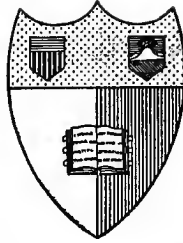


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# QUEEN ELIZABETH

AND

## THE FRENCH PROTESTANTS

IN THE YEARS 1559 AND 1560.

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BY

HENRY CLAY STANCLIFT,

SPENCER, NEW YORK, U. S. A.

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DISSERTATION PRESENTED

TO THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG

FOR

THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR.

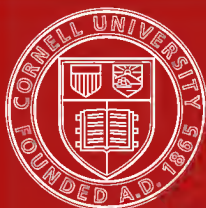
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## PREFACE.

It was originally my intention to make the narrative here begun extend to the Treaty of Troyes, in April, 1564, and include Elizabeth's connection with the first Huguenot war; but I found the undertaking rather large, and have confined myself for present purposes to a part of the field, namely, that part about which there is most uncertainty. I have already done much work on the remaining period, and intend to resume it at the earliest opportunity.

Of the books which I have used, the following are cited in the notes:

### I. GENERAL AND SPECIAL HISTORIES.

Froude, James Anthony. History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada. Vol. VI. 12<sup>mo</sup>. London, 1879.

Lingard, John, D. D. A History of England from the First Invasion by the Romans. Second Edition. Vol. VII. 8<sup>vo</sup>. London, 1823.

Bekker, Ernst. Beiträge zur englischen Geschichte im Zeitalter Elisabeths. In Giessener Studien auf dem Gebiet der Geschichte. No. IV. 8<sup>vo</sup>. Giessen, 1887.

Ranke, Leopold von. Französische Geschichte vornehmlich im sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert. Vol. I. 8<sup>vo</sup>. Leipzig, 1868.

- Baird, Henry M. History of the Rise of the Huguenots.  
Vol. I. 8<sup>vo</sup>. London, 1880.
- Ruble, le Baron Alphonse de. Antoine de Bourbon et Jeanne  
d'Albret Suite de la Mariage de Jeanne d'Albret. Vol. II.  
8<sup>vo</sup>. Paris, 1882.
- Ruble, le Baron Alphonse de. Le Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis.  
8<sup>vo</sup>. Paris, 1889.
- Decrue, Francis. Anne, Duc de Montmorency, Connétable et  
Pair de France sous les Rois Henry II., Francois II., et  
Charles IX. 8<sup>vo</sup>. Paris, 1889.

## II. COLLECTIONS OF DOCUMENTS.

These include, in one form or another, all, or very nearly all, of the English foreign correspondence of the period, and a large part of the French, Spanish, and Venetian.

- Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Edited by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M. A. Vol. I., 1558—1559. Vol. II., 1559—1560. Vol. III., 1560—1561. Vol. V., 1562. Vol. VI., 1563. 8<sup>vo</sup>. London, 1863—1869.
- Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in other Libraries of Northern Italy. Vol. VII., 1558—1580. Edited by the Late Rawdon Brown and the Right Hon. G. Cavendish Bentinck, M. P. 8<sup>vo</sup>. London, 1890.
- A Full View of the Public Transactions in the Reign of Q. Elizabeth: or a Particular Account of all the Memorable Affairs of that Queen, Transmitted down to us in a Series of Letters and other papers of State, written by herself and her principal ministers, and by the foreign Princes

and Ministers with whom she had Negotiations; Published from original and authentic Manuscripts in the Paper Office, Cottonian Library, and other public and private Repositories at home and abroad. By Dr. Patrick Forbes. Vol. I. 4<sup>to</sup>. London, 1740.

Queen Elizabeth and her Times, a Series of Original Letters, selected from the Inedited Private Correspondence of the Lord Treasurer Burghley, the Earl of Leicester, the Secretaries Walsingham and Smith, Sir Christopher Hatton, and most of the Distinguished Persons of the Period. By Thomas Wright. Vol. I. 8<sup>vo</sup>. London, 1838.

Négociations, Lettres, et Pièces Diverses relatives au Règne de François II., Tirées du Portefeuille de Sebastien de l'Aubespine évêque de Limoges par Louis Paris. 4<sup>to</sup>. Paris, 1841.

Relations Politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle, Papiers d'Etat, Pièces et Documents Inédits ou Peu Connus Tirés des Bibliothèques et des Archives de France. Par Alexandre Teulet. Vols. I., II. 8<sup>vo</sup>. Paris, 1862.

Relations Politiques des Pay-Bas et de l'Angleterre, sous le Règne de Philippe II., publiées par M. le Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove. Vols. I., II. 4<sup>to</sup>. Brussels, 1882.

Lettres d'Antoine de Bourbon et de Jehanne d'Albret publiées pour la Société de l'Histoire de France par le Mis de Rochambean. Paris, 1877.

Lettres de Catherine de Médicis publiées par M. le C<sup>te</sup> Hector de la Ferrière. Vol. I. 4<sup>to</sup>. Paris, 1880.

Collecion de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España por el Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle, D. José Sancho Rayon y D. Francisco de Zabalburu. Tomo LXXXVII. 8<sup>vo</sup>. Madrid, 1886.

The following book has appeared during the progress of my work, but I have not yet had access to it.

Despatches of Michele Suriano and Marc' Antonio Barbaro, Venetian Ambassadors at the Court of France, 1560—1563. Edited by H. Layard. (Publications of the Huguenot Society of London. Vol. VI.) Lymington, 1891.

## I.

### INTRODUCTION.

A combination of the gravest difficulties stared Queen Elizabeth in the face, when on the seventeenth of November, fifteen hundred fifty-eight, she succeeded her half-sister on the throne of England. The war with France into which Mary had dragged the nation to assist her husband, Philip of Spain, had resulted in the surrender of Calais, the last foothold across the channel; peace was not yet concluded; there was no army or fleet; and the treasury was not only empty but burdened with a heavy debt. Poverty among the masses had given rise to social discontent, and the country was rent by religious dissensions. A Papal judgment had pronounced the marriage of Elizabeth's mother null, and there was a Catholic claimant to the throne in the person of Mary Queen of Scots, who had rendered her pretensions especially dangerous by her marriage with the Dauphin of France. Never was wise counsel more needed, and it was fortunate for Elizabeth that she had the sagacity, as well as the opportunity, to call to her side so able and devoted a minister as William Cecil.

England, however, was not the only country which was divided in religion, and it was of especial importance to Elizabeth that in the lands ruled by her enemies, to the south across the channel and to the north across the border, the reformatory movement had gained a foothold. In France it had at first and for a long time thereafter experienced little progress, but was now making rapid strides, had enrolled

under its banner some of the foremost nobles of the kingdom, and had acquired strength in various places in the central and southern provinces and also in Normandy.

Early in her reign Elizabeth began to court the friendship of Protestants in other countries. A month after her accession she commissioned Christopher Mundt, who had formerly been in the service of Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, as her agent in Germany and instructed him to endeavor "to revive and maintain amity" with the Protestant princes.<sup>1</sup>

In view of the meeting of Parliament which was near at hand, Cecil proposed to party leaders questions regarding the course which ought to be pursued. One of the answers received deserves our special attention. It contains memoranda of the dangers which might ensue upon the alteration of religion in England, dangers not only from sources at home, but from Rome, France, Scotland, and Ireland. Among the comments on how they could be met is this statement: "For France, to practice a peace; or if it be offered, not to refuse it. If controversy of religion be there among them, to help to kindle it." In Scotland, an effort should be made "to help their divisions and especially to augment the hope" of the Protestants.<sup>2</sup>

Peace was soon concluded. Henry the Second of France and Philip the Second of Spain, as well as Elizabeth, were in financial straits, and each wished his hands free that he might crush the growing spirit of heresy in his dominions. Negotiations had been begun before Mary died, and a treaty was signed at Cateau-Cambrésis in the following February. Philip stood by England, and although France retained Calais, she went through the form of agreeing to restore it at the end of eight years, or else pay five hundred thousand crowns. In the meantime she was to furnish hostages. During this period neither the French nor the English sovereign should make any hostile attempt, directly or indirectly, upon the

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<sup>1</sup> Cal. For. El., i. nos. 87, 111.

<sup>2</sup> Froude, vi. pp. 124, 130. Cal. For. El., i. no. 59.

realm or subjects of the other. If the former should do so, either Calais or the money would be forfeited, if the latter should do it, her enemies would be released from their obligations.<sup>1</sup>

In the course of the winter and spring Elizabeth's government went over to Protestantism, and the other line of conduct suggested, it ultimately adopted, first in Scotland and later in France, that is, entered upon intrigues with the disaffected or Protestant element of the population while avoiding open hostility with the ruling powers.

The condition of the times made such a policy seem particularly expedient. There was danger from France and Scotland, but England was not prepared to make open war. The religious dissensions in Europe afforded an inviting field for intrigue, and Elizabeth, whose previous years had been passed in the midst of suspicions and plots and who had herself no hesitation about telling the most audacious lies when she thought it could serve her purpose, was not the person to have scruples about intriguing with the rebelliously inclined subjects of other monarchs, even if such scruples were called for. Her safety lay in the religious discords in Scotland and France, and in the jealousy between the Spanish and French monarchs. Her greatest political enemies were the rulers of Scotland and France. To thwart them, she would foster the divisious among their subjects. Philip detested her religion and her encouragement of Protestantism in other countries, but he was, at the same time, too jealous of his own power to do anything which would enable France to gather strength.

It is the object of this dissertation to present what can be ascertained of the relations of Elizabeth to the French Protestants and their political allies, to leading individuals as well as to movements, before the death of Francis the Second in December, fifteen hundred sixty. It is beyond all doubt that ~~from~~<sup>from</sup> the beginning of the following year the

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<sup>1</sup>) Cal. For. El., i. no. 483; Forbes, i. p. 74.

English government instituted a series of close and systematic intrigues with the Huguenots. What took place before that is not so clear, although historians have not hesitated to make positive assertions.

The treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis was ratified by both parties in May, and one of the English commissioners sent to receive Henry's confirmation remained as resident ambassador at the French court. This was Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, a man worthy of a prominent place among the many interesting characters of the time. In Mary's reign he had been arrested on a charge of participation in Wyatt's insurrection against the queen, and had been a fellow-prisoner of Elizabeth in the Tower of London; but, in spite of the strong evidence against him, had managed to secure an acquittal. He remained in France five years, most of the time as minister. A man of keen intelligence and a bold and skillful intriguer, "fitted," in the opinion of the Spanish ambassador in England, "for the execution of any bad undertaking,"<sup>1</sup> he not only turned his own powers of observation to good account, but made use of spies and agents. At a period a little later than this, one of the Venetian ambassadors, newly arrived in France, wrote home, after an interview with Sir Nicholas, that the latter "appears to me to be a gentleman of acute intellect, and of judgment and good-will, although he now lives according to the religion of that kingdom." In this very conversation Throckmorton seems to have justified the impression as to his acuteness by hoodwinking the Venetian regarding the intentions of Elizabeth in language which seemed to that gentleman "very straightforward and affectionate."<sup>2</sup> His letters to Elizabeth, Cecil, and the Council, largely in cipher, are of the greatest importance for a comprehension of the relations of England and France at the time. They are full and frank; for Throckmorton aimed to convey correct

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<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Aquila to the Duchess of Parma, Jan. 21, 1560: Lettenhove, *Rel. Pol. des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre*, ii. p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> Barbaro to the Doge and Senate, Apr. 16, 1562: *Cal. Ven.*, vii. no. 283.



impressions and give helpful advice, and did not stop to consider whether his statements would be agreeable.

Some knowledge of the chief personages at the French court and of the groups which they formed is necessary to an understanding of our subject. Henry the Second had now obtained peace, and was ready to devote all his energies to the suppression of Protestantism; but a mortal wound, received in a tournament, put an end to his life on the tenth of July. Francis the Second was only sixteen years of age when he succeeded his father upon the throne, and was deficient in both mental and bodily strength. He was under the influence of his wife, the young Scottish queen, and she, in turn, was guided by her maternal uncles, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine. The queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici, who had been neglected by her husband for his mistresses and had played so insignificant a role during his reign that her real character was little known, now saw a field opening for her ambition. For the present, she felt compelled to cast in her lot with the Guises. This family had acquired great influence at the court of Henry the Second. Of six brothers, the eldest was Francis, Duke of Guise, the capturer of Calais. He was a good soldier, but, outside of military affairs, possessed little knowledge, and in matters of politics and religion submitted to the advice of his brother Charles, the accomplished and able, but unprincipled Cardinal of Lorraine. Their eldest sister was the widow of James the Fifth of Scotland and mother of the reigning queen, and was then in that country acting as regent.

Over against these was a hostile party, headed by the Bourbons. Anthony of Bourbon was, next to Henry's children, the first prince of the blood, and through his marriage with Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, had become titular king of that country. His wife was a Protestant, and at this period he himself attended Protestant services. His brother Louis, Prince of Condé, was also a Protestant, and though not without serious faults, had far more stability of character than Anthony. Associated with the Bourbons, were the three

Chatillons, comprising the illustrious Admiral Coligny, his younger brother, Francis d'Andelot, both of them Reformers, and an elder brother, Odet, who, though a cardinal, was suspected of being at heart a convert to the new doctrines and who subsequently espoused them openly. Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France, had been one of the most prominent and influential characters at the court of Henry the Second, but was hated by Catherine and with her husband's death lost influence for a time in state affairs. He had been a rival of the Guises. The three Chatillons were his nephews, and Eleanor de Roye, his grandniece, was the wife of the Prince of Condé; but although political and personal ties bound him to the Protestant leaders, the constable himself remained a Catholic.

There were thus two parties, one headed by the Catholics, the other, for the most part, by Protestants; but what really distinguished them throughout the reign of Francis the Second was their attitude to the pretensions of the Guises. French Protestantism had no more violent enemies than the members of that house, and all who favored the new faith through depth of conviction were naturally foes to their ambition. Others of their opponents, like Constable Montmorency, were Catholics, and their hostility was the result of personal rivalry or party affiliation. Still others were animated by a combination of motives, and some among them proved willing to throw aside religious scruples, provided personal or political ends could be gained.

## II.

### CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SECOND. MAY—JULY, 1559.

The party differences south of the Channel which burst into flame upon the accession of Francis the Second, had for some time been ready to ignite. It was the opponents of the Guises who had been favorable to peace with Eng-

land. Certain occurrences in the relations between that country and members of the two groups before the death of Henry the Second are not without interest in the light of subsequent events.<sup>1</sup>

In Throckmorton's instructions as resident ambassador he was directed to "promote the increase of amity between the two realms," and when he asked how he should conduct himself toward the Guises, was instructed, in case they should show a friendly spirit, to treat them likewise; if not, he might dissemble as he should see fit. "It is best to know them, and without knowledge, if any harm be meant, it is to be learned thence, and therein may ye have most help of the Scots."<sup>2</sup>

In the month after Elizabeth's accession the constable had written to Cecil and other Englishmen, asserting his desire for peace and his readiness to do all in his power to bring it about.<sup>3</sup> His eldest son, Francis de Montmorency, was one of the two French commissioners sent in the following May to receive her ratification of the treaty. A younger son accompanied them, and Throckmorton suggested to Cecil that there be "some special entertainment used toward him"

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<sup>1</sup> Froude makes two statements which are perhaps worthy of note in this connection. He says (vi. p. 138): "While the Cardinal of Lorraine at Cercamp [where the commissioners first met to negotiate for peace] would have persuaded Spain to sacrifice England, the King of Navarre was allowed [by Henry the Second] to tempt England to sacrifice Spain." He also tells us (vii. p. 176) that after the treaty was framed, "the king of Navarre wrote indeed to Elizabeth to assure her of the lasting regard of Henry; to tell her that all which she had gained at Cambray would have been conceded more willingly in a private treaty; and that although the immediate opportunity was lost, 'a way' would soon be found again to settle the question more definitively." I find no mention of these matters, however, in either the "Calendar of State Papers," *Lettres d'Antoine de Bourbon et de Jehanne d'Albret*, *De Ruble's "Antoine de Bourbon et Jeanne d'Albret,"* or the same writer's "*Traité de Cateau Cambrésis.*" The King of Navarre was not present at the negotiations. His interests were represented by two commissioners.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. For. El., i. nos. 621, 645, 676; Forbes, i. pp. 88, 89.

<sup>3</sup> Montmorency to Cecil, to the Earl of Bedford, and to the Earl of Pembroke, Dec. 30, 1558: Cal. For. El., i. nos. 154, 155, 156.

and, at his departure, "some convenient present prepared for him," as well as for his brother and the other commissioner, "which, though it be extraordinary, yet the constable must needs take it very thankfully." Sir Nicholas seems, however, to have feared Elizabeth's parsimony; for he added, "It may serve the queen's majesty to some other purpose a great deal more than the value of the present." The suggestions of Throckmorton were complied with; and Francis de Montmorency returned full of praises for the entertainment and courtesy experienced.<sup>1</sup> The English commissioners, including Throckmorton, were, in the meantime, handsomely entertained on the way to Paris at two of the constable's houses.<sup>2</sup>

Sir Nicholas immediately informed the English government of the preparations making to suppress Protestantism both in France and in Scotland. The French Protestants, he reported, were ready to "resist to the death," and they said that as "the spirituality of France taketh this time as propitious for the subversion of religion, so the queen's majesty hath the like for the setting forth of the same."<sup>3</sup> He thought it would be well "to use the matter in Scotland

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<sup>1</sup> Commission of Henry II. and letters of the English commissioners in France: Cal. For. El., i. nos. 661, 685, 787, 789; Forbes, i. pp. 92, 113, 115. For Elizabeth's entertainment of the French commissioners see Cal. For. El., i. no. 780, ii. pref. p. xlv. et seq., and Cal. Ven., vii. nos. 77, 79. Froude evidently makes the mistake of understanding it to have been the constable and not his eldest son who was one of the commissioners. He translates without comment from a letter of the Bishop of Aquila to Philip II., dated May 30 (see vol. vi. p. 211), to that effect. The bishop very likely understood the matter so, but does not state it quite as Froude would have him. He mentions the commissioner merely as "Montmorency" (see Lettenhove, *Rel. Pol. des Pays Bas et de l'Angleterre*, i. p. 526, or *Documentos Inéditos*, lxxxvii. p. 191). In Froude's index "Montmorency, Constable of France," is mentioned as having been "in London," and the reader is referred to vol. vi. p. 211 as above.

<sup>2</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, May 23, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 732; Forbes, i. p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, May 15, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 685; Forbes, i. p. 92.

after such sort as may seem best to serve the turn and the like in the other places, if it shall be thought convenient.”<sup>1</sup> Two weeks later he urged the English government to “nourish and entertain the garboil in Scotland as much as may be.”<sup>2</sup> The Scots had already broken out into open insurrection, and money was sent by the English to help them. Regarding the situation in England, Philip’s ambassador there, the Bishop of Aquila, wrote to his master: “The fear which they have of the French by reason of Scotland is incredible, and if they were not so confident of the weakness of the King of France, who, they say, will for many years be unable to make war, and of the large number of heretics which they say there is in France, who hope some day to be able to embarrass the king, they would certainly consider themselves lost; for they know their weakness and the part which he of France with the title of legitimate heir and of defender of the religion would play in the kingdom.”<sup>3</sup>

The admiral, arriving at the French court, had treated the English commissioners with great courtesy. Conducting them to Notre Dame, he made inquiries of Throckmorton regarding the state of religion in England. When the mass began, he was not to be found, but reappeared in time to escort them to their lodgings, and on the way displayed his Protestantism by praising King Edward as having been “the most virtuous and godliest prince and of the greatest hope to do good in Christendom that was of many years.”<sup>4</sup>

The constable assured the English commissioners of his

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<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, May 23, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 732; Forbes, i. p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, June 7, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 826; Forbes, i. p. 118. “Garboil,” a word now obsolete, meaning “tumult” or “disorder.”

<sup>3</sup> The Bishop of Aquila to Philip II., June 19, 1559: Lettenhove, Rel. Pol. des Pays Bas et de l’Angleterre, i. p. 538; Documentos Inéditos, lxxxvii. p. 201.

<sup>4</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, May 30, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 789; Forbes, i. p. 115.

good-will toward their country, especially now, because of the "many goodly virtues" with which he understood the queen to be endowed. He and his were ready to do her "all the honor and service they could."<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton was convinced that Montmorency was thoroughly in favor of peace, and therefore in view of the latter's great power at court, did not fear that the French would, for the present at least, proceed to war to vindicate the claims of Mary Stuart.<sup>2</sup>

The constable's expressions of good-will were not, however, to be taken too seriously. In spite of his dislike to the Guises, he could not entirely forget the interests of the dauphin. When Throckmorton, acting on instructions,<sup>3</sup> remonstrated with him for the assumption of the arms of England by Francis and Mary, the aged warrior treated the matter somewhat coldly, though he promised to lay it before the King's council, and renewed his professions of esteem for Elizabeth.<sup>4</sup> Word reached the English ambassador that Montmorency, on one occasion at least, had declared that the dauphiness had "right and title" to the English crown.<sup>5</sup> When Henry the Second was wounded, the constable sent Elizabeth a formal notification of the fact, and she despatched a messenger to the French court with expressions of sorrow. In her reply to Montmorency's letter she said she mingled with her "grief for the French King's hurt" her "gladness to be advertised of the fact" by her "good cousin."<sup>6</sup>

Among the foreigners serving in the French army was the colonel of the Scottish guards, the Earl of Arran, eldest

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<sup>1</sup> The English ambassadors in France to Elizabeth, May 30, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 787; Forbes, i. p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, June 7, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 826; Forbes, i. p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Cecil and the Council to Throckmorton, June 13, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. nos. 840, 837; Forbes, i. pp. 131, 134.

<sup>4</sup> Throckmorton to the Lords of the Council, June 21, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 868; Forbes, i. p. 138.

<sup>5</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, June 21, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 870; Forbes, i. p. 136.

<sup>6</sup> Cal. For. El., i. nos. 898, 964, 965, 967.

son of the head of the house of Hamilton. The father was next of kin to Mary Stnart, and had been the recipient of the French duchy of Châtelherault. The earl had recently been converted to the reformed faith, and it was the desire of the Scotch Protestants that he should become the husband of Elizabeth. He was summoned to attend the marriage of the French king's sister and daughter in June, but sent an excuse for not coming, and learning that the King had resolved to have him arrested because of his heresy, disappeared. It is probably true, as the French suspected, that Throckmorton had been instrumental in the matter.<sup>1</sup> The earl fled to Geneva, and an agent sent by the English government conducted him to London. Before proceeding to Scotland, he had secret interviews with Elizabeth, but the marriage project came to naught.

As we have seen, the Guises became, with the death of Henry the Second, virtual rulers of France and Scotland, and their niece was already a claimant to the throne of England; but there was a hostile party in each of the countries under their sway. Elizabeth was seeking the friendship of the Protestant princes of Germany, and was feeding the flame of insurrection in Scotland. A shrewd and daring intriguer, who was urging this policy towards Scotland, represented England at the French court, where he had established amicable relations with some of the adversaries of the Guises.

### III.

## MONTMORENCY AND NAVARRE.

### JULY AND AUGUST, 1559.

In one of Throckmorton's earliest letters he had asked that he might soon be recalled, and the request was repeated

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<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, Cecil, and the Council, and Cecil to Throckmorton, May — July, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. nos. 789 (par. 9), 826 (par. 16), 833 (par. 6), 840, 868 (par. 16, 18), 870 (par. 6), 888, 1009;

almost uninterruptedly as long as he was in France. At first he urged that the expenses of the post were greater than he could bear, but shortly after added that he had fallen under suspicion.<sup>1</sup> The queen insisted, however, that his services there were very acceptable to her, and that he must be content that for a season she have the use of them.<sup>2</sup> He now replied that the death of Henry had brought those into power who had an evil opinion of him, partly on religious grounds, but especially because they considered him "to have been a practicer in the matters of the Earl of Arran and of Scotland, besides other matters for the which they hold me greatly suspected," and therefore that he could not do her such service as he would, but if she were thoroughly resolved that he should remain, he would do his utmost.<sup>3</sup>

The king being so young, it was to be expected that Anthony of Navarre, or at least some other prince of the blood, would have the chief voice in the government; but such an arrangement did not accord with the ambitious views of the king's mother and the queen's uncles. Throckmorton promptly reported the changes at court. The constable, Cardinal Châtillon, and the admiral were, by order of the king, kept occupied with attendance upon his late majesty's remains, from which circumstance it was concluded that Montmorency and his house would "even now at the first be excluded from all doings" and that the Guises were

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Forbes, i. pp. 117, 120, 129, 131, 144, 136, 147, 164. Henry II. to Noailles, June 21, 1559: Teulet, i. p. 320. As Lingard says (vol. VII. p. 377, footnote), "Throckmorton repeatedly mentions it [the suspicion of the French], but never so much as hints that it is false."

<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, May 23 and June 21, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. nos. 732, 870; Forbes, i. pp. 101, 136.

<sup>2</sup> Queen Elizabeth to Throckmorton, July 11, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 970; Forbes, i. p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, July 13, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 987; Forbes, i. p. 160. Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, July 18, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1009; Forbes, i. p. 163.



“like to govern all about the king,” who was “much affected towards them;” but what was “like to become of this state and the government” could not be known until the arrival of the King of Navarre, who was in the south of France.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Nicholas also notified Cecil that certain Frenchmen were said to be about to cross over to England to avoid persecution at home. He hoped that those who came really on account of religion might find shelter, as Englishmen had done abroad under similar circumstances; but advised that care should be exercised, on the ground there was danger that some might, “under color of religion,” serve “some other turn.”<sup>2</sup>

Among the problems which Cecil had under consideration a week after King Henry’s death was the question, “What is to be done in France for the maintenance of the faction?”<sup>3</sup>

Montmorency, acknowledging the receipt of Elizabeth’s letter, wished her to believe that there was “not a gentleman in France better inclined than himself to do her service.”<sup>4</sup> On the same day Throckmorton advised her to write again to the constable, sending “some kind letter to comfort” him, the delivery of which might be left to his own discretion; for he thought, from what he had heard, that if the King of Navarre should make any changes, Montmorency would become a principal minister. Sir Nicholas and the others who believed this rumor seem to have overlooked the fact that the feelings of Anthony toward the constable had been anything but friendly since the negotiations at Cateau-Cambrésis, where the latter and the other French commissioners had effected nothing for the interests of Jeanne

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<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, July 11 and 13, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. nos. 972, 985 (par. 1); Forbes, i. p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, July 19 and Aug. 1, 1559: Cal. For. El., nos. 1025, 1103; Forbes, i. pp. 167, 186.

<sup>3</sup> Cecil’s memoranda, July 18, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1008.

<sup>4</sup> The constable to Queen Elizabeth, July 18, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1011.

d'Albret's claim upon Spanish Navarre.<sup>1</sup> It was also Throckmorton's opinion that if nothing should be done by Anthony, the constable would retire; for the king had already given his father's favorite to understand that the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise should "manage his whole affairs."<sup>2</sup> Before the messages of Montmorency and Throckmorton reached England, Cecil had already decided that a letter be "sent to the constable so as to embrace his goodwill," and "another to the Queen of Navarre, in case her husband have the government, to embrace her;"<sup>3</sup> and these letters, together with others, had been forwarded to Throckmorton.<sup>4</sup>

On the day following the king's death it had been proposed in the council that Francis use a seal bearing the title of "King of France, England, Scotland and Ireland;" but the Prince of Condé had recommended that the decision be deferred till his brother's arrival, and the matter had for the time being been dropped.<sup>5</sup> A few days later it was again called up. This time the constable arose, and addressing the Guises, said he thought it "not honorable that there should be used in the seal of France any other arms" than

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<sup>1</sup> Baird, i. p. 352. De Ruble, *Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis*, p. 145, footnote 2.

<sup>2</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, July 18, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1009; Forbes, i. p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> Cecil's memoranda, July 18, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1008.

<sup>4</sup> Queen Elizabeth to Francis II., the constable, the Duke of Guise, the King of Navarre, and the Queen of Navarre, July 17—19, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. nos. 1014—1021. Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, July 27, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1075 (par. 1); Forbes, i. p. 172. Here occurs an instance of carelessness in the editing of the "Calendar." That collection states that "Tremayne delivered" these letters to Throckmorton; but a careful reading of Forbes shows that it was Killigrew who did it. The editor must have read the document very carelessly; for Throckmorton states in the next sentence, "as yet Richard Tremain is not come unto me," and the statement is reproduced with a slight modification of the language in the "Calendar."

<sup>5</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, July 13, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 985 (par. 3); Forbes, i. p. 158.

those of that country. At any rate, such were the reports which reached Throckmorton, and in view of them he decided to deliver the queen's letter to the constable at once, in order that if any question touching her relations with France should again come before the council, he might "be the better affected" to her.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, Sir Nicholas visited the constable and, after being received very courteously, gave him the letter, stating also that the queen wished him to put her friendship to proof and that she would do the like by him "in such things as may occur on this side from time to time." The veteran warrior and courtier replied in like vein, said that he would do what he could, but that his opportunities would hereafter be limited. He had a favor to ask, and that was that Throckmorton would help him to procure some English greyhounds.<sup>2</sup> The ambassador considered the matter of some importance; for he wrote to Cecil that a gift of this kind would "be more esteemed than a greater present at another time,"<sup>3</sup> and a month later intimated to the queen that the hounds should not be forgotten, for they would "be well bestowed."<sup>4</sup> In the answer to Elizabeth's letter Montmorency declared that what she had written and what Throckmorton had said gave him great pleasure and "increased the affection" which he had always felt towards

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<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, July 27, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1075 (par. 4, 5); Forbes, i. p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, August 15, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1090 (par. 1, 2, 3, 4); Forbes, i. p. 197. According to the "Calendar," the constable said "divers times" to Throckmorton, "Mon compere, when shall I have occasion to see that woman [Queen Elizabeth] whom the world speaketh so much of?" and that he thought one day he should see her." In reality, however, as we see by consulting Forbes, where the document is given in full, the constable was quoting words which Henry the Second had used to him. Decrue (p. 260) has made the mistake of accepting the statement of the "Calendar."

<sup>3</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, Aug. 9, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1177 (postscript, evidently of later date).

<sup>4</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, Sept. 10, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1331; Forbes, i. p. 227.

her. He said again that he was ready to serve her whenever he should have the opportunity.<sup>1</sup> His eldest son sent the queen some pieces of music, but they failed to reach their destination.<sup>2</sup> In this exchange of courtesies between Elizabeth and Montmorency there is, of course, much of empty formality as well as a surfeit of expressions of esteem, but beneath them we can detect a real tendency of the two to draw near each other, in view of the common foe, the house of Guise. It led, however, to no substantial results.

Thus we see that Throckmorton was on very good terms with the constable. His relations with the King of Navarre went somewhat deeper. On the death of Henry, Elizabeth sent to Anthony a letter containing formal expressions of good-will<sup>3</sup> and another, as we have seen, to his wife. The

<sup>1</sup> The constable to Queen Elizabeth, Aug. 16, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1201.

<sup>2</sup> Montmorency to Throckmorton, Aug. 14, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1189. Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, Aug. 25: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1244; Forbes, i. p. 215. Cecil to Throckmorton, Aug. 29: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1274. Throckmorton to Cecil, Sept. 19: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1339, p. 563. A mistake has been made in numbering the documents in this volume. The numbers first run up to 1355, proceed from that point however, as 1336, 1337 etc., and so continue. Hence there are two documents numbered 1339.

The letter given in an abridged form in the "Calendar" (no. 1189) under the heading "Montmorency to Throckmorton" does not occur in Forbes. The heading implies that the constable wrote it, and in the index to vol. i. it is mentioned in the list of letters from him. Decrue (p. 260) has assumed it to be such. The editor of the "Calendar" seems, however, to have made a mistake. Throckmorton, in his letter to the queen, speaks of the person who sent the music and wrote the letter to him as "Monsieur de Montmorency". This was the appellation given at the time to the eldest son of the constable, the father being always known by his title (see Decrue, p. 25). Moreover, the writer of the letter speaks of having been recently in England, and of having been ill of a fever of which he had not yet recovered at the time of writing. So far as I know, neither of these statements applies to the constable; but Francis de Montmorency had, as we have seen, been at the English court within two months.

<sup>3</sup> Queen Elizabeth to the King of Navarre, July 19, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1018.

latter epistle was very cordial. Elizabeth began by inquiring in Biblical language, "If God be for us, who can be against us?" She wished she could make the acquaintance of the Queen of Navarre. She entertained her kindly feelings "not only for the degree of the world, but for the true profession and sincerity of your Christian religion," and prayed that the Queen of Navarre might "continue a supporter of his Holy Word."<sup>1</sup> Partly to flatter Anthony, partly because he did not know how important the contents of the letters might be, Throckmorton sent a special messenger, Sir Henry Killigrew, to Vendôme to tell him that letters from the queen awaited him in Paris, and to inquire what should be done with them. The king said he was glad to hear of Elizabeth's "wise, politic, godly, and discreet proceedings in religion," and would like to "enter into friendship" with her. He was himself desirous to "set forth religion as much as was in him," and to discourage "such as should stand in contrary." He asked if she had formed an alliance with the Protestant Princes of Germany. Killigrew answered that he did not know, but thought there was "great show of friendship." The King also asked what had become of the Earl of Arran, and Killigrew said he "knew nothing certain," but "had heard of his being at Geneva and in Germany." As to the letters, the king directed that on his arrival in Paris Sir Nicholas should send to inquire when they should be delivered.<sup>2</sup>

Anthony proceeded to the capital, and by his own appointment had a secret conference with the ambassador at St. Denis on the twenty-second of August at eleven o'clock at night. Throckmorton, delivering the queen's letters, told the king that she would gladly form a league with

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<sup>1</sup> Queen Elizabeth to the Queen of Navarre, July 19, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1020.

<sup>2</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, July 27 and Aug. 15, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. nos. 1075 (par. 5), 1190 (par. 9, 10); Forbes, i. pp. 174, 201.

him to promote religion. The king expressed his thanks, and said that on his part he would do what he could, rejoicing that he had so good a colleague in so good a cause; but did not wish to prolong the audience, for he "had many eyes upon him" and so, said he, had Throckmorton. The interview took place in the king's wardrobe, and the only other person present was his secretary, who heard nothing that was said. For fear of detection Sir Nicholas declined both the king's invitation to stay all night and the offer of an escort to his lodgings.

On the following day Anthony sent to the ambassador to meet him again that evening at eight o'clock in the cloister of the Augustinian friars. Both were to appear in disguise, and the king said he would be attended by a lackey and a page. When they came together, Anthony indulged in elaborate assurances of his affection for the queen. He would write to her "with his own hand," and wished that she would "do the like always to him," "for all princes have corrupt ministers about them," and if the French or Spaniards "should know of the amity and intelligence betwixt the queen your mistress and me, it should be dangerous for us both and hinder the good enterprise that we are about." Before long he would dispatch one whom he trusted to the queen "with his mind in sundry things," and wished Throckmorton to send one of his most reliable agents to conduct the messenger secretly to her. He said the queen's marriage would be the "making and marring of all," and desired her to be advised by him. Throckmorton concluded from this that he intended to offer "some of his friends." At any rate, the king hoped she would not marry a member of the House of Austria, for they were "great papists," or the Earl of Arran. He asked if she were still "at liberty" in the matter, and Throckmorton assured him that she was, and had not yet decided what she would do. Anthony requested an interview with Sir Nicholas after the next audience of the latter with the French king, and begged him, as he esteemed his honor, to let nobody but the queen and her most trusted

minister know of their conversation. Throckmorton promised the utmost secrecy, and they parted.<sup>1</sup> The king sent the queen a letter expressing his gratitude and readiness to serve her.<sup>2</sup> A great many words had passed on both sides, but this seems to have been all that ever came of the proposed league between Elizabeth and the vacillating King of Navarre.<sup>3</sup>

It was soon reported that a contention for precedence had arisen between Navarre and others. "This being thus," was Throckmorton's amiable comment, "matters are like to go well."<sup>4</sup> The constable kept away from the court, and although Anthony remained for a time, he exercised no influence.<sup>5</sup> Neither rendered Elizabeth any service.

#### IV.

### CONSPIRACY OF AMBOISE. SEPTEMBER, 1559 — MARCH, 1560.

Throckmorton begged that he might be recalled at the expiration of his first six month in office, which would be in

<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton's address to the King of Navarre: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1231. Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, Aug. 25, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1244; Forbes, i. p. 212.

If De Ruble is correct, Anthony's big words must have been the vainest kind of hypocrisy and boasting. That writer says (*Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis*, p. 148): "Pendant la nuit, le faible prince perdit courage. Le lendemain 24 août, au point du jour, il quitta Paris à l'improvisite pour ne pas se compromettre avec le synode du lendemain."

<sup>2</sup> The king of Navarre to Queen Elizabeth, Aug. 25, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1249.

<sup>3</sup> Throckmorton wrote to the queen August 25: "By my next letters I will advertise your majesty what is the discourse of wise men and well affected to you and to the advancement of religion, concerning the Earl of Arran and the King of Navarre." I do not find, however, that he took up the matter again. See Cal. For. El., i. no. 1244, and Forbes i. p. 215.

<sup>4</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, Sept. 4, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1316; Forbes, i. p. 224.

<sup>5</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, Sept. 10, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. no. 1331; Forbes, i. p. 228.

October. He recommended to the queen as his successor, Sir Peter Mewtas, who "hath besides the good parts that belongeth to a good minister, a faithful zeal to promote your work of religion, which, besides divine success, is now a great piece of your policy." He would give Mewtas full instructions, and "hide nothing from him."<sup>1</sup> Before the end of September Sir Nicholas was laying the greatest stress on the necessity of preparations for defense. Frenchmen were everywhere talking of the title of their queen to the English throne, and she had openly assumed the English arms. "Let us not," said he, "tempt God too far, and, as Queen Mary did," refer all things to him, "without doing anything ourselves."<sup>2</sup> He wrote further that in order to give Elizabeth better information regarding the intentions of the French, he wished, even if not permanently relieved of his post, to be permitted to come over to England for a short time and have a talk with her. There were precedents for such a proceeding, he urged, in cases of less importance under Henry the Eighth. "What I have to say to your majesty, neither may it well be committed to writing, neither by such advertisement may it well be conceived." He inquired if he should, in case he went, notify the French government of his departure or go as secretly as he could.<sup>3</sup> He was duly informed that his services were so great that they could not be permanently dispensed with.<sup>4</sup> He might, however, because of the "pitiful suit" of his wife, who was "vexed with an ague," go

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<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth and to Cecil, Aug. 25 and Sept. 3, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. nos. 1244, 1246, 1312; Forbes, i. pp. 215, 217, 219.

<sup>2</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth and to Cecil, Sept. 23, 24, and 30, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. nos. 1360, 1362, 1369, 1408; Forbes, i. pp. 236, 238, 239.

<sup>3</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth and to Cecil, Sept. 23, 24, 30, and Oct. 25, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. nos. 1360, 1362, 1369, 1406, ii. no. 134 (par. 1); Forbes, i. pp. 236, 239, 240, 252.

<sup>4</sup> Cecil to Throckmorton, Oct. 1, 1559: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 4 (par. 6).



over temporarily, but must not remain longer than "four or five days," and should notify the French King or the Guises, mentioning the alleged cause.<sup>1</sup> Cecil thought the affair would "seem very strange to the French both there and here; *sed non ponendi sunt rumores ante salutem.*"<sup>2</sup> Throckmorton went to England early in November, reaching London on the seventh;<sup>3</sup> but instead of returning at once, remained nearly eleven weeks. Two questions arise: what was the real reason of the ambassador's going home, and why did he stay so much longer than was originally intended?<sup>4</sup>

The pretext of his wife's illness did not deceive the Guises. The cardinal and the duke declared that her health was not so bad as represented, that ambassadors were not apt to leave their posts on account of private affairs, and that the return of Sir Nicholas was for some purpose "little to their advantage."<sup>5</sup> His wife seems even not to have

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<sup>1</sup> Queen Elizabeth to Throckmorton, Oct. 11, 1559: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 63; Forbes, i. p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> Cecil to Throckmorton, Oct. 13, 1559: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Killigrew and Jones to Cecil, Nov. 10, 1559: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 227 (par. 1); Forbes, i. p. 254. Noailles to Francis II., Nov. 9, 1559: Cal. For. El., ii. p. 96, footnote; Teulet, i. p. 370. "L'ambassadeur Throgmorton est arrivé icy le 7<sup>e</sup> de ce moys et si inopinément que quasi personne n'avait sceu qu'il deust venir. Et plusieurs de ceste court et habitans de Londres ont estimé, avec les autres conjectures, que c'estoit quelque prognosticq de guerre." — Report by Noailles to Francis II., Nov., 1559: Teulet, i. p. 377; see also Cal. For. El., ii. p. 103, footnote. The Bishop of Aquila to the Bishop of Arras, Nov. 12, 1559: Lettenhove, Rel. Pol. des Pays Bas et de l'Angleterre, ii. p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth told Noailles that she had "commanded him to come for seven or eight days only." See Teulet, i. p. 370. Cecil wrote to Challoner November 2: "Sir N. Throckmorton has leave to return in consequence of his wife's extreme sickness, and will soon be here. It will seem strange to the French, but he will certainly return with speed." See Cal. For. El., ii. no. 173 (par. 3).

<sup>5</sup> Killigrew and Jones to Cecil, Nov. 1559: Cal. For. El., ii. nos. 290 (par. 4), 292 (par. 10), 343 (par. 2); Forbes, i. pp. 265, 271. The Guises added that in their opinion, "if he had not cum into France, the Earl of Arran had still remained here."

known of his coming; for on the morning of his arrival she sent to Noailles, the French ambassador in London, to learn news of him, and to request that a letter which she had written to him be forwarded.<sup>1</sup>

Throckmorton had alleged to the queen as his object in wishing to return, the giving of "better information" regarding the "French meaning" towards her. It could scarcely have been this, however, which could not safely be intrusted to a cipher letter. He was constantly making statements which would have been far more dangerous, if discovered by the French, than anything of the kind mentioned.

He had also in the course of his correspondence touched on the affair of an English pirate, named Strangways, who had been captured and was about to be executed. Throckmorton had suggested before this that the queen might secretly put his services to good account. Now, he requested that the punishment be delayed till he could speak with her; and before he went back to France, the pirate had been released and placed in the command of a galley.<sup>2</sup> But this was, of course, only an incident connected with his visit to England and not the cause.

It has been stated that he went to hasten the decision of the queen to give the Scots open help.<sup>3</sup> But this also could not have been the matter about which so much secrecy was necessary. He had hitherto urged her to encourage the insurgents across the border all she could, and what could he now say that would be more dangerous? It is true that while in England he took an active interest in the relations

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<sup>1</sup> Report by Noailles to Francis II., Nov., 1559: Cal. For. El., ii. p. 103, footnote: Teulet, i. p. 377.

<sup>2</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, July 18, Sept. 23 and 24, 1559: Cal. For. El., i. nos. 1009, 1360, 1369; Forbes, i. pp. 166, 238, 240. Cecil to Throckmorton, Oct. 1, 1559: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 4 (par. 5). The Bishop of Aquila to the Duchess of Parma, Dec. 18, 1559: Lettenhove, Rel. Pol. des Pays Bas et de l'Angleterre, ii. p. 138. Report of Noailles, Jan. 4, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. p. 251, footnote; Tenlet, i. p. 400.

<sup>3</sup> Froude, vi. p. 306.

with Scotland,<sup>1</sup> but this could hardly have been the chief reason of his going.

Still another motive has been suggested,<sup>2</sup> and it seems to have been the real one. In considering it, we are taken back to certain events which had been transpiring in France. The severe persecutions inflicted upon the Protestants, combined with political grievances in the shape of intolerable laws, had soon aroused deep and wide-spread feeling against the Guises. The discontented elements began to consider the advisability of an uprising. Early in September the Protestant theologians of Geneva were asked whether it were lawful to make insurrection against those who unlawfully usurped authority, and exercised it in a manner hostile to religion and the state. They gave no encouragement, but from French and German theologians a more favorable opinion was received.

There is nothing in Throckmorton's correspondence to show that up to the time of his going to England he knew anything about the conspiracy. It was already on foot, however, and we can hardly conceive that a man of his character, representing a government which, as must have been obvious to everybody, counted the Guises as among its worst enemies, should not have been acquainted with the enterprise from the beginning. He would seem, indeed, to have been one of the first with whom the plotters would be inclined to confer. Moreover, the matter was known outside of France at an early date. Before the end of September

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<sup>1</sup> On one occasion certain Scotchmen were seen by a spy of the French ambassador to enter Throckmorton's lodgings. The Bishop of Aquila to the Bishop of Arras, Nov. 18, 1559: Lettenhove, *Rel. Pol. des Pays Bas et de l'Angleterre*, ii. p. 96. Memoir upon the affairs of Scotland sent by Noailles to Francis II., Dec. 20, 1559: *Cal. For. El.*, ii. p. 209, footnote; Teulet, i. p. 384. Noailles to D'Oisel, Dec. 22, 1559: *Cal. For. El.*, ii. no. 472 (par. 7); Forbes, i. p. 286. The Bishop of Aquila to the Duchess of Parma, Jan. 21, 1560: Lettenhove, *Rel. Pol. des Pays Bas et de l'Angleterre*, ii. p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> Lingard, vii. p. 391.

Challoner, the English ambassador in Brussels, was visited by a stranger who asked for letters to some of the council. He said he had "matter of importance to declare to the queen," and talked "of great revolts, like shortly to be in some parts of France." The ambassador regarded him with suspicion, but gave him a letter to Cecil.<sup>1</sup> Mundt wrote from Strasburg October fifth: "The present administration of affairs in France is exceedingly displeasing to many great men, and many persons think that this usurpation will be broken up with some great tumult, for which a head is wanting, but not members."<sup>2</sup> Thus, when Throckmorton reached England, the government had already learned of the conspiracy from other sources, and Throckmorton's silence hitherto is of itself evidence that he was waiting to impart the information orally.

The Bishop of Aquila had for some time believed that he was helping to stir up religious troubles in France and that if Elizabeth "were able, by using religion as a pretext, to bring about a rebellion there, as in Scotland, neither fear nor conscience would restrain her."<sup>3</sup> The bishop was at first unable to find out just why Sir Nicholas had come to England,<sup>4</sup> but before long had formed an opinion, or at least said he had. In a conversation with Noailles he put the question to him. The French ambassador replied that it was to report certain matters to the queen and council, and forward his undertakings in France. The bishop pronounced

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<sup>1</sup> Challoner to Cecil, Sept. 28 and Sept. 29, 1559: Cal. For. El., nos. 1390, 1393.

<sup>2</sup> Mundt to Queen Elizabeth, Oct. 5, 1559: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 26 (par. 2).

<sup>3</sup> The Bishop of Aquila to Philip II., Aug. 13 and 18, 1559: Lettenhove, *Rel. Pol. des Pays Bas et de l'Angleterre*, i. pp. 596, 605; *Documentos Inéditos*, lxxxvii. p. 230. Froude (vi. p. 258) makes the bishop, in his letter of the 13th condition Elizabeth's "heretical intrigues in France" upon her marriage to the Earl of Arran. As a matter of fact, however, the bishop states the matter absolutely.

<sup>4</sup> The Bishop of Aquila to the Bishop of Arras, Nov. 12, 1559: Lettenhove, *Rel. Pol. des Pays Bas et de l'Angleterre*, ii. p. 87.

the answer correct beyond a doubt, and added that he had been directed by Chantonay, Philip's ambassador in France, to beware of Throckmorton; for he had come to England to give all manner of trouble, had been carrying on pernicious intrigues in France, and had been having intercourse with the greatest personages.<sup>1</sup>

It is not likely, however, that anything connected with the conspiracy in France detained Throckmorton in England so long. The government was deliberating how far the Scots should be helped, and it seems not improbable that he was kept at home until a decision should be reached. At the end of December he received instructions to recross the channel, and the queen in a letter to Francis the Second stated that the ambassador, "having been compelled for his business to return home, has been detained by the long and dangerous illness of his wife."<sup>2</sup> Sir Nicholas was directed to tell the French Government, in case her attitude toward the movement in Scotland should be discussed, that she could not look upon the Scotch noblemen as rebels or allow them to be conquered by the French.<sup>3</sup> This was strong language, but the English had been making preparations for war. They still hesitated, however, and Throckmorton was detained nearly a month longer.

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<sup>1</sup> Memoir by Noailles upon the affairs of Scotland, Dec. 20, 1559: Cal. For. El., ii. p. 210, footnote; Teulet, i. p. 388. "Trois ou quatre jours après, estant le susdict de la Mothe allé visiter ledict d'Aquila de la part dudict sieur de Noailles, icellny d'Aquila lui dict que ceste privée communication qu'il faisoit et vouloit faire avec ledict sieur de Noailles estoit par commission du roy son maistre qui veult continuer l'entretènement de l'amitié du Roy son frere en telle fraternité et vraye alliance qu'il se peult désirer." — Ibid. This statement is probably an invention of the bishop's. Philip would not have been apt to adopt such a roundabout method of getting information to the French government.

<sup>2</sup> Queen Elizabeth to Francis II., Dec. 31, 1559: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 530.

<sup>3</sup> Instructions to Throckmorton, Dec. 30, 1559, and Jan. 9, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. nos. 524, 567.

Killigrew and Robert Jones,<sup>1</sup> who had taken his place during his absence, reported that, in consequence of the strained relations between England and Scotland, they were watched, and began to be avoided by their acquaintances. No Scotchman dared talk with them. Means of procuring information being thus largely cut off, they recommended that a spy be employed or else money be supplied to certain men known to Throckmorton who were able to give intelligence. The matter should be attended to at once; for the men in question were liable soon to leave the court on account of religion.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, Francis Edwards, an English emissary to France, had begun a series of reports of the warlike preparations on the part of the government along the northern coast, and had given information as to the popular discontent prevailing there.<sup>3</sup> News also reached the English government that "the whole of Aquitaine and Normandy is in good heart, and could easily be excited to action if they perceived any movement elsewhere,"<sup>4</sup> and that the people of France had chosen one of their greatest princes, a Protestant, "to be their chieftain and conductor, and by this means purpose, God willing, to recover the Christian liberty."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In a letter to the Council, dated December 14th, they wrote: "It is a thing so unlikely and incredible to all men of judgment here, that they ever mind to restore Calais, as it is said, that onles the same be stolen from them, her majesty shall never recover the same." Cal. For. El., ii. no. 418 (par. 4); Forbes, i. p. 278.

<sup>2</sup> Killigrew and Jones to Queen Elizabeth and to Cecil, Dec. 27 and 29, 1559, and Jan. 6 and 18, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. nos. 508 (par. 5, 15), 522 (par. 1), 553 (par. 1, 2), 591 (par. 7); Forbes, i. pp. 288, 291, 297, 306.

<sup>3</sup> Francis Edwards to Cecil, Nov. 26, 30, Dec. 12, 19, 1559: Cal. For. El., ii. nos. 333, 408.

<sup>4</sup> N. N. to —: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 543. The editor states that the letter is in Latin and in a German hand. He assigns it to the month of December, 1559.

<sup>5</sup> The Earl of Arran to Cecil and to Maitland of Lethington, Jan. 20, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. nos. 605 (par. 2), 606 (par. 2).

On the twenty-fifth of January, fifteen hundred sixty, Throckmorton recrossed to Calais, and four days later reached Paris.<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Aquila, who in December had feared that the queen was "practicing in France" and that her "gospel" was "making too much progress there,"<sup>2</sup> now dreaded the consequences of the ambassador's return; "for I know," said he, "that they have a very firm understanding with the French heretics and that Throckmorton is the minister."<sup>3</sup>

The conspiracy had been developing for some months. One La Renaudie, who had special private grounds for hating the Guises, had become its temporary head, and had been visiting different parts of the country in his efforts to further the enterprise. He was also in Geneva, and is even said to have crossed the channel and received from Elizabeth promise of assistance, but there is little evidence to support the statement.<sup>4</sup> On the first of February he brought together in the city of Nantes a secret assembly, where plans were discussed. It seems to have been understood that the move-

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<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil and to the Council, Jan. 24, 25, and Feb. 4, 1560: Cal. For. EL., ii. nos. 642 (par. 1), 644 (par. 1), 685 (par. 1); Forbes, i. pp. 307, 316. De Ruble (*Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis*, p. 148) tells us that Throckmorton "repassa la Manche vers le 15 février," and cites a letter of Chantonay as his authority. The Spanish ambassador probably means the time of Sir Nicholas's arrival at Blois, which was more than two weeks after he crossed the channel.

<sup>2</sup> The Bishop of Aquila to the Count de Feria, Dec., 1559: Froude, vi. p. 297.

<sup>3</sup> The Bishop of Aquila to the Duchess of Parma, Jan. 21, 1560: Lettenhove, *Rel. Pol. des Pays Bas et de l'Angleterre*, ii. p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> De Ruble (*Antoine de Bourbon et Jeanne d'Albret*, ii. p. 142) makes the statement, and gives his authority as follows; — "Lettre de Chantonay à la duchesse de Parme, du 18 mars (Recueil conservé aux archives de Bruxelles, f. 54) — Lettre du même au cardinal Granvelle, du 3 mars (*Ibid.*, f. 47, v<sup>e</sup>). — Dans la plupart de ses lettres, Chantonay revient sur l'appui prêté par la reine d'Angleterre aux conspirateurs." Lingard (ii. pp. 391, 392) says that when Throckmorton went to England, "he was followed by La Renaudie," who "soon returned, the bearer from Elizabeth of wishes for their success, and promises of support." Lingard gives no authority.

ment was not against the king himself and that behind La Renaudie was a "mute" chief, no other than the Prince of Condé, by whose authority the Guises were to be arrested. A date in the early part of March was fixed upon for the execution of the undertaking.<sup>1</sup>

At about the same time Elizabeth's agent in Germany was asked, under promise of secrecy, whether the conspirators could count on the queen's assistance. Mundt had no very high opinion of Frenchmen, considered their character as "described in history" to be "unstable and deceitful," and was cautious in his reply. He said, "if it could be proved that the French princes were engaged in this movement," "that it was not started by the lawlessness of the inconstant common people," and that its object was "the preservation of the liberties of the king and realm," he thought "the queen would not be wanting in kind offices."<sup>2</sup> The fears of the Bishop of Aquila continued. He reported to Philip February third that Elizabeth had just sent one of her subjects named Tremain, a "very great heretic," into Brittany to carry on intrigues with the Protestants there, and earnestly warned his master that the English, who had already ruined religion in Scotland, would, if not checked, do still worse in France.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The exact date is given variously by different writers. See De Ruble, *Antoine de Bourbon et Jeanne d'Albret*, ii. p. 146, footnote 1.

<sup>2</sup> Mundt to Cecil, Feb. 27, 1560: *Cal. For. El*, ii. no. 780 (par. 2). Mundt says in the letter that he had the conversation "some weeks ago."

<sup>3</sup> The Bishop of Aquila to Philip II., Feb. 3, 1560: Lettenhove, *Rel. Pol. des Pays Bas et de l'Angleterre*, ii. p. 213 et seq. (footnote); *Documentos Inéditos*, lxxxvii. p. 273 et seq. Froude, vi. pp. 332, 333. According to Lettenhove, the Bishop of Aquila writes as follows: "Y no es pequeño ya el ver que estos con sus inteligencias ayan traído las cosas publicas al punto en que estan y estragado las de la religion en Escocia y puesto la de Francia en los terminos que lo tienen, que, sino se remedia, estara presto peor que Escocia: demas de haver aqui mas de dos mil casas de Flamencos hereges," etc. This corresponds with Froude's translation. In the "*Documentos Inéditos*" the latter part of the quotation reads, "estará presto, porque Escocia demás de 2,000 casas de flamencos herejes" etc. Here, evidently one word has been misread, and



Throckmorton wrote from Paris a few days after his arrival that the French would have "now to bestir themselves for the good and quiet of this their own realm," for "the factions in religion" were "springing everywhere," and the consequences were "marvellously to be feared." There was also a prospect of trouble with Germany, "besides many other matters not everywhere known."<sup>1</sup> The French court was at Blois, and the ambassador proceeded thither about the middle of February.<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth had directed him to report the state of affairs in France, and he wrote that on reaching Blois he found "all confirmed and fit opportunity offered to disappoint their purposes."<sup>3</sup> He wished to hear often from England that he might be better able to direct the work of himself and others "greatly to the advancement of England's service and affairs on this side."<sup>4</sup> In the early part of January, a French fleet on the way to Scotland with reinforcements had been destroyed in a storm, and the English, under Admiral Winter, had sailed into the Frith of Forth. Throckmorton urged repeatedly that the embarrassments of the French should be utilized to the utmost. "Take your time while it is offered," he wrote to Cecil, "for you shall never have better opportunity upon these men than you have at this present."<sup>5</sup>

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others are omitted. Froude attaches part of this letter to part of another, written March 7, as if they were one. His translation from the words "Count Helfensteyn is in good spirits" to the end belongs to the former communication.

<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton to the Council, Feb. 4, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii., no. 685; Forbes, i. p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, Feb. 8, 1560: Cal. For. El., no. 706 (par. 1); Forbes, i. p. 322. Throckmorton to Cecil from Blois, Feb. 16, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 732; Forbes, i. p. 326.

<sup>3</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, Feb. 20, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 750 (par. 2).

<sup>4</sup> Throckmorton to the Lords of the Council, Feb. 20, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 751 (par. 2); Forbes, i. p. 327.

<sup>5</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, Feb. 8, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 706 (par. 5); Forbes, i. p. 324. Throckmorton to Cecil, Feb. 16, 1560: Cal.

He began to fear some personal inconvenience, but this seems to have been in view of the news which the Guises were receiving from Scotland rather than because of events in France. While in Paris, he was warned that upon his arrival at court he would be placed under guard. In that case, said he in a letter to Cecil, he could send word to England only through the Spanish ambassador; nor was he sure of being able to do that, for he might be so closely watched that all means of communication with Chantonay would be cut off. After his audience with the king he would write, if not restrained. In case nothing should be heard from him soon, it might be imagined that something had happened.<sup>1</sup>

When he reached Blois, the king had gone hunting, and Jones was sent on to make arrangements for an audience. The latter was received with marked coldness by his acquaintances, Scotch, French, and Italian; and was told by the Cardinal of Lorraine that no audience could be granted till the arrival of the king at Amboise, toward which he was proceeding by a roundabout course, and which he would reach in about a week. Sir Nicholas asked again to be recalled. "You know," he wrote to Cecil, "how odious I am to these men, and how they have been put out of doubt that I have been the only stirrer and worker of all that is done." "I trust the queen's majesty does not mean that I shall end my service all at once, and be made unapt to be received another time abroad," "which must needs happen,

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For. El., ii. no. 732 (par. 2); Forbes, i. p. 325: Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, Feb. 20, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 750 (par. 2, 6). Throckmorton to the Lords of the Council, Feb. 20, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 751 (par. 2); Forbes, i. p. 327. Throckmorton to Cecil, Feb. 27, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 778; Forbes, i. p. 347. Throckmorton to the Council, Feb. 27, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 779 (par. 3); Forbes, i. p. 345.

<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, Feb. 8, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 706 (par. 5); Forbes, i. p. 324.

if I abide the brunt, and tarry out till things grow to extremities.”<sup>1</sup>

The audience took place on the twenty-fifth at Amboise, but Throckmorton's apprehensions were not realized. On the contrary, although he declined to admit that the Scotchmen were rebels, he was treated with every mark of cordiality. The reasons of this unexpected smothering of their feelings on the part of the French were, he concluded, “their own unreadiness at home; the little means they have presently to put themselves in order; their shortness of finances; the danger they fear might happen unto them by their own subjects by means of religion, they being once entered into war;” and “the danger that they see plainly before their eyes of their excluding from Scotland.”<sup>2</sup>

Indeed, the secret of the conspiracy, so long kept, had finally leaked out. Information of it was received by the king's ministers from sources both at home and abroad about the middle of February, and before the end of the month they were thoroughly aware of the storm which was gathering over their heads. On the seventh of March Sir Nicholas wrote: “The Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine have discovered a conspiracy wrought against themselves and their authority, which they have bruted, to make the matter more odious, to be meant only against the King.” “This court is in great trouble, and knows not on which side to turn.” “The matter is presently hot, and like enough to become hotter; so if ever time were to do

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<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, Feb. 16, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 732 (par. 3); Forbes, i. p. 326. Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, Feb. 20, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 750 (par. 1, 8). Throckmorton to the Lords of the Council, Feb. 20, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 751; Forbes, i. p. 326. Throckmorton to Cecil, Feb. 20, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 752; Forbes, i. p. 328. See also an extract from a letter of Chantonay in De Ruble, *Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis*, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, Feb. 27, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 777; Forbes, i. p. 334. Throckmorton to the Council, Feb. 27, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 779; Forbes, i. p. 344.

what you have to do, it is now." "Chafe the iron while it is hot."<sup>1</sup>

When, a week later, the cardinal "with many fair words," requested Sir Nicholas to notify Elizabeth that a conspiracy had been formed against him and his brother, which had its origin in Geneva, the ambassador replied that she would be sorry to hear of it, and, the affair being "so prejudicial to all manner of states," she would be ready to aid the king against such "meddlers."<sup>2</sup>

The court, being on its guard, was able to defend itself, and when the detached bands of the conspirators reached the neighborhood, they were captured and put to death.<sup>3</sup> La Renaudie was killed while fighting. Commotions continued, however, in various parts of the country. "Whereunto this stir will grow," said Throckmorton, "God knoweth; for I hear that they begin to stir in a great many more places." Now, he thought, was the queen's opportunity; now she might do what she would.<sup>4</sup>

The leading French Protestants who were believed to have taken part in the conspiracy denied the imputation, and Condé, accused of being its real head, solemnly pronounced the charge a lie.

The Guises, as soon as the plot was discovered, declared that the English had been mixed up in it, and they made a special effort to convince the Spanish government of the

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<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, March 7, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 837 (par. 4); Forbes, i. p. 353. See also Throckmorton to Cecil, March 9, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 845 (par. 4); Forbes, i. p. 358.

<sup>2</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, March 15, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 859 (par. 7); Forbes, i. p. 363. The Cardinal said he made the request at the command of the king.

<sup>3</sup> The Venetian ambassador wrote to the Doge and Senate, March 17: "It has also been remarked that amongst the troops of the insurgents men of all nations were found, Germans, Switzers, Savoyards, Englishmen, Scots, and such like." See Cal. Ven., vii. no. 136.

<sup>4</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, March 21, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 882 (par. 2); Forbes, i. p. 385. Note also Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, March 15, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 859 (par. 13); Forbes, i. p. 368.

truth of the statement. The cardinal told Chantonay that Elizabeth "had favored and sustained the conspirators,"<sup>1</sup> and Throckmorton, learning from the Spanish ambassador and others that the French greatly suspected him to have been "a doer in these troubles," was uncertain what the consequences would be to himself, and thought he had better be recalled.<sup>2</sup>

Chantonay portrayed to Throckmorton the bad example set by the conspiracy to the subjects of princes everywhere, and remarked that all rulers ought to be interested in the punishment of those who would promote such disturbances.<sup>3</sup> Sir Nicholas said the queen would be very much annoyed, so far as the bad example was concerned, but that the differences of the English with the French would prevent their entirely regretting the affair.<sup>4</sup> At the Spanish court the charges against Elizabeth were rehearsed by the French ambassador, and denied by the queen's representatives.<sup>5</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> Extract from a letter of Chantonay to Cardinal Granvelle, March 3, 1560, in De Ruble, *Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis*, p. 149, and Antoine de Bourbon et Jeanne d'Albret, ii. p. 221. The Cardinal told Chantonay that the conspirators had intended to summon the States General, to make the king a Protestant, or else set up a new one, and if the Guises would not accede to the new arrangements, to banish them; but, in accordance with the views of English and German preachers, to avoid bloodshed (see extract from a letter of Chantonay to the Duchess of Parma, March, 1560, in *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, i. int. p. lxx., footnote).

<sup>2</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, March 21, 1560: *Cal. For. El.*, ii. p. 462, footnote (par. 5); Forbes, i. p. 379. Throckmorton to Cecil, same date; *Cal. For. El.*, ii. no. 882 (par. 3); Forbes, i. p. 385. Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, March 27, 1560: *Cal. For. El.*, ii. no. 904 (par. 2).

<sup>3</sup> Extract from a letter of Chantonay to the Duchess of Parma, March 26, 1560, in De Ruble, *Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis*, p. 150.

<sup>4</sup> Extract from a letter of Chantonay to Philip II., March 20, 1560, in De Ruble, *Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis*, p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> Paulo Tiepolo, Venetian ambassador with King Philip, to the Doge and Senate, March 25, 30, 1560: *Cal. Ven.*, vii. nos. 140, 144. Montague and Chamberlain, English ambassadors in Spain, to the Council, April 10, 1560: *Cal. For. El.*, ii. p. 528, footnote (par. 3). The Duke of

French ambassador in London, so the Bishop of Aquila tells us, reported that he had accused the queen to her face, and said that there were five or six gentlemen of note who could testify against her.<sup>1</sup> Cecil and another prominent Englishman, Dr. Wotton, in an interview with the Bishop did not disguise their approval of the efforts which had been made against the "tyranny of the Guises," but denied that Elizabeth had taken part. It was common talk in London, however, that the French suspected her.<sup>2</sup>

Alva to the Bishop of Arras, March 20, 1560: Teulet, ii. p. 76 et seq. Instructions to Glajon, special ambassador sent by King Philip to England to intercede between that country and France, March 27, 1560: Teulet, ii. p. 86. Philip II. to the Bishop of Aquila, April 10, 1560: Lettenhove, *Rel. Pol. des Pays Bas et de l'Angleterre*, ii. p. 368 (footnote). Note also the letter of the Duchess of Parma to Philip II., April, 1560: Teulet, ii. p. 119.

<sup>1</sup> The Bishop reports also that the French king had spoken to Throckmorton about the matter, but this is doubtless a mistake. Throckmorton does not mention it. The Bishop of Aquila to Philip II., March 7, 1560: *Documentos Inéditos*, lxxxvii. p. 285; Froude, vi. p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> The Bishop of Aquila to Philip II., March 26, 1560: Lettenhove, *Rel. Pol. des Pays Bas et de l'Angleterre*, ii. p. 273 (footnote): *Documentos Inéditos*, lxxxvii. p. 294. In the latter collection the letter is dated March 28.

The Venetian ambassador at the French court, writing March 6 about the discovery of the conspiracy, said that "a certain great potentate whose name is not yet revealed" was reported to have been connected with it. On the 23d he added: "The government have been assured by confession of the prisoners and through the writings discovered that there had been no understanding, as at first suspected, with any sovereign [Principe] either Germany or elsewhere, except with Geneva, but there is nothing of vital importance, merely that some native Frenchmen had come here from thence of their own accord, and not by any public decree or by order of the governors of the city." On the 28th he added further: "According to the Cardinal's statement this conspiracy was originated seven months ago at Geneva, one month after the late King's death, and was discussed and approved both publicly and privately by the inhabitants of that city, contrary to what was said of late, and subsequently the conspirators conferred with some princes of Germany, one of whom last January warned the king by letter of the conspiracy, which was also fomented by the Queen of England." *Cal. Ven.* vii., nos. 132, 138, 142.

There is thus considerable evidence to show that the English were mixed up in the conspiracy; but it will be observed that much of it is circumstantial or hearsay. The belief appears to have been wide-spread in Europe at the time, especially among the Catholics, that Elizabeth had helped on the plot; but this was doubtless, to a considerable extent, an *a priori* conclusion drawn from the fact that she aided the Scotch rebels and that it would be to her advantage for the French conspirators to succeed. Such a belief was also largely due, directly or indirectly, to the assertions of the Guises themselves.<sup>1</sup> Chantonay, for example, seems to have derived much of his information from them. It was to their interest to arouse prejudice against Elizabeth, particularly in the breast of Philip of Spain. We do not know how much proof they may have had. We do not even know how much they believed their own statements; for the Cardinal of Lorraine, like Elizabeth, was one of the greatest liars of the time, and his charges are perhaps offset by her subsequent denials.<sup>2</sup> The Bishop of Aquila was sure that there was a secret understanding, and his relations to the English court were such that he may have learned a great deal. We ought to make allowance, however, for the fact that he was constantly terrified at the possibility of Elizabeth's extending her intrigues to Philip's subjects in the Low Countries, and was in a condition of mind to magnify the importance of every rumor.

We should naturally expect to find the proof, if anywhere, in the correspondence of Throckmorton and the English government. These letters, however, are almost silent on the subject; indeed, laying aside a few vague and general statements, one might read them through to the time of the public disclosure of the plot without being aware that a conspiracy was going on. The affair was, of course, a risky one to intrust to writing, and although the contemporary intrigues in Scotland were written about and later ones with

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<sup>1</sup> For further repetition of the charges, see pages 54, 55.

<sup>2</sup> See page 55.

the Huguenots<sup>1</sup> were fully described, the necessity of secrecy in these cases was probably not so great. It is important, however, to note that the matter is not mentioned in the formal instructions to Throckmorton on his return to France in the winter. In the following summer, as we shall see,<sup>2</sup> Cecil had little confidence in the continuance of the seditious movements, and it is not inconceivable that he was of the same opinion from the beginning, and advised the queen to give no support. He was, it is true, at one time weighing the question of how to "maintain the faction" in France, but that was before the conspiracy, and we do not know to what conclusion he came.

There is little doubt, as later events help to prove,<sup>3</sup> that the English were doing some sort of intriguing with the Protestant population of Brittany and Normandy, from which provinces in the event of war, an expedition would proceed against England; but (now) far this was connected with the general movement, it is difficult to tell.

Many of the statements made by Throckmorton and others, especially regarding Elizabeth's relations to her northern and southern neighbours, are too general to be taken as evidence in a particular matter; for French and Scottish affairs are inextricably mixed up. The early suspicions against Throckmorton and the personal danger to which he was exposed when he returned to France, may have been connected entirely with the relations of the English in general and of Sir Nicholas in particular to events in the northern kingdom.

There is little to justify the statement of one historian that Throckmorton was the "focus of the plot."<sup>4</sup> If he was, why

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<sup>1</sup> The name Huguenots was first given to the French Protestants in the early part of the year 1560.

<sup>2</sup> See pages 51—53.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Froude, vi. p. 336. The editor of the Calendar makes an equally strong statement. He says (iii., preface p. xlv); "Through Throckmorton's agency the various and conflicting interests which were opposed



was Mundt in Germany approached on the subject of the queen's assistance,<sup>1</sup> and why did Sir Nicholas remain so long in England while the conspiracy was developing?

Of course, England had every reason to desire the success of the undertaking, and Elizabeth, Cecil, and Throckmorton were just the persons to promote it, if there was good prospect that it would amount to anything. Enemies of the Guises were on friendly terms with the English, and the feeling must have been mutual that they were natural allies. We know that the English government was aware of the conspiracy almost from the beginning, and are reasonably certain that intrigues were carried on in northern France. How much further the relations went, whether Elizabeth promised La Renaudie or others support, remain open questions.

## V.

### EMBARRASSMENT OF THE GUISES AND TREATY OF EDINBURGH. MARCH — JULY, 1560.

The English proceeded at once to take advantage of the situation. The Guises feared that troops would be landed

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to the family of Lorraine were brought into harmony and united under the secret protectorate of Elizabeth, and it was understood that when the moment for action arrived this newly constituted opposition might depend upon substantial assistance from England." De Ruble says (*Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis*, p. 148): "Throckmorton etait un des inspireurs du mouvement formidable qui échoua sous les murs d'Amboise au mois de Mars, 1560." Froude adds that "the queen herself had been in close correspondence with Condé and the Colignys," but doesn't tell us how he knows it.

Ranke, however, says (*Französische Geschichte*, i. p. 147): "Ueber der ganzen Sache schwebt ein noch nicht aufgehelltes Dunkel. Hatte la Renaudie wirklich eine Verbindung mit der Königin von England, die in den Guisen ihre persönlichen Feinde sah, das Auftreten der Franzosen in Schottland eben nur von ihnen herleitete und eine ihnen entgegengesetzte Bewegung in Frankreich nicht anders als wünschen konnte?"

<sup>1</sup> See further on this matter page 50.

in Brittany or Normandy, where great disturbances were reported to have begun, and where, in Chantonay's opinion, the English would have been "well received by the inhabitants."<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton, in his letters, mentions the possibility of the queen's performing "intents and enterprises" there;<sup>2</sup> and rumors were afloat that "great offers" had been "made to the Earl of Arran by Gascony, Poitou, Brittany and Normandy, if he would descend into those parts."<sup>3</sup> The English did nothing of this kind, however, south of the channel; but the Council of Elizabeth in a memorial dated March twenty-third, advised her to send troops into Scotland, and drive out the French. They recommended her, further, to give public notice that she meant no hostility to France and the people of that country, but merely the defence of her realm against the Guises;<sup>4</sup> and on the following day the queen issued a proclamation to that effect. She said she thought that "the injurious pretences made by the Queen of Scots to this realm proceed from the principals of the house of Guise, who now have the chief governance of the crown of France, and that neither the French king, who by reason of his years is not capable of such an enterprise, nor the Queen of Scots, his wife, also being in her minority, nor yet the princes of the blood royal and other estates of France have imagined such an unjust enterprise." The Guises were, she declared, seeking to get a firm footing in Scotland and then to invade England, and she must take measures for the security of her realm; but she charged her subjects "to

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<sup>1</sup> Extract from a letter of Chantonay to Philip II., March 20, 1560, in De Ruble, *Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis*, p. 149. Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, March 21, 1560: *Cal. For. El.*, ii. p. 462, footnote (par. 4); Forbes, i. p. 378.

<sup>2</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, March 27, 1560: *Cal. For. El.*, ii. no. 904 (par. 3). Throckmorton to Cecil, same date: *ibid.* ii. no. 905 (par. 4). See also *Négoc. sous François II.*, p. 763.

<sup>3</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, April 12, 1560: *Cal. For. El.*, ii. no. 994 (par. 2).

<sup>4</sup> The Privy Council to the Queen. March 23, 1560: *Cal. For. El.*, ii. no. 891; Forbes, i. p. 390.

use with friendship all the French king's subjects, as in time of peace, except they be provoked by any hostility."<sup>1</sup>

The document was published in both English and French, and was, of course, intended to paralyze the efforts of the Guises, by rendering the subjects of Francis the Second lukewarm. A few days later Elizabeth's troops crossed into Scotland and laid siege to Leith.<sup>2</sup> Throckmorton was not entirely pleased with the proclamation. In his opinion more stress was laid on the minority of the king and queen than French custom would justify, and the Guises were too particularly named as the originators of the trouble. They would now be her everlasting enemies, and would never, in their hearts, consent to peace. He thought, however, it would be well to circulate it "by means of merchants through Brittany and Normandy to animate the people more" against them.<sup>3</sup> The Guises were enraged at Elizabeth's state paper, and repeated their charges against her, declaring that "she appears to have been all the doer in this trouble here, and that Throckmorton has been the minister."<sup>4</sup> Sir Nicholas sent

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<sup>1</sup> Cal. For. El., ii. no. 894; Cal. Ven., vii. no. 139. "A draft of this proclamation, in English, the joint production of Cecil and Petrie, is preserved at Hatfield House." — Cal. For. El., ii. p. 472, footnote.

<sup>2</sup> When the news reached the French court that the English had entered Scotland, there was much discussion as to what should be done with Throckmorton. They feared that whatever treatment he experienced would be extended to their ambassador in London, and decided to do nothing with him till the ambassador should be recalled. Finally, they concluded not to recall the ambassador at all; for he, with the hostages, could help them more in England than Throckmorton alone could help the English in France. At least, that is what Sir Nicholas heard. Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, April 6, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 952 (par. 5). Throckmorton to Cecil, same date: *ibid.*, ii. no. 954 (par. 5). Michiel to the Doge and Senate, April 26, 1560: Cal. Ven., vii. no. 155.

<sup>3</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, April 6, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 954 (par. 1, 2, 3, 9).

<sup>4</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, April 12, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 994 (par. 2). Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, April 28, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 1082 (par. 11).

To an agent of Throckmorton, the cardinal said a few weeks later

copies to the King of Navarre, the constable, and most of the foreign ambassadors at the French court;<sup>1</sup> and although it was forbidden to have any in one's possession, he caused the document to be printed and distributed in Normandy and Brittany, also in Paris and other places.<sup>2</sup>

April eighteenth Francis the Second, following, of course, the direction of his uncles, sent the King of Navarre a copy of the proclamation, together with a letter, in which he called Anthony's attention to reports which were current in Spain that the latter had favored the recent conspiracy, but assured him that he did not believe the charges. The Queen of England, however, had helped it on, he said, "on account of the ill will she bears me, along with her extreme regret at the loss of Calais." As to the proclamation, he wrote: "You may see by this what a spirit of fury and vengeance agitates her and what wrong she does princes of my blood, pretending, nevertheless, to undertake the protection of them and of the estates of my kingdom, as if they had called her to their aid and succor." "You ought very quickly to make the said lady understand through her ambassador at my court that she has done a great wrong to you and to the said princes of the blood by speaking of them in this way; that being the first of the said princes, you have been

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that the issuing of the document was a "poor revenge." He declared, however, that, in his opinion, it was "not the queen's doing, but the persuasion of three or four about her," and expressed the hope that before long she would punish the advisers. He wished that Throckmorton were at home, for the remarkable reason that the latter was, as he said, favorable to peace and would exert a good influence. Although it is a matter of no great importance, it may be added that the cardinal had this talk with Somers, not with Throckmorton, as Lingard says (vii. p. 393, footnote) and as the editor of the Calendar in one place assumes. Sir Nicholas was sick abed. See Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, May 3, 1560: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 16 (par. 3); Forbes, i. p. 423.

<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, April 28, 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 1082 (par. 9).

<sup>2</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth. May 10. 1560: Cal. For. El., ii. no. 67 (par. 5); Forbes, i. p. 450.

constrained to remonstrate for all, praying her that hereafter she will not put you or the said princes in her writings in any way possible, not having to render to her account of your actions, the only aim of which is to serve and assist me in all things.”<sup>1</sup> The faint heart of Anthony quailed before the words of the king, although, as a sovereign himself, he might justly have resented them. Throckmorton, in sending him a copy of the queen’s proclamation, had accompanied it by a letter, in which he begged him “to judge of the truth of her cause;”<sup>2</sup> but Anthony pretended not to be sure from what source either was received. He replied to the king May sixth, stating that he suspected the writer to be Throckmorton and would give that gentleman to understand that he was “neither the serf nor the pet of his mistress and that she must not address herself” to him, when she wanted “to play her tricks.”<sup>3</sup> Three days later he wrote to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise a letter similar, but even more humble in its tone, in which he pretended to be astonished at Throckmorton’s communication.<sup>4</sup> On the same day that he replied to the king, he addressed a letter to Sir Nicholas, repudiating as first prince of the blood the intimation that “the princes and estates of France have called her to their aid,” and begging the ambassador to inform Elizabeth that he hoped she would not again mention him or others in her proclamations, as it would only injure them with the king, with whose proceedings they were perfectly contented. “Any slight causes of dissatisfaction which may formerly have existed, are now removed.”<sup>5</sup> He submitted

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<sup>1</sup> *Négoc. sous François II.*, p. 366.

<sup>2</sup> Throckmorton to the King of Navarre, April 15. See *Cal. For. El.*, ii. no. 1007, and *De Ruble, Antoine de Bourbon et Jeanne d’Albret*, ii. p. 222.

<sup>3</sup> *Négoc. sous François II.*, p. 368.

<sup>4</sup> *De Ruble, Antoine de Bourbon et Jeanne d’Albret*, ii. p. 223, and *Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis*, p. 152. *Lettres d’Antoine de Bourbon et de Jehanne d’Albret*, p. 190.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. For. El.*, iii. no. 40.

to the king Throckmorton's letter, as well as his own reply, and the Cardinal of Lorraine forwarded the latter to the ambassador.<sup>1</sup> In the meantime the representatives of the French government in London had remonstrated against the proclamation, but the English defended their course, and the distribution of the document continued.<sup>2</sup> In one French town about the middle of May copies of the same or a similar proclamation were sold at a great fair as openly as any other article. This fact convinced Throckmorton that the French would "have more cause to look to themselves at home than annoy the English abroad."<sup>3</sup>

Mundt wrote that if it should "seem good to the queen to treat with the persons who have been the prime movers in the French plots," he could "get good persons for that purpose."<sup>4</sup> He was often requested to ask Elizabeth to "assist certain princes in France" who were "grieved with the present administration," and was told that "if all things shall come to a prosperous end, they would aid her again to her desire;" but he was suspicious, for he had "never seen any express

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<sup>1</sup> The King of Navarre to Francis the Second, May 6, 1560: *Négoc. sous François II.*, p. 368. The Cardinal of Lorraine to Throckmorton, May 10, 1560: *Cal. For. El.*, iii. no. 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. For. El.*, ii. no. 928, v. nos. 1428, 1429. *Négoc. sous François II.*, p. 318 et seq. Teulet, ii. p. 15 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, May 22, 1560: *Cal. For. El.*, iii. no. 116 (par. 9). In the same letter he wrote: "If the subjects of the Low Countries could be brought to dislike their government as the French do, it would greatly serve the purpose of the English." He mistrusted "the Spanish as much as the French."

The Guises had now another source of annoyance. Word reached them that three of the hostages in London were attending religious services held by French Protestant refugees there. "The king and the Guises have accordingly resolved to delay their return, and have threatened that when they return, they shall be severely punished, because by their example they confirm the Queen in her accursed religion, and persuade her that many of the chief people in France are of the same way of thinking, which is likely to be of great misfortune." See *Cal. For. El.*, iii. no. 145.

<sup>4</sup> Mundt to Cecil, April 2, 1560: *Cal. For. El.*, ii. no. 940 (par. 3).

or certain commission." Finally, in May, according to his statement, one came from the Prince of Condé, who desired that the substance of the message might be communicated "to the queen and to the queen only."<sup>1</sup>

Their troubles at home prevented the French from forwarding reinforcements to Scotland; in May they made overtures for peace; and both governments sent commissioners to Edinburgh to negotiate. Early in June the Guises suffered an additional loss in the death of their sister, the queen regent, who had been their mainstay in the northern kingdom. Still another danger threatened them, although they may not have known it, in an offer which was made to Elizabeth of towns in Normandy and Brittany.

Cecil, however, was in favor of letting well enough alone. He wrote to the queen from Edinburgh June twenty-first: "I think surely France is disturbed, but I see not likelihood of continuance, for either lack will be in the authors, being but popular, to continue, or else remedy will be in the rulers rather to yield in some part and so to dissolve the conjunction of numbers than to lose their outward things by inward contention. The offer made of certain towns in Brittany and Normandy liketh me well, and the same would be so allowed, but I cannot give your majesty counsel to embrace

<sup>1</sup> Mundt to Cecil, May 23, 1560: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 119.

The following curious rumor came from Germany: "The Count of the Rhine, the Marquis of Baudien, the Count Palatine, Duke Christopher of Würtemberg, the elder Landgrave, with the ambassadors of England and Scotland, and of a certain house of France, have met at Worms; at which meeting has been agreed a league named 'The revenge of Christian blood,' to root out of all realms those who shall withstand or propose anything against the doctrine of the Gospel. From this league none shall depart until this revenge is executed, and all the soldiers are to be sworn never to withdraw from their ensigns, even if money should lack. . . . The foresaid league extends to be occupied with the king in the defence of the imperial towns, and they shall assemble in some place of France with a great number of Frenchmen also sworn against the house, etc. The Queen of England shall cause her strength to be landed at places found to be most commodious in Normandy, Brittany, or Guienne." See Cal. For. El., iii. no. 149.

things so far off. No strength is tenable that is far distant, neither behoveth it that the crown of England should enter into war with surety of all Brittany. Profitable it is for the time to divert the enemy by procuring him business at home. If it should not please God to give us his grace to make a peace presently, whereof I would be sorry, there be many ways to offend the enemy withal, without great charge, whereof I will forbear now to write, because I do bend myself to peace.”<sup>1</sup>

The negotiations resulted in the treaty of Edinburgh, signed July sixth, by which the Queen of Scots was to cease using the arms and title of Queen of England, and the French were to withdraw their troops from Scotland.<sup>2</sup> On the following day came instructions from Elizabeth that, if peace were not yet concluded, her commissioners should insist on the restitution of Calais. Cecil rejoiced that they were received too late. He wrote a letter to the queen on the ninth, a part of which runs as follows: “As for the message brought by Tremain, God forbid that your majesty should enter into that bottomless pit of expense of your force and treasure, within the French king’s own mainland — being that manner of war to you more troublesome and dangerous than this of the French king here in Scotland; and yet this is his advantage, that the obedience of this is due to his wife, and cannot be lost; and there your majesty should have no more to further you but a devotion popular upon opinions of religion; wherein the French king, rather than lose that country, would not stick to incline to his people’s request, and so your majesty’s purpose could not then last. Indeed, this I could and meant always to have allowed, that if ye could not come to a reasonable concord with France, but that they would continue wars, then your majesty should have entertained that matter of Brittany and Normandy —

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<sup>1</sup> Cal. For. El., iii. p. 152, foot-note; Wright, i. p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> On the Treaty of Edinburgh see Bekker in Giessener Studien, iv. p. 62.



to have therewith offended and annoyed the French king. But as to have taken and kept any piece there, experience of Boulogne being in sight of Dover teacheth us what to do; and when I consider that for charges neither is Portsmouth, your own haven, fortified, neither the town of Berwick — most necessary of all others — finished; I should think it strange to take Brest or any other town in those parts, to keep longer than of necessity the French would maintain wars against your majesty; which being now ceased, and to your great honor, I think it a happy mishap that your majesty's letter came not before our conclusion."<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth instructed Throckmorton to send "some discreet persons into Gascony, Brittany, and Normandy" to find out "how they like this accord."<sup>2</sup> The king of France in a letter to his ambassador in Spain bemoaned his hard lot in being "reduced to the extremity of receiving the law from his own subjects," and declared that it was all due to the Queen of England, who had encouraged his subjects "to attempt that of which, without her support, favor, and aid, they would never have dared to dream." In this he doubtless referred to the Scotch; but he added that he was glad to secure peace, for he would now have "leisure to attend to the internal affairs" of France.<sup>3</sup>

Throckmorton again asked to be recalled.<sup>4</sup> He was in

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<sup>1</sup> Cal. For. El., iii. no. 320 (par. 2); Froude, vi. p. 397.

<sup>2</sup> July 19, 1560. Cal. For. El., iii. no. 343 (par. 2).

<sup>3</sup> July 28, 1560. Cal. For. El., iii. p. 194, foot-note; *Négoc. sous François II.*, p. 429. Two things convinced Throckmorton that the treaty was "both honorable and profitable" to the queen; one was that "France mislikes it," the other, that King Philip was displeased at finding that she and her realm "do not altogether depend upon his order and pleasure." See Cal. For. El., iii. no. 345 (par. 2).

<sup>4</sup> May 4. Cecil had written to Sir Nicholas that he was considering the latter's recall "upon pretence of sickness, but no man will allow to be sent there in this difficult time." Cal. For. El., iii. no. 26 (par. 4). Throckmorton replied May 10: "I will, as I may, and my health will suffer, abide the decision of the war or peace. If it be war, either you must revoke me or these will detain me." Cal. For. El., iii. no. 68 (par. 2); Forbes, i. p. 452.

“evil grace with the French, who impute a great part of their disadvantage” to him.<sup>1</sup> Whoever should succeed him “must follow a new trade and seem void of suspicion,” and “though he should be a careful minister to advertise what he can of the French proceedings upon the sea-coast and otherwise, yet the special means to learn things certainly must proceed from home.”<sup>2</sup>

However much Elizabeth may have done or not done to bring about the tumult at Amboise, there is no doubt that after the conspiracy had reached its full development and the Guises were thrown into embarrassment, she helped promote the disturbances and turned them to good account at Edinburgh.

On the nineteenth of August Sir Nicholas and the Cardinal of Lorraine had an interesting parley, in the course of which the latter said there were “bruits whereby the queen was slandered to have been a comfort to the rebels and makers of stirs in France, and that some of Normandy and others, the king’s subjects fugitive at Strasburg, had devised many things, whereof they have altogether informed the queen.” The ambassador replied that Elizabeth “naturally abhorred all seditions,” “that she never knew of any such matters, and if she did, she would never be induced to give counsel and succor to rebels.” The Cardinal said the information had been “revealed by one to whom torture had been given;” but Sir Nicholas repeated that “she knew nothing of such matters but by common bruit, and by his advertising her of such things as came to his knowledge, like as the French ambassador advertised them of the state of things in England, and called God to witness that neither she nor her minister ever had favored or would favor, any rebellion against the prince.”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton to Petre, July 19, 1560: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 347.

<sup>2</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, Aug. 9, 1560: Cal. For. El., iii., no. 413 (par. 2).

<sup>3</sup> The Cardinal said further that he “trusted that the queen would not suffer any of the king’s rebels to have any resort or succor in her

As soon as Elizabeth learned of this conversation, she wrote back to Throckmorton, complaining of "the slanderous reports" against her. She thought that "those who make them should be notably punished," wished that "all other princes were as clear in this matter" as she; and directed Sir Nicholas to "press the Cardinal, his brother, and the king and queen to punish such false reporters."<sup>1</sup>

However much circumstances might compel them to disguise their feelings, the rulers of France detested and continued to detest Throckmorton, and three years later Catherine de' Medici, complaining to his successor, Sir Thomas Smith, of the mischief which he had done, declared that from the time of the tumult at Amboise he had been "the setter on" of their domestic troubles.<sup>2</sup>

## VI.

### RALLY AND FALL OF THE GUISES. AUGUST — DECEMBER, 1560.

The discontent continued, and the government at length felt compelled to convene an assembly of notables to devise a plan of action for restoring quiet. This met at Fontainebleau on the twenty-first of August, and as a result of its deliberations, it was decided that the States General should come together on the tenth of December, that the prelates of the kingdom should convene on the twentieth of January, and that the latter should then, in case no general council were to be held, proceed to a national one.

But a fresh cause of terror now greeted the Guises.

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realm," and received the answer that "though England was not so great as France, yet it was easy for a man to come there as a stranger, and many may be there unknown to the queen." Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, Aug. 22, 1560: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 446 (par. 3).

<sup>1</sup> Aug. 26, 1560. Cal. For. El., iii. no. 455 (par. 2).

<sup>2</sup> Smith to Queen Elizabeth, Oct. 16, 1563: Cal. For. El., vi. no. 1306 (par. 1).

An agent of the King of Navarre at Fontainebleau told an acquaintance that plots against them were still on foot which Condé was heading. The confidant reported what he had learned, the agent was arrested, letters found upon him tended to confirm the statements, and upon being put to torture, he gave the names of a number of parties who, as well as the Bourbon princes, were charged by him with being implicated. The Vidame of Chartres, a kinsman of Condé and the writer of one of the letters, was immediately arrested and thrown into the Bastile; a messenger was sent off to the king of Navarre, bidding him come to court and bring his brother with him; and Philip the Second was asked to furnish aid in case it should be needed.<sup>1</sup> Francis wrote to his ambassador at the Spanish court that the Queen of England was charged with having already furnished money to the conspirators and with having promised more, but that he doubted as yet the truth of the statements.<sup>2</sup> The ambassador laid the request and also the charges against Elizabeth before Philip,<sup>3</sup> and that monarch promised his assistance in quelling the disturbances. Francis wrote to his ambassador in England and asked his opinion as to whether Elizabeth had really been favoring the rebellions in his kingdom, but the ambassador replied that inasmuch as the intrigues took place in France, it was difficult for him to know much about them, but that he would watch as carefully as possible and report whatever he could learn.<sup>4</sup>

Throckmorton in a letter to Cecil said that if his successor

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<sup>1</sup> Baird i., p. 424 et seq. De Ruble, Antoine de Bourbon et Jeanne d'Albret, ii. p. 322 et seq. Throckmorton to Cecil, Sept. 3, 1560: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 483 (par. 2).

<sup>2</sup> Francis II. to the Bishop of Limoges, Aug. 31, 1560: *Négoc. sous François II.*, p. 495. Same to same, Sept. 18: *ibid.*, p. 524.

<sup>3</sup> Memorandum of what the Bishop of Limoges said to Philip II: *Négoc. sous François II.*, p. 593.

<sup>4</sup> Extract from a letter of M. de Seurre to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise, Sept. 24, 1560: *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 543.

be speedily sent he would tell him the meaning of the proverb, "It is good to fish in troubled waters."<sup>1</sup> He thought it a part of England's policy "to retain good credit with the Protestants;"<sup>2</sup> but was of the opinion that although France was "in some disorder," it would necessarily be "reduced into better terms, because the Guises are diligent in consultation and provision."<sup>3</sup> He pressed the French for the ratification of the Treaty of Edinburgh without further delay, as the time agreed upon by the commissioners had nearly expired, but was met by excuses;<sup>4</sup> and when he asked permission to send men along the coast to see if they had ceased their warlike preparations according to the terms of the treaty, was told that he was exceeding his commission.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, Sept. 3, 1560: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 483 (par. 2).

<sup>2</sup> He seems to have meant the French Protestants, but may have referred to Protestants in general, or possibly to Scotch Protestants. We have only the abridgement of the Calendar. Throckmorton to Cecil, Sept. 8, 1560: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 503 (par. 3).

<sup>3</sup> Throckmorton to Cecil, Sept. 3, 1560: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 483 (par. 1).

<sup>4</sup> Queen Elizabeth to Throckmorton, Aug. 26, 1560: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 455 (par. 1). Throckmorton to the Cardinal of Lorraine, Sept. 1, 1560: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 480. Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, Sept. 8, 1560: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 502. Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, Sept. 17, 1560: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 534.

<sup>5</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, Aug. 22, 1560: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 446 (par. 2). Same to same, Sept. 8, *ibid.*, iii. no. 502 (par. 3). Throckmorton to the Council, Sept. 8, *ibid.*, iii. no. 505.

The French ambassador in England had reported to the Guises that the Vidame of Amiens, one of the hostages, had been attending Protestant worship. According to Cecil's clerk, the Vidame detested the "religion," "doings," and "talk" of the Guises, and would, if he had the means, live in England, and never return to France. He was taken ill, however, and wished to go home, but being offended at what the ambassador had done, sought to obtain the permission through Cecil and Throckmorton. The Cardinal of Lorraine expressed his wonder that the request had not been made through the ambassador, and the matter was delayed. The Vidame died in England in the following January. Thomas Windebank to Throckmorton, Sept. 6, 1560; Cal. For. El., iii. no. 492. Throck-

On the twenty-ninth of September, in connection with a general assembly of the order of Saint Michael for the reception of the new knights, a solemn mass was celebrated in the presence of the court and various members of the diplomatic body. At the elevation of the host, Throckmorton did not kneel with the rest, and the ambassador of Ferrara made some offensive comments, which aroused the anger of Sir Nicholas. Knowledge of the affair reaching the king's ears, he sent word on the following morning to the English ambassador that he was sorry at the unpleasantness which had occurred, but unless Sir Nicholas could conduct himself like the others, he was at liberty to remain away from that day's service; for his example "might do much harm among a great many that were ready enough to receive it." To the herald who brought the message, Throckmorton defended his act, denounced the ambassador of Ferrara, and said he was "very well content to stay at home."<sup>1</sup>

In October Sir Nicholas notified the queen he had information not only that the King of Spain would send troops to assist the French government in putting down the insur-

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morton to Queen Elizabeth, Sept. 30: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 577 (par. 1). Cecil to Throckmorton, Jan. 25, 1561: *ibid.*, iii. no. 931.

John Shers wrote to Cecil from Venice Oct. 12: "They write from Rome that last week M. Nicetto (or Nicet), a secretary of France sent by the French king to the Pope about these matters, bruits abroad that there is a league concluded between the Queen, the Scots, and the Princes Protestants, into which there are also entered certain of the Peers of France, against the Papists, whom they name the Christian Princes." Cal. For. El., iii. no. 630 (par. 2).

<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, Oct. 10, 1560: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 619 (par. 6, 7). De Ruble, *Traité de Cateau-Cambrésis*, p. 153. De Ruble, *Antoine de Bourbon et Jeanne d'Albret*, ii. p. 331.

Throckmorton wrote to Elizabeth October 22 that the king intended, "either by his ambassador resident, or by an express gentleman sent to her," to ask for his recall, and that "rather than he should continue, he would have no ambassador." Cal. For. El., iii. no. 666.

Chamberlain, the English ambassador in Spain, said in a letter to Throckmorton, Nov. 2, "All your tumults, we find, are ceased." Cal. For. El., iii. no. 695 (par. 4).

rections, but that after this was accomplished, they intended to proceed against England and Geneva as the authors of their troubles.<sup>1</sup> The English saw indications of warlike intentions, not only in such rumors, but also in the delay of the French to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh and in the reported preparations by land and sea. Elizabeth therefore warned her merchants who traded with France to be careful not to send too many ships across the Channel and so tempt the French "to utter their evil meaning the sooner." She said she well understood that they were arming land forces, but in view of the hostility to the rule of the Guises prevailing in certain quarters, she could not see how preparing a navy would help them.<sup>2</sup> In this remark she doubtless referred to the admiral.

The Bourbon princes hesitated about obeying the summons of the king, but, receiving letters which allayed their suspicions, they proceeded to the court, then at Orleans, which they reached on the last day of October. Condé was at once arrested by order of the king, and being granted a trial, was pronounced guilty and condemned to be beheaded at the opening of the States General. The King of Navarre was not placed in confinement, but was so closely watched that he was virtually a prisoner, and was for a time, so it is said, in danger of assassination. Others, including Madame de Roye, who was the mother-in-law of Condé and the half-sister of Coligny, were put under arrest; the Guises took measures to crush all opposition; and things grew to a condition of silence and quietness which Throckmorton said he was "sorry to see."<sup>3</sup> The friends of Elizabeth in France

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<sup>1</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, Oct. 10, 1560: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 619 (par. 13).

<sup>2</sup> Queen Elizabeth to Wotton, Oct. 16, 1560: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 637 (par. 2). Queen Elizabeth to the lord treasurer and the lord keeper, Oct. 16, 1560: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 639. M. de Bouillé to the Duke of Guise, Nov. 27, 1560: *Négoc. sous François II.*, p. 693.

<sup>3</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, Nov. 17, 1560: Cal. For. El., no. 716 (par. 18, 19). Throckmorton to Lord Robert Dudley, Nov. 17, 1561: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 721 (par. 2).

were in the greatest embarrassment, and in the midst of it seem to have turned to her for help. One day in December there arrived at the English court a man who had been counsellor and master of requests of Navarre and Condé. He had business with the queen; but just what it was, we are now unable to determine. We do know, however, that he bore a letter to Cecil from the eminent Huguenot jurist Francis Hotman, then in Strasburg, stating that his errand was "important, serviceable to England, and necessary for the church of France."<sup>1</sup> From the Count Palatine of the Rhine came a letter to Elizabeth, dated December seventh, begging that she would assist the prince and expressing his readiness to act with her.<sup>2</sup>

Already, however, a higher Power had interfered and the whole state of affairs had been unexpectedly changed. Francis the Second, always troubled with a weak constitution, had experienced about the middle of November an additional affliction in the shape of a gathering in the ear. He sank rapidly, and died on the fifth of December.

With this event came to an end what had been the virtual dictatorship of his wife's uncles. Throckmorton, of course, rejoiced. The king, he said, had taken in hand his father's enterprise against Elizabeth's crown; but, "partly impeached by his own affairs at home" and especially by her "wise preventions, the same could not take effect." "Now is the time for your majesty to follow the good means offered to you to establish all things to your continual quiet and to make a sure and larger seat for yourself and your posterity forever to God's glory and your own unspeakable fame."<sup>3</sup> As a result of the changes which took place in the

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<sup>1</sup> Hotman to Cecil, Dec., 1560: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 760.

<sup>2</sup> Frederic, Count Palatine of the Rhine, to Queen Elizabeth, Dec. 7, 1560: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 781.

<sup>3</sup> Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, Dec. 6, 1560: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 771 (par. 1, 2, 3). Throckmorton to the Lords of the Council, Dec. 6, 1560: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 773 (par. 1, 2). I take the liberty in the case of the last sentence quoted to change the form given in the



French government, Condé and the other prisoners were ultimately declared innocent.

There is no substantial proof that from the Treaty of Edinburgh to the end of the year the English had been intriguing in France. Even their enemies, as we have seen, hesitated to assert it.

## VII.

### CONCLUSION.

During the years fifteen hundred fifty-nine and fifteen hundred sixty there was much friendliness and more or less temporary and desultory plotting between the English government and the religious and political enemies of the Guises in France; but so far as the evidence justifies us in forming definite conclusions, systematic and continuous intrigues with the Huguenots did not begin till the death of Francis the Second, when the helm passed from the strong hands of the Guises into those of the mother of the boy king, Charles the Ninth. It was then that Cecil wrote to Throckmorton that they must be careful to advance Protestantism, that "herein the time serves well in France to begin the conquest;" and directed him to "set all the wheels that may make motion agate."<sup>1</sup> Party lines across the Channel came to be drawn on strictly religious grounds, the English carried on a series of the closest intrigues with the Protestants, and finally, when the soil of France was reddened in civil war, sent men and money to their aid.

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"Calendar" into something nearer the exact original by adopting the second person.

<sup>1</sup> Cecil to Throckmorton, Jan. 15, 1561: Cal. For. El., iii. no. 883 (par. 3).

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## Vita.

Henry Clay Stanclift, the son of Isaac S. and Jane A. Stanclift, was born in Spencer, New York, U. S. A., January 11, 1864. He received his preliminary education in the public schools of his native village, graduating from the academy in June, 1882. In the following month he took part in a series of competitive examinations conducted by the Inter-Academic Literary Union of the State of New York, and received the first prize in American history. He continued his studies under a private tutor for a year, and then became teacher of History and Mathematics in the academy at Spencer. Resigning the position at the end of two years, he entered Cornell University at Ithaca, New York, in September, 1885, where he remained four years. He held throughout his course there a university scholarship, secured as a result of competitive examinations and retained by maintenance of rank. During the last two years he gave special attention to History and Political Science, hearing lectures in those branches by President Charles Kendall Adams, Ex-president Andrew D. White, Professors Moses Coit Tyler, Herbert Tuttle, Goldwin Smith, Franklin B. Sanborn, E. Benjamin Andrews, and F. H. Hodder; and taking part in the exercises of historical seminaries conducted by Professors Tuttle and Tyler. In June, 1889, he received his baccalaureate degree, and then proceeded to Europe. In the following October he was inscribed in the University at Leipzig. After studying here two semesters he spent a semester in Berlin, and then returned to Leipzig, where he has remained till

now, the end of his fifth semester at the German universities. In Leipzig he has heard Professors Maurenbrecher, Roscher, Brentano, Ratzel, Arndt, and Busch, and has been a member of Professor Maurenbrecher's and of Professor Arndt's historical seminaries. In Berlin he heard Professors Koser, von Treitschke, Scheffer-Boichorst, Delbrück, Wagner, and Dr. Marcks, and was a member of Professor Koser's historical seminary. He holds for the present year a fellowship in modern European History awarded by the faculty of Cornell University. He wishes to thank his present and former teachers, especially Professors Maurenbrecher and Tuttle for their kindness and sympathetic interest.

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