the moment when Elizabeth had given a Protestant turn to English affairs by establishing her national Church. The wisdom of aiding the Scotch Protestants was so obvious that Elizabeth resolved to send men and ships to the north. These forces succeeded in bringing the French to terms, and by the treaty of Edinburgh (1560) the latter agreed to abandon Scotland. As the regent at this juncture fell ill and died, and as Queen Mary was still in France, the Protestant lords suddenly found themselves masters of the situation. In a Parliament composed of the friends of Knox they abolished the papal supremacy, forbade the Mass, and laid the foundations of a new Church of their own (1560).

Establishment of the Kirk of Scotland, 1560.

Calvinism dominates the government, doctrines, and service of the new Church.

The Church that thus sprang into existence a year after Elizabeth's Anglican establishment took form was based, like its southern neighbor, on the Protestant principle of independence of Rome, but resembled it in very few other respects. Knox, its organizing genius, had sat at the feet of Calvin at Geneva, and was resolved to model it, as nearly as possible, according to Calvin's theory of church organization. By Calvin's system each congregation governed itself democratically, that is, was ruled by the pastor in connection with elected laymen called presbyters or elders; while the Church, being the sum of all the congregations, was subjected to a general assembly. These features of government, together with improvements and modifications suggested by the peculiar condition of the country, were imposed upon the new institution. Its doctrine and worship were borrowed from the same Genevan source, and thus equipped there emerged a new Protestant Church, known as the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland.

Mary returns to Scotland, 1561.

Up to this time the absent Queen Mary had not concerned herself much with the doings of rude and far-away Scotland. Her husband, Francis II., had lately (1559) become king of France, and ever since the death of Mary

Tudor (1558) she had, supported by a good part of the Catholic world, looked upon herself as queen, too, of England. But the year 1560 disturbed her outlook greatly. Her feeble husband, Francis II., died, and Elizabeth made herself tolerably secure at home. Scotland alone seemed to be left to Mary, and as Scotland needed its sovereign, she suddenly (1561) hurried thither.

Her difficulties.

When Mary landed in Scotland she was only nineteen years old and no better than a stranger. Add to this fact the circumstance that she was confronted by a lawless nobility, and, as a Catholic, was an object of suspicion to her Protestant subjects, and one has the elements of a problem that even a better and wiser person than Mary might not have solved.

The character of Mary.

But though Mary proved inadequate, she was a woman of many admirable gifts. Grace of figure and grace of spirit were added to a nimble wit and a keen intelligence. The chance that tossed her to France, furnished her with a rare opportunity for development, for the court of the Valois had become the home of all the exquisite influences of the Renaissance, and the people she met there, the very air she breathed, tingled with the joy of living. She soon became the ruling genius of a bright circle, and the hours revolved for her amid dancing, music, and poetry. Her contemporaries never tired of praising her beauty; but better than formal beauty, she possessed a subtle charm which appealed to the chivalry of men, and raises partisans for her even in our day. Thus endowed, she was called to be a great queen, on one condition: she must subordinate her passions to her duty as a sovereign. But here it was that she failed. Her cousin Elizabeth, who did not fail in this particular, proved herself thereby, if not the better woman, at least the greater queen. Comparing the two cousins, who inevitably force a comparison upon us, stand-

ing as they do in history flashing challenge at each other, we are reminded of the familiar judgment: Elizabeth was first statesman and then woman, Mary was first woman and then statesman.

Mary marries Lord Darnley.

Mary began well enough. She made no difficulties about the Presbyterian Kirk and only reserved to herself the right of Catholic worship. For four years Scotland enjoyed an unusual degree of peace. But in the year 1565 Mary married her cousin, Lord Darnley, and by that event she and all Scotland were plunged into troubles involving a succession of climaxes unique in history.

The murder of Rizzio and Darnley.

Lord Darnley, who was hardly more than a boy, turned out to be proud, silly, and dissolute. He was no sooner married than he became the tool of the party of nobles opposed to Mary. They represented to him that if he did not enjoy full authority with the queen, it was due to one of Mary's foreign secretaries, an Italian, David Rizzio. Darnley, egged on by the nobles, resolved to have revenge. One night while Mary was sitting at supper, the conspirators burst into the room, fell upon Rizzio, and in spite of the queen's effort to save him dragged him from the chamber and slew him at the door (1566). Much of what followed is uncertain. Certain it is that Mary's love for her husband was henceforth turned to hate. She planned revenge. For the present Darnley and his party held the reins in their hands and she was forced to resort to dissimulation. By cleverly feigning affection, she brought her husband to his knees before her, separated him from her enemies, and quickly reacquired control. Henceforth she took few pains to hide her loathing for the wretched prince. In February, 1567, the house where Darnley was staying just outside the walls of Edinburgh was shattered by an explosion of gunpowder, and Darnley was found dead the next morning. We know beyond a doubt that the murderer was the earl of Bothwell,

a dare-devil cavalier, who was in love with the queen, but we should also like to know whether or not the queen was his accomplice. Extended investigation has not yet supplied a definite answer, but by what followed the murder Mary has compromised her good name beyond help. Not only did she permit Bothwell's trial for the murder of her consort to degenerate into a mere farce, but shortly after his acquittal she married him.

The revolt against Mary.

The excuse was afterward put forward by Mary that in marrying Bothwell she had not consulted her free will, but had yielded to violence. The apology has little inherent probability and was rejected with scorn by her subjects. They revolted against her, and although with rare courage she rallied again and again from defeat, by the year 1568 she found herself without further resources. Despairing of success, she sought refuge in England. She would have done better to have sought it in the sea. She became Elizabeth's prisoner, and won her release only, after nineteen years, by laying her head upon the block.

James VI. king and Murray regent.

Before we take up Elizabeth's conduct, let us take note that tragic as Mary's fate was, her country profited by her downfall. Her infant son was crowned king as James VI., while her half-brother, Lord Murray, assumed the regency. Murray represented the Protestant party, and his rule meant religious peace for Scotland on the basis of the complete triumph of the Presbyterian Church.

Explanation of Elizabeth's severity with regard to Mary.

It is not difficult to account for the harsh policy which Elizabeth adopted toward her royal cousin. In fairness to her we must acknowledge that imperative considerations of state hardly left any other course open. Looking out from London over Europe she beheld a perplexing situation. She saw Philip II. in arms against the Netherlands, resolved, if necessary, to drown Protestantism in blood; in France she took note of a civil war, in which the Catholic party, in order

to achieve its ends, did not balk at such revolting measures as the Massacre of St. Bartholomew; she was in frequent peril of her life through the plots of her own Catholic subjects, who aimed to be rid of her and raise Mary to the throne; and she saw, in general, a threatening concentration of the whole Catholic world for a supreme blow against the Protestant heresy.

Prospect of war between England and Spain.

Under these conditions her conduct could not but be regulated primarily with reference to the Catholic reaction now plainly mounting to a climax. By the beginning of the eighties, Philip, through his great general, Parma, had the revolt of the Netherlands reasonably well in hand, while through his association with the French Catholics he so dominated France as to be sure that that kingdom would not strike him in the rear. He could, therefore, concentrate his attention upon the dangerous and elusive Elizabeth. Luckily, at the approach of the great crisis, the temper of Englishmen was hardening to steel. In the consciousness of their power they even invited the threatening storm. Sir Francis Drake and a dozen other freebooters fell upon the Spaniards where they found them, plundered them on the Spanish main, and slaughtered them in their transatlantic settlements. While Philip and Elizabeth were still protesting friendship in official notes, their subjects had already engaged in combat on their own account. When at last, in 1585, the queen did not scruple to give open and armed aid to the revolted Netherlands, Philip declared that he was at the end of his patience. He prepared against England an unexampled armament.

Execution of Mary.

It was the rumor of Philip's invasion of England, coupled with the renewed activity of the English supporters of Mary, that cost the unfortunate queen of Scots her life. Probably it had little value for her and death was not unwelcome. She had grown old and gray behind prison walls; she knew herself beaten. Elizabeth's ministers succeeded in proving that Mary was a party to a conspiracy which a man by the name of Babington had directed against the life of the sovereign, and persuaded the queen, who hypocritically feigned reluctance, to sign her cousin's death-warrant. The anxiety of the ministers becomes explicable when we reflect that if Catholic Mary ever succeeded to the English throne their lives were not worth a penny. In February, 1587, Mary was executed at Fotheringay.

The Armada. 1588.

The next year the war between Spain and England came to a head. Philip having at length got together over one hundred ships, known under the name of the Armada, despatched them toward the English coasts. The plan was that the Armada should sail first to the Netherlands and by putting itself at the disposal of the duke of Parma, who commanded the Spanish troops there, should enable that great captain to effect a landing in England. The island realm was thoroughly alive to its danger. In the face of the foreign invader all religious differences were forgotten and replaced by a flaming national enthusiasm, uniting all parties. In fact, the Armada may be called the death-blow of English Catholicism; for from now on, to be a Catholic meant to be a friend of the tyrant Philip, and but few Englishmen cared to expose themselves to such an imputation. A navy filled with the spirit which is ready to do and die was put at Elizabeth's disposal. With such leaders as Lord Howard, Sir Francis Drake, and Sir Martin Frobisher, many of whom had spent a lifetime fighting the Spaniards on all known seas, the English were not likely to fail for want of bravery or skill. Nor were they likely to fail for want of the material means of protection. They mustered even more ships than the Spaniards, which, although not so large as the galleons of the enemy, by virtue of their speed, the size and number of their guns, and the perfect seamanship

of their sailors held the Spaniards at their mercy. The Armada had hardly appeared, toward the end of July, 1588, off the west coast of England before the more rapid English vessels darted in upon their rear and flank. The damage which was done the Spaniards during a running sea-fight in the Channel, lasting eight days, forced them to lie off Calais for repairs. Here a number of fire-ships sent among them drove them from their shelter into the waiting English fleet, and in the ensuing combat they were discomfited so completely that their admiral gave up the enterprise. Finding the Channel blocked behind him, he tried to make for home by the coast of Scotland. But he encountered heavy storms, even more terrible enemies than the English, the Spanish ships were shattered miserably by waves and rocks, and only a remnant ever returned to Cadiz to tell the tale of the disaster.

The tables are turned.

England was safe, and more than England, the cause of Protestantism in the Netherlands and the world over. The English admirals now transferred the scene of action to the Spanish coasts, and soon the disheartened Philip sued for a peace, which his triumphant foe would not allow.

Elizabeth's last years.

As for Elizabeth, the overthrow of the Spanish Armada was the climax of her brilliant reign. Henceforth her people identified her with the national triumph and worshipped her as the very spirit of England. But her private life slowly entered into eclipse. She was old, childless, and lonely. Her last sincere attachment, of which the earl of Essex was the object, brought her nothing but sorrow. Essex had been put at the head of an army destined to subdue Ireland, which was just then agitated by the famous rising of O'Neill, but as he mismanaged his campaign he had to be dismissed in disgrace. Full of resentment, he now engaged in a treasonable plot, but was discovered and executed (1601). It is hard to believe that a woman who all her life looked upon

love and courtship as a pleasant recreation, should have really cared for the amiable earl; certain it is, however, that she went into a decline soon after his execution, and died, disgusted with the world (1603).

England adopts the sea.

England's wonderful and varied progress during this reign remains to be considered. In fact, the reign was the starting-point of a new development. For the first time Englishmen grew aware that their true realm was the sea. Courageous sailors like Drake, Davis, and Frobisher voyaged to the remotest lands, and though they established as yet no colonies, the idea of a colonial empire in the future was implanted in the minds of men and a sound beginning was made by the creation of commercial relations with various parts of the world. Before the death of Elizabeth, England, which had theretofore allowed Spain a monopoly of the sea, had fairly entered upon the path of oceanic expansion. The spread of the Anglo-Saxon race, one of the most significant events of Modern History, may, therefore, be dated from "the spacious times of great Elizabeth."

Social progress.

With the increase of commerce, there came an increase of industry and wealth and a more elevated plane of living, which showed itself in a greater luxury of dress, in a courtlier society, and in the freer patronage of the theatre and the arts. Altogether England was new-made. The Italian Renaissance poured out its cornucopia of gifts upon her, and there ensued such a heightening of all the faculties of man as makes this period one of the imposing epochs of history. The Englishman of Elizabeth's time broke away from the narrow mediæval traditions of thought and life, and became, like the Italian of the previous generation, entranced by the beauty of the world which spread out before him, waiting only to be conquered. It is such a man, exuberantly happy in the possession of himself and his environment, who produces a great art.

Literature and science.

The great art by which Englishmen expressed their sense of this fresh and delightful contemporary life is the drama. Christopher Marlowe (d. 1593), Ben Jonson (d. 1637), and especially William Shakespeare (d. 1616), are its great luminaries. But the cognate fields of the mind were not left uncultivated. Edmund Spenser (d. 1599) wrote the great epic poem of the English tongue, the Faerie Queen, and Francis Bacon (d. 1626), the philosopher, by abandoning the barren mediæval methods of classification and by referring man directly to observation and the evidence of his senses, paved the way for a more profitable and scientific study of nature.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS AND TRIUMPH OF THE SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES (1566–1648)

REFERENCES: JOHNSON, Europe in the Sixteenth Century, Chapter VIII.; MOTLEY, Rise of the Dutch Republic, History of the United Netherlands, John of Barneveld; HARRISON, William the Silent; PUTNAM, William the Silent; CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY, Vol. III., Chapters VI., VII., XIX.

SOURCE READINGS: Old South Leaflets, No. 72 (The Dutch Declaration of Independence in 1581).

The Netherlands under the Burgundian princes

THE part of Europe which has been designated from of old as the Netherlands, or Low Countries, is embraced approximately by modern Holland and Belgium. In the Middle Ages the Netherlands consisted of a number of feudal principalities or provinces, constituted as duchies, counties, or lordships (for instance, the duchy of Brabant, the county of Flanders, the county of Holland), all of which were practically independent of all foreign powers and of each other, although there was not one to which France or Germany did not, by some unforgotten feudal right, have a claim. In the later Middle Ages a collateral branch of the House of France, starting with the duchy of Burgundy as a nucleus, had attempted to consolidate these provinces into a state which should be independent of both the western and the eastern neighbor, but just as the ambitious project seemed about to succeed, the family died out in the male branch with Charles the Bold (1477).