, with the charge on their part of visiting me, of offering me [the support of] all their forces if I had any need of them, and of begging me to continue the ancient alliance between the two countries. I answered them as handsomely as I could, making similar offers.

De Foix's account of Nemours.

Afterwards he said to me that he was charged to tell me how Monsieur de Nemours, a subject of the king's, and greatly bounden to him, had so far forgotten his duty as to wish to abduct Monsieur. That much credit was given to this, because Monsieur had told the story three times before the Council without changing anything, and making the circumstances quite clear to understand. Moreover, that it was not probable that a child would tell lies in such things to its mother. Nevertheless, the queen would not give credence to it too

AUTOGRAPH, page iii

*l'aduertissement que le sieur de foyx deuoit venir
issi ambassadeur de par le Roy la Royne & le roy
de nauuarre † se qui aduint deus iours
apres lequel m'aporta des lettres diseuls ie vous
en enuoie les doubles il ni a pas grand cas
il me dit pour la creance qu'il estoit
venu ayant charge de me visiter de leur
part & m'offrir toute leur puissance si en
quelque chose i'en auoys besoyn me priant
continuer l'ansiene alliance entre ses deus
pais ie les remerciay le plus honestement
que ie peus aueques samblables ofres apres
il me dit que il auoit charge de me dire
comme monsieur de nemours estant susget du
Roy & tant oblige s'estois oblie iusques a
ca dauoir † voulu enmener monsieur & que
l'on i'adioustoit grand foy l'ayant raconte
monsieur troys fois d'auant le conseil sans
rien changer & si bien donant a entendre
les sirconstances & puis qu'il estoit vrai-
samblable que vn enfant ne mantiroit
de tieulles choses a sa mere & que neanmoin
la Royne ni voullant adiouster foi trop*

TRANSLATION

De Foix's innuendo, soon, but had ordered Monsieur de Nemours to come to clear himself, which he had not done, but on the contrary had fled, furnishing a somewhat evident proof that the story was true. That nevertheless she had written to him yet once again. That he [the Sieur de Foix] did not know what would come of it, but in fine they were all sure, the queen above all, that I should take my share in their good and bad fortunes, and [therefore] had ordered him to inform me of everything in private.

Mary's answer.

I said to him that it wounded me very sore that the queen should be in such trouble, though I believed it had no great foundation [in fact]. I could not persuade myself that Monsieur de Nemours, whom I ever knew so faithful to the king and to herself, would so far forget himself. Moreover, there was little chance that he would be able to execute [the plan], even if his will had been [as described]. I thought he would clear himself of it. I was very grieved, because I was so nearly related to the Duchess of Savoy and to her husband.

AUTOGRAPH, page iv

soudain mais auoyt enuoie lui faire commendement
 de *san* venir descharger se que n aiant fait mais
 au contrere *sen* estan fui faisoit plus aparante
 demonstration qu il estoit vray & que non
 obstant elle lui auoit encores escrit vne
 fois qu il ne sauoit se qu il en fairoit mais
 pour fin l'assurance que ils auoient & sur
 tous la Royne que ie vouldrois resentir ma
 part de ~~mes~~^{ses} bonnes & mauaises fortunes
 lui auoit fait comander de m aduertir
 priuement de tout ie lui dis que ie estoys
 bien fort marrie que la Royne feut en
 tieulle poine que ie croioys n auoir grand
 fondement ne me pouuant persuader que
 monsieur de nemours que ie tousiours congneu
 si fidelle au roys & a Elle voulut se tant
 oblir & puis qu il y auoit peu desperance
 qu il le peut faire quant la volonte i seroit
 & que ie pansois qu il *san* eclarsiroyt & que
 i en estois bien marrie pour etre si prosche
 de madame de sauoie & son mari lesquels ie

TRANSLATION

Mary's diplomacy. They, I thought, would feel very unhappy about it. [M. de Nemours] too had ever been the friend of those who belonged to me, and I begged him to tell me news about them, and how they stood with the queen. I asked him this expressly, in order to see whether he would speak according to the confession.

Worse news comes out.

He told me that they were no longer at court, but that they were to return very soon, and had parted the best friends in the world with all the [royal] company, setting meanwhile the best face on the matter. I asked him first where they wanted to conduct Monsieur. He said he did not know. Some said to Paris, others said to Savoy, and to Lorraine, but only few said the last.

Mary's tears. 'Le dépit me surmonta.'

I could not keep from crying, and said that as for Paris, that was too impossible to be believed, but well did I know that Lorraine had been spoken of. That I hoped it would become known that those framers of wrangles there should be known as miscreants and liars, and they as good and wise men, who had done for the service

AUTOGRAPH, page v

panfois en resevoir grand ennui & aussi pour
se que il auoit tousiours este ami de seuls
qui mapertenoient des quels ie lui prie me
dire des nouvelles & comme ils estoient
auegues la Royne ie lui demandis expres
pour voir si il m'en diroit suiuant la confession
il me dit que ils n'estoient plus a la court
mays que ils y deuoient reuenir bien tost
estant partis le mieuls du monde auegues
toute la compagnie sentrefaisant la meilleure
mine ie lui demandis premier ou lon vouloit
mener monseur il me dit qu'il ne sauoit & que
lon disoit a paris les autres en sauoie &
en lorene mays peu disoient le dernier ie
ne me seus garder de pleurer & lui dis que
quant a paris que sella estoit trop impossible
a persuader mays que de lorraine ie sauois
bien qu'il en auoit este parle & que i esperoy
que lon conoitroit que ses dresseurs de
querelles la seroient coneus pour meschants
& manteurs & euls pour gens de bien &
sens qui auoient fait pour le seruice

TRANSLATION

The Guises have done what none else can boast of.

of the king what no other house, be it what it might, durst boast of. That [the court], and the realm also, had so many clear signs of their fidelity, that if they wished to cast doubt on it, this very thing would make people think that their services had soon been consigned to oblivion, and that evil was befalling them instead of good, because they had ever been intent on that [service] only. If this should happen, I for my part should never have joy [again], having lost all, all that I held dear in this world except only them. It was easy to make a child say what one would.

De Foix's explanations and excuses.

He said to me immediately, 'And whom would you suspect?' I said to him, 'No one; but whoever they are, they are good-for-nothings.' He said to me, 'You don't suspect Carnavallet, or his master? You know that they are honest servants of the King of Navarre. He is on very good terms with them.' I said to him, 'I would not think that he is such a rogue, and should feel it too painful, being so nigh to him.' He said it hurt him to have brought me news

AUTOGRAPH, page vi

*Du Roy se que autre mayson quelle qu'elle
soit n'oseroit se vanter & que ils auoient
tant de aparentes merques & le roiaulme
aussi de leur fidellite que si l'on la vouloit
mettre en doute s'ella feroit panser que
leur seruice auroit este bientost mis en
obli & que pour n'auoir eues guard
que a s'ella il leur en viendroit mal au
lieu de bien & que si s'ella estoit ie n'aurois
iamays ioie pour ma part ayant tout perdu
tout se que i'auois de cher en se monde fors
qu'euls & que il estoit ayse de faire
dire a vn enfant se que l'on vouloit il
me dit incontinent & qui soupçonneries
vous ie lui dis persone mais qui que se
soit ils ne vallent rien il me dit ~~que~~
vous ne soupçonnes pas carnauallet ni son maître
vous saues qu'ils sont honestes gens du
Roy de nauarre il est fort bien aueques
euls ie lui dis ie ne veuls panser qu'il soit
si meschant & en aurois trop de regret
pour lui estre si prosche il me dit qu'il
estoit marri de m'auoir aporte nouvelles*

TRANSLATION

Mary's last word. that troubled me, and that I ought not to take it so, for my uncles were in no wise implicated, at least as far as he heard, and that he had only told me what he was commissioned. I told him that in truth I had heard fuller news from elsewhere. He said that Monsieur le Cardinal had means enough and secretaries too. I told him I assured him that I knew nothing from thence, but that one of my people had sent me the confession itself. He took to laughing, and said that, if I liked, he would show me his instructions, wherein there was nothing further. I refused, saying that I believed that the queen had too much sense to believe anything against them. Having had such proofs of them, she would thereby put herself too much in the wrong. As for myself, if I did not think that it would rather injure than aid you (as throwing doubt on what ought to be believed about you without a surety), I would answer for the whole of our house.

I send you the copy of what I wrote to him on

AUTOGRAPH, page vii

qui me troublassent & que ie ne deuois le
 prandre aynsin¹ car mes oncles ni estoïët en
 rien broulles au moigns qu'il sent & qu'il
 m'auoit dit ce qu'il auoit en comifson
 ie lui dis que sans mantir i en auois oui
 d'ailleurs plus amples nouvelles il me dit
 que monsieur le cardinal auoit asses de
 moien & aueques les secretaires ie lui dis
 que ie lui asurois que ie n'en sauois rien
 de la mays que vn de mes gens m'auoit
 enuoie la propre confession il se prit a rire
 & me dit qu'il me montreroit ses
 instructions si ie voulois la ou il ni auoit
 autre chose ie ne le voulus disant que
 ie croiois que la Royne auoit trop de iusgëent
 pour croire rien deuls les auant tant esproues
 & que elle se fairoit trop de tort & que
 de moy si ie ne vous pansois plus nuire que
 seruir en mestant en doulte se que il se
 deuoit croire de vous sans respondant que
 ie respondrois pour toute notre mayson
 ie vous enuoie le double de se que ie lui en

¹ 'Ainsin, as Ainsin—[Dialect] Parisien.'—*A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues*, compiled by Randle Cotgrave, London, 1632, sig. Di.

TRANSLATION

Still worse news
transpires.

this subject. If I have done amiss, pardon me, but anger overcame me because of the rumours I had heard. Even after this he himself said to a Scotsman that the letters which [you] sent into Germany could be found, which, it is said, had been sent back to the queen by those to whom [you] wrote them. [He] said that you were also deeply implicated in the affair of Nemours, but that notice would not be taken of it till two years hence, owing to the affairs [of the kingdom] and the want of money, but that then they would be quits, and neither kings nor empires should make them afraid of speaking. I did not dare take notice of it¹ to him, but I wish to warn you. Since then I have been told that Lignerolles will be hanged, and that you were summoned on the 15th of this month. That grieves me. I should not like them to impose one [*i.e.*, a letter] on you, for honest folk are very often in trouble through forgeries.

This has caused me to send you this bearer with the copies of the letters which the Queen

¹ 'Faire semblant de,' *to take notice or be sensible of*, Cotgrave, sig. C cccv.

AUTOGRAPH, page viii

ay escrit sur se propos si ie mal fait pardones
 moy mays le despit me surmonta pour le
 bruit que i auois eu & mesmes depuis lui
 mesmes a dit a vn escosois que lon sauoit troue
 des lettres qu escriuies en allemangne les
 quelles il dit auoir este ranuoies a la Royne de
 par ~~luy~~ seuls a qui les escriuies disant que
 esties aussi bien brouille en ^{de nemours} jessi mays que lon
 nen fairoit samblant que dissis a deus ans pour
 les affaires & faulte dargent mays que a feste
 heure la ils seroient quites & que ils ne
 craindroit roys ni empires pour en parler
 ie ne lui en osay faire samblant mays ie panse
 vous en aduertir e puis lon ma mande que
 lignerolles sera pandu & que lon vous a mande
 au quinsieme de se moys sella me fasche ie
 neouldroyz que lon voulut vous en
 prester vne car les gens de bien sont
 bien souuant en poine pour fausetes qui
 ma fait vous enuoier se porteur aueques
 les double des lettres que sur sella la Royne

TRANSLATION

Queen Elizabeth's offer.

of England and I have interchanged on this subject. She shows herself very heartily desirous of my friendship. Lethington also sends you copies of the letters he has had from Cecil, and I send another of his, in which she makes the offer of the favour of her ambassador, and not knowing whether [you] would have need thereof, I would not refuse. No harm can come of it to you for my sake ; but to serve you, this is my object, according to the obligations under which I lie. You will see the double of what I write to her by this bearer, and will learn from him of her answer.

The utility of Mary's plan.

If you have no use for it, you will only have to give her honourable thanks, showing that you feel yourself obliged at it, for she is desirous of your friendship as far as I can discover. If it seems to you that it may be of service to you, accept it, as being done by me and at my request. I think that they cannot but thank you, if [through] my favour you have friends whom the others have so much sought for.

Even now at this [hour]

AUTOGRAPH, page ix

D'angleterre & moy nous sommes entrecrites sur se propos elle se montre bien fort desireuse de mon amitie ledinthon vous enuoie aussi le double des lettres qu'il a eues de sifille & moy vne autre de lui la ou elle me fait ofrir la faueur de son embasadeur laquelle ne faschant si en aures besoign ie ne veuls refuser il ne vous en peut venir mal pour moy mays que ie vous serue fest mon beut suiuiant l'obligation que i en ay vous voires le double † de se que ie lui ecriis par se porteur & saures par lui sa responce si vous n'aues affaire vous n'aures qu'a lui en faire vn honeste remerismant lui montrant que vous en santes oblisge car elle a enuie d'auoir votre amit a se que ie me puis aperseuoir si vous samble aussi qu'il vous puise seruir acceptes le comme estant fait par moy & a ma requeste car ie pance que lon ne vous sauroit sauoir maues gre si en ma faueur vous aues des amis que les autres ont tant rescher†che mesmes encores a feste [heure]¹

¹ This word seems required by the sense, and was probably omitted while turning the leaf.

TRANSLATION

What Mary is doing I write letters of credence to all three [the King to assist the Guises. of France, the Queen Mother, the King of Navarre]. You will see them and will do as seems good to you. This bearer will communicate his credentials according to what you shall instruct him, and will speak the language which you shall like. If you have need of him, for God's sake make use of him and of her also, for I much wish that people should know that I, and such friends as I may have, will go bail for you, and take the side that seems good to you. If they do you wrong, it is for me the same as done to myself. You can think how the others will be astonished if they see us, the Queen of England and me, [getting on] so well, that she desires her ambassador to serve you as you appoint him.

De Foix attacks the English alliance. Sieur de Foix one day in conversation (for he came in private once a day without giving notice) attacked me [about this, saying] that peace could never be so secure between neighbours so close as she and I, as between me and the King of France. For to say nothing of our old alliance, he could never have an interest

AUTOGRAPH, page x

ie ecris des lettres de creance a tous troy
vous les voires & en faires comme bon vous
samblera se porteur dira sa creance sellon que
l'instruies & parlera quel lagasge que vouldres
si en aues besoign pour dieu serues vous en
& d'elle aussi car ie veuls bien que lon fasche
que moy & se que ie pourays auoir d amis
~~ne~~ respondrons pour † vous & prandrons le
parti que bon vous samblera car si lon vous
fait tort se m'est autant qu'a moy vous
pouues pancer que les autres seront estones
si nous voient si bien la royne d'angletere
& moy qu'elle veuille que son ampasadeur
vous serue comme l'emploies le sieur de fois
vn iour parlant a moy car il venoit priuement
vne fois le iour sans aduertir m'en dona des
ataques & que la paix ne seroit iamays si
sertaine entre deus si prosches qu'elle &
moy comme entre le roy & moy car oultre
l'ansiene allience il ne pouuoit auoir profit

TRANSLATION

Mary defends the
English alliance.

in making war on me. De Foix said to me plainly that I ought not to forget France for England, my ancient enemy. He told Le Croc that if I did I would repent it.

I strongly assured him that I would not do so, but that I desired to maintain her friendship as securely as I could, seeing that the king and she were at peace. That she sought to win me by the numerous good offices which she did me, and that the queen [mother] herself had counselled me this, saying that she had no means of doing anything for me at this time. This alliance too would in no wise injure that one, which I held to be the better for so many reasons. Also that all, who were my relatives, solicited me much for it, and they were the council from whom I received most. In truth I do not oblige myself any way. You will see, from what passed between us, that it proceeds rather

AUTOGRAPH, page xi

de me faire la guerre & me dit plainement
que ie ne deuois oblir la france pour l'anglete
re me enfiens anemis & dit au croc que si
ie le faisois ie m'en repentiroys ie lui asure
bien qu'assi ne fairois ie mays que ie auroys
son amitie la plus seure que ie pouois voiant
le roy & elle en paix & que elle m'en
recherchoit par tant de bons ofises qu'elle
faisoit vers moy & que la royne mesme me
l'auoit conseille me disant qu'elle nauoit
moien de rien faire pour moy a feste heure
mays que se ne seroit pas pour rien nuire
a celle que ie tenois pour tant de raisons
meilleure & mesmes que tous mes parents
qui il estoient m'en solifitoit trop qui estoit
† seuls du conseil desquels ie refois le plus
& de vray ie ne m'osblisge en rien vous
voire par se qui est entre nous qu'il

TRANSLATION

The state of negotiations with Elizabeth.

from goodwill than anything else. As for what has been commenced herein, you will have the copy of that which she has written to me about it and of my answer. I shall do nothing to break off [the negotiation] unless some one [attacks] that which concerns me. If that should be, I should take pains (according to what you should commission me) to make complaint, and to show that I am not of so evil a nature as to endure wrong being done to the house of which I am a member, and that I should [?] make it my duty to say clearly how that would aggrieve me. If those whom you know are not cautious, it will at least only lie with you, that they do not lose (if my power serves) one of their finest feathers. For if they have made use of England in secret and for a bad purpose, they will not know what to reprehend, if you accept the offer of favouring yourself publicly and with good reason, in the favour of those who owe it, as I do.¹

¹ The meaning can only be explained by a paraphrase: 'The Bourbons and the rest have made use of England in secret and for evil purposes, therefore *they* will not be able to find fault with *you*, if you accept my offer of receiving in public the tokens of English friendship. They are in reason due to you, for they are due to those, who, like myself, are your debtors.'

AUTOGRAPH, page xii

vient plus de bonne volonte que d'autre chose
quant a se que i estoit commense vous aures
le double de se quelle man a escrit & de ma
responce ie ne faires rien pour la rompre si
on ne se vouloit prandre a se qui me tousche
& si sella estoit ie maitroys poine sellon se
que man manderes de m en plaindre
& montrer que ie ne suis de si mauese nature
que de souffrir faire tort a la maison dont
ie suis que ie ne me misse en deuoir de
declarer combien il me seroit grief pour
le mongns si seuls que saues ne se guardent
il ne tiendra qu a vous ~~que~~ si ie puis qu il
ne perdent vne de leur plus belles plumes
car si ils se sont seruis d'angletere en secret
& pour mauuesse cause ils ne sauroient
que reprendre si vous reseues l'ofre de vous
fauoriser publiquement aueques rayson en
la faueur de seuls qui le doiuent comme moy

QUEEN MARY'S LETTER

TRANSLATION

You will make use of it as shall seem good to you, and you will make use of this bearer, who, I am sure, will discharge your commands faithfully.

Prosperous state of
affairs in Scotland.

He will recount to you at length all the affairs of this country, for it is no longer anything to me, when I hear talk of what touches you.¹ At least, whatever difficulty there is about religion, they conform in other things to that which I desire. Above all my brother the Prior and Lethington show themselves well affected, even to all that touches you. Knowing how dear you are to me, they do not fail to inform me of all that they hear which can be of service to you, and have even advised me to send you this despatch. You will send it, that is after you have read it, to M. the Cardinal, for I hurry this bearer in order that he may if possible accompany you to court and serve you on my part. If I could do better, I would not spare. Lethington writes to you about my affairs. I [pray]

¹ *i.e.* When preoccupied about you, I can talk of nothing else.

AUTOGRAPH, page xiii

*Vous en userez comme bon vous samblera & fairez
 usere a se porteur que ie masure fera fidele-
 mant vos commandements il vous contera
 bien au long toutes les choses de se pais car
 se ^{ne} m'est plus rien quant ie † oui parler de
 se qui vous touschee pour le moigns quelque
 difficulte qu'il i est pour la religion ils se
 conforment au reste a se que ie veuls &
 sur tout mon frere le prieur & ledinton
 se montrent affectiones & a tout ce qui vous
 tousche saschant combien vous m'estes Chers ils
 ne faillent de maduertir de tout se qu'il
 entendent qui vous peult servir &
 mesmes mont conseille de vous faire feste
 despesche vous † lanvoires mes que laies
 veue a monsieur le cardinal car ie haste
 se porteur pour sil peut vous acompaigner
 a la court & vous servir sil peult de ma
 part si ie pouvois mieuls ie ne l'espargneroy
 ledinthon vous escrit de mes affaires ie vous [prie]¹*

¹ This word seems required by the sense, and was probably omitted while turning the page. At the same time Mary also missed p. xiv (a *verso* page), and wrote on the top of p. xv 'lui montre.' But before she had completed the word, she noticed her mistake and went back to p. xiv.

QUEEN MARY'S LETTER

TRANSLATION

you to show him by your letters that [this] pleases you, for he serves me right well, and I beg you to send me your news, as I am *Her desire of news.* very anxious for it, and [hear nothing] except through the Queen of England. [They] are the only persons who have news. My letter is so long that in order not to importune you I leave what remains to the trustworthiness of this bearer, whom you will trust as you would myself. And here I offer you my very humble commendations to your good favour, praying God to grant you, my dear uncle, health and a long and happy life.

Morette's mission. Monsieur and Madame of Savoy have sent me Morette to visit me. His despatch would be too long to copy, seeing how suddenly this bearer is sent off, and hereafter, according to the news I shall receive from you, I will send you Le Croc, who will tell you all at greater length, for I hide nothing from him.

AUTOGRAPH, page xiv

lui montrer l'auoir agreable par vos lettres car il me sert fort bien & vous suplie me mander de vos nouuelles car i en suis en grande poine & m'en sois¹ que par du royne d'angleteere ons seuls qui ~~en~~ ont de nouuelles ma lettre est si longue que pour ne vous inportuner ie remets ce qui me reste sur la sufisance de se porteur que vous croyres comme moy & en fest endroit ie vous presanterays mes bien humbles recoñmãdations a votre bonne grace priant dieu qu'il vous doint mon oncle en sante tres heureuse & longue vie monsieur & madame de sauoie m'ont enuoie morete me visiter sa despesche seroit trop longue a ecrire veu la despesche de se porteur si soudaine & puis fellon les nouuelles que ie aures de vous ie vous enuoirs le croc qui vous contera tout plus amplement car ie ne lui selle rien

¹ m'en sois for n'en sais.

LIST OF ENCLOSURES SENT WITH THE LETTER

A

MS. p. i. *Tout le discours de se qui s'i passeroit.*

The full report of what passed at the General Convention of December 15 to 21, 1561. This appears to be now lost, but we still have an official notice in the *Privy Council Registers*, ed. Hill Burton, i. 192; also in Keith, *History*, iii. 360-364.

B

MS. p. ii. *Vne confession . . . que monsieur [le duc d'Orleans] auoit faite de monsieur de nemours.*

The Duc d'Orleans's deposition is printed below, Appendix No. 3, both in the original hitherto unpublished form, and also in the published form, which is very different from the original. It was the latter which came to Mary's hands.

C, D, E

MS. p. iii. *Le sieur de foix . . . ambassadeur de par le Roy la Royne & le roy de nauuarre . . . m'aporta des lettres diseuls ie vous en enuoie les doubles il ni a pas grand cas.*

The letters of introduction from Charles ix., Catherine de Medici, and Francis of Navarre They seem to be lost. They would have been dated about the 6th of December 1561.

F

MS. p. vii. *Ie vous enuoie le double de se que ie lui en ay escrit sur se propos.*

Mary's written response to de Foix's representations on the alleged abduction plot—appears to be lost.

G to L

MS. pp. viii, ix. [*Bad news of the Guises, etc.*] *qui m a fait vous enuoier se porteur aueques [G, H] les double des lettres que sur sella la Royne D angleterre & moy nous sommes entrecrites sur se propos . . . ledinthon vous enuoie aussi [I, J] le double des lettres qu il a eues de fille & moy [K] vne autre de lui la ou elle me fait ofrir la faueur de son embassadeur . . . vous voires [L] le double de se que ie lui ecris par se porteur & saures par lui sa responce.*

The enclosures here alluded to are vaguely described and only few of them can be identified.¹

G. Mary to Elizabeth (December 7). *Infra*, Appendix No. 4.

H. Elizabeth to Mary (autograph), December 21 (mentioned, Bain, No. 1058). Now lost.

I. Cecil to Lethington, November 10 (see above, p. xxx). Lost.

J. Same to Same (perhaps that answered on December 31, Bain, No. 1054). Lost.

K. Cecil to Mary, December 21 (mentioned, Bain, No. 1058, and in Appendix No. 7). Lost.

L. Mary to Elizabeth (autograph), 4 January 1562. *Infra*, Appendix No. 7.

M, N, O

MS. p. x. *Je ecris des lettres de creance a tous troys, vous les voires.*

Montignac's letters of credence to the King of France, the Queen Mother, the King of Navarre, appear to be lost.

¹ Randolph's letter of the 2nd of January 1562 gives some particulars of lost letters *H, J, K*.

'On the 28th I received your letters of 21st December [probably *H, J, K* above] and next day delivered to this queen *the letters therein addressed to her Grace* [probably *H* and *K*], and whatever she found, she gave in the tyme of the redinge sufficient occasion for all that stood about her to think she was well enough pleased with the contents. She has herself answered *the Queen's Majesty's letter [H] also your honour's [K]*. She was well enough pleased to see Monsieur Linnerol's confession.

' . . . As you commanded, I desired this queen not to look always for the Queen's Majesty's letters in that hand, but sometimes in another more familiar to her, or less paynefully to wryte.' [The meaning appears to be that Mary was not to expect frequent autograph letters in French, but sometimes letters in English, and sometimes those which were only signed by Elizabeth.]—Bain, *Scottish Calendar*, p. 584.

P, Q

MS. p. xii. *Quant a se que i estoit commense vous aures [P, Q] le double de se qu elle m an a escrit & de ma responce.*

It is only by reading a good deal of the context that one can form a judgment as to the antecedent to *elle*, *i.e.*, whether it refers to Catherine or Elizabeth. I take it to signify to Elizabeth, and that *ce que y estoit commensé* refers to the negotiations about the signature of the Treaty of Edinburgh, and the personal conference.

P. Elizabeth's letter (composed by Cecil) would be that of November 23. *Infra*, Appendix No. 8.

Q. Mary's answer would seem to be the letter in Scots (composed, of course, by Maitland), 'given under our signet at Seyton the fift day of Januar, 1561' (*i.e.*, 1562), which will also be found in Appendix No. 9.

R

MS. p. xiii. *Ledinthon vous escrit de mes affaires.*

Lethington's letter to the Duke of Guise, which would have borne date January 4 or 5, 1561-2, appears to be lost.

APPENDIX OF
ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS

APPENDIX

ENCLOSURES IN MARY'S DESPATCH WITH ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS

No. 1

LETHINGTON'S ACCOUNT OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH ELIZABETH IN SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER 1561

TEXTS.—We have two texts of this document. One (H) in the Haddington Manuscripts, Advocates' Library, in a manuscript volume entitled, *Letters*, 1539-1567, fol. 12a to 14b. This has been admirably edited by Dr. Masson (chairman of the Scottish History Society), in the fourteenth 'Addenda' volume of the *Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland*, pp. 172-178.

In the British Museum, Royal Manuscripts, 18, B. vi., entitled *Tractatus et Literæ Regum Scotiæ*, 1448-1571,* there are two partial copies, R₁ and R₂. R₁ has lost the first page, R₂ has never been completed. R₂ has been already fairly well printed by M. Philippon (*Histoire du Règne de Marie Stuart*, Paris, 1892, iii. 444-452). R₁ has never been printed before. It is, however, a much better text, giving six or seven words which R₁ leaves blank, and many better readings, whereas R₂ reproduces all the faults of R₁, except such as could have been corrected by conjecture. R₁, moreover, being complete in places where H is torn and illegible, enables us to fill the lacunæ in that recension. In other respects the texts are generally of about equal value. It is also to be noted that Buchanan (*Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xvii., §§ xi. to xix., ed. Ruddiman, 1725, pp. 592-596) gives a slightly condensed translation of the document, following the R text, not the H text, as is proved by the interesting reading in note 43.

In the British Museum (Caligula, B. viii., fol. 282, printed Labanoff, *Recueil*, i. 115) there is a French version of Mary's answer to Sir Peter Mewtas. Lethington's account (below § 23), is much more full and animated. The accounts are probably independent of each other.

DATE.—The events alluded to in this document occurred in September or early in October 1561. The last sentence seems further to indicate that by then some little time had passed since those events took place. The *Discourse* may, therefore, have been composed on the occasion of St. Colme's mission to France in November 1561.

* This, like the Haddington Manuscript, might well have been described by Keith as a 'shattered manuscript.' It consists of fragments of old registers and drafts bound together. An accurate list of its contents is much to be desired, pointing out which letters are edited and which are not.

THE DISCOURSE OF THE LAIRD OF LETHINGTOUNS NEGOCIATIOUN
WITH THE QUENE OF ENGLAND &C.

[1] Efter¹ that he had declarit the quenis maiestie his soueraneis arriwall, gud estait² and desyir to continew and increse be gude meanes thamitie standing betwixt the realmes, and had acquyted himself of the wisitatione and wther gude offices committit to his charge wpone hir maiesteis behalf, tending to the conseruatioun of freindschip and gud nyctbownheid, and siclike, had, wpone the behalf of the nobilitie of Scotland efter sum rehersall of thingis past, desirit hir hienes to use the quene thair souerane in all thingis concerning hir or hir estait sa gentillie and faorable, that sche mycht thairby be prouokit nocht onelie to be the mair cairfull to enterdeny thamitie³ bot alsua to entir in ane mair strait knot, gif it war possible, quhairof thai from tyme to tyme wald be bald to mak owerturis as occasione wald serue for the gret desyir thai had to se intelligence betuix the tua realmes to continew. He proponit the principall mater as the onelie moyan⁴ thairin quhairby the principall difference mycht be honorablie composit and takin away, with sik gud remonstrances and persuasions as he thocht mycht best serue for furtherans of the purpois, and ample discourse of the commoditeis that thairthrow apperandlie suld enschew to baith the realmes. Sche answerit at the first in this maner.

[2] 'I lwkit for ane wther message from the quene zour souerane, and merwellis that sche rememberis nocht better hir promise maid to me befor hir departing from France, efter monie delayis of that thing quhilk sche in honour is bund to do, to wit the ratificatione of the treaty quhairin sche promiseit to answer me directlie at hir hamecuming. I haif long anew bene fed with fair wordes. It had bene tyme I suld or now have sene the effect of sa mony gud wordis.'⁵

[3] 'Madame (said he) hir maiestie was nocht fully xv dais at hame quhen I wes depeschit towart zour hienes. In quhilk tyme hir maiestie had nocht entret⁶ into the manymment of ony effairis, being fullie occupiit in resawing hir nobilite and people and admitting to hir presens sik as was conuenient. And befor all thing it wes expedient to tak sik⁷ stay in the difference standing for the materis of the religione, the wecht quhairof, quhen zour hienes consideris, and thair withall the schort tyme befor my directione, I dought nocht bot zour maiestie will persaeue that hir hienes⁸ culd not haue the consultatione and meanes⁹ requisit in a mater of sik importance. Besides that sik noble men as dwelt far from Edimburgh war nocht as zit arriwit quhen I come thence, quhais opinions nochttheless wer necessarie in sa

¹ Imprimis—H. ² H omits. ³ R₂ omits ⁴ H inserts in their judgementis.
⁵ Promises—H. ⁶ begun to entre—H. ⁷ sum—H. ⁸ Majesties—H. ⁹ Answer—H.

grawe a purpose.' 'Quhat consultation (said sche) neidis the quene to fulfill the thing quhairwnto sche is obleist be hir seill and handwreit?'

[4] 'Madame (said he) I have na further answer to mak in that behalf as a mater quhilk hir maiestie lukit nocht that zour hienes wald lay to my charge, bot that zour awin discretione wald consider sche hes just caus of delay.'

[5] Sche,¹⁰ efter sum wordis past to and fro¹¹ to this effect, sche come to the principall mater, thus: 'I haif notit alsweill¹² that zow haif said to me on the behalf of the quene zour souerane as in the propositione maid in name of the nobilite,—ze put me in remembrans that sche is of the blude of Ingland, my cousing, and nixt kynnswoman, so that nature must bind me to luif hir dewlie,¹³ all quhilk I mon confess to be trew. And as my proceedings haif mad sufficient declaracione to the warld, that I neur meanit ewill toward hir person nor hir realme, sa can thai that knew maist of my mynd beare me accord¹⁴ that in tyme of maist offence and quhen sche be bering my armes and acclaming the titill of my crowne, had gewin me just caus to be maist angre with hir, zit culd I neur find in my hart to hait hir, imputing rather the falt to otheris then to hir self. As for the titill of my crowne, for my tyme I think sche will nocht attaine¹⁵ it, nor mak impediment to my ysche gif ony sall cum of my body: for sa lang as I leif thair sall be na wther quene in Ingland bot I, and failzeing thair of sche can nocht allege that ewir I did ony thing quhilk may hurt the rycht sche may pretend. Quhat it is I haif nocht mekill considerit, for the successione of the crowne of Ingland is a mater I will nocht¹⁶ mell in, bot as in the sacrament of the¹⁷ altar sum thinks a thing sum wther, quhais jugement is best God knowis. In the mene tyme *vnusquisque in sensu suo abundet*,¹⁸ sua leif I thame to do with the successione of the crowne of Ingland: gif hir rycht be gud sche may be suir I will neur hurt hir, and I heir¹⁹ protest to zow in the presens of God I for my part knaw nane better nor that my self²⁰ wald prefer to hir, or zit, to be plane with²¹ zow, that cais occurring that mycht debar hir from it. Zow knaw them all, allace, quhat power or²² force hes ony of thame pur soules! It is trew that sum of thame hes maid declaracione to the warld, that thai²³ ar mair worthy of it then ather sche or I, be experience that thai ar nocht barrane bot able to haif children,' and thair maid a schort degression wpon my ladie Kathreneis fact and thairwithall dissemblyt nocht the inabilitye of hir and hir sister to succed to the crowne be ressonne of thair fatheris forfaltour.

In the end 'this is the first moyan (said sche) that ewir was

¹⁰ sua—H. ¹¹ fra—H. ¹² H inserts in. ¹³ deirlic as—H. ¹⁴ record—H. ¹⁵ acclaim—H. ¹⁶ point I have na will to—H. ¹⁷ godis—H. ¹⁸ abundet—H. ¹⁹ H omits. ²⁰ I myself—H. ²¹ keep ane [from] you—H. ²² of—H. ²³ thair—H.

maid to me in this purpose quhairthrow and that the mater is wechte, it is meit that I consider of it, and thairefter I will declair wnto zow mair of my mynd'.

[6] At the nixt audience sche began thus. 'I merwell quhat the nobilitie of Scotland suld mene to send me sik ane message ewin at the first of²⁴ thair soueraneis hamecuming, knawing that the principall offence betwix ws is not as zit takin away. Thai will, being iniureit and offendit without ony reparatione, that I sall gratefie hir with sa heich a benefeit. It semes to me to import sum menassing. And gif sa be, I will thai knaw I am puissant aneuch to defend my rycht, and laikis²⁵ na freindschip abrode, bot hes freindes as thair souerane hes.'

[7] 'Madame (said he) I haiff in the propositione sufficientlie declairit quhat hes induceit thame to mak zour hienes this ower-ture, besidis the dewtie thai aw to hir majestie quhais honour awancement and suirtie thai ar bund to procure. The desyir thai haif that hir maiestie may be in²⁶ tender freindschip with zour hienes, with quhom thay dar be balder for the experience thai haif had of zour gude will towardis thame, than thai wald be with ony wther prence, and partlie thair awin suirtie quhais lifis (for dewteis saik) mon be hasairdit in [prosequitioun]²⁷ of this querall, gif heirof ony impediment be maid be quhatsumeuir partie to hir rycht, or brek happin thairfoir betuix the realmes, and quhairwponne thai hawe just occation to desyir ernstlie that in the mein tyme the mater may be maid²⁸ amicable in gud suirtie.'

[8] 'Zea (said sche) gif I menit to do anything to hurt hir rycht thai hawe occatione to desyir me to reforme it, bot this desyir is without ane example, to require me in my awin leif to set my windiescheit befoir my e,²⁹ the lyck wes neur requirit of na prince.'

That wes answerit: How mony particular reportis wer to be considerit in this cace, and necessarie it wes for weill of baith the realmes that this mater wer anis clerit and [freed] of all dout.

[9] 'In faith (said sche) I can nocht tak in ewill part³⁰ the meanyng of the noble men as proceding of gud will, bot rather I hartlie thank thame for it, and do the mair esteme thame for gud subiectis, procurig the honour and avancement of thair souerane, and allow thair wisdome in sekig thair awin suirtie and sparing of thair blud [quhilk]³¹ I confess must be spent in that querrell gif ony vther partie, the caiss occurring, wald preis to debar hir. Bot in that God knawis thair is bot litle perrle; for allas, quaha suld or war able to do it? Bot present³² the caiss I war myndit to

²⁴ efter—H. ²⁵ lack—. ²⁶ H inserts ane. ²⁷ R₂ omits, ²⁸ put—H.
²⁹ wyndingscheit befoir my E—H. ³⁰ R₁ begins here fol. 270. ³¹ R₁ omits.
³² I put—R₂.

do in effect the thing zow requirit, think zow that I will³³ grant it vpoun motioun maid frome the lordis and nocht from hir self?’

‘For that Madame (said he) thair³⁴ be meyanes anew to be found, zour mynd being conformble, how the mater may be motioned to the honour and reasonable contentment of bayth zour maiestiez.’

[10] ‘Na (said scho) thar be mony necessary considerationis to draw me bak from granting zour request. First, *periculosum est tangere picem, ne forte inquier ab ea*.³⁵ I have allways abhorrit to draw in questioun the titile of the crowne, somany disputies have bene already tutching it in the mowthis of men. Sum that this mariag wes wnlawfully, sum that sum³⁶ ane was a bastard, sum vther, to and fro, as thay favorit or mislikit. Samony doubtis of mariage wes in all handis, that I stand aw myself to entre in mariage fering the³⁷ contrauersie. Anis I am marryd already to the realme of England quhen I wes crownit with this ryng quhilk I bere continewallie in tokin thair of. Quhowsoewer it be, sa lang as I lefe, I sall be quene of England, quhen I am deid, thay sall suceid that hes maist rycht. Gif the quene zour souerane be that persone I sall newer hurt hir, gif ane vther have better rycht, it wer nocht reasonable to require me to do a manifest iniury. Gif thair be ony law agains hir (as I protest to zow I knaw nane for I am nocht curious to inquire of that purpos) bot gif ony be, I am sworne quhen I was maryed to the realme nocht to alter the lawis of it.’

[11] ‘Secondlie ze think that this devise of zours suld mak freindship betwix ws, and I feir that rather it suld produce the contrary effect. Think zow that I culd luife my awin windynsheit, princes cane nocht lik thair awin childryne, those that suld suceid vnto thame, being witnes King Charles the sevint of France, how likit he his sone Lovys the xj, Lovys the xj his sone Charles the viij, king Francoys his sone Henry? How than sall I, think zow, like my cousin, being ains declarit my heyre apperant, as Charles likit Lovys the xj³⁸ quhen he wes duck of Orleance?’

[12] ‘Bot the third consideracioun is maist wechty of all. I know the inconstancie of the people of England, how thay ever mislyke the present gouvernement and hes thair eyis fixit vpone that persone that is nixt to succede, and naturallie men be so disposit: *plures adorant solem orientem quam occidentem*. I have gud experience of my self in my sisteris³⁹ tyme, how desirous men war that I suld be in place and ernist to set me vp. And gif I wald haw consentit I knaw quhat interprysis wald have bene attemptit to bring it to pas, and now perhapis effectionis of sum⁴⁰ ar alterit. As childryn dreame in their sleip efter apillis,⁴¹ and

³³ culd—H. ³⁴ thowe—R₁. ³⁵ R₂ leaves blank. ³⁶ R₂ omits. ³⁷ H inserts like. ³⁸ Luys the xij.—R₁, R₂. ³⁹ [awin]—H. ⁴⁰ affaeris ar so far—H. ⁴¹ a pleasance—H.

in the morning quhane as thay awake and fynd nocht the aples ⁴² thay weip, so euerie ⁴³ man that buir me gude will quhen I wes lady Elisabeth or to quhome I schew a gud visage, imagineth with him self that immediatlie after my cumyng to the crowne ewery man suld be revardit according to his awin fantasie, and now findin the ewent answer nocht thair expectatione it may be that sum culd be content of new change in hoip to be then in better caiss.'

'No princes reuenues be so grit that thay ar able to satisfie the insatiable cupiditie of men. And gif we, owther ⁴⁴ for nocht geving to men at thair discretione or zit for any vther caus, suld miscontent ony our subiectis, it is to be ferit ⁴⁵ that gif thay knew a certane successour of our croun thay wald hawe recourse thither; and quhat danger it wer, scho being a puissant princess and so neir our nychtbour, ze may juge. Sua that in assuring hir of the successioun we mycht put our present estait in dowt. I deill plainlie with zow, albeit my subiectis I think luif me as becumis tham, zit is naquhair ⁴⁶ sa gret perfectioun, that all ar content.'

And thair scho of new enterit vpoun my lady Katherineis facte with no obscure significatioun that scho thocht thair wes more hyd mater in it than wes zit vterit to the world, and that sum of hir nobilitie wer partiners in the making of that mache.

[13] Albeit answer wes med that be ⁴⁷ a commoun accord, securite mycht be prowidit that nethir of thar subiects suld hawe recours to the vther prince, bot vpone the knowladge and gud leave of thair awin souerane, nor zit the prince to hawe intelligence with the vtheris subiectis. And no dowt the Quene his souerane wald to that effect mak quhat securitie culd be devisid quhairthrow that perell mycht be fully avoydit. Zit wald scho nocht be satisfiet bot still harpit one that stryng saing: 'It is hard to bind princes be ony securitie, quhair hoip is offerit of a kingdome.' And for hir, gif it wer certaynlie knawin in the world quha suld succeid hir, scho wald newer think hir self in sufficient suirtie.

[14] This was the sum of hir communicatioun at that tym, quharvpoun safar as he culd collect be mony wordis that past, as alsua efter in conference seuerally with Mr. Cicill hir secretar, and with my lord Robert. Be their communicatioun it apperit ewidentlie that in hir awin jugment scho likit better of the Quene of Scotlandis titile nixt hir self, than of all vtheris and failzeing

⁴² that quhilk they expect—H. Buchanan translates, 'Non secus ac pueri, qui, inter quiescendum, ob poma sibi per somnum oblata, exultant, mox mane expectati ac sua spe decepti, gaudium in lacrymas commutant, § xvij. Ruddiman notes [*ibid*] that the phrase about the apples is missing in the old editions. ⁴³ evin—H. ⁴⁴ ne owther—R₁; nocht owther—R₂; owther—H. ⁴⁵ MS. fol. 270 b. ⁴⁶ noquhair—H; quhair—R₁; quhair is it, that sa gret perfection is—R₂. ⁴⁷ be—H; being—R₁, R₂.

of hir awin issue culd best be content that scho suld succedd and that nane of all vtheris quha had ony interesse war mete for the crowne or zit worthy of it, and that the third considera-tioun wes the only stay, quhy scho had na will to assure hir titile and successioun be ordour of parliament.

[15] Efter in new awdience quhan hir heines was requirit quhat answer scho wald mak to the noble men anent thair motioun, 'I can (said scho) gif no vther answer bot that I allow, as I said to zow of befor, thair dewtie and devotioun,⁴⁸ to thair souerane in this behalf. Marie the mater is sic in the self, and so greit, as I can nocht for this present drectlie answer. Quhan the quene hes doune to me that thing scho is oblist anent the rateficioun, thane war it tyme to require me to do hir ony plesour, bot befor that tyme I can nocht with honour gratifie hir in ony thing.'⁴⁹

[16] 'Madame (said he) as I said of befor I am nocht instructit to answer⁵⁰ further to the demand of the retificacioun thane I haif said alreedy, ner zit at ony tym enterit in purpossh with hir maiestie quhat scho wald do anent the retificacioune, swa that gif I ether suld say scho wald or scho wald not ratifie it, I suld transcend my boundis, and speke farther than I knaw. Marie gif zour hienes desyir to knaw my awin opinioun I wil frelie speke it; that I think that treaty sa preiudiciall to hir maiestie that scho will newer conform it, and in sic forme consauit as hir maiestie is nocht in honour bound to do it, for sic reassonis as I vpoun the first sycht and onelie inspectioun of the treatie haif⁵¹ collectit; nocht doubting bot men of greter iugment and that hes mair deiple weyit the effect of it, quhais adviss and consultatioun scho hes haid in it hes bene able to gadder a gret deill ma, and mair valeable.'

[17] 'And sen zour maiesties plesour is that I speke frelie heirin quhat I can, it is trew that althought zour heines⁵² takis zour self to be lauchfull, zit ar ze not always sa takin abrod in the world. First all that follow in religioune the kirk of Rome, zour heines knoweth, think the King zour fatheris mariage with zour moder vnlawfull, and consequentlie the issue of the mariage siclik. The quene my soueranis subiectis must, and all vther, quha ar for ony effect affectionat to hir, vill favorable think of hir titille. The impressioun of it be like is depar rooted in hir hede,⁵³ then scho vill be easelie perswadit to forgo it, and specialie gif sche persauae that difficultie be maid to assure hir that titile quhilk not onlie in the iugment of forayne nationis is without all contrauersy, bot alswa zour heines vpoun zour conscience nor the vysesst of zour subiectis can na wise disalow.'

[18] 'It wer for my opinioun better to all respectis that zour

⁴⁸ luif—R₂. ⁴⁹ R₁, R₂ omits. ⁵⁰ R₁ inserts no. ⁵¹ H. treature—R₁, R₂.
⁵² MS. fol. 271. ⁵³ depar rooted—H; depareted—R₁, R₂.

tua maiesteis cum to sic ane accord as war apparand to continew, than to preiss hir heines with that quhilk culd na wise indure, althocht it war done. I am nocht previe to the procedingis, bot I think assuritlie, it being sa preiudiciall to hir estait, quhen tyme seruit scho wald alwayis seke occasioun to brek it, albeit it had bene safer procedit, that in the confirmatioun scho had followit the king hir husbands commandiment, be quhais auctoritie it wes maid. I enter nocht in dispute how that treti vas past, nor be quhat auctoritie, but this far I am assurit, the comissioun wes veray slinder to transfer fra the quene my souerane the titill of a kingdome and debar hir frome it perpetwally, and gif scho suld anis ratify the treti, than var it tyme to maik this motioun.'

[19] 'Quhy (said scho) hes the quene put me of sa lang⁵⁴ with delayis and hes nocht rather anserit me derectlie with a reassoun?'

'Na (said he) I knaw not that hir maiestie vill zit answer thus. Nor zit speke I ony thing thair of as frae hir maiestie bot rather to lat zour heines vnderstand that the noble men hes reasone to desyir zour maiestie to cum to sum qualeficacioun for pecifeing⁵⁵ of all contrauerseis.'

[20] 'Zeis (said scho) gif the treti be preiudiciall to hir enteres, scho may acclame; afterwardis I will [be] content and⁵⁶ in hir retificatioun scho mak this additioun, that scho sall nocht bear the armis of England, nor style hir self quene of England and Irland during my lyif and of the lauefull, yssue of my body, resserving sic tittle and interesse as scho thairefter may pretend or acclame thairto.'

[21] Efter sum replyis sho come to this poynt, that gif the Quene hir sister wald require that commissioners wer appoyntit to reuew the treti, sho wald be content thair of, and be thame cum to this qualificatioun with the additioun and reseruatioun, and farther obliiss⁵⁷ hirself that eyther she nor the yssue of hir body during thair reignis suld do or procure to be done ony thing preiudiciall or derogatorie to the Quene hir sisteris tittle.

[22] This wes all culd be obtenit at hir handis, and thairfor the mater wes left *re integra*. In the end sho thoct gud, gif it com to ye namyng of commissioneris, that befor thay suld mete, all materis thay had to treate wpoun wer first degested be lettres betuix thair maiesteis secretaryis quhairunto thair Maiesties suld be privie, to the end that, gif ony difficultie wer in the conclusion, rather the meting of the commissioneris suld be differit, then to mete and nocht agre fully, quhairthorow the mater mycht cum to the manifest breake.

[23] Schir Piter Mewtas, being sensyne drect frome the Quene his souerane as embassadour to the Quene Maiestie, to congratulat with hir for hir saif arrivall and prospe[rous] estait to visite hir

⁵⁴ R₂ omits sa lang.

⁵⁶ g[rant] that—H.

⁵⁵ pecifeing—H; persawing—R₁, R₂.

⁵⁷ [b]e H—; ? bind himself.

and do hir vther gud offices as ar accustumat to pas am[ongst] princes, in the end did require the retificatioun of ye treaty; quhairvnto hir Maiestie's [answer⁵⁸] wes, that trewit is that sam treaty wes principallie past with the king hir lord and husband in his tyme, the maist part of the poyntis and articlis thair of cheiflie concernit him, and but [none] of [them]⁵⁹ quhilk in ony wise may appeir to touch hir or hir realm; and wes consauit in sic forme, as now, he being deid and thairthorow the mariage betuix thair Maiesteis dissoluit, it culd nocht [be] formale to ratifie the treaty of this sam forme.

[24.] Nocht the less for declaratioun of the sinceritie of hir maiesteis trew meaninge to continew in amyte with hir gud sister, sho wald be content the commissioneris wer appoyntit one bayth sidis to mete at sic a day and place, as [wer] convenient and suld be agreit vpoun, to reuew the said treaty, treat vpoun the qualificatioun thair of, and be a commoune consent cum to sic ane accord as wer aparent to endure for ewer and mycht stand with the honour of baith ye princes and commone welthis of the realmis.

[25.] He desseryt hir Maiestie to nominat sic commissioneris as for hir part she wald vse for that effect.

Hir heines anserit that gif he had commissioun to require the nominatioun, and to do the lik of the part of his maistres, she wes ready to nominat; bot perceving be his awin declaratioun that neyther wes he specialie instructit to receive the nominatioun, nor zit to agre that commissioneris suld mete, the nominatioun wes differit unto the tyme hir said gud sister eyther be lettre or vther meane, sall declare hir contentatioun and plesour thairin.

This is the sum of the negotiatioun past one baith sidis, safer as is zit procedit.

No. 2

EMILIO BERNIERI TO THE DUKE OF FERRARA

Modena, Archivio di Stato; Cancelleria Ducale, Torino, Bernieri. Original holograph, extract.

[*Rivoli*, 26 October 1561.]

ILL^{mo}. ET ECC^{mo}. SIG^r. MIO PADRONE COLENDISSIMO.—Mons^r. di Moretta, il quale scrissi à Vostra Ecc^{za}., che si trouaua in punto per andare in Francia, partè alli xxij del presente, et prima che s'inuiasse mi uenne à uedere pregandomi à basciare le mani a Vostra Ecc^{za}. in suo nome, alla quale mostra di essere seruitore di tutto core. Egli mi ha promesso di auisarmi alla giornata delle

⁵⁸ MS. torn,

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

cose di Francia, di Scotia et d'Inghilterra, ne quali lochi se bene esso Mons^r. conoscesse, che et la Regina, et lo Ill^{mo}. legato non hauessero cosi caro, che andasse, l'uno per sospetto della religione, l'altra per l'odio che porta. Nondimeno ha commissione da Sua Altezza di essequire il uiggio suo, et l'altre cose da lei ordinategli. Et douendo esso Mons^r. parlare al Re di Nauarra per Sua Altezza in materia d'accordo col Re Catolico, se ritrarra qualche cosa di momento saria facile cosa che se ne passasse in Spagna, il che fara tanto piu uolontieri, quanto che di qui pare che nasca in buona parte la difficulta della restitutione di queste piazze, sperando che se detto Re di Nauarra s'acquietasse, le cose potessero pigliare qualche buono assetto si per questo conto, come per la religione :

Dice esso Mons^r. oltre à cio, che parlando con quella Maesta con oportuna occasione di Vostra Ecc^{za}. d'intendere qualche cosa di maritaggio, et di tutto cio, che hauera operato in quelli Regni di mano in mano ha commissione da S. A. di spedirle Gentilomo à posta per darlene auiso . . .

Di Rivoli alli xxvi Ottobre, MDLxi.

Di V. Ecc^{za}. Umilissimo et deuotissimo seruitore

IL CAUALIER BERNIERI.

[*Addressed*]: Allo Ill^{mo}. et Ecc^{mo}. Sig^r. mio, et Padrone colendissimo il Signor Duca di Ferrara.

TRANSLATION

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORD, ETC.,—Monsignor di Moretta, who has written to tell your Excellency that he was on the point of starting for France, departed thither on the 23rd of this present. Before he started he came to see me, begged me to salute your Excellency in his name, and showed a very hearty zeal in your service. He has promised to inform me promptly of the affairs of France, Scotland, and England. This gentleman knows that the queen and the legate will not much like his going to these places, the one because of religious scruples, the other because of her ill will. Nevertheless his highness [the Duke of Savoy] has given him commission to make the journey, and to do the other things which you ordered him. Monsignor di Moretta will have to speak with the King of Navarre in the name of his highness on the subject of the accord with the King of Spain. If any important result follows, it may easily happen that he may go on to Spain, and [he will go] the more readily, because it is from thence, as it seems, that the difficulty about the restitution of the fortresses arises in large measure. There is hope that, if the said King of Navarre agrees, affairs may take a good turn, both in this matter, and for religion.

Monsignor di Moretta moreover says, that, when he has the opportunity of speaking to that sovereign about your Excellency, he will find

out some marriage prospects. His highness [the Duke of Savoy] has ordered him to despatch immediately a special messenger to give him news of all that he shall accomplish in those countries. . . . From Rivoli, 26 October 1561. Your excellency's humble and devoted servant,
 IL CAVALIER BERNIERI.

No. 3

*Enclosure B in Mary's Despatch*THE DEPOSITION OF THE DUC D'ORLEANS
REGARDING THE DUC DE NEMOURS

* [29 October 1561.]

The original form of the deposition (A) is printed in the left-hand column from the Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, cod. 6608, fol. 19. On the right is the second much altered recension (B). Of B we have a contemporary (B₁) manuscript copy in the British Museum, Cottonian manuscripts, Vespasian, F. v. fol. 224. This has been printed by H. de la Ferrière, *Lettres de C. de Médicis* (*Documents sur l'histoire de la France*, etc., vol. li), vol. i. p. 246. There are also two early editions of it. The one (B₂) in the *Discours sur la liberté ou captivité du Roy*, said to have been published at Orleans in May 1562, and reprinted in the *Mémoires de Condé* (Londres, 1743), vol. iii. p. 374. In 1565 it was also reprinted (B₃) in the Huguenot tract, *Bref discours et veritable des principales coniurations de ceux de la maison de Guyse, contre le Roy et son Royaume, les Princes de son sang, et les Estats*, s. l., sig. C i. These two editions are practically identical. The manuscript version however, in spite of some omissions and faults in transcription, seems to be somewhat nearer its archetype than the early printed editions. I have therefore followed la Ferrière's text, showing the additions of B₁ and B₂ by square brackets, and their omissions by obelisks.††

A. ORIGINAL VERSION.

Le xxix^e jour d'octobre, l'an mil cinq cens soixante vng, Monseigneur le duc Dorleans appellé au conseil du Roy ou estoient presens le Roy, la Royne sa mere, le Roy de Navarre; Messieurs le Cardinal de Bourbon le Prince de Condé, les Cardinaulx de Tournon, Armaignac, et Chastillon, duc de Montpensier, le Chancelier, l'Admiral; les Sieurs du Mortier, Euesque d'Orleans, Auanson, Euesque de Valence; Les Sieurs de Selue, de Gonnor, et de

B. PUBLISHED VERSION.

A. ORIGINAL VERSION.

Crussol. Apres serment fait par mondict seigneur le duc dorleans de dire verité sur ung propos que luy tint Monsieur de Nemours le samedi vnzieme jour de ce mois.

Dict que mondict Sieur de Nemours le mena aupres dun coffre en la chambre du Roy et luy demanda de quelle religion il estoit et s'il estoit huguenot, respondit que non, et qu'il estoit de la religion de la Royne sa mere.

Estoient prochaines de lá, derriere la tapisserie, Denise et Marguerite femmes de chambre de la Royne.

Apres le mena aupres du cabinet du Roy contre la tapisserie et luy dict.

Je ueoy beaucoup de troubles en ce royaume,

et vous ny estes pas en seureté.

car le Roy de Navarre et le Prince de Condé se veulent faire Roys, et vous veulent tuer

Si vous voulez, ie vous meneray en Lorraine ou en Savoie, là on vous serez si aise

B. PUBLISHED VERSION.

Le Samedi, 18 Octobre, le jour que le Roy commença à sortir apres la guerison, Monsieur frere du Roy estant en la chambre du dict seigneur, vint monsieur de Nemours qui lui demanda s'il estoit huguenot ou papiste,

A quoy Monsieur respondit quil estoit de la religion de la Royne sa mere.

Lors mr de Nemours lui dist, s'il [ne] luy plaisoit pas qu'il luy dist vingt cinq paroles. Monsieur respondit que ouy. Monsr de Nemours le tira à part sur [sus] ung coffre, qui est pres de la porte du cabinet du Roy et luy dit.

Monsieur je voy que le royaume de France est perdu et ruiné par ces huguenots, et que le Roy et vous nestes pas en seureté

pour [par] ce que le roy de Navarre et prince de Condé se veulent fayre roys et feront en sorte qu'ils feront mourir le Roy et vous.

Par ainsi Monsieur, si vous voulez eviter ce danger, il faut que vous y advisiez,

et si vous voulez, messieurs de Guise et moy vous ayderons et secourerons et enverrons [envoyérons] en Lorraine, ou en Savoye.

A. ORIGINAL VERSION.

Il repondit qu'il ne vouloit point laisser le Roy, ne la Royne sa mere.

Luy dict aussi souuienne vous Monsieur quant Monsr de Guise partira de luy dire : Mon cousin, quant jauray affaire de vous, je vous supplie, venez ; et vous ne me pouez emmener a ceste heure.

Luy dict aussi qu'il n'en parlast point à la Royne. et luy demanda sil se fyoit bien en Carnauallet et Villequier.

Et responant que ouy, lors il luy dict, Si est ce qu'il ne fault pas que vous leurs en dictes rien. Et silz vous demandent que c'est que ie vous disois, Dictes que ie vous parloys de comedies.

B. PUBLISHED VERSION.

Monsieur respondit quil ne vouloit point laisser le Roy ni la Royne.

Monsieur de Nemours replica encores [à cecy] ; Advisez bien, Monsieur, à ce que je vous dis. Car c'est pour vostre profit. A quoy Monsieur ne respondit rien.

Monsieur de Nemours luy dit, Vous fiez vous pas en Carnavalet et Villequier ?

Ouy, dit Monsieur. Lors il [luy] dit, Ne leur dites [pas] rien de ce que je vous dis, et de ce que ie vous tiens si longuement propos [Mais s'ils vous demandent que c'est que ie vous ay dict, dites leur que ie vous parloys de comedies.] Et lors le sieur de Nemours le laissa.

Sur ces entrefaites Monsieur de Guise estoit devant le feu qui parloit au prince de Joinville [Ginuille] son fils. Lequel voyant que Monsieur de Nemours laissoit Monsieur d'Orleans vint vers lui et il luy dit. Monsieur j'ay entendu que la Royne veult envoyer Monsieur [d'Aniou] votre frere et vous en Lorraine en un fort beau chasteau, pour y prendre l'air : par ainsi advisez si vous voulez y venir avec nous, nous vous y ferons bonne chere. Lors Monsieur dit, Je ne pense

A. ORIGINAL VERSION.

Quant le dict Sieur de Nemours sen alla, luy dict, Monsieur, Souvenez vous de ce que ie vous ay dict, Alexandre.

B. PUBLISHED VERSION.

pas que la Royne ma mere veuille que j'abandonne le Roy. Le prince de Joinville repliqua, Si vous voulez venir en Lorraine et entendre à ce que Monsieur de Nemours vous a dict, il vous en prendra [pourra] bien [venir]. Monsieur ne répondit rien à cela. Le lendemain le prince de Joinville revint vers Monsieur et lui tint encore le mesme langage, et luy dist que s'il vouloit scavoir le moyen comme on l'emmeneroit, il le lui diroit. Monsieur dit quil le voudroit bien scavoir. Le prince de Joinville lui dit, On vous enlevra en plein minuit, et on vous fera sortir par une fenestre qui respond sur la porte [le pont] du parc, et apres on vous mettra en coche, et ainsi vous serez en Lorraine devant [avant] que l'on s'en advise [appercoive]. Monsieur ne répondit [rien] a cela, et laissa le prince.

Le lendemain Monsieur de Nemours s'en alla et vint prendre congé du Roy : et en prenant congé dit a l'oreille a Monsieur, Souvenez vous de ce que je vous ay dit, et n'en dites [rien] a personne, et ainsi s'en alla le [dict sieur] duc de Nemours.

TRANSLATION

A. ORIGINAL VERSION

The 29th of October, 1561, M^{sr}. the Duke of Orleans was called before the king's Council, at which were present the king, his mother the queen, the King of Navarre, the Cardinal de Bourbon, the Prince of Condé, the Cardinals of Tournon, Armaignac and Chas-

B. PUBLISHED VERSION

A. ORIGINAL VERSION

tillon; the Duke of Montpensier, the Chancellor, the Admiral; my Lords du Mortier, the Bishop of Orleans, Avançon, the Bishop of Valence; the Sieurs de Selve, de Gonnor, de Crussol. After the said Duke of Orleans had taken the oath to tell the truth as to the proposal made to him by Monsieur de Nemours on Saturday the 11th of this month.

He said, that the said Monsieur de Nemours took him near to a coffer in the king's chamber and asked him of what religion he was and if he were a Huguenot. He replied he was not, and that he was of the religion of the queen his mother.

Near there, behind the tapestry, were Denise and Marguerite, ladies of the queen's chamber.

He then brought him near to the king's closet against the tapestry, and said to him,

'I see many troubles in this kingdom,

and you are not in security for the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé want to make themselves kings,

and wish to kill you.

'If you wish, I will take you into Lorraine, or to Savoy, there where you would be so happy.'

He replied that he did not wish to leave the king nor the queen his mother.

He also said: 'Remember, Monsieur, when Monsieur de Guise goes away to say to him:

B. PUBLISHED VERSION

On Saturday the xvij day of October, the day when the king began to leave his room, after the cure of his illness, Monsieur the king's brother being in his said Majesty's chamber, Monsieur de Nemours came in and asked him if he was Huguenot or papist; to which Monsieur answered that he was of the religion of the queen his mother.

Then Monsieur de Nemours asked him if he would not be so good as to let him have five and twenty words. Monsieur answered yes.

Monsieur de Nemours drew him aside on to a coffer which is near the door of the king's closet and said to him,

'Monsieur I see that the kingdom of France is destroyed and ruined by these Huguenots and that the king and you are not in security.

'Because the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé want to make themselves kings and will do it in such a way as to cause the death of the king and you.

'So Monsieur, if you would avoid this danger, you must take counsel, and if you wish, Monsieur de Guise and I will help and succour you, and send you away into Lorraine or to Savoy.'

Monsieur replied that he did not wish to leave the king and queen.

A. ORIGINAL VERSION

“Cousin, when I am in need of you, I beg of you to come, you cannot take me away at present.””

He also told him not to speak of it to the queen and asked him if he trusted much in Carnavallet and Villequier and [Monsieur] answering ‘yes,’ he then said to him, ‘Indeed you must not say anything of this to them. And if they ask what I said to you, tell them that I was talking to you about comedies.’

B. PUBLISHED VERSION

Monsieur de Nemours then said again, ‘Think well, Monsieur, on what I say to you, for it is to your advantage.’ To which Monsieur made no answer.

Monsieur de Nemours said to him ‘Do you not trust in Carnavallet and Villequier?’ ‘Yes,’ said Monsieur.

Then he [Nemours] said ‘Tell nothing to them of what I say to you, nor about my having kept you so long engaged. [But if they ask you what it was I said to you, tell them that I was talking to you about comedies],’ and then M. de Nemours left him.

In the meantime M. de Guise was before the fire talking with the Prince de Joinville his son, who on seeing Monsieur de Nemours leaving Monsieur said to him, ‘Monsieur, I have heard that the queen wishes to send Monsieur your brother and yourself into Lorraine to a very fair castle, to take the air; and so take thought, if you would like to come thither with us, we will make you good cheer.’

Then said Monsieur, ‘I do not think that the queen my mother would like me to leave the king.’

The Prince de Joinville replied, ‘If you will come to Lorraine and listen to what M. de Nemours has said to you, it will fare well with you.’

Monsieur made no answer to that.

On the morrow the Prince de Joinville came back to Monsieur and again addressed to him the same language, and said that if he wished to know by what means they would convey him away, he would tell him.

Monsieur replied that he would very much like to know.

A. ORIGINAL VERSION

When the said Sieur de Nemours went away, he said to him, 'Monsieur, remember what I have said to you, Alexandre.'

B. PUBLISHED VERSION

The Prince de Joinville said to him, 'You would be carried off in the dead of the night, passed through a window which faces the park gate, and then placed in a coach, and so you would be in Lorraine before any one knew of it.'

To this Monsier replied nothing, and left the prince.

The next day M. de Nemours went away, and coming to take leave of the king, while bidding farewell, whispered in the ear of Monsieur, 'Bear in mind what I have said to you, and say not a word of it to any one.' And so the Duke de Nemours took his departure.

No. 4

LETTERS DESCRIBING MORETTE'S INTERVIEW WITH
ELIZABETH

I. MORETTE TO CARDINAL D'ESTE

Modena, Archivio di Stato, Cancelleria Ducale, Dispacci d'Inghilterra I.; Holograph. A water stain has affected the lower half of the letter, and many of the readings are doubtful.

[*London, 23 November 1561*]

ILL^{mo} ET REU^{mo} MIO SIG^{OR} OSSERUANDISSIMO,—Io ho differito scriuer a V. S. Ill^{ma} sino che hauessi operato qualche cosa, benche arriuasi sin lunedì alli 17, pero non hebbi audientia che Giobia et non raggionai che de complimenti et altri propositi da rider, exortandola tor esempio di Madama mia et Signora che daua tanta consolatione non solo al Sig^r Duca, à suoi sudditi, ma à tutti principi Christiani, al che se faceua molto lontana di tal desiderio, ui passorno molte parole.

Hoggi Domenica 23 ritornai et steti raggionando piu di tre grosse hore, et con bella occasione li contai l'animo di V. S. Ill^{ma}, qual accetto con sua lettera uolontera, et hebbe caro hauere di sue nuoue, et che hauea sentito dai suoi quanto il Sig^r. Duca suo Padre era amico del Re suo padre, et il Signor Duca fratello et V. S. Ill^{ma}, ma come senti essere legato in Francia mostro farsi lontana, doue disputamo longamente, et li feci offerte non come Prete ne Ministro di sua Santita s'ella non uolea, ma in ogni maniera rilesse la lettera, et mi fece dir suo nome Hipolito et li

dissi che mai haueria si bella occasione di ottenere tutto cio che uolesse, che V. S. Ill^{ma} non anelaua beneficij ne altro et li faria ottenere da Sua Santita tutto ciò ch'ella uolesse gradi priuileggij et ogni cosa. Ritornamo poi sopra il concilio doue ne ragghionamo un pezzo, in somma [dice perho non] risponderebbe sinon quanto han detto à Mons^r de l'Aquila [in materia] dell'Abbate Martingengo et per scriuer al Re Catolico suo [patrone. In somma feci] tanto che risponderia à sua lettera et faria uenire suo Ambassatore Troquemorton che è costi, parlare et far riuerentia à V. S. Ill^{ma} et ragghionare seco, quando non si fidasse de lui, mandarà un a posta non parendole per hora fosse bene uenisse nessuno de soi.—[Io ho fatto istanza] se uolea intendere à qualche cosa, di star qua ho ritornar da V. S. Ill^{ma}, hauendo tal carrigo dal Sig^r Duca mio et da V. S. Ill^{ma}. Non ha uoluto per buon rispetto, ma che uadi in Scotia et ritorni a piacere mio, ch'ella potra sentir quel suo Ambassator: et puotra Vostra Signoria Ill^{ma} dirli che ui è qua gente che non l'amano de principali, et faria ben lui di pensare al caso suo che fra loro qua sono d'accordo, et lui resta in mala satisfattione con chi puo perche propose il Conte d'Aran, et uenendo non sara forse tropo ben uisto, sono apresso per uolere mandar un' altro Ambassator et ritirarlo lui, pero non so se sara si presto; cosi ueder guadagnarlo accio che faci trouar buono se mandi al concilio et se tratti con V. S. Ill^{ma}.

Con bella occasione intrai ne l'altro negotio. Dopo hauer uoluto saper molte particolarita, mi ha rispoeso bisogna se mandi per conpiacere alli suoi sudditi, ma per lei non lo faria mai, et che ella per Dio è libera. Così se intende particolarmente da tutti, ma dice non se risoluera in persona non habbi uista. Mai se fidara in ochi de altri. Li dissi se si fosse d'accordo del saria poi ma non se moueria la persona cosi legiermente ne io dice uoglio trattar altramente si che non so che dire, credo ella saria contenta che si metesse in pratica come hanno fatto altri et tratenere il mondo (?) cosi et che il passo ho uista dal suo Regno et di lei non regaria ma uedere, il figliuol de l'Imperator douea uenir, non è uenuto, ne il Re di Sueda. Si che credo che burlino di me, et forsi il Sig^r Duca uostro mi ama et ui fa dir questo, daltro non ne sa niente.

Risposi se le uolea intendere presto l'haurei chiarita, pero disse non risponderia altro, ne di questo parleria per parte di V. S. Ill^{ma} ne d'altri, saluo mio Signore me hauea commandato intendere l'animo suo, per saper se li potea seruir come terzo fidele, et potea promettere ogni cosa. Li racontai il Parentado che facea l'acquisto de stati, le ricchezze, denari sono in quella casa, li honori, la bonta, la bellezza, il ualore et la esperienza del Principe e quanto Dio mi ha inspirato, che tempo non mi è mancato et ella se ne godeua come mostraua. Questo è quanto ho potuto operar, hora resta mentre che io uado V. S. Ill^{ma} parli con l'Ambassator et me scriui accioche al mio ritorno habbi nuoua de quanto haueria potuto far, accio

sapi quela hauero da far' io, et credo non puotro esser de ritorno de qui deci o uinti giorni.

Il Prothonotario di foix parti sin hieri per Scotia; io non ho fatto pressa di passar, sin ho uisto che non faceua altro; et credo non hauere perso occasione et hauere saluato la dignita, come meglio speraro dirli al mio ritorno, doue nel passare sentiro ancora quello et hauero a caro V. S. Ill^{ma} mi auisi se deuero scoprire ancora il fianco [?] di questi ministri.

Monsignor Reu^{mo} de laquila e galante il negotio delle cose della Religione per hauerle tractate con del altro quel Ambasciatore puotra fare buono uffitio che di questo si dice, di questo paese però io non ho uoluto parlarne con nissuno ne so se Sua Maesta lo dica ben, supplico Vostra Signoria Ill^{ma} assicurarsi che ho fatto quanto Dio mio ha ispirato tutto con fidelta et con suo aiuto al ritorno farò quanto mi comandara. Intanto la supplico tenermi in sua buona gratia alla qual humilmente me raccomando. Pregando Iddio li doni contenteza buona et longa uita. Da londra alli xxij Novembre 1561.

Di V. S. Ill^{ma} et Reu^{ma} Humiliss^o et Aff^{mo} seruitore,

[The signature has entirely perished.]

[Addressed:]—Al Ill^{mo} et Reu^{mo} sig^{or} mio oss^{mo} Monsignor il Cardinal di Ferrara, Legato di Sua Santita in Franza.

[Endorsed:]—Di Londra, 23 di Novembre 1561,
Mons^r di Moretta.

TRANSLATION

MOST REVEREND LORD, ETC.,—I postponed writing to your eminence until I had accomplished some business. Although I arrived here on Monday the 17th, I did not obtain an audience till Thursday, and then did not speak except about compliments and other trifles. I spoke of Madame my mistress as an example respected by my lord the duke, her subjects, and all Christian princes. She made as if she were far from entertaining such desires; and on this we talked much.

To-day, Sunday the 23rd, I returned and stopped talking more than three full hours, having a good occasion to recount to her your eminence's [favourable] disposition. She received my words and your letter willingly; was pleased to hear news of your relatives; said she had heard from her people how friendly the duke your father was to the king her father, [she was glad to learn about] the duke your brother and yourself. But when she understood that you were legate in France, she appeared to become more distant. Then we disputed at some length, and I made her offers [saying that you would not treat] as a priest or as a minister of the Pope, if she did not desire it. Nevertheless she re-read the letter, and made me repeat your name, Hippolito. I said

she would never have such a good opportunity for obtaining all she wanted, that your eminence did not gape after benefices or other such things, and would obtain for her from his Holiness all that she could wish—rank, privileges and everything. Then we went back to the Council, and conversed a while upon it, but in fine she said, she would give no other answer than that made to the Bishop of Aquila on the subject of the Abbate Martinengo, which was to be forwarded to his master the King of Spain.

[Eventually I succeeded] so far, that she will answer your letter, will make Throckmorton, who is her ambassador there, come and offer you compliments, and converse with you. If you do not trust him, she would send you some one in post, but she does not think that it is at present good that one of yours should come [to her].

I desired to remain here [? or] to return to your eminence, my commission from my lord the duke and from your eminence being what it was. She did not desire this for good reasons, but that I should go on to Scotland, and return at my convenience, while she hears from her ambassador. Your eminence might tell him that some persons of importance here do not love him, and that he would do well to think for his own house, that they are agreed here amongst themselves [*sic*], and he is unpopular, because he proposed the Earl of Arran. When he comes [back] he will perhaps not be very well received. They are almost resolved to send another ambassador and to call him back, but I know not how soon. Thus [you might] endeavour to win him to approve of sending [an envoy] to the Council, and of negotiating with your eminence.

Having a good opportunity I broached the other business. After having asked for many details, she answered that she must consent to do as her subjects please, but of herself she would never do it, and that by God's grace she on her side is free, and so indeed one hears from all. But she says that she will never decide on a person whom she has never seen. Never will she trust the eyes of others. I said that if there was agreement . . . [*some lines here faded and illegible*] . . . 'Nor do I,' said she, 'wish to treat otherwise.' So that I do not know what to say. I dare say she [? or his Highness] would be willing that the negotiation should be opened, as others have done, and that the world should be so informed, and what I have seen of [her] kingdom and [her] self [? make me believe that her husband] would not reign except in appearance.¹ The son of the emperor should have come, but did not, nor did the King of Sweden. 'So that I think that they are mocking me, and perhaps the duke your master cares for me, and makes you speak thus: of [the] other I know nothing.' I answered that if she wished to know, I would soon have informed her; but she said she could give no other answer, nor would she have spoken of this for the sake of your eminence

¹ The sense here is very obscure. Perhaps Elizabeth is speaking depreciatively of the Duke of Ferrara.

or of others, had not my master commanded me to ascertain her mind, to know if he could be of service to her, as a trusty third person, and [one who] could promise everything.

I described to her the match, which meant the acquisition of the riches and money that belonged to that house; the honours, the amiability, the good looks, the courage, and the experience of the prince, and all that God inspired me. Time did not fail me, and she was evidently pleased.

This is all I have been able to do. Now, whilst I go [to Scotland] your eminence should speak to the ambassador, and write to me, so that at my return I may have news of what you have been able to do, and that I may know what I have to do. I think I shall not be back in ten or twenty days.

The Protonotary de Foix left yesterday for Scotland. I was not in a hurry to pass him, until I had seen what [else] he was engaged in. I think I have not missed my opportunity, and that I have preserved my dignity. This I hope to explain better at my return. In passing I shall also learn . . . [MS. torn], and I shall be glad if you would inform me if I ought also to inquire into the secret intentions [?] of the ministers here.

The Bishop of Aquila is gallant . . . [MS. torn] . . . he might render good offices . . . [MS. torn].

From London on the twenty-third of November 1561.

Your eminence's humble and affectionate servant,

[Signature perished].

II. THE CARDINAL D'ESTE TO THE DUKE OF FERRARA (extract)

Source, as above.

[*St. Germain*, 20 December 1561]

To show you how Mons^r di Moretta has got on in England, I send you his letter, with a copy of my answer.¹ I am puzzled by the queen's pretext of wishing to see the person with whom she has to treat. It is a difficulty hard to provide against. Indeed it makes me almost sure that she has made up her mind on what she means to do. However, I have written as moderately as I could, seeing that Moretta is treating in the name of his own master, and speaks, as it were, on his own responsibility, he will not compromise your dignity.

I thought it well to take this opportunity of bringing the subjects of religion and the council to the fore. If we are listened to in this, the other negotiations will be facilitated.

¹ The enclosure is now missing. The letter, however, was received by Morette, and in Appendix No. 6, ii., an amusing account is given by de Quadra of his vain efforts to read it over Morette's shoulder.

III. ALVARO DE QUADRA TO CARDINAL GRANVELLE

The original Spanish of this letter has been published by M. le Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Relations Politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre sous le Règne de Philippe II.* (Collections de Chroniques Belges inédites), tome ii. p. 647. A letter written to King Philip at the same date (*Spanish Calendar*, 1558-1567, p. 219) of course gives much the same news, but to Granvelle the writer says, 'there is nothing I do not tell you just as I understand it, as you condone all my follies.' By consequence this letter is much more vivid and entertaining than the more formal despatch to the king.

[London, 27 November 1561]

I HAVE endeavoured to ascertain whence springs the great distrust which prevails at Rome about what has been done here in the matter of the Council. Seeing that I am as much a cleric as the rest, it does not seem to me that they ought to suspect my good will or diligence. Be this as it may, the facts are that this Moretta, under the persuasion of the Duke of Bedford then in France, and desirous of getting the Bishop of Toulon,¹ a relative of his, made cardinal, caused the duke his master to represent to the Pope that this affair was settled. This was the cause of the mission of the Abbate Martinengo, and now he has come himself, only to receive an answer with which he will return dissatisfied. From what I hear of him, the Cardinal of Ferrara seems to have a strange way of attending to affairs there. In the first place, as we must believe, he desires the good of religion, yet he is not without a human love of upholding the pretensions and designs of the friends of France. This is the end to which I think I see that Moretta's discourses tend, albeit he involves them in talk about the public good. In Scotland he will make the same proposal about the Council, and yet I think that there too they proceed with a view of strengthening France. For in case the Council does actually begin, that king could defend his pretension for precedence with the assistance of these two nations, while they think the king our master will be supported by Italy and a large part of Germany.

Still I think that if instead of this he should happen to conclude the match of the Duke of Ferrara with that queen, it would not grieve any one on the French side. For, as to the [match] with Nemours, I know not how to give it credence, any more than I believe that the Protonotary Foix has come, as Moretta says, to hinder it. Nay, if it is allowable to think evil, I would rather believe that he was sent by the King of France to support the negotiation of the Duke of Ferrara. However this is [my] malice, and I would not give it a place in my letters to the king, lest I should become too discursive. But in my

¹ Hieronimo de la Rovere was transferred from the see of Turin to Toulon, after the death of Cardinal de Trivulzio, in 1560. Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 637.

letters to your eminence (as you condone all my follies), there is nothing which I do not tell you just as I understand it.

My answer to that which Moretta told me at some length, on behalf of his master and of the Cardinal Legate [d'Este], concerning the matter of the Council, was in brief as follows :

I thought that if the state of France was put right, affairs here would soon be right too. While, if they were not remedied, all the pains taken to advise measures of this sort here are lost. The heretics of France help those here, and are helped by them. As they will have to be divided in order to be reduced, it seemed that the legate ought first to devote himself to the salvation of that kingdom, lest even there obedience to the Holy See should die out entirely as it has done here. After that it would be very easy to remedy matters here. Though in the meantime the compliments, which the Cardinal has made the queen, can only be helpful. This I said to Moretta, constraining myself a good deal to tell him what I felt about the matter, and it caused him some little confusion and shame, for one certainly hears that the legation is discharged with some tepidity, and that its proceedings are sometimes confused by considerations of human prudence, wherein I shall be glad to be deceived and ill informed. . . .

No. 5

Enclosure G in Mary's Despatch

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH

This draft is so similar to the document reproduced in facsimile that, for the sake of comparison, it has also been reproduced *litteratim*, without any regard for the usual conventionalities of printing manuscript—*i.e.* the stops, capitals, accents, etc., are as deficient and irregular as in the original.

The original is now British Museum, Additional 19,401, f. 92, 93, having been bought from Mr. Dawson Turner, as has been mentioned in the Introduction.

Dr. Martin Philippon has edited this letter in his *Règne de Marie Stuart*, iii. 452, but with considerable omissions, and one or two serious mistakes.

An obelisk (†) is used to mark the places where corrections have been made. In this document they are much more frequent than in the letter to the Duke of Guise; and whereas in the former case the cancellations were generally of a letter or two only, in this case they generally consist of a word, showing that on this occasion the writer was using much care and attention.

[*n.d., probably Edinburgh, 7 December 1561*]

MADAME puis que mon malheur quil ne mest du tout oste lesperance de voir la personne au monde a qui ie suis la plus obligee & que iaime aultant ie ne sai plus quelle me . . .

[*Here the writer has broken off, and, without cancelling the above*

opening, she doubled the pages of her letter back, so that the first folio became the second, i.e. fol. 93 a; then she began afresh, fol. 92 a.]

MADAME MA BONNE SÆUR ayant este visitee par le Roy de france monsieur mon beau frere & la Royne madame ma belle mere lesquels mont enuoie le sieur de foy pour sest effect ensemble layant charge de me faire bien au long entendre de leurs nouuelles i eſſincontinent delibere vous en faire partisipante combien que ie mesure quil vous aura fait le mesme office & par mesme moien ne vous aura selle les suspitions en quoy ils sont tombes de nouveau lesquelles ie ne me puis persuader prouenir daillieurs que de quellques malueillans ayant tousiours congeu tres grande fidelite des personnes accusees vers la courone & les Roys de france toutefois ie ne layse destre bien en poine pour selle que i en voys porter a la Datte royne ma belle mere tant pour lamitie que ie luy ay tousiours portee & les obligations que ie luy ay que pour se que ie oui quelque bruit que lon si a voulu mesler seuls qui m apartienent de si pres que messieurs mes oncles mesmemant pour lasurance que iay quilz en sont si inculpables que au contrayre ie repondrays tousiours quilz sont les plus fidelles & irrepeschahables seruiteurs que roy aura iamays ie ne fois doulte quilz ne se fassent conoitre tieuls maugre tous leurs anemis & que la royne les aſtant esprooues quele ne les croira pour otre ce que ieſmeasure que panceres de votre partſtant de si bon iugement que vous aperseueres ¹ bien le peu daparance quil i a au contrere & les grandes preues quilz ont faites de gens de bien et bon seruiteurs vers leur maitre ſstant certaine que les inimities pases nauront le pouoir de vous inprimer autre opinion deuls que de affectiones a leur patrie & prince & qui sela reserue vous fairont seruice aussi volontiers qua prinse ² de la chrestiente & daultant plus volontiers quilz nous voirront asurees amies comme tous les iours en faites plus de demonstrations de quoi ie me sans merueilleusement contente pour lanuie que notre amitie suiure tant heurus commencement ia pris de quoy ma aussi donne meilleure esperance vne lettre que s^t cosme ma ecrite qui nest que de la demonstration de votre bonne volonte en mon endroyt qui est si ie lose dire trop plus grande de mon coste comme ledit s^t cosme ma asure vous auoir dit & randel auquel i en ay dit ce que i en pansiois vous supliant le croire & m en faire declaration ne croiant seuls qui vouldroient enpescher notre acointance ni vous laiser persuader rien de de ³ seuls qui me touschent de si pres que premier n en voies . . . ⁴le commencement de priuaulte

¹ Fol. 92 b.

² Prinse, corrected from prinsesse.

³ Perhaps she meant to write 'rien de mal de seuls.'

⁴ A word illegible—? preuves.

entre nous deus†me fait entreprendre de vous ecrire aynsin librement [pour lentente frequente seruir en lentretenrent diselle & naiant pense presant]¹ & de vous communiquer mes affaires pour en auoir sur elles votre bon aduis que ie suiure aussi volontiers que dame que i aie en se monde †autre susget† et ie ne vous inportuneres de plus long discours †saschant bien†questes bien aduertie de locasion de la venue du sieur de morete qui nest autre†que me visiter de la part de mon oncle monsieur de sauoie & madame ma tante laquele maduertit que dieu lui a fait seste grace de auoir santie son enfant & sur ce propos ie vous presenteres mes bien affectionees recomandations.

[*Endorsed* :]—Minute de main de la Royne.

TRANSLATION

MADAME,—Seeing that my misfortune has altogether deprived me of the hope of seeing the person in the world to whom I am the most obliged, and whom I love so much that I cannot more . . .

[*Here the writer has broken off, and begun anew.*]

MADAME MY GOOD SISTER,—I have been visited by letters from the King of France Monsieur my brother-in-law, and from the Queen Madame my mother-in-law, who have sent to me the Sieur de Foix for this purpose. They have both charged him to make me fully acquainted with their news. I immediately determined to make you a sharer of it, although I am sure that he will have done you the same service. By the same means they will not have concealed from you the suspicions, into which they have fallen anew, and I cannot persuade myself that these suspicions spring from any other source than from certain evil-minded persons. I have always known the great fidelity of the accused towards the crown and kings of France. All the same I cannot fail to be much grieved by the pain, which I see caused to the said queen my mother-in-law, both for the friendship which I have always borne her and for the obligations I am under to her. [I am also pained] because I hear some rumour that people have really wished to incriminate those who belong to me so closely as Messieurs my uncles, and all the more by reason of the conviction I have that they are so guiltless in the matter, that on the contrary I would ever be ready to answer for it, that they are the most loyal and irreproachable servants that king ever had. I make no doubt that they will make themselves known as such in spite of all their enemies, and that the queen has had such experience of them that she will not deem them other. Which I am certain you on your part will think, being of such good judgment, that you will well perceive the little likelihood there is of the contrary and the great proofs that they have given [of being] true men and good servants of

¹ This passage is made up of cancellations.

their master. I am certain that enmities [now] bygone will not have power to make on your mind any other impression as regards them than of being lovers of their fatherland and prince; who, with this reserve, will do service to you as willingly as to any prince of Christendom, and so much the more willingly, as they will see us fast friends, of which each day furnishes fresh proofs, wherewith I feel myself wondrously content because of my desire that our friendship should follow the commencement already so happily made.

Of this a letter written to me by St. Colme also gives me better hope, which is no other than a proof of your goodwill in my regard—[goodwill] which, if I may make bold to say it, is beyond measure great on my side, as the said St. Colme has assured me you have said, and Randel [Randolph also]. To him I have said what I thought on the matter, beseeching you to believe him, and to make me a declaration of it [your goodwill]; not believing those who would wish to hinder our friendship, nor allowing yourself to be persuaded of any evil about those who are so nearly akin to me, before you see [proofs]. The commencement of intimacy between us two makes me write to you thus freely [. . .] and communicate to you my affairs, in order to receive your good advice about them. This I will follow as gladly as [I would the counsel of any] lady there is the world . . . [?]

I will not importune you with longer discourse, knowing well that you were fully informed on the occasion of the coming of the Sieur de Morette, [whose object] is no other than to visit me on behalf of my uncle M. de Savoy and Madame my aunt. She informs me that God has given her the favour of having felt that she is with child. Herewith I tender you my very loving regards.

No. 6

PAPERS RELATING TO THE RETURN OF MORETTE

I. THE CARDINAL D'ESTE TO THE DUKE OF FERRARA

Same source as for Nos. 2 and 4.

[*St. Germain, 3 February 1561-2*]

ILL^{mo} ET EX^{mo} S^r MIO ET NEPOTE OSSER^{mo}.—Col ritorno di Mons^r di Moretta ho inteso poco di buono di quel che piu io desideraua, perche in effetto quella Regina sta su le baie senza uenir ad alcuna conclusione, intertiene con buone parole un Ambasciator, che è la per il Re di Sueuia, et alfin si giudica che si attaccara a quel suo Millort Robert. Uero è che quanto al Concilio ci è qualche speranza, che mandandoui questo Regno, essa ci habbia a mandar parimente. Quanto poi à quella di Scotia dice ch'ella si gouerna intieramente secondo

il parer de i suoi Zij, et che pareua che si fosse mossa qualche prattica col figliolo del Re Cat^o., se ben credo che siano parole con poco fondamento, et si truoua hora tanto occupata in accomodar le cose di quel Regno, che non potria esser piu, hauendolo trouato tanto perso nella Religione che à gran pena è permesso à lei con i suoi uder la messa priuatamente, di modo che essendo tanta divisione nella cosa principale, V. Ex^{tia} puo credere che ci possa esser poca concordia nel resto. Pur si spera che Mons^r di Guisa sia per uenir questa quaresima in Corte, et allhora potrà intender qualche cosa d'auantaggio. Ma per me io spero poco et nel'uno, et nel'altro, et Dio sà quanto me ne incesca per il bisogno, che ha casa nostra di tutto il contrario. V. Ex^{tia} è sauia et conosce meglio di ognuno quel che importa il suo maritarsi. Io pregherò sol Dio che l'inspiri à quel che habbia ad esser per il meglio; et perche Nichetto ha da tornar presto in qua, et uerrà da V. Ex^{tia}, Se le parera di commandarmi altro sopra cio può esser certa ch'io la servirò sempre con tutto il cuore, et con questo baciandole le mani prego Dio che le conceda tutto quel che piu desidera. Di San Germano il iij di Febraro 1562. Di V. Ex^{tia}. —Affettionatissimo S^{re} et Zio,

HIPPOLITO CAR^l DI FERRARA.

[*Addressed :*] All' Ill^{mo} et Ex^{mo} Signor mio et Nepote Osser^{mo}, Il Signor Duca di Ferrara.

TRANSLATION

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORD, AND DEAR NEPHEW,—MONS. di Moretta's return has brought me little good news on that point, on which I chiefly desired it. In fact that queen is trifling without coming to any conclusion. She is entertaining with fair words an ambassador who is there on behalf of the King of Sweden, and eventually, people think, she will ally herself to her 'My lord Robert.' The truth is that in regard to the Council there is some hope, that if this kingdom sends [representatives] she would have to send likewise. As for the Queen of Scotland it is said that she decides all in exact accordance with her uncles' opinions, and it would seem that some negotiation with the son of the King of Spain has been commenced, although I believe that these are mere words with little foundation. At present she is most fully occupied in bringing the affairs of that kingdom to a settlement. She found religion so far ruined, that she and her court have only been allowed Mass in private with great difficulty. Thus when there is such division in the principal matter, your Excellency may be sure that there can be little concord in the rest.

There is hope that the Duke of Guise may come to court this Lent, and that then I may learn something fresh. But for my part I hope little in the one or in the other. God knows how this pains me, for our house needs something just the contrary. Your excellency is prudent,

and knows better than any one else the importance of your marriage. I will only pray God to inspire you with what must be for the best. Nichetto will soon be returning hither, and will pass by your excellency. If you should desire to give me fresh commands on this matter, you may be sure I shall serve you always with all my heart, etc. From St. Germain, the third of February 1562.—Your excellency's most affectionate servant and uncle,

HIPPOLITO, CARDINAL OF FERRARA.

II. ALVARO DE QUADRA, BISHOP OF AQUILA, TO CARDINAL GRANVELLE.

The Spanish text is printed in K. de Lettenhove, *Relations Politiques des Pays-Bas et de L'Angleterre*, ii. 657. Another copy, Additional MSS. 26,056a. See also *Spanish Calendar*, p. 222.

[London, 3 January 1561-2]

MONSR. de MORETTA, who arrived here from Scotland last night, came to see me to-day. Amongst other things he told me that the journey of de Foix was to treat with the heretics of that realm of some sort of alliance and good understanding with Vendôme¹ and his party in France. Moretta said that de Foix treated on this point with several Lords and with Knox (Cnoux), who is the principal preacher there, in secret and at some length. The matter, however, came to the queen's notice, who, said he, complained of it to him, as also that the said Foix had excused himself from being present at the exequies, which she celebrated on the anniversary of the death of the king her husband, alleging that he was unprovided with mourning. For the rest he said that de Foix talked of the flight [and] of the marriage of the Duke of Nemours, and spared not to touch the house of Guise. To which the queen answered in few words but with spirit, excusing her uncles, and showing surprise at what was said about Nemours.²

Moretta told me that he left her troubled with suspicions about the Duke of Chatelherault, about whom it is reported that he was plotting to carry her off to the castle of Dumbarton to marry her to his son the Earl of Arran. She had therefore ordered the formation of a sort of guard, and was cautiously living in retirement, even though the said duke and his son had been to excuse themselves. Though they were unarmed and very dutiful, yet were they not so much so as to be ready to restore the said castle of Dumbarton, as they have been told. On the contrary it is said that they have provisioned and victualled it for three years, which

¹ The Spaniards maintained that Anthony de Bourbon had forfeited his right to the kingdom of Navarre, and called him by his second title, Duke of Vendôme.

² The text reads, *De lo que el Nemours le dezia*, presumably for, *De lo que del Nemours se dezia*.

is a sign that they do not mean to restore it. The queen had sent a special summons to certain Lords of the kingdom for this and other business.

Moretta also says that she is resolved to marry very highly, and speaks without dissimulation of our lord the prince. When he asked her how the heretics of that kingdom would take that match, she answered him that they would take it very well. It would displease them indeed on the score of religion, yet such were their expectations from the execution of her right to this kingdom [of England], that they would not make a difficulty over it. They were thereby assured that she would not leave Scotland until she had children, and that then if a successor remained behind, they would set her free [*literally*, afloat] to go where she would. He said that the Lord James and all, or most of the Lords of the kingdom, were of that opinion. In Scotland, he says, there are an infinity of Catholics, and foremost among them the Earl of Huntly, who, he added, would cause Mass to be said throughout the kingdom despite all the heretics whenever the queen wishes.

Moretta further stated that that queen told him that the queen here holds very friendly intercourse with her, and has a mind to declare her her successor. The other queen appears to trust this, especially as some principal Lords of this realm have sent to offer their services to her.

He has also told me that the said queen had written through him to the Pope, certifying and assuring him that she is prepared to die rather than abandon her religion. He also mentioned that the queen thinks of writing me a letter in order to open up correspondence, but hesitated to do so lest I should tell this queen.

I listened to all he had to say and answered him with the usual generalities. In the matter of the marriage of our Lord the Prince, I said that I did not know anything whatsoever, at which he seemed surprised, and I doubt if he believed me.

While Moretta was reading me a paragraph from a letter which the Cardinal of Ferrara sent him on December 10 about his negotiations, I fixed my eyes on the opposite page of the letter, and saw a paragraph enjoining him to avoid confiding it to any one, nor to treat of it with anybody in the world, not even with the queen herself, unless he previously sees her inclined to the matter, and something more about comparing persons. I think it was something about the marriage. Much as I tried to sound him hereupon, I could not draw more out of him, nor make out what that second point was. Mons. de Chantonay [the Spanish ambassador in Paris] could more conveniently complete our information as to what this is. I also failed to make out which of the two queens was spoken of.

No. 7

Enclosure L in Queen Mary's Despatch

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH

The original holograph, beautifully written, on paper similar to that of the letter to the Duke of Guise, is in the Record Office, Scotland, vol. vii. No. 3. The edges have been pierced for the silk fastening. No trace left of seal.

[*Seton, 4 January 1561-2*]

MA DAME MA BONNE SŒUR ayant ouy quelque bruit que mon Oncle monsieur de guisse se doit trouuer a la court de france le xv^{me} de ce mois i ai despeche se present porteur pour le tenir aduertie de mes nouuelles may pour aultant qu il y a asses long temps que ie n ay eu lettres de lui & que ie ne suis asurement aduertie de nul endroict qui pourroit estre cause de sa venue ie suis auquement en poine pour en sauoir locasion que ie ne puis imaginer si ce n est que l on l a mande se que pourroit prester ocasion a seuls qui lui veullent mal de lui faire quelque broullerie ou lui dresser quelque trousse quoi aduenant pour le connoitre si homme de bien qu il est & m apertenant de si pres que ie ne puis moigns faire que d emploier le credit que i ays vers tous mes bons amis desquels ie vous teins la premiere pour si il en auoit besoin l aider de la faueur qu il vous a pleu me faire offrir de votre part par votre secretayre qui est de commender a votre ambassadeur residant en france de conferer priuement auueques se porteur ou mon oncle si besoin en est en ce qui le pourra touscher comme vous vouldries qu il s emploias pour moy mesmes vous voies ma bonne Sœur comme sellon lasuranse que maues donnee de le prandre en bonne part ie parle franchement auueques vous, me fiant en vous de tout ce qui me touche qui me rant certaine que aures ma priualte pour agreable, comme ie fairois si il se presentoit ocasion par la quelle ie vous peusse faire pareille preuue de ma bonne volonte laquelle ofre vous reseueres sil vous plest d aussi bonne affection comme de bon cueur ie la vous presente & vous prie croire se porteur de se quil vous dira de ma part & ensemble reseuoir mes bien affectionees recommandations a votre bonne grace acompagnees de priere a dieu quil vous doint madame ma bonne Sœur heureuse et longue vie de ceton ce iii^{eme} de Ianuier.

Votre tres affectionnee bonne sœur & cousine,

MARIE R̃.

[*Addressed in Queen Mary's hand:*] A la Royne d'angleterre, Madame ma bonne sœur.

[*Endorsed by Burghley*] 4 Januarii 1561. The Scottish Quene's privat letter to ye Q. Maty.

TRANSLATION

MADAME MY GOOD SISTER,—Having heard some rumour that my uncle Monsieur de Guise has to be present at the court of France on the 15th of this month, I have despatched this present bearer to keep him informed of my news. But—forasmuch as it is a somewhat long time since I have had letters from him, and because I have not been certainly informed from any quarter what may be the reason of his going—I am in some anxiety to learn the reason of it. This I cannot guess, unless it be that they [*i.e.* the French Court] have given him a command, which might give occasion to those who wish him harm to cause him some trouble, or prepare him some trickery.

Meantime knowing him to be such a sterling man, one knit to me so closely, I cannot do less than employ [for him] the credit which I enjoy with all my good friends, among whom I hold you the foremost, in order (if there be need for it) to help him by means of the favour, which it has pleased you to proffer me on your part by means of your secretary. That is to enjoin on your ambassador resident in France to confer privately with this bearer or with my uncle, if there be need for it, in that which may affect him, as you would wish that he should have employed himself in my own behalf.

You see, my good sister, how, in accordance with the assurance that you have given me that you would take it in good part, I am speaking frankly with you, trusting myself to you in all that concerns me, which makes me sure that you will take my familiarity in good part, as I should do if an occasion offered itself in which I might give you a like proof of my good will. This offer you will receive, if you please, with as much affection as I of good heart make it to you. I pray you to believe this bearer as to what he will tell you on my part. At the same time pray accept my most loving recommendations to your good grace, accompanied by prayer to God, that he may grant to you, Madame my good sister, a happy and a long life. From Seton, this fourth of January.—Your very affectionate good sister and cousin,

MARIE R̃.

No. 8

Enclosure P in Queen Mary's Despatch

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

Contemporary copy in the British Museum, Lansdowne MSS. vol. v. No. 28, fol. 81

[? London, 23 November 1561]

RIGHT EXCELLENT, RIGHT HICH etc.,—where by your lettres brought to us the last moneth by our syruant syr Peter Mewtas, it appeereth

that yow did very hartely accept our good wille in sending our said seruant to visite yow on our parte, and further did referre to his raport thanswer made by yow to the message proponid by him on our behalf: we be gladde to see our good will so well enterpreted and allowed. By which meanes amytye principally increasseth betwixt freends. And to the answer (as he reporteth it) we see no cause to be therein so well satisfied as we looked for. And yet considering (we trust) that your meaning is as ours is, sincere, iust, and direct towards the reparacion of all former strange accidents, and to make a perpetuall amytye betwixt us, we have thought meete, not to permit so good a mater for our amytye, to remayne unperfected. And therefore, where we onely require the ratificacion of a treatye passed by your commissioners, authorized therto with your hand and seale, and your staye therein for that manye things be conteyned in the same aperteyning to your late husbände the french king, and therefore wish it wer revisited by some, on both parts; we thinke your counsellours that be of experience in such cases, can enfourme yow that although ye ratifye the same Treatye as it is; yet shall the same tend but so farre as shall concerne your self, and not anye others. Neverthelesse for that we meane not in anye wise to omitte such meanes as maye best reduce our amytye to certainty and contynuance, and for that we see when princes treate by open assemblie of ambassadors, the world, specially the subiects on both partes, iudge that the amytye is not sownde, but in some points shaken or crased, which opinion we wold in no wise shulde be conceyved of our amytye; therefore both to maintaine the good opinion, alredy conceyved of the naturall good loue ment betwixt us two, and also to bringe this mater (wherein yow make staye) to some resolucion, we think it better that ye shuld communicate either pryvately to our trusty servant there Thomas Randolph, or rather by yo^r awne lettres to us, what be the very iust cawses that mooue yow thus to stay in the ratificacion. And if the same be to be allowed unto yow in reason, yow shall well perceyue we will require nothing but that which honnour, iustice, and reason shall allow us to aske and that which in lyke honnour, iustice, and reason yow ought to grawnt. And thus shall our affaires be more secretly, more directly, and as speedely resolved, as by ambassades. And thus etc., 23 Nouembris 1561.

[*Endorsed* :] Copie of a lettre to the Q. of Scotts.

No. 9

Enclosure Q in Queen Mary's Despatch

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH

Printed in Samuel Haynes, *State Papers relating to affairs . . . from 1542 to 1570.*
London, 1740, pp. 376-378, from the original at Hatfield.

[*Seton, 5 January 1561-2*]

RIGHT EXCELLENT, RIGHT HEICH, AND MIGHTIE PRINCESSE, OWR DEAREST SISTER AND COUSINE, we grete yow wele. Quharas by your letters of the 23rd of November we understand that, for owr answer gevin to Sir Peter Mawtas as he has reported it, ye se na caus to be thairin sa wele satisfeit as ye luikit for, we can nocht wele imagyn quhat lack culd be fund thairin. For as our meanyng in the self is, and hes bene sincere, just and upright, sa in the uttering of owr mynd to him, we sa temperat owr answer, as we thocht mycht wele stand with zowr contentment, and quietnes of ws baith: And to that end wissit that the treaty, quhilk ze require to be ratefyit, mycht be revewed by some commissioners sufficiently authorizat on baith parteis, quharonto ze have in zour letter apponit sic ane just and necessarie consideratioun that the world sall nocht, by oure dealing, be oppin assemblee of ambassadours, take occasioun to judge that thamytie is nocht sound, bot in sum poyntts shakin or crasit. As we nocht onlie do wele allow, bot alsua takis the same for a plane declaratioun of zour gude mynd, and ane infallible takin of zour naturall gude luif ment towert ws. And thairfore quhair ze think it bettir that we suld communicate athir prevelie to zour servand Thomas Randolphe, or rather be oure awn letters to zou, quhat be the very just causes that move us thus to stay in the ratificatioun: we do willinglie embrace that same rather, and presentlie meane so plaine to utter oure mynd unto you, as ze sall wele persauie the memory of all former strange accidentis is clene extinguisst upoun oure part, and that now without any reseruatioun we deale franchlie with zou, in sic sort as is convenient for tua sisters, professing sic firm amitie to treatie togidder. We leif at this tyme to tweche in quhat tyme that the treaty wes past, be quhais commandiment, qwhat ministeris, how thay war authorizat; or particularlie to examyn the sufficiency of thair comissioun: quhilkis heides are not so slender, bot the leist of tham is worthy of sum consideratioun. Onlie will we presentlie tweche that hede, quhilk is mete for us to provide, and that quhilk on zour parte is nocht inconvenient, bot sic as in honour, justice, and reason ze may wele allow. How preiudiciall that treatie is to sic title and interes as be birth and naturall discente of zour awin linage may fall to us,

be veray inspectioun of the treaty it self, ze may easelie persave ; and how slenderlie a matter of sa greit consequence is wrappit up in obscure termis. We know how neir we ar descendit of the blude of England, and quhat devisis hes bene attemptit to make us as it wer a strangear from it. We traist, being so neir zour cousine, ze wald be laith we suld ressave so manifest ane iniurie, as awnterlie to be debarrit from that title, quhilk in possibilitie may fall unto us. We will deal franklie with zou, and wiss that ze deale frendlye with us : we will have at this present na juge of the equitie of oure demand, bot zour self. Gif we had sic a mater to treat with any uther prince, thair is na persoun quhais avise we wald rather follow ; sa greit a count do we make of zour amytie towert us, and sic a opinion have we conceyvit of zour uprightness in judgement, that althot the mater partlie tweche zour self, we dar aventure to put mekle in zour handes. We will require nathing of you, bot that quhilk we culd wele fynd in oure hart to grant unto you, gif the like cause wer ours. For that treatie, insafer as concerneis us, we can be content to do all that of reasoun may be requirit of us, or rather to entre into a new of sic substance as may stand without oure awin preiudice, in favouris of you and the lawchfull ishe of zour body ; providit alwayes that oure interest to that crown, failzeing of zour self and the lawchfull ishe of zour body, may thairwithall be put in gude suretie, with all circumstances necessar and in forme requisit. Quhilk mater being anys in this sort knyt up betwix us, and be the meanes thair of the hail sedde of dissentioun taken up by the rute, we doubt nocht bot herefter oure behaviour togidder in all respectis sall represent to the world als grite and firm amytie, as be storyis is expressit to have bene at any tyme, betwix quhatsamever cupple of dearest frendis mentionat in thame (lat be to surpass the present examplis of oure awin age), to the greit confort of oure subjects, and perpetuall quietness of baith the realmes ; quhilkis we are bund in the sicht of God be all gude meanys to procure. We leif to zour awn consideratioun quhat reasonis we mycht allege to confirme the equitie of our demand, and quhat is probable that utheris wald alledge, gif they wer in oure place, quhilkis we pas over with silence. Ze see quhat abundance of luif nature hes wrocht in oure harte towartis you, quhairby we ar movit rather to admit sumthing that uthers perchance wald esteme to be an inconvenient, then leif ony rute of breache ; and to set aside the maner of treating accustomat amanges utheris princes, leving all ceremonyes, to propone and utter the boddum of oure mynd nakitlie, without any circumstances : quhilk fassioun of deling (in our opinioun) deservis to be answerit in the like franknes. Gif God will graunt ane gude occasoun that we may mete togidder, quhilk we wyss may be sone, we traist ze sall mair clerelie persave the sinceritie of our gude meanyng than we can express be writing. In the meane season we desire zou hartelye, as ze terme

us zour gude sister, sa ymagin with zour self, that we ar sa in effect; and that ze may luke for na les assurit and firme amyitie at our handes, than we war zour naturall sister in deid; quhairof ze sall fra tyme to tyme have gude experience, sa lang as it sall pleis zou to continew on zour part, the gude intelligence begun betwix us. And thus richt excellent, richt heigh, and michtie princesse, oure deirest sister and cousine, we commit zou to the tuitioun of the Almichty. Gevin under owre signet at Seyton the fift day of Januar, and of oure reigne the twenty zere 1561.—
Zour gud sister and loving cousing, MARIE R.

To the richt excellent, richt heich, and michty princesse, our dearest sister and cousin, the Quene of Ingland.

No. 10

FRANCIS DUKE OF GUISE TO MARY QUEEN
OF SCOTS

THE ANSWER TO HER DESPATCH

From the original, with autograph signature, British Museum,
Additional mss. 19,401, fol. 59.

[From ? *Vic.* 28 January 1561-2]

MADAME,—Ayant entendu par Montignac le desir que vous auez de scauore de noz nouvelles par Mauuissiere, lequel jay promis vous enuoyer je crains que vous ne trouuiez estrange son retardement, que vous pouuez penser Madame, nauore este sans grandes occasions comme luy mesme vous dira, car je fais estat de le despescher bien tost auec si amples instructions de toutes nouvelles que vous naurez occasion de vous plaindre de moy. Ce pendant, Madame, je vous supplie me tenir en votre bonne grace a laquelle je me veus recommander treshumblement, apres auoir pryé le Createur vous donner Madame, en tres parfaicte sante tres heureuse et longue vye. De vy ce xxvij jour de Januier 1561.

Vostre treshumble et tresobeissant seruiteur,

FRANCOYS DE LORAINÉ.

TRANSLATION

MADAME,—Having heard through Montignac the desire that you have to learn news of us by Mauvissière, whom I have promised to send to you, I fear that you may think his delay strange, [a delay] which, as you may believe, Madame, has not been without weighty reasons, as he himself will tell you, for I am making preparations to despatch him to you

very soon, so well posted in all our news that you will have no reason to complain of me. Till then, Madame, I beseech you to retain me in your good grace, to which I would commend myself most humbly, having prayed to the Creator to grant you, Madame, in perfect health a very happy and a long life. From [? Vic] this 28th day of January 1561.

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

FRANÇOYS DE LORRAINE.

THE DUKE OF GUISE AND THE CARDINAL OF LORRAINE TO
QUEEN CATHERINE DE MEDICI.

This letter, written almost simultaneously with the above, may almost be considered a part of it, and a copy of it was in all probability forwarded to Mary. The writers are, in fact, sending on so much of Queen Mary's despatch as they think convenient, and they address the queen-dowager in a perhaps intentional tone of defiance. The original letter is preserved at Rouen, Fonds Leber. B., No. 5720, and has been printed from A. Chéruel, *Marie Stuart et Catherine de Médicis*, Paris 1858, pp. 33, 34.

MADAME,—La reine d'Ecosse votre fille a envoyé vers nous le sieur de Montignac, présent porteur en bien grande diligence, et, pour vous dire franchement l'occasion, elle cuidoit (croyait) que nous eussions si mauvaise part en votre bonne grâce, que nous en fussions pour cela en peine, et même on lui avoit mandé que moi, duc de Guise, étois mandé pour m'aller justifier en personne. Nous ne vous saurions assez exprimer combien d'honnêtes offres elle nous faisoit; car, madame, vous connoissez son cœur et son bon entendement, et puis, outre le sang dont nous la touchons et les services que nous lui avons faits, elle n'oublie point comme nous avons bien servi le roi son beau-père. Or, Dieu merci, madame, nous lui avons incontinent fait entendre qu'elle n'en devoit être en peine. Car, puisqu'elle nous connoit tels que nous sommes, et, que par les propos qu'elle a tenus à monsieur de Foy, et ce que par lui elle vous a écrit, vous avez assez connu qu'elle répondoit pour nous, s'il en étoit besoin, et n'est pas de celles qui donnent créance aux faux bruits et rapports des méchants, elle ne devoit point penser que vous fussiez aussi pour y ajouter foi. Car vous avez assez d'expérience de nous et de nos actions, et n'avez pas, Dieu merci, oublié ni le roi votre seigneur, ni le roi votre fils, ni les services que nous avons faits à la chose publique et à vous, madame, en particulier, comme même, madame, vous nous en avertissez par toutes vos lettres. Et quant à ceux qui essayent de blâmer nos actions et nous vouloir amener en suspicion, si nous les pouvons découvrir, nous pourrons bien avoir assez de moyens de leur apprendre à parler et les faire châtier comme ils méritent, Voilà, madame, ce que nous lui en avons écrit, nous sentant très obligés à elle de tant d'honnêtes offres qu'il lui a plu nous faire. Voilà aussi l'occasion de ce porteur, lequel nous vous renvoyons pour vous rendre compte de tout ce qu'il vous plaira savoir de lui. Or,

madame, il faut que vous sachiez aussi que l'empereur a ici envoyé vers nous le sieur de Polviller pour nous parler du mariage de l'archiduc son fils et de la reine d'Ecosse, à qui nous avons fait toute honnête réponse, remettant tout à la dite reine ; car le fait lui touche.

TRANSLATION

MADAME,—Your daughter, the Queen of Scotland, has sent to us M. de Montignac the present bearer, in all haste. And to tell you frankly the reason thereof, she thought we had so little share in your good grace, that we were troubled in consequence. She had even been told that I, the Duke of Guise, was enjoined to go in person and justify myself. We cannot express to you what friendly offers she made to us ; for, Madame, you know her good heart and sense, and then besides our blood relationship, and the services we have rendered her, she does not forget how well we served her father-in-law. But, thank God, we at once made her understand that she should not be anxious. For since she knows us as we are, and by her conversations with Monsieur de Foix, and what she has written to you through him, you knew well enough that she answered for us, were it needed, and that she is not of those who give credit to the false bruits and reports of the evil-minded,—she should not think you would believe them. For you have experience enough of us and of our actions ; and have not, thank God, forgotten either the king your lord, or the king your son, or the services we have rendered to the public cause and to you, Madame, in particular, as you yourself assure us in all your letters. As to those who endeavour to blame our actions, and wish to draw us into suspicion, if we can but discover them, we shall have means enough of teaching them how to talk, and chastising them as they deserve. This, Madame, is what we have written to her, feeling ourselves much indebted to her for the friendly offers she has been pleased to make us. This also is the occasion which has led to the despatch of this envoy whom we send back to you, to inform you of all that it may please you to learn from him. You must also know, Madame, that the emperor has sent the Sieur de Polviller to us here, to confer with us on the marriage of his son the archduke with the Queen of Scotland, to whom we made a full and polite answer, referring everything to the said queen, for the matter concerns her.

No. 11

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

Public Record Office, Scotland, vol. vii. no. 84, fol. 171, a contemporary copy. This is the only surviving *lettre intime* from Elizabeth to Mary, belonging to this period, and may be said to mark the close of the intimacy between the two queens. A war of religion had broken out in France, and Elizabeth had allied herself with

the Huguenots, giving them men and money, and receiving Havre and Dieppe in pledge, until her loans were returned and Calais restored. For her 'declaration' of policy, see *Foreign Calendar*, 1562, pp. 310 to 314. The bloody outrages, of which Elizabeth here complains in powerful, though sometimes obscure classical similes, certainly took place. But it was a mere affectation to pretend that such crimes were perpetrated by one side only.

The malady spoken of in the last line was the dangerous attack of smallpox, which reached its crisis on the next day, October the 16th.

[? *Kingston*, 15 October 1562]

TRES CHERE SŒUR,—Sil ne fut chose impossible qu'aucun oubliast son cuer propre, j'aurois peur que vous ne doubtissiez que n'eusse beu de l'eau de Lethe. Mais je vous prometoz que, oultre quil n'y a telle riuere en Angleterre, si est ce que de ce peché vous etez la principale cause. Car si l'attente de vostre messagier, que m'escripuez debuoir long temps y avenir, n'eust tant retardé, je vous eusse visité par mes lettres selon nostre coustume precedente. Mais quant j'oyois que vous alliez si long pelerinage de si longue distance de ca, je pensois que cella vous empescha. De ma part il y auoit une aultre occasyon qui m'empescha fort, de peur de vous fascher a ouyr telles tragedyes, de qui toutes les semaines mes orelles en estoyent par trop faschees. Lesquelles pleist a dieu qu'eussent esté aussy celees aux aultres, qu'elles ont esté cachees par moy. Et vous prometoz sur mon honneur que jusques à tant que les corbeaux en cryoyent, je tenois les estoupes orelles d'Ulisse. Mais quant ie veis que tous mes conseillers et subiectz me penserent de veue trop esblouye, d'entendement trop estourdy, d'esprit trop improudente, je me leuois de tel someil, et me pensois n'estre digne a gouverner ung royaulme, tel que possede, si ie n'eusse aussy familier à mes affaires, Prometheus comme j'ay laccointance de Epimetheus. Et quant il me souenoit qu'il toucha aux vostres (mon dieu) comment je me roda le cuer, non pour eulx, vous le scauez bien, mais pour cella, à quy je souhaite tout le bien que se peult desyrer, ayant grant peur que ne pensiez les vielles estincelles estre ventouilles de ce nouveau feu. Nonobstant quant je veiz la necessite n'auoir loy et que nous debuons bien garder noz maisons de despouille, quant celles de noz voisins sont si pres ardentes. Je nay tant seulement une souspecon de vous, que ne voulliez oster la voile de nature et regarder la nude cause de raison. Car quelle esperance demeure aux estrangiers, quant la cruaulte abonde tant entre les domestiques. Je oultrepasserois plus tost en silence les terrestres meurtres que narrerois par escript les aquatales sepultures, et me taiserois des hommes coupeez en pieces, sy les cris des enceintes estrangées avec les souspirs des enfantz aux mamelles maternelles ne me mouassent: Quelle drogue de rubarbe esvacuera la colere qui ces tyrannyes engendrent? Entre ces brouilleries mes propres subiectz en plusieurs lieux ont perdu

leurs biens, leurs nauyres, voire leurs vyes, en les baptisant daultres noms daultres noms [*sic*] que oncques leurs comperes leur donna [*sic*] nom à moy audeuant fort incogneu par trop d'accoustumance trop cogneu—cest huguenotz. Lesquelz estans trop iniurez, la colpe fut imposé aux pauures soldatz, mais la faulte demeurra aux mauuais cheffz de querellez. Lesquelz en estoient admonestez tous les jours, en lieu de les corriger . . . feirent pour ung mal vingt. Aussy ayant receu lettres du Roy et la Royne mere, quilz n'en pouoyent rien, jentendois bien que de tiltre il fut roy, de fait au mandement des aultres. Quoy voyan[t] je m'addonne du tout, à ne souffrir telz maulx quy pourront aduenir sy la proye de ce Royaulme fut entre leurs talons, mais plustost tellement a regler mes actions, que le Roy me pensera bonne voisine, en gardant plustost qu'a destruire les vostres n'auront cause de me penser vindicatiue en ne leur nuisant, s'ilz ne commencent. Vous n'aurez occasion de m'accuser de fraude, n'ayant jamais tant promis, que je n'accomplis plus, s'il se peult faire. Et vous prometz de bonne foy, qu'il ne tiendra a moy, quil n'y ait tost bonne paix, pour tous ceulx qui seront guydez par la regle de raison. Et combien que j'envoye mes gens de Haures maritimes [? mes gens maritimes à Haures] je n'ay en aultre pensee, synon qu'ilz y fassent tout bon office vers le Roy et tous aultres, pourueu qu'ilz ne viennent en lieu, ou ilz me pourront nuire. Et à ce que tout le monde entende la bonne intention que j'ay à la paix et à oster toute aultre soupeon qui s'en pourra engendrer, Je fus [*sic*] faire ceste declaration qui vous declairera le tout sans fiction aulcune. Esperant que vous penserez de moy tant honorablement que mon bon voulloir vers vous merite,—Et combien que j'ignore point combien de finesse sera, ou a este usée vers vous en cest endroit, en pensant à vous retyrer de ceste affection que je m'asseure me portiez. Nonobstant je me confie tant en ce cueur qui je garde, que plustost les ruiers monteront au sus de leur naturel que celluy change son desseing. La fieure feruente quy me tient tout presentement me defends a plus escrire.

[*Endorsed :*] Coppye 15 Octobre 1562. The Queenes Ma^{tes} Ire, to the Scottishe Queene.

TRANSLATION

VERY DEAR SISTER,—If it were not a thing impossible that one should forget her own heart, I should fear you suspected that I had drunk of the waters of Lethe. But I assure you that besides there being no such river in England, so of this fault you are the principal cause. For if the waiting for your messenger who, as you wrote to me, ought long since to have come hither, had not so much delayed [me], I would have visited you by my letters according to our previous custom. But when I heard that you were going on such a long pilgrimage to so great a distance from

hence, I thought that would hinder you [from receiving my note]. On my part there was another occasion which hindered me greatly, the fear of tiring you with hearing the tragedies, with which every week my ears have been all too much wearied. Would to God they were as hidden to others as they have been concealed by me.¹ And I assure you on my honour that right up till when the ravens croaked of them, I kept my ears sealed up like those of Ulysses. But when I saw that all my councillors and subjects thought me of sight too dim, of hearing too deaf, of spirit too improvident, I roused myself from such slumber, and deemed myself unworthy to govern a kingdom, such as I possess, if I were not also skilled in my own affairs: a Prometheus, as well as acquainted with Epimetheus.²

And when it came to my mind how it touched your [kinsfolk], Mon Dieu, how I gnawed my heart! Not for them (you know it well), but for her on whose behalf I long for all the good that can be desired, having a great fear lest you should think that the old sparks would be fanned by this new fire. Notwithstanding, when I saw that necessity had no law, and that it behoves us carefully to guard our houses from spoil, when those of our neighbours are ablaze so close at hand, I have not even so much as a suspicion that you would refuse to draw away nature's veil and gaze on the naked cause of reason.³

For what hope is left for strangers when cruelty so much abounds among those of the family. I would sooner pass over in silence the murders on land than [*sic*] tell in writing of the burials in water, and would say nothing of men cut in pieces, if the cries of pregnant women strangled with the walls of infants at their mothers' breasts did not stir me. What rhubarb drug will purge away the choler which these tyrannies engender? Amid these broils my own subjects in divers places have lost their goods, their ships, nay, their very lives, being baptized with nicknames which their godfathers never gave them—a name to me heretofore quite unknown, though staled by custom, now too well-known, that is 'huguenotz.' Which injuries being excessive [?], the blame was placed on the poor soldiers; but the fault rested with the wicked movers of these quarrels, who, although admonished of them every day, in place of correcting them, for one evil do twenty. Likewise, having received letters from the king and the queen-mother that they could do nothing, I well perceived that though king by title, in fact he was ruled by others.

Seeing this I devote myself entirely to prevent those evils which would come to pass, if that realm became a prey within their talons. Rather [will I] so shape my actions that the king will think me a good neighbour,

¹ The meaning is—Would that they had never existed. I at least have never spoken of them.

² The legend of Prometheus and Epimetheus (that is of forethought and afterthought) may have come to Elizabeth through Claudian, lib. ii. In *Eutropium*, 490.

³ The meaning is—I am sure that you are not so infatuated about your relatives, that you will refuse to look the facts in the face.

one who keeps safe rather than destroys. Your kinsfolk will not have cause to think me vindictive as I will not injure them, if they do not begin. You will have no occasion to accuse me of fraud, I having never promised so much as I do not more than fulfil, if it can be done. And I assure you in good faith, that it will not be due to me, if there is not soon a firm peace for all those who will be guided by the rule of reason.

Although I am sending a naval force to Havre, I have in that no other thought, except that there they should do every good office to the king and to all others, provided that [those others] do not come into a place whence they may do me injury. And in order that the whole world may understand the good intention that I have with regard to peace, and [also] to remove any other suspicion that thence might arise, I had [?] to make this declaration, which will make everything clear to you without any deceit.

Hoping that you will think of me as honourably as my good will to you merits, and although I am by no means ignorant of what craft will be, or has been, employed in your regard in this matter [by those] who think to draw you from that affection which I am assured you bear me. Nevertheless, I confide so much in this heart, which I keep inviolate, that sooner shall rivers flow up their natural [courses], than it shall change its intention. The burning fever, which now holds me entirely in its grasp, prevents me from writing more.

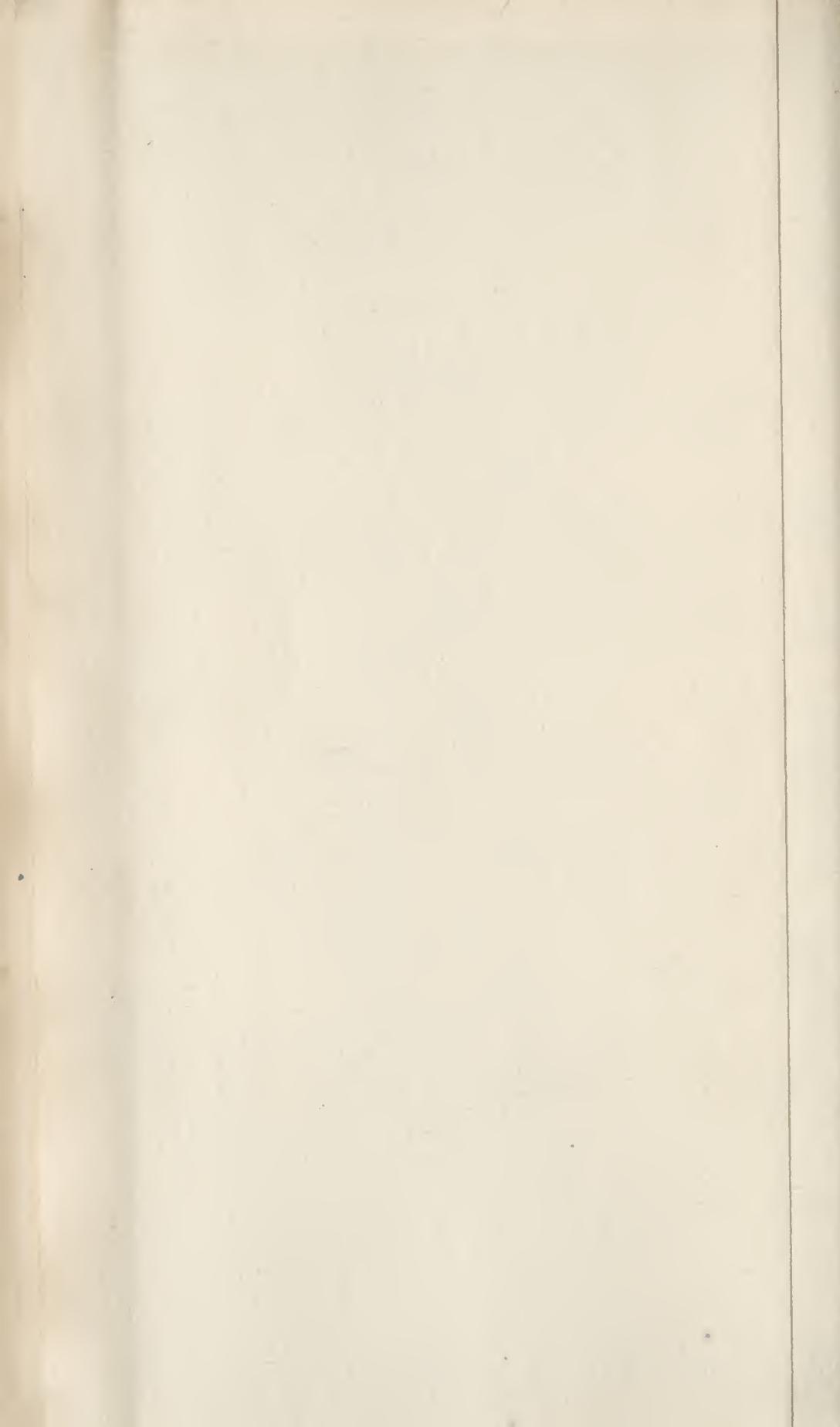
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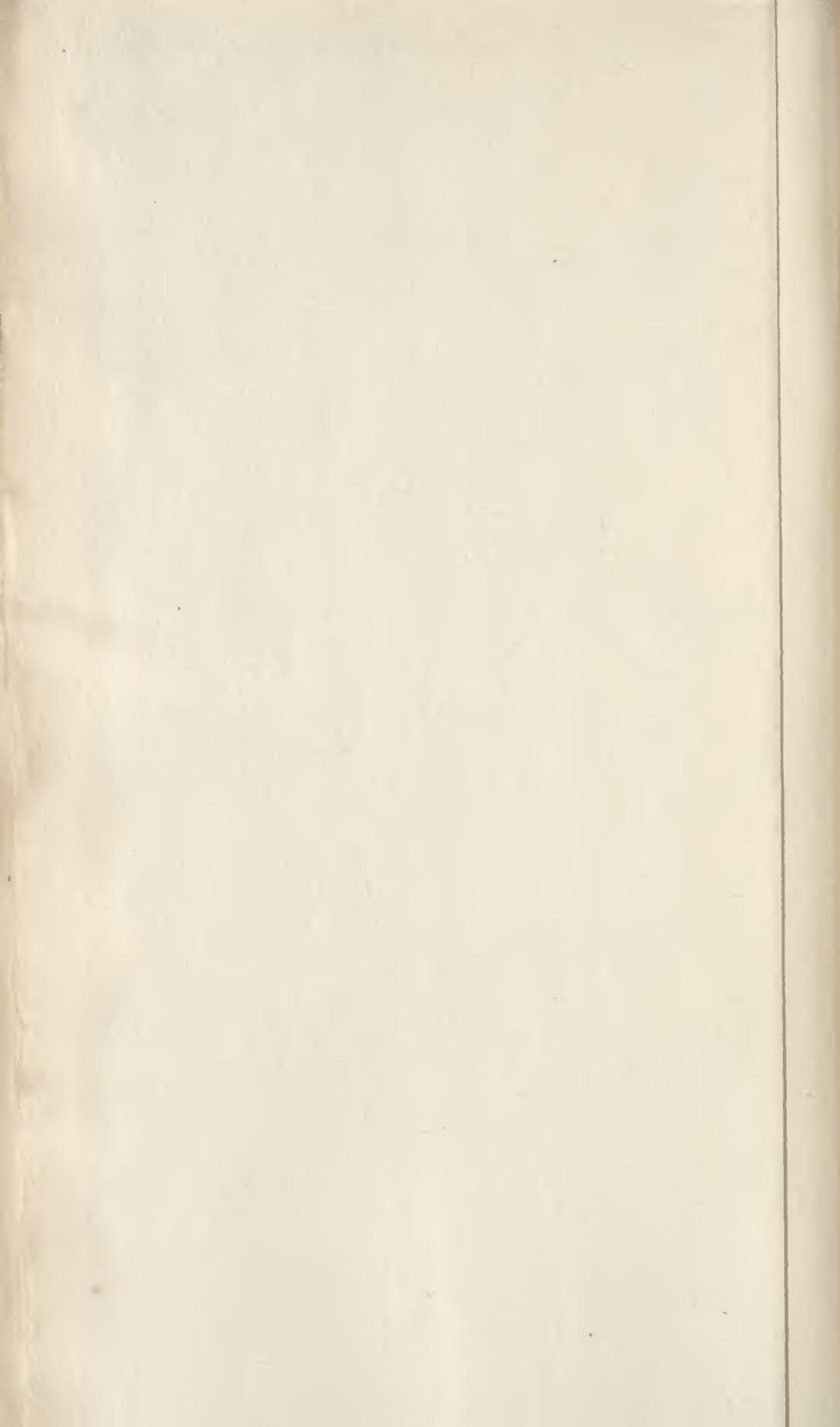
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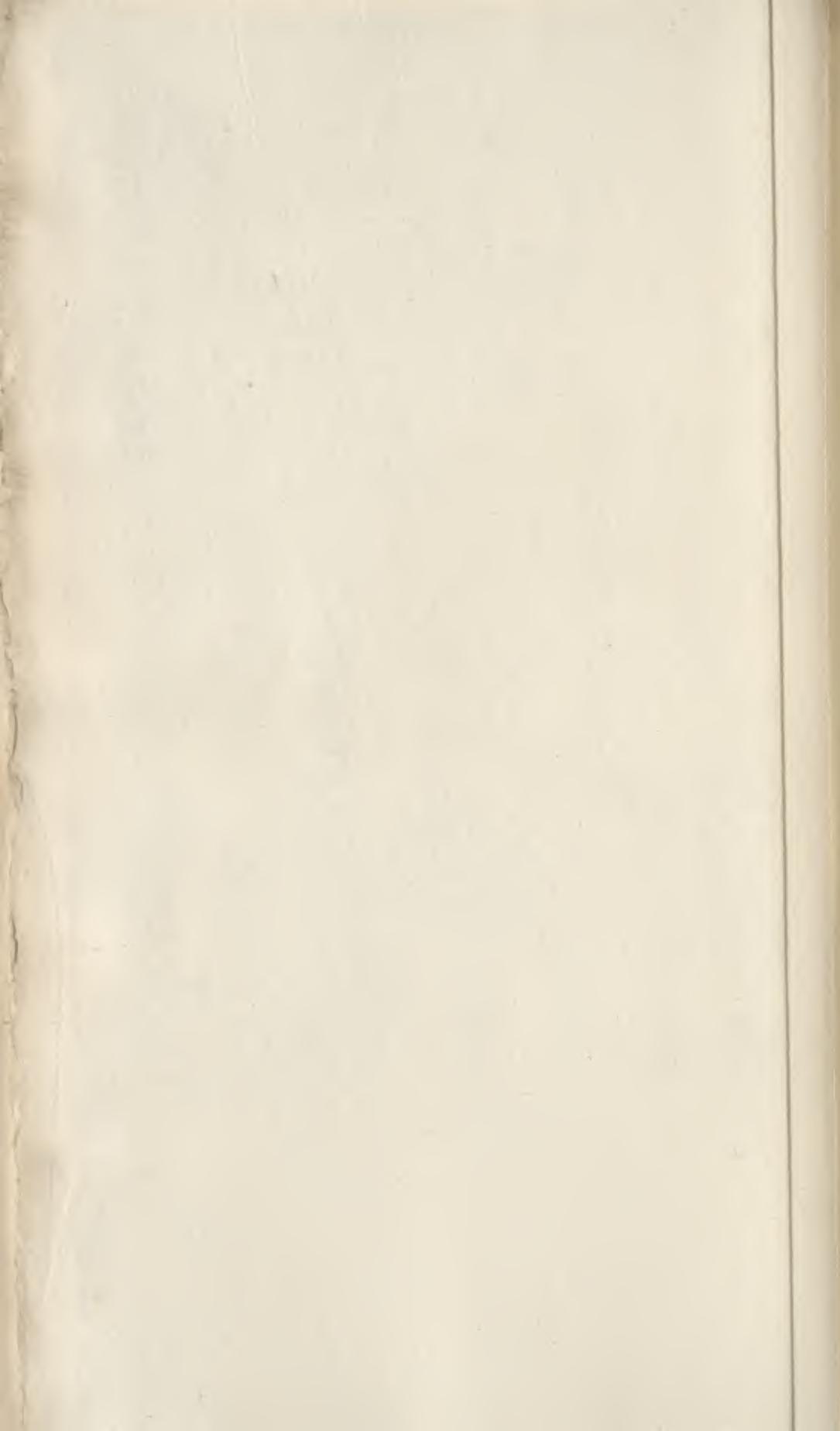
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OF QUEEN MARY'S LETTER



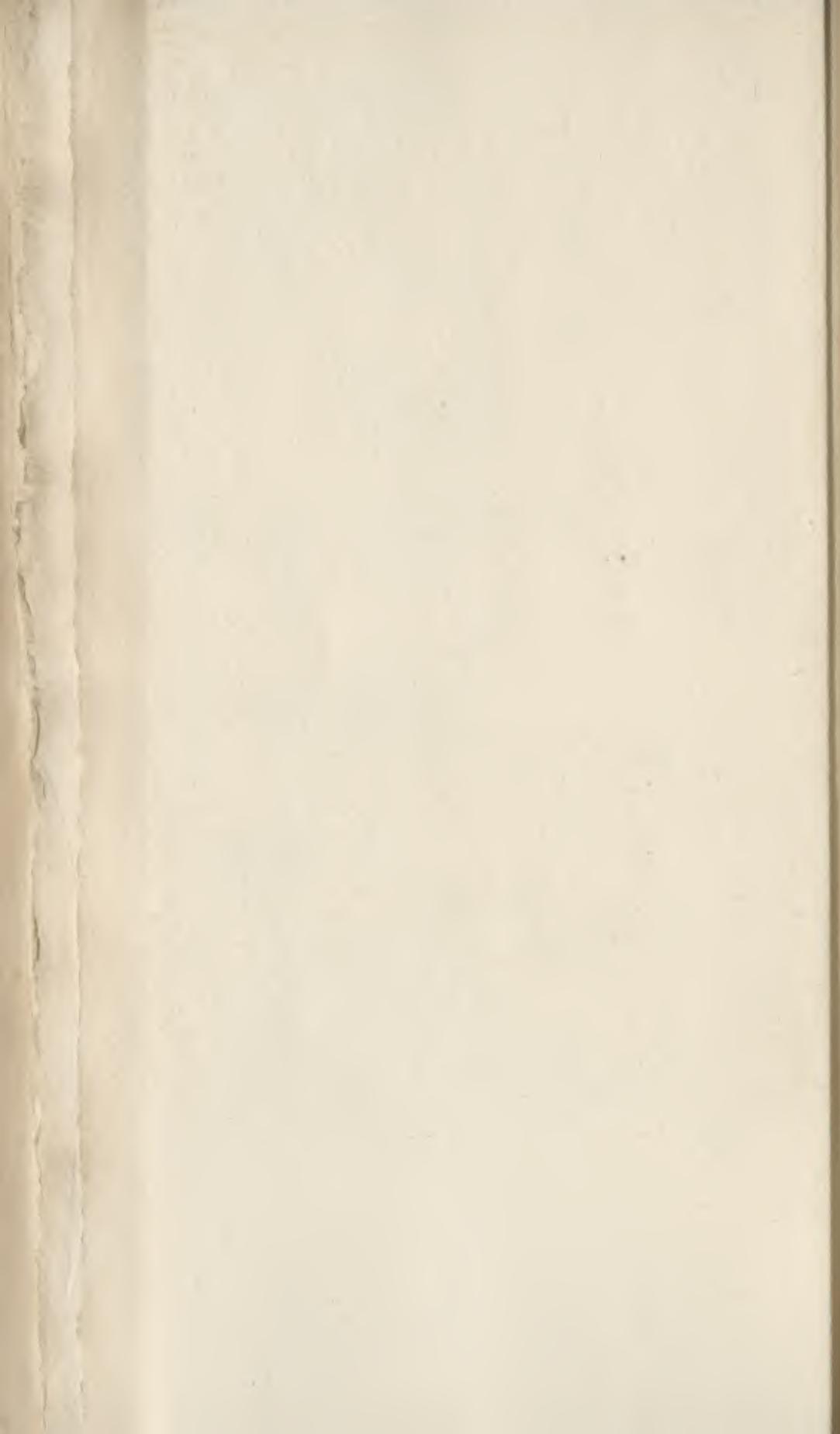
Comme ie desirerois plus auoir le mien a vous
tesmoigner par effect que par escrit que ie me
guarclera vous d'iser de belle parolle mais
pour auoir plus la cause de ma despesche en
la teste que d'auoir de surprendre ma femme
que le temps vous fera assez connoistre ma
bonne volonté ~~en seruisant~~ ^{seruisant} & d'auoir
ere de vous direz que l'apoin enuoye le



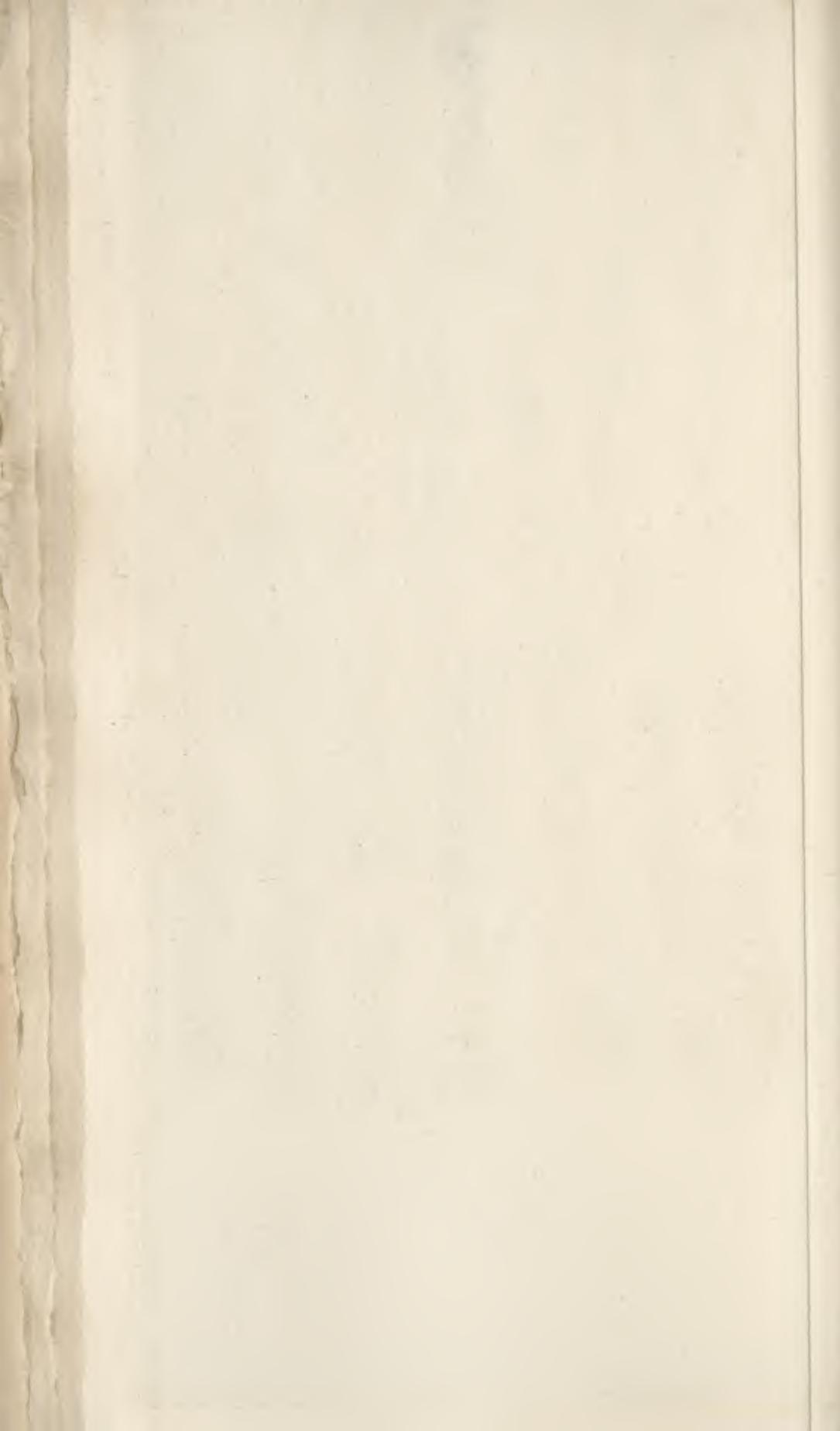
3
Sadinertisement que lesiens de fixx demoit venant
1251 ambassadeur de par le Roy La Roze et le Roy
demannare et sequi aduint deus xrus
apres lequel mayorta des lettres disents et envoi
en envoe les doubles et mapas grandias
et me dit pour la creame qui lestoit
venn ayant charge de me viber de son
part et moistr toute leur busance



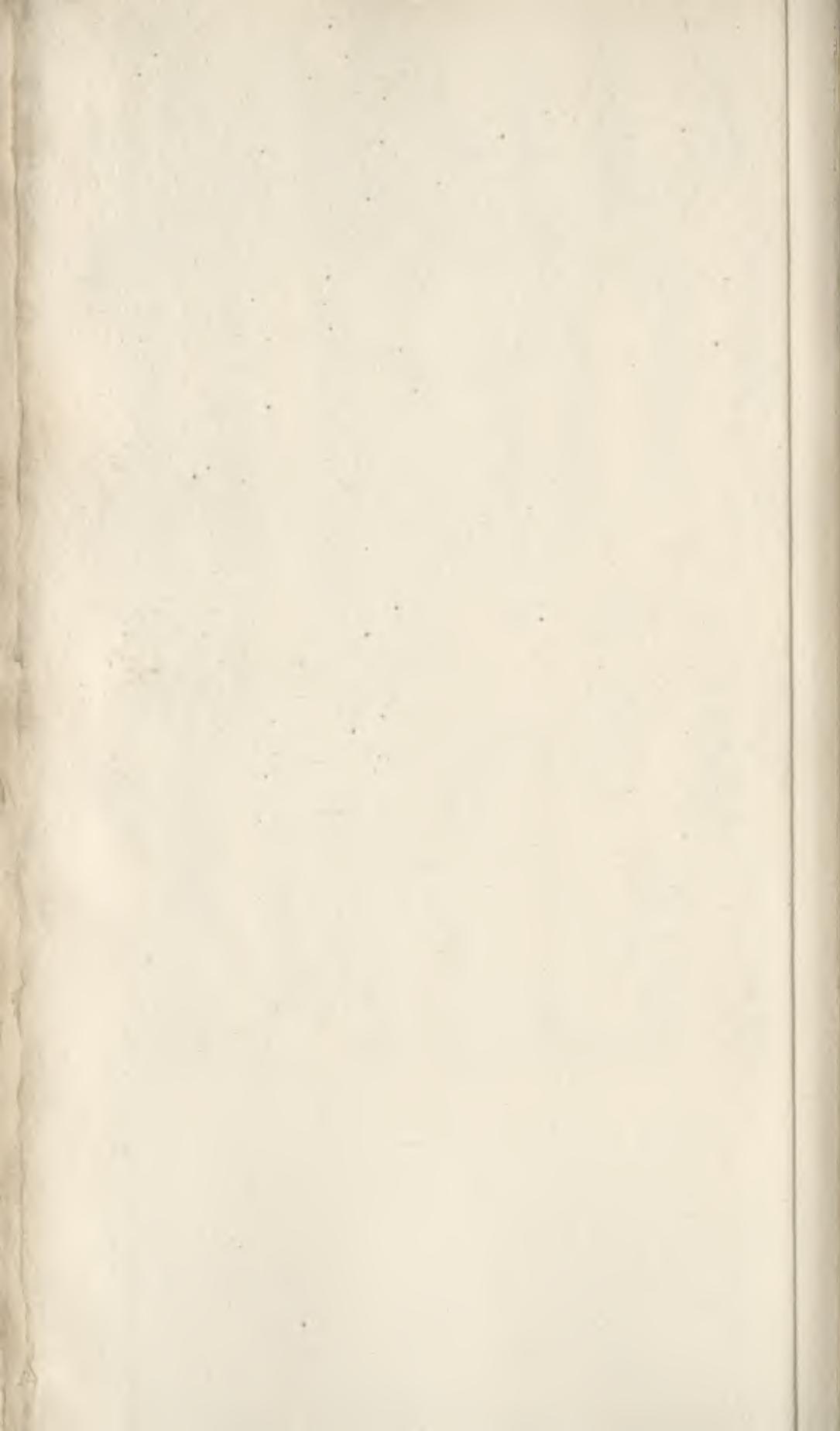
4
Sordain mais aingt enuice lui faire comme vident
de son venin descharger. Je que n'ayant fait
au contraire se n'est en lui faisant plus qu'arrêter
demonstration qui est vray & qu'en
obstant elle lui aurt encores escrit & re
sous que l'ne sauroit se qu'on fait mais
pour son assurance que ils auoient est
tous les

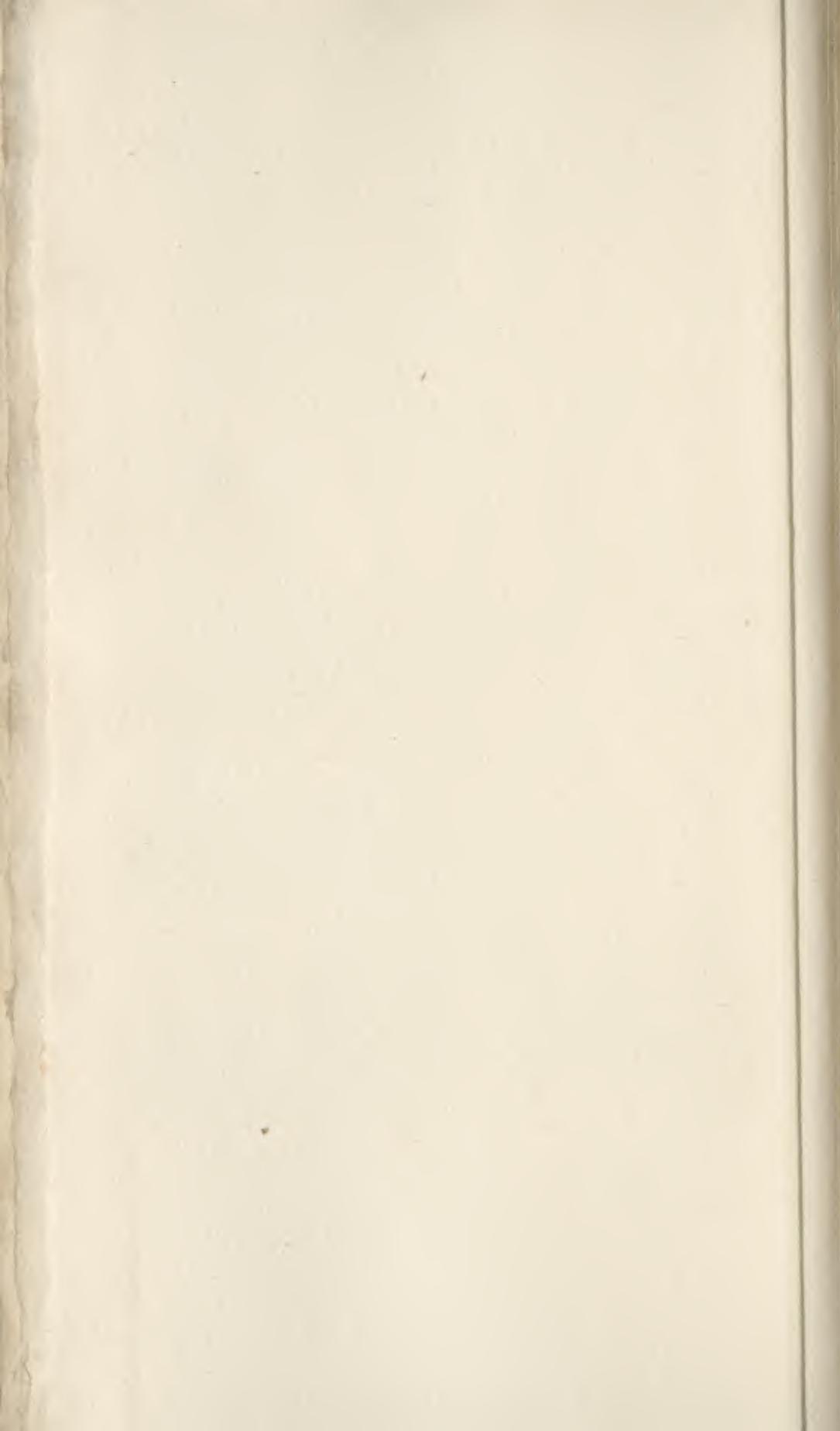


par son entre sonner et en un & aussy par
se que il auoit fens par cest am de se
d'ouper tement de quads et lui prie me
lire des nouvelles & comme il se font
aucques la Roynne et lui de mande expre
pour voir se il y en a de plus la court
il me dit que il n'y en a plus la court
mais que il y en a de plus la court

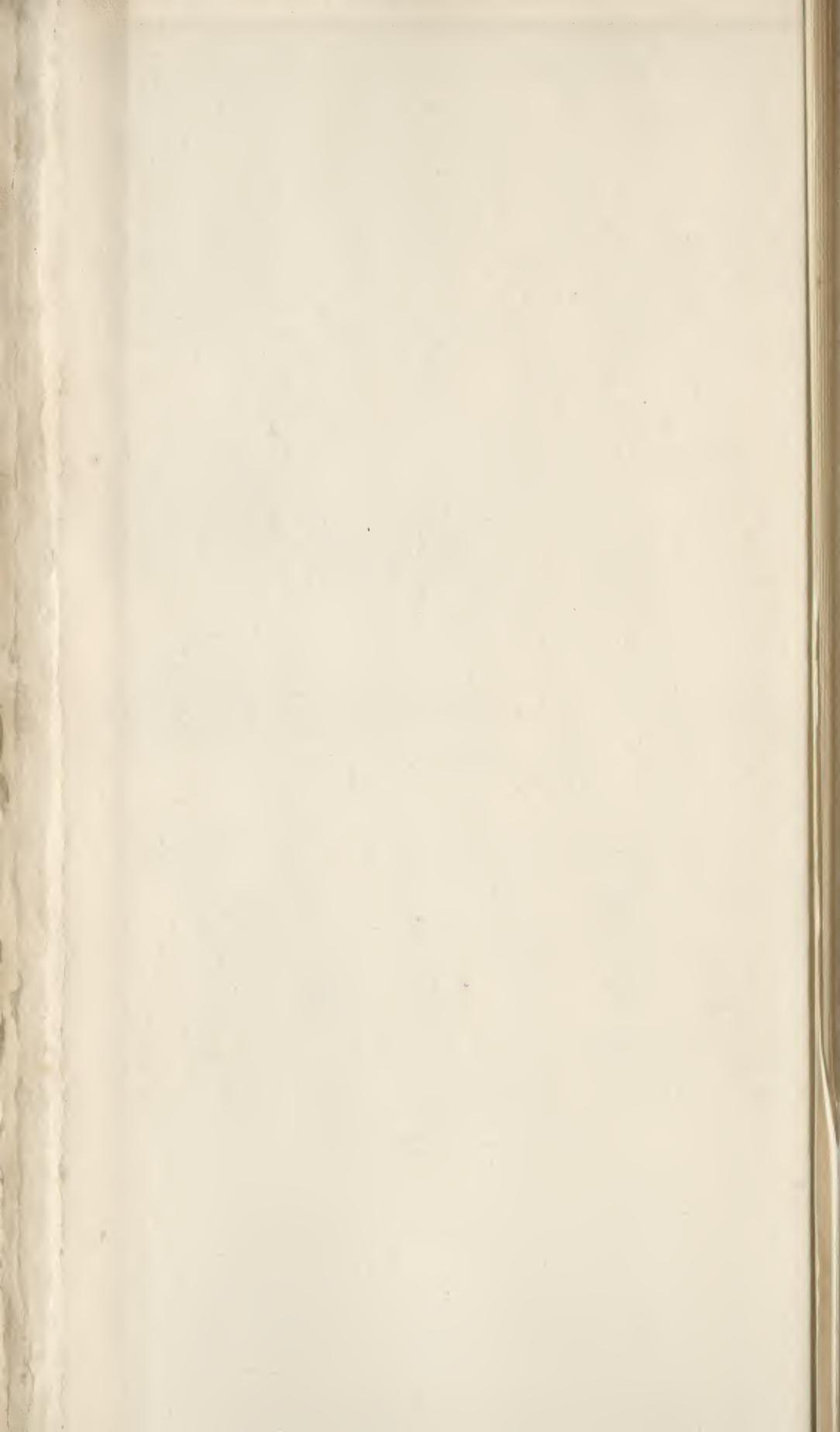


6
Dicitur se que ante mortem
suis nobis se vult et
sunt de apertis meritis et le riam
aussi de leur fidelité que son la vort
meur enlonce sola faire pancer que
leur service aurit esse pime
obli et que pour vainc en se
que se la se

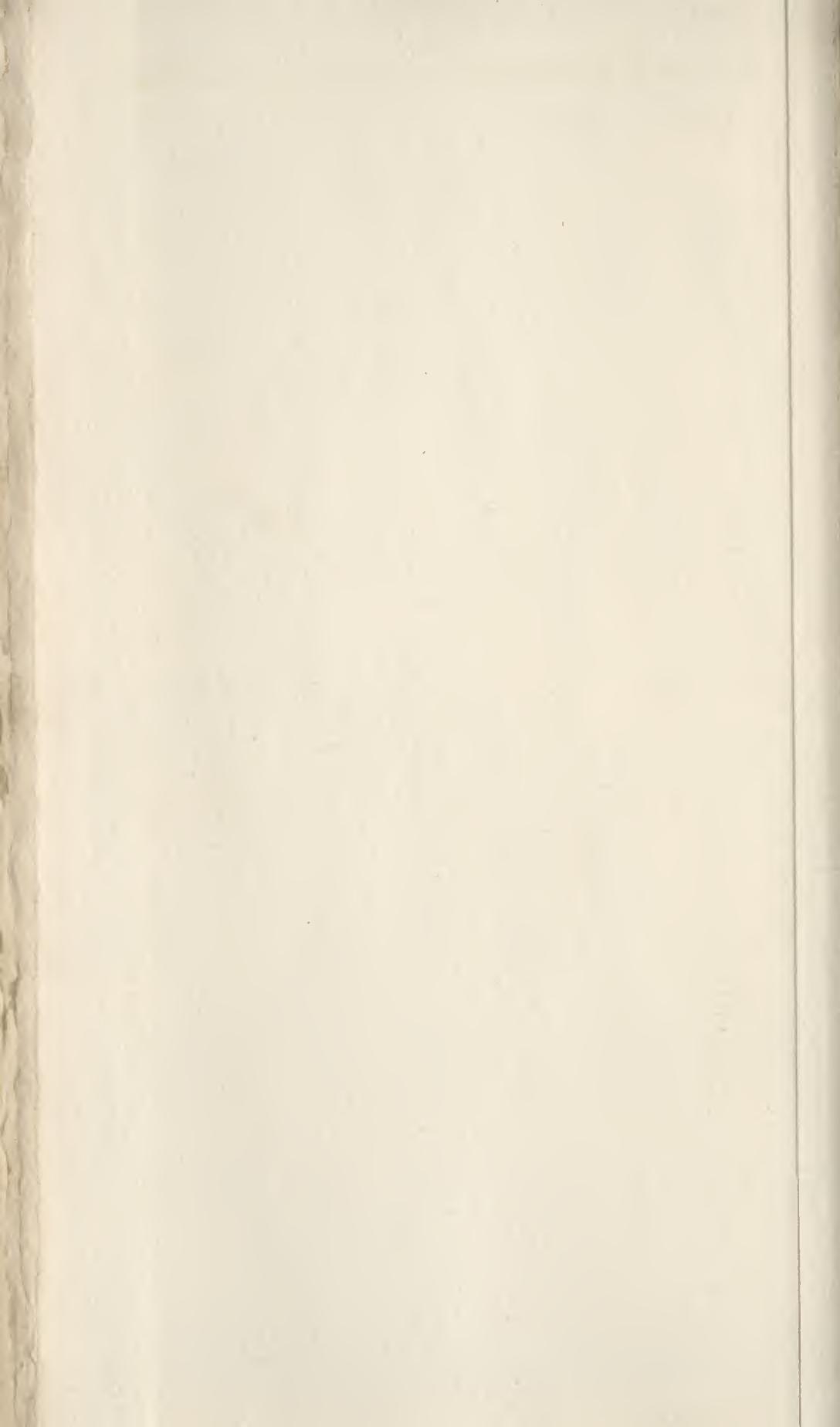


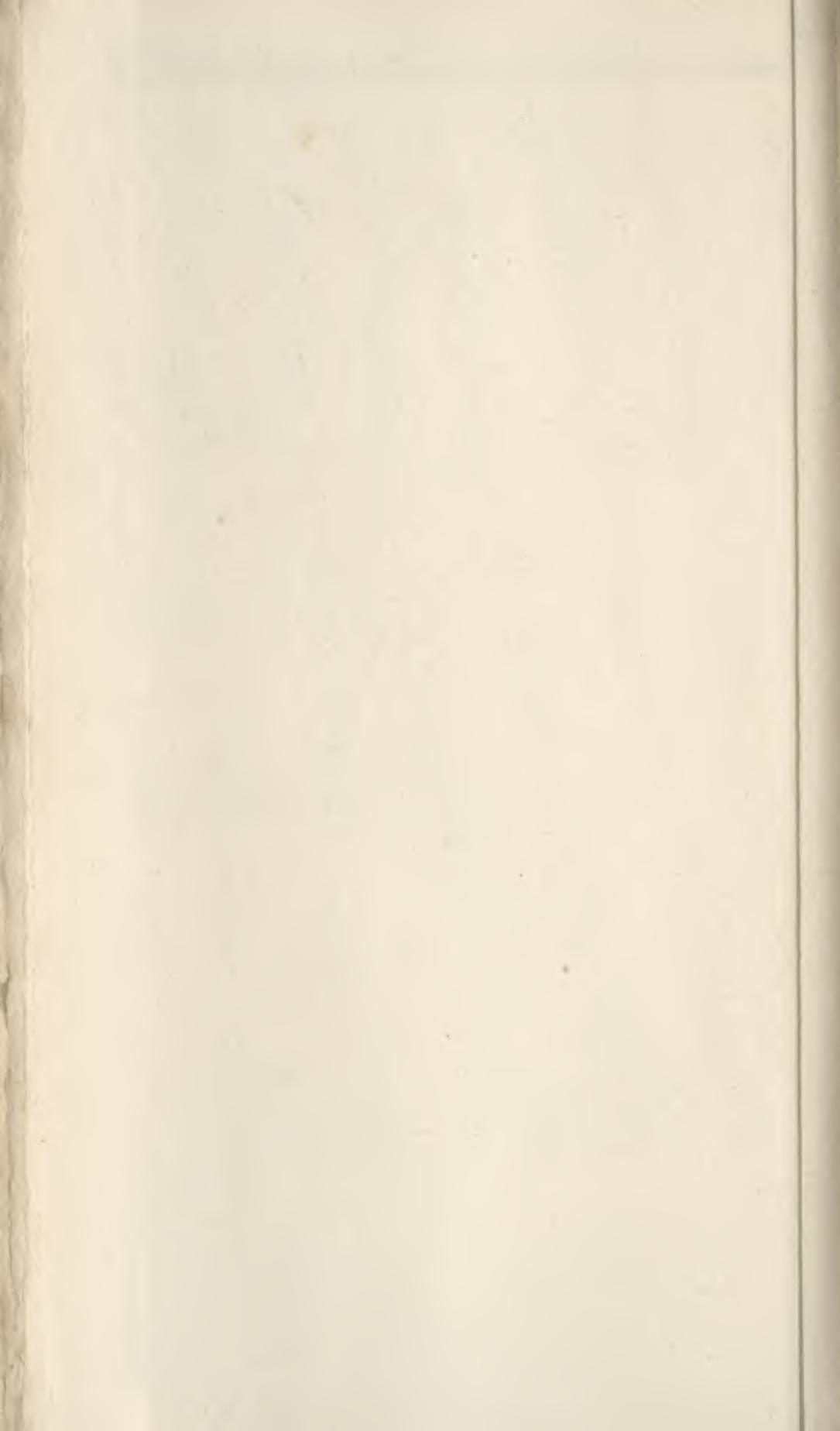


ay eest sur se propos si je mal fait pardones
mal mais le deest me sur mont a pour ce
bruit que ranois en e mesmes de mesme
mesmes adit a un escors que son saur e bone
des lettres que escrives en alle magne les
quelles idit avoir este ranois a la Rey ne de
par son sens a qui les ecrivis d'un

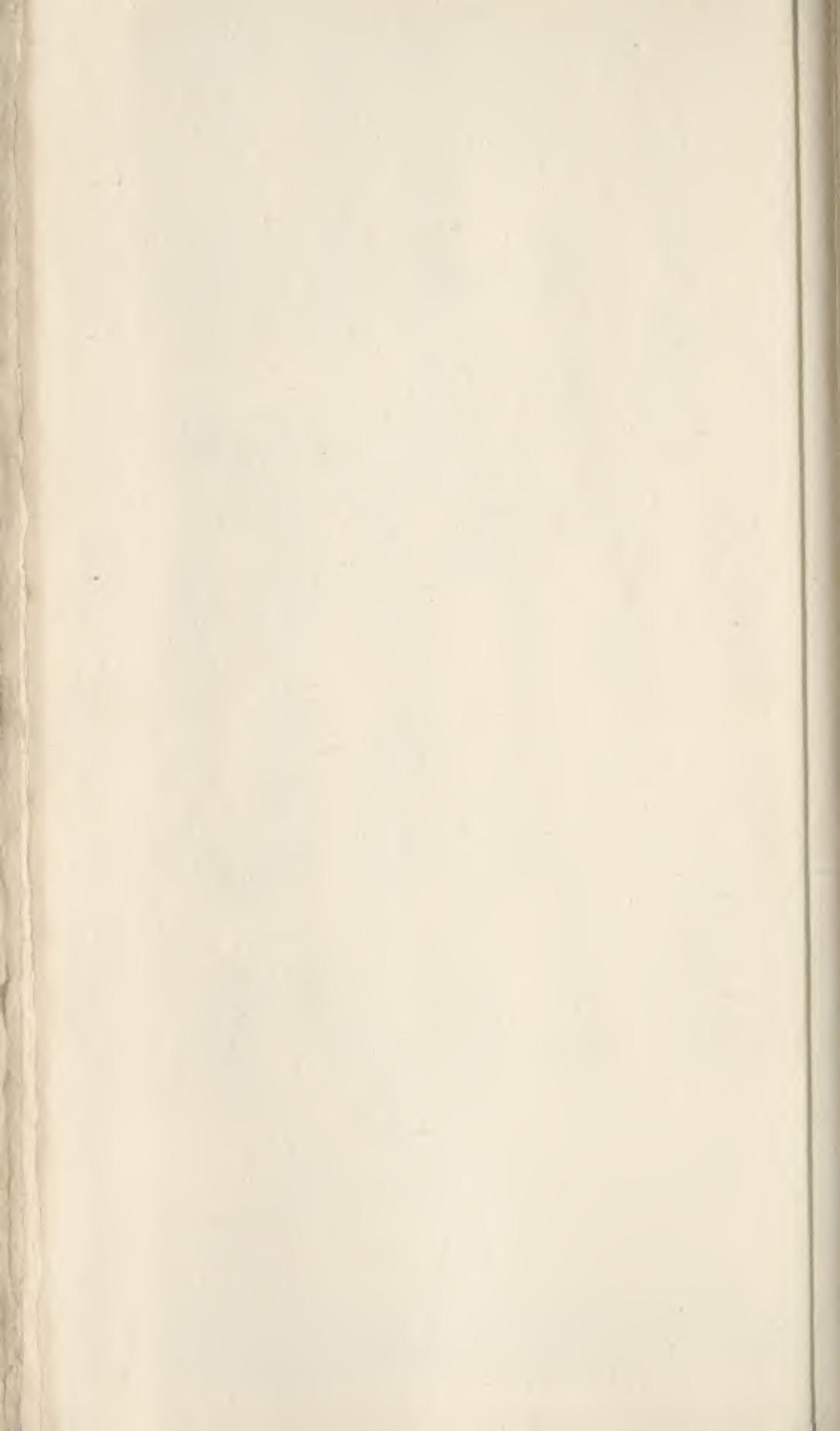


Dangleterre & moy nous sommes en drocote
sur se propos elle se montre bien fort desuene
de mon amitie le dire flux vous en une masse
le double des lettres qui a en esle sible
en moy une en de ele au laon elle me fait
offrir la femme de son embasadenr laquelle
ne sachant se enant de se enant laquelle
refuser de se enant de se enant de se enant





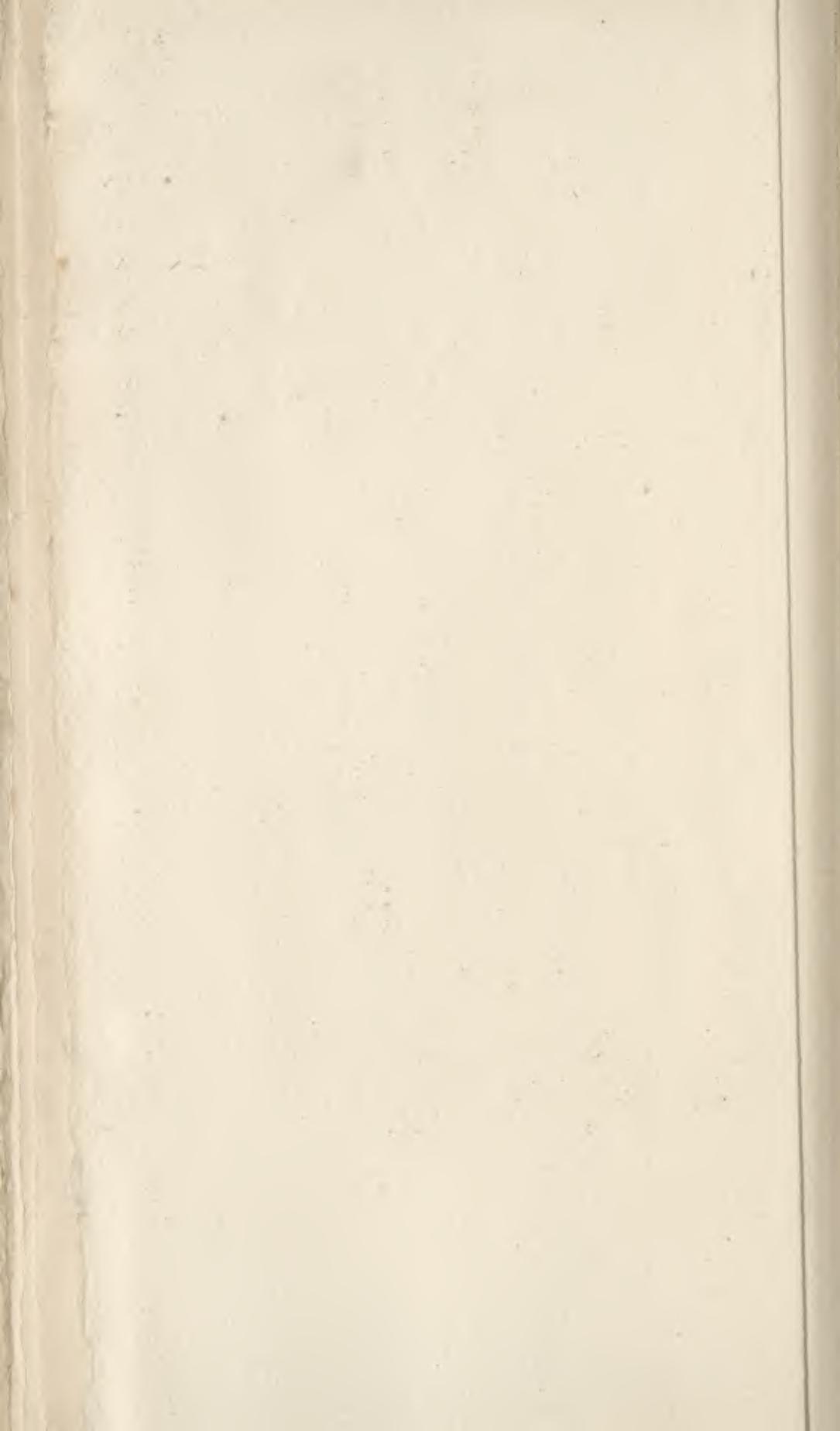
de me faire l'apertre & meudit plainement
 que rendez vous s'elien la France pour luy la ter
 mes sans amens & edit au cre que
 ie le fais remen repentirs & l'usage
 bien qu'on ne faire de mais que veautres
 son amtre l'ap bas sent que le pouraison
 l'apertre



vient plus de bonne volonté que d'ambition & chose
quant a seigneur est fort commense & d'ambition
ce double seigneurie man escrite de ma
re par ce se ne faire rien pour la rompre &
on ne se vouloit ~~mander~~ a seigneur mais
est se la est de se malais vous seigneur
que man mande



N'ous en verez comme bonbons, semblera es livres
 v'avez a se porter que ce meffoit faire fable
 mant vos commandemens & tous cartera
 bien au long toutes les choses de se parca
 se me y has rien quant te non pour le de
 se que vous tous hee pour le moins que que
 dit childe d'ul rect



me mon Roy Seroit agreable par ses Lettres au Roy me
seroit fort bien & vous s'uyt le me mande de ces
nouvelles car ven plus en grande point de Ven
sais que par du Roy de France & de son
est ont de nouvelles mal leffre est si long
que pour ne vous ennuier

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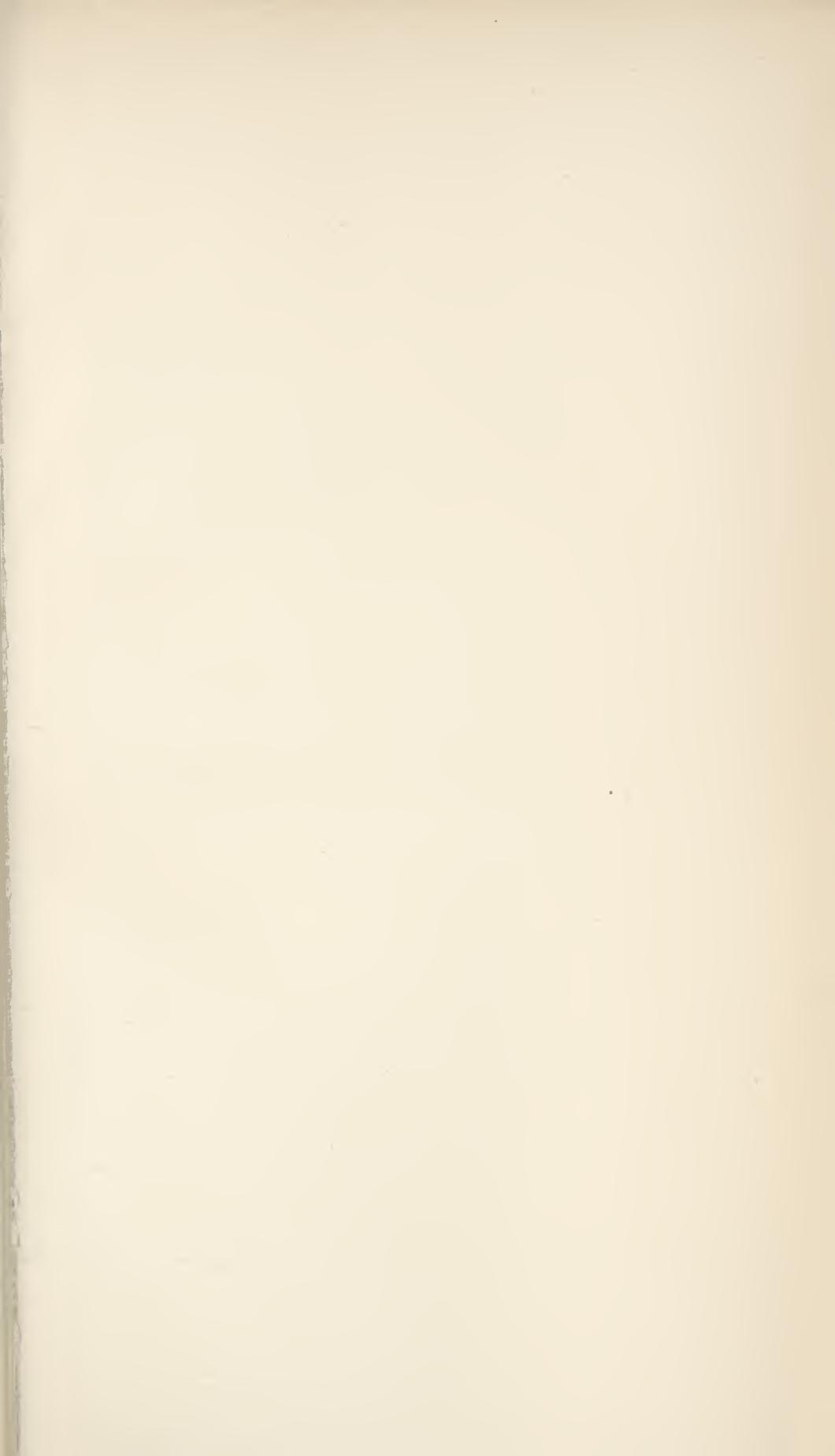
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MARY ,QUEEN OF SCOTS

