

secretly, you shall show it to myself only, and assure yourself I will not fail to keep taciturnity therein. And therefore, beware!

The unanimity with which the accession of Elizabeth was received, even by the servants of the late queen, may be ascribed to the great popularity which she enjoyed in the minds of the English people, which took place upon her entry into London on the 21st of November, might have been considered only as a public act of grace. Her exception of Bonner to the cardinal reception which she gave to the bishops might have passed without any marked interference. But on the 11th of December, 1558, an occurrence which could not be mistaken as far as regarded the queen's personal Elizabeth proclaimed queen.—She refuses to attend Mass on Christmas-day.—Philip proposes marriage to Elizabeth.—The Commons request that she would marry.—Her answer.—The Coronation progress through the City.—Cecil's plans for the restoration of Protestantism.—Opening of Parliament.—Statute for restoring the supremacy to the Crown.—Statute for the Uniformity of Common Prayer.—Deprivation of bishops.—Peace with France.—Pretensions of Mary Stuart.—Elizabeth the head of the Protestant party of Europe.—Scotland.—Hostility of the queen-regent of Scotland to the Reformers.—Their desire for an alliance with England.—French troops sent to Scotland.—England sends an army and fleet.—Siege of Leith.—Peace concluded at Edinburgh.—Assembly of the parliament of Scotland.—Acts establishing the reformed religion.—Mary refuses to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh.—Death of Francis II.—Mary determines to return to Scotland.—Elizabeth refuses her a safe conduct.—Mary embarks at Calais.—Arrival in Scotland.—Contrasts in the fortunes of Mary and Elizabeth.

On the 17th of November, 1558, the day of her half-sister's death, Elizabeth was proclaimed queen by the Lords of the Council. It is a remarkable fact connected with the popularity of this reign, that the 17th of November was called "The Queen's Day," up to very recent times. Sir John Harrington has preserved the speech which she made to the council at her accession, in which she requires their assistance; "that I with my ruling, and you with your service, may make a good account to Almighty God, and leave some comfort to our posterity in earth."\* Her speech to Cecil, from the same authority, is more characteristic:—"I give you this charge, that you shall be of my privy council, and content yourself to take pains for me and my realm. This judgment I have of you, that you will not be corrupted with any manner of gift, and that you will be faithful to the state, and that, without respect of my private will, you will give me that counsel that you think best; and if you shall know any thing necessary to be declared to me of

\* Nugee Antiquæ, vol. i. p. 56.

Henry VIII. — The king's marriage to Anne Boleyn. — The king's marriage to Jane Seymour. — The king's marriage to Anne of Cleves. — The king's marriage to Katherine Howard. — The king's marriage to Katherine Parr. — The king's death.

CHAPTER XXIX.—AD. 1547. AD. 1553.

Henry VIII. — The king's death. — Edward VI. — The king's death. — Mary I. — The king's death. — Elizabeth I. — The king's death.

CHAPTER XXX.—AD. 1553. AD. 1558.

Elizabeth I. — The queen's death. — Philip II. — The king's death. — Mary II. — The queen's death. — Elizabeth I. — The queen's death.

CHAPTER XXXI.—AD. 1558. AD. 1560.

Elizabeth I. — The queen's death. — Philip II. — The king's death. — Mary II. — The queen's death. — Elizabeth I. — The queen's death.

CHAPTER XXXII.—AD. 1560. AD. 1563.

Elizabeth I. — The queen's death. — Philip II. — The king's death. — Mary II. — The queen's death. — Elizabeth I. — The queen's death.

CHAPTER XXXIII.—AD. 1563. AD. 1568.

Elizabeth I. — The queen's death. — Philip II. — The king's death. — Mary II. — The queen's death. — Elizabeth I. — The queen's death.

secrecy, you shall show it to myself only, and assure yourself I will not fail to keep taciturnity therein. And therefore, herewith I charge you."

The unanimity with which the accession of Elizabeth was received, even by the servants of the late queen, may be ascribed to the caution with which she concealed her intentions on the subject of religion. The release of all prisoners confined for religious opinions, which took place upon her entry into London on the 24th of November, might have been considered only as a politic act of grace. Her exception of Bonner to the cordial reception which she gave to the bishops might have passed without any marked inference. But on the Christmas-day there was an occurrence which could not be mistaken, as far as regarded the queen's personal opinions. It is thus related, in a letter of sir William Fitzwilliam:—"This night I came home late from London; and for news you shall understand that yesterday, being Christmas-day, the queen's majesty repaired to her great closet with her nobles and ladies as hath been accustomed in such high feasts; and she passing a bishop preparing himself to mass, all in the old form, she tarried there until the Gospel was done; and when all the people looked for her to have offered according to the old fashion, she with her nobles returned again from the closet and the mass unto her privy chamber, which was strange unto divers." \* The refusal to hear mass was followed, two days after, by a proclamation forbidding the elevation of the Host, and all unlicensed preaching. It was also ordered that the Gospels and Epistles, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Litany, should be used in English.

According to the custom of sovereign princes Elizabeth despatched messengers to the various European courts announcing her accession. Amongst these the pope was included. There can be little doubt that the queen and her ministers desired to temporise, in some degree. The arrogant Paul IV. replied to Elizabeth's messenger, that it was great boldness in her to assume the crown without his consent, and that she must submit all her claims to his decision. Philip of Spain thought that the principles of Elizabeth were so unsettled, that she might consent to marry him, upon the condition that she should become Catholic. He proposed himself as her husband within a month after her accession. She received these proposals with great civility; and gave, at first, no decided

\* Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii, p. 262.

refusal. Philip hoped to obtain a fairer bride than the wife he had lost. Elizabeth was thus described in 1557 by Micheli, the Venetian:—"The princess is as beautiful in mind as she is in body; though her countenance is rather pleasing from its expression, than beautiful. She is large and well-made; her complexion clear, and of an olive tint; her eyes are fine, and her hands, on which she prides herself, small and delicate. She has an excellent genius, with much address and self-command, as was abundantly shown in the severe trials to which she was exposed in the earlier part of her life. In her temper she is haughty and imperious, qualities inherited from her father, king Henry VIII., who from her resemblance to himself, is said to have regarded her with peculiar fondness." Elizabeth told the ambassador of Philip that she could take no step without consulting her parliament. The two houses met on the 21st of January, six days after the queen's coronation. She had soon the opportunity of declaring her opinions on the subject of marriage. On the 10th of February the Commons waited upon her with an address that she would vouchsafe some match capable of supplying heirs to her royal virtues and dominions. Elizabeth's answer was as follows:—"The queen, after a sweet graced silence, with a princely countenance and voice, and with a gesture somewhat quick but not violent, returned answer, that she gave them great thanks (as she saw great cause) for the love and care which they did express as well towards her person as the whole state of the realm; 'and first,' said she, 'for the manner of your petition, I like it well, and take it in good part, because it is simple, without any limitation, either of person or place. If it had been otherwise; if you had taken upon you to confine, or rather to bind, my choice; to draw my love to your likings; to frame my affections according unto your fantasy; I must have disliked it very much; for as, generally, the will desireth not a larger liberty in any case than in this, so had it been a great presumption for you to direct, to limit, to command me herein, to whom you are bound in duty to obey. Concerning the substance of your suit, since my years of understanding, since I was first able to take consideration of myself, I have hitherto made choice of a single life, which hath best, I assure you, contented me, and I trust,

\* Sir Simonds d'Ewes kept a record of the parliamentary proceedings during the whole of this reign, which is accepted as authority. We give the speech of Elizabeth from Sir John Hayward, which contains the substance of d'Ewes's report.—"First Four Years of Queen Elizabeth;" Camden Society, p. 310.

which hath been most acceptable to God; from which, if either ambition or high estate, offered unto me by the pleasure and appointment of my prince, whereof I have some testimony in this place (as you our treasurer well do know); or, if avoiding the malice of my enemies, or the very danger of death itself, whose messenger, or rather continual watchman, the prince's indignation, was daily before my eyes; if any of these, I say, could have dissuaded me, I had not now remained as I do. But so constant have I always continued in this determination—albeit my words and my youth may happily seem hardly to agree—that it is most true I stand now free from any other meaning. Nevertheless, if any of you suspect that, in case it shall please God hereafter to change my purpose, I will determine something to the prejudice of the realm, put the jealousy out of your heads, for I assure you—what credit my assurance have with you, I cannot tell, but what it doth determine to have, the sequel shall declare—I will never conclude anything in that matter which shall be hurtful to the realm, for the preservation and prosperity whereof as a loving mother I will never spare to spend my life. And upon whomsoever my choice shall fall, he shall be as careful for your preservation, —I will not say as myself, for I cannot for another as for myself,—but my will and best endeavour shall not fail that he shall be as careful for you as myself. And albeit it shall please God that I still persevere in a virgin's state, yet you must not fear but he will so work, both in my heart and in your wisdom, that provision shall be made, in convenient time, whereby the realm shall not remain destitute of an heir who may be a fit governor, and, peradventure, more beneficial than such offspring as I should bring forth, for although I be careful of your well-doings, and ever purpose so to be, yet may my issue degenerate, and grow out of kind. The dangers which you fear are neither so certain, nor of such nature, but you may repose yourselves upon the providence of God, and the good provisions of the state. Wits curious in casting things to come are often hurtful, for that the affairs of this world are subject to so many accidents that seldom doth that happen which the wisdom of men doth seem to foresee. As for me, it shall be sufficient that a marble shall declare that a queen, having lived and reigned so many years, died a virgin. And here I end, and take your coming in very good part, and again give hearty thanks to you all; yet more for your zeal, and good meaning, than for the matter of your suit.”

The progress of the queen from the Tower to Westminster, on

the 14th of January, previous to her coronation on the 15th, is described by Holinshed with an extraordinary fulness. The pageants were of the most gorgeous description; but the chronicler dwells with an evident satisfaction upon the minutest circumstances that illustrate the demeanour of Elizabeth. It is clear that she felt that her strong hold upon power was to be found in the affections of the people. She was the first sovereign of England that built up the security of dominion upon so broad a foundation. She had enough of the “haughty and imperious qualities inherited from her father;” but from the very first she had the wisdom to see that the days had gone by when a king could repose safely upon the fear of the nobles or the amity of the churchmen. She desired to be loved and obeyed by a People, and not by a class. She and her wise advisers had taken their resolution to abide by Protestantism, with a conviction that the English were a people unsuited for burnings and inquisitions. The determination was not to be carried out without danger and difficulty; but the affections of the People would make that easy which would have been impossible to a selfish despotism. Let us see how Elizabeth cultivated those affections in the simplest courtesies of a city pageant:—“When the people made the air ring with praying to God for her prosperity, she thanked them with exceeding liveness both of countenance and voice, and wished neither prosperity nor safety to herself which might not be for their common good. As she passed by the Companies of the city, standing in their homes, she took particular knowledge of them, and graced them with many witty formalities of speech. She diligently both observed and commended such devices as were presented to her, and to that end sometimes caused her coach to stand still, sometimes to be removed to places of best advantage for hearing and for sight; and in the meantime fairly entreated the people to be silent. And when she understood not the meaning of any representation, or could not perfectly hear some speeches that were made, she caused the same to be declared unto her. When the recorder of the city presented to her a purse of crimson satin, very richly and curiously wrought, and therein a thousand marks in gold, with request that she would continue a gracious mistress to the city; she answered, That she was bound in a natural obligation so to do, not so much for their gold, as for their good will: that as they had been at great expense of treasure that day, to honour her passage, so all the days of her life she would be ready to expend not only her

treasure, but the dearest drops of her blood, to maintain and increase their flourishing state. When she espied a Pageant at the Little Conduit in Cheape, she demanded (as it was her custom in the rest) what should be represented therein: answer was made, that Time did there attend for her: 'Time?' (said she) how is that possible, seeing it is time that hath brought me hither? Here a bible in English richly covered was let down unto her by a silk lace from a child that represented Truth. She kissed both her hands, with both her hands she received it, then she kissed it; afterwards applied it to her breast; and lastly held it up, thanking the city especially for that gift, and promising to be a diligent reader thereof. When any good wishes were cast forth for her virtuous and religious government, she would lift up her hands towards Heaven, and desire the people to answer, Amen. When it was told her that an ancient citizen turned his head back and wept: 'I warrant you,' said she, 'it is for joy;' and so in very deed it was. She cheerfully received not only rich gifts from persons of worth, but nosegays, flowers, rosemary-branches, and such like presents, offered unto her from very mean persons, inasmuch as it may truly be said, that there was neither courtesy nor cost cast away that day upon her. It is incredible how often she caused her coach to stay, when any made offer to approach unto her, whether to make petition, or whether to manifest their loving affection.\*

The parliament which met on the 21st of January, 1559, had a task before it which required the greatest discretion. A great ecclesiastical revolution was to be accomplished, with as little violence as possible, and with some show of conciliation. Cecil was the chief adviser of Elizabeth. He was the first person sworn of her privy council; and to his sagacity must be attributed the comprehensive view which was taken of the whole domestic and foreign policy of the country. During the reign of Mary, the retired secretary of Edward VI., who had been so sound a Protestant, was one of those who outwardly conformed to the Roman Catholic religion, though unlike Paget, Petre, and others of Edward's counsellors, he held no office. But he was on terms of friendship with Cardinal Pole; and he lived in affluence and security. The statements of some over-zealous writers that, under Mary, he was a conscientious adherent to protestant opinions, are disproved by documents which show that he attended mass, and confessed to

\* This description by Sir John Hayward is a condensation of the more interesting points of Hollinshed's account.

the priest, in the parish in which he held church-lands. He was more happily employed than in the disgusting service of persecution in which Mary's ministers were engaged. He was superintending his mother's property at Burleigh; making additions to the old family house there; holding correspondence about purchasing ewes, and setting kernels of apples, and pears, and chestnuts. It is interesting information to him that his fawns do well in the closes where the maidens go to milk, and that his calves are to be put in the horse-pasture when the snows shall be gone.\* These unambitious occupations were Cecil's safety; and in his years of comparative freedom from business of state, he was enabled to devise a broad plan of action if the sceptre should again pass into the hands of a protestant ruler. He was held by the Romanists, as we have seen, to have "the character of a prudent and virtuous man, although a heretic." When the time for action arrived, Elizabeth had the benefit of those earnest yet temperate convictions which he had formed during his retirement. He had studied the temper of the people of England. He knew the character of the princess, who, in all probability, would quickly succeed to the throne. When Cecil was called to the councils of Elizabeth he was prepared with the whole scheme for the restoration of Protestantism. He saw all the dangers of the course that was to be pursued; but he did not counsel evasion of its difficulties; or any delay beyond the time for the meeting of parliament. His "Device for the alteration of religion" is an interesting document, which has been thus abridged by Camden: †

"It seemed necessary for the queen to do nothing before a parliament was called; for only from that assembly could the affections of the people be certainly gathered. The next thing she had to do was to balance the dangers that threatened her both from abroad and at home. The Pope would certainly excommunicate and depose her, and stir up all Christian princes against her. The king of France would lay hold of any opportunity to embroil the nation; and by the assistance of Scotland, and of the Irish, might perhaps raise troubles in her dominions. Those that were in power in queen Mary's time, and remained firm to the old superstition, would be discontented at the Reformation of religion; the bishops and clergy would generally oppose it; and since there was a necessity of demanding subsidies, they would take occasion, by the discontent the people would be in on that account, to in-

\* Letter in Tytler, vol. ii. p. 489.

† As translated by Burchet.

flame them; and those who would be dissatisfied at the retaining of some of the old ceremonies, would on the other hand disparage the changes that should be made, and call the religion a cloaked papistry, and so alienate many of the most zealous from it. To remedy all these things, it was proposed to make peace with France, and to cherish those in that kingdom that desired the Reformation. The courses and practices of Rome were not much to be feared. In Scotland those must be encouraged who desired the like change in religion; and a little money among the heads of the families in Ireland would go a great way. And for those who had borne rule in Queen Mary's time, ways were to be taken to lessen their credit throughout England; they were not to be too soon trusted or employed, upon pretence of turning; but those who were known to be well affected to religion, and the queen's person, were to be sought after and encouraged. The bishops were generally hated by the nation: it would be easy to draw them within the statute of *Præmunire*, and upon their falling into it, they must be kept under it, till they had renounced the pope, and consented to the alterations that should be made. The commissions of the peace, and for the militia, were to be carefully reviewed, and such men were to be put in them as would be firm to the queen's interests. When the changes should be made, some severe punishments would make the rest more readily submit. Great care was to be had of the universities, and other public schools, as Eton and Winchester, that the next generation might be betimes seasoned with the love and knowledge of religion. Some learned men, as Bill, Parker, May, Cox, Whitehead, Grindall, Pilkington, and sir Thomas Smith, were to be ordered to meet and consider of the Book of Service. In the meanwhile the people were to be restrained from innovating without authority; and the queen, to give some hope of a Reformation, might appoint the Communion to be given in both kinds."

Sir Nicholas Bacon, the brother-in-law of Cecil—a lawyer who had filled no important office, and had attained no great distinction—was appointed lord keeper. He opened the session of parliament with a speech of which the moderation was the most remarkable feature. He exhorted the members to "fly from all manner of contentions, reasonings, and disputations, and all sophistical, captious, and frivolous arguments and quiddities, meeter for ostentation of wit than consultation of weighty matters." He trusted that "contumelious and opprobrious words, such as heretic, schis-

matic, papist," would be banished out of men's mouths. He implored them to use great and wary consideration that nothing be advised or done, which might "breed or nourish any kind of idolatry or superstition;" but, on the other hand, to take heed lest, by "licentious or loose handling, any manner of occasion be given, whereby any contempt or irreverent behaviour towards God and godly things, or any spice of irreligion might creep in, or be conceived."\* It was certainly in a spirit of moderation that the parliament, though decidedly Protestant, proceeded to establish the great religious change by statute law. The first Statute is called "an Act restoring to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same." The Lords and Commons say that by the repeal by Philip and Mary of the statutes of Henry VIII., the queen's subjects "were eftsoons brought under an assumed foreign power and authority, and yet do remain in that bondage." Two temporal lords, the archbishop of York, eight bishops, and the abbot of Westminster, opposed this bill. Lord Montacute, who, with the bishop of Ely, had negotiated with the pope that England might be restored to the unity of the church of Rome, contended that "the hazard would be as great as the scandal, should the pope thunder out his excommunication; and expose the nation, by that means, to the resentment of its neighbouring enemies."† The government of Elizabeth was not to be frightened by the thunders of the Vatican. It went steadily forward in carrying the measures necessary for bringing back the kingdom to its ecclesiastical condition at the end of the reign of Edward VI. In the act against foreign jurisdiction the statute for receiving the Sacrament of the Altar in both kinds was restored; and the statute of Philip and Mary for reviving the old laws for the punishment of heresies was repealed. All archbishops, bishops, judges, and all ministers and officers spiritual and temporal, were to make a declaration upon oath, "that the queen's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other her highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal." The title "supreme governor" was adopted in preference to that of "head of the church." The penalties under this act, against persons maintaining the authority of any foreign prince or prelate were,—fine and imprisonment for a first offence;

\* As reported by D'Ewes. "Parliamentary History," vol. i. p. 638.

† *Ibid.*, p. 659.

the incurring a præmunire for the second; and death for a third, as in cases of high treason. The sagacious statesman, Walsingham, pointed out the lenity of this law, as compared with the statutes of Henry VIII., "whereby the oath of supremacy might have been offered at the king's pleasure to any subject, so he kept his conscience never so modestly to himself, and the refusal to take the same oath, without further circumstances, was made treason. But contrariwise, her majesty not liking to make windows into men's hearts and secret thoughts, except the abundance of them did overflow into overt and express acts, or affirmations, tempered her law so as it restraineth every manifest disobedience, impugning and impeaching, advisedly and maliciously, her majesty's supreme power, maintaining and extolling a foreign jurisdiction."\* In contrast to this, we must not forget that some of the laws against Roman Catholics, in a later period of this reign, were conceived in a far less moderate spirit. By this law of the first year of Elizabeth, it was provided that the commissioners who might be appointed by the crown to exercise spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, were not to adjudge matters to be heresy but such as had been decided to be so by the Holy Scripture, or by the first four General Councils. This provision is held to be "equivalent to an exemption of Roman Catholics, as such, from the imputation of heresy."† Care was also taken, under the Act which was passed "for the uniformity of Common Prayer" to omit from the Service book of Edward VI., the offensive passage in the liturgy, praying for deliverance "from the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities." Yet the change thus established was so sweeping, after six years of the Latin mass-book, that we cannot be surprised that nine prelates and nine temporal peers voted against the statute. In the Commons there was only one dissentient. The Act must, however, have been felt as a great grievance by a large body; for it absolutely interdicted the celebration of the Catholic rites, even in private; and rendered all persons who should absent themselves from church, on Sundays and holidays, liable to a fine of one shilling. The statute was, as all enactments are which interfere with the rights of conscience, capable of being converted into an instrument of public oppression or private malice. Many Roman Catholics went into exile, to avoid imprisonment under the authority of the Court of High Commission. The moderation which was professed by the government of Elizabeth was in some degree rendered diffi-

\* Barnet, part ii. book 3.

† Mackintosh, "History," vol. iii. p. 10.

cult, if not impossible, by the uncompromising temper of the clergy in convocation. Disregarding a warning from the queen, they set forth a document asserting the supremacy of the pope, the real presence in the sacrament, and the exclusive right of the church to treat of doctrine and regulate public worship. A solemn disputation, the lord-keeper presiding, was held in Westminster Abbey, between catholic and protestant divines, which only produced mutual irritation. The new statutes for taking the oath of supremacy, and for the use of the English liturgy, came into operation on midsummer-day, 1559. Fifteen bishops refused the oath; and resigned their sees, or were deprived. There were ten vacant sees. Only two bishops conformed. A very small proportion of the beneficed clergy surrendered their livings. At the end of the year Matthew Parker was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury; and he then proceeded to the consecration of four other bishops, who had been exiles in the time of Mary.

There were some peculiarities in Elizabeth's religious opinions which were not wholly in accordance with the great change which her government had carried through with so little opposition. She had a dislike to the marriages of the clergy; and she had a lingering fondness for some of the gorgeous ceremonies of Catholicism. But to the general principles of Protestantism she was fully committed, not only by inclination, but by the force of political circumstances. A peace with France was concluded in April, 1559, in which the restoration of Calais was postponed for eight years, under a condition that if either party acted in contravention of the treaty, all claim to the disputed territory should be forfeited. At the congress during the last days of queen Mary, the English envoys said, that if they returned without the recovery of Calais they would be stoned to death by the people. The condition in the treaty of April was evidently introduced only to conciliate this popular feeling, by the delusion that the old conquest had not been irrevocably lost. Scotland was included in this peace. Philip II., of Spain, and Henry II., of France, were now free to pursue their plans for the extermination of heretics; and their friendship was completed by the marriage of Philip with Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry. The duke of Alva officiated as his sovereign's proxy. In the tournaments which followed this wedding, the French king was accidentally killed by the lance of Montgomery, a young Scottish noble. He was succeeded by his eldest son, who became Francis II. Mary Stuart was now queen of France. She was the next heiress

to the throne of England. According to the Catholic notions of that time that the pope had the disposal of earthly crowns, a pretence was set up that Elizabeth's claim having been rejected by the pope, the queen of France and Scotland was now also the lawful queen of England. Amongst Cecil's papers there are "notes of queen Elizabeth's reign," in which are the following entries, under the year 1559:

Jan. 16. "The dauphin of France, and his wife, queen of Scots, did by the style of king and queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland, grant to the Lord Fleming certain things."

June 28. "The jousts at Paris, wherein the king dauphin's two heralds were appareled with the arms of England and Scotland."

July 16. "Ushers, going before the Queen of Scots, being now the French queen, to the chapel, cry, '*Place pour la Reine d'Angleterre.*'"

At the marriage of the French king's daughter there were shown escutcheons of the arms of Scotland and England, as "the arms of Mary, queen dolphin of France," recording, moreover, that she was of Scotland queen, of England, and of Ireland. The constable Montmorency interfered to stay these dangerous exhibitions. But these pretensions were stimulated by Mary's ambitious relatives of the house of Guise; and they became the foundation of that hostility which was the cause of so much disquiet to Elizabeth, and of such dire calamity to Mary. Scotland became a theatre for the contests between a French party, representing Roman Catholic interests, and the national party of Reformers, with whom Elizabeth allied herself. When the connection of Mary with France was terminated by the death of her boyish husband, she came to a government in which her own opinions were opposed to those of the predominant religious power, and she became an alien amidst a majority of her subjects.

The character and position of Elizabeth very soon placed her at the head of the Protestant party of Europe; and her whole reign must be viewed with reference to this leadership. It was a struggle which called forth all the decision of her own nature, all the prudence of her counsellors, and all the energies of her people. This was a great period, in which the English mind asserted itself with a vigour and independence which heralded every future triumph of the national intellect and the national courage. There was a battle for life and death going on in Europe, and England was joined in the battle with the weaker numerical party. The serious differ-

ences between the various Protestant persuasions;—the hostilities between the puritan party at home and the church, which had retained many of the ceremonials of the ancient faith;—these dissensions did not disqualify Elizabeth from being the acknowledged head of the reformed religion. The great leader of the Roman Catholic party was Philip II. England had as her companions in the struggle the Scandinavian countries, and those who spoke the German language on the eastern shores of the Baltic. A large part of Germany was Protestant. "A Venetian ambassador reckons that only a tenth part of the inhabitants of Germany had remained faithful to the old religion."\* In France Protestantism had taken root; but its growth was to be stopped by barbarities which were in contemplation when Elizabeth came to the throne. In the Netherlands Charles V. and his son were pursuing the work of extermination. Spain was in the grasp of the Inquisition; one of the powers which had been organized to support the Church of Rome in the contest which had assumed such formidable dimensions. Another engine devised for the security of Catholicism was the Order of the Jesuits. With the Inquisition and the Jesuits, the Papal power had a devoted army at its command, every member of which was prepared to extinguish heresy by force, or by cunning. When these spiritual arms were wielded under the temporal power of a determined bigot such as Philip II., such scenes of horror were exhibited as still curdle the blood when they are related. Such scenes would probably have been exhibited in England had the throne not been left vacant for the accession of Elizabeth. Had Philip ruled here, the spirit of her people might have been crushed, as Spain was crushed two centuries ago, when "the hand of the Inquisition drew the line which said, No Further."† The time was coming when the English government, not only for its own safety, but for the assertion of a high principle, would have to mix itself up with the affairs of Scotland in a way which involved much dissembling policy and many acts which the spirit of better times must regard as oppressive; but which could scarcely be avoided in the position of self-defence which England was compelled to take against the force and intrigue which would have subjected that portion of the island to a foreign Catholic domination. The time was close at hand when England would have to fight the Protestant battle, by giving aid to the reformed faith in France and the Netherlands. The government of Elizabeth had

\* Ranke, vol. ii. p. 12.

† Prescott, Philip II.

taken its side, and wisely, because the cause of Protestantism was the cause of progress. The bold, masculine signature of Elizabeth to the State Papers in which she proclaimed her consistent adherence to the opinions upon which political and religious liberty were eventually to be built—a liberty much more enlarged than she and her advisers could contemplate—was the terror of superstition and tyranny; and when we look upon that signature let us never forget, amongst her many faults, what we owe to that great woman.

From the time when the ecclesiastical policy of the government of Elizabeth was fully manifest, the affairs of Scotland became all-important to England. In the relations, either by Scottish or English historians, of the complicated transactions between the two countries for more than forty years, it has been too generally assumed that the intrigues of England were constantly fomenting the divisions of Scotland; and, to use the words of one of the most sensible of antiquaries, “Elizabeth has been set forth in this respect as the very demon of discord, ever occupied in blowing coals of strife.”\* This writer adds, “Upon this point we desire to see an entire revision of the historical evidence.” At the beginning of Elizabeth’s reign the connexion of the house of Guise with the Queen of Scotland—a house determined to oppose Protestantism by the most violent proceedings—made the watchfulness and even hostile intervention of England a measure of self-defence. Cecil broadly laid down this principle: “It is agreeable to God’s law for every prince and public state to defend itself, not only from present peril, but from perils that may be feared to come. It is manifest that France cannot any way so readily, so puissantly offend, yea, invade and put the crown of England in danger, as if they recover an absolute authority over Scotland. The long, deep-rooted hatred of the house of Guise, which now occupieth the king’s authority, against England, is well known.”† Although the foolish demonstrations of a claim to the throne of England on the part of the queen of Scotland had been disavowed by the French minister, that claim was not allowed to sleep by the bigoted uncles of Mary. In 1559 a great seal was sent to Scotland, on which were engraved the arms of France, Scotland, and England. Elizabeth had to choose between two policies; either to unite in friendship with the cousin who indirectly claimed not only succession but a prior title to the English crown—a queen whose steadfast opposi-

\* Mr. Bruce. Introduction to Letters of Elizabeth and James VI., p. xx.

† Forbes’ State Papers.

tion to the reformed religion was at variance with the opinions of her own subjects;—or to manifest a sympathy with the Protestant leaders in Scotland, who were bent upon resisting the attempts of the French to rule over them. One of the reformed leaders, Maitland of Lethington, wrote to Cecil, “When we see them, the French, attempt conquest, and you, the English, show us friendship, shall we not hate them and favour you; especially now that we are come to a conformity of doctrine?” The differences between the regent, the mother of Mary, and the Scottish reformers, were coming to a head. By the assistance of the reformers she had attained her own position as the actual ruler of the country; and the dauphin of France, the husband of her daughter, had been recognised as king of Scotland. But after the peace of 1559 she was won over to the designs of the house of Guise for the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Europe, and, as a necessary consequence, for putting down the Reformation in Scotland, and eventually for removing Elizabeth from the throne of England. The queen-regent of Scotland boldly issued a proclamation for conformity of religion; in which all persons were commanded to resort daily to mass and confession. She was reminded of her promises of toleration, by some of the Lords of the Congregation—the leaders of the reformers being so styled—to whom she replied that “promises ought not to be urged upon princes, unless they can conveniently fulfil them.” At this junction John Knox arrived in Scotland. During an absence of two years the doctrines which he had boldly preached in the face of danger had made extraordinary progress; although in many places the ascendancy was still with the Romish party. Within a week of his arrival, under the excitement produced by his vehement oratory operating upon the indignation caused by the regent’s hostility, there was an outburst of popular fury at Perth, when the religious houses of the Grey Friars and Carthusians were devastated and plundered. The struggle appeared likely to end in bloodshed; for an army was assembled on either side. But a treaty was concluded, which Knox denounced as only intended to deceive. Tranquillity was not long preserved. After various acts of violence, the reformers having obtained possession of Perth, the army of the Congregation entered Edinburgh on the 29th of June. Knox had at this time prepared a letter to Cecil, in which, addressing the queen, he says, “My eyes have long looked to a perpetual concord betwixt these two realms, the occasion whereof is most present, if you shall move your hearts



unfeignedly to seek the same. For humility of Christ Jesus crucified, now begun here to be practised, may join together the hearts of those whom Satan, by pride, has long dissevered. For the furtherance hereof I would have licence to repair towards you. God move your heart rightly to consider the estate of both the realms, which stand in greater danger than many do espy. The common bruit, I doubt not, carrieth unto you the troubles that be lately here risen for the controversy in religion. The truth is, that many of the nobility, the most part of barons and gentlemen, with many towns and one city, have put to their hands to remove idolatry and the monuments of the same. The Reformation is somewhat violent, because the adversaries be stubborn. None that possesseth Christ Jesus with us usurpeth anything against the authorities, neither yet intendeth to usurp, unless strangers be brought in to subdue and bring in bondage the liberties of this poor country; if any such thing be espied, I am uncertain what shall follow.\*

The great object of the leaders of the Scottish Reformation was to make a firm alliance with England. They gave repeated assurance to the ministers of Elizabeth that their design did not contemplate sedition or rebellion against any lawful authority. The queen-regent was diligent in spreading the contrary opinion, that their object was to overturn the existing government. Elizabeth was too cautious to give any direct encouragement to subjects to resist their rulers; and she required assurances upon this point, reserving, however, the right of resistance in a case of extreme necessity. Cecil gave them vague promises of support, if such a necessity should arise. A convention was concluded between the regent and the Lords of the Congregation; but neither party trusted to any enduring tranquillity. The regent was looking for support from France; the reformers to England for the aid of men and money. At last Elizabeth rendered some secret assistance; and the Guises, who were now the real rulers of France, sent a force of a thousand Frenchmen to Scotland, who disembarked at Leith. The regent then entrenched and fortified that port, against which proceeding the leaders of the Congregation prematurely remonstrated. At length they made a decided demonstration of war. On the 15th of October they marched into Edinburgh with a force of twelve thousand men; and the regent retired to her stronghold of Leith. The Congregation formed two councils, one for civil affairs, another for religion; and they addressed a letter to the regent, re-

\* Letter in State Paper Office, given in Tytler's "History of Scotland," vol. vi. p. 131.

quiring her instantly to command all foreigners and men-at-arms to depart from Leith. She replied, that Frenchmen were naturalised subjects, and commanded the duke of Chastelherault,\* who had joined the reformers, and his company, to depart from Edinburgh. They decided that the queen-regent should be deposed from her authority. The army of the Congregation, ill-disciplined, and composed of vassals who would not remain long in the field, was defeated in an assault upon Leith; and the capital was again occupied by the royal forces. The castle of Edinburgh was, nevertheless, held by the reformers, the governor refusing to surrender it unless under the authority of the parliament, who had committed it to his charge. Elizabeth at last consented to render real and open assistance to the reformers, who entreated her prompt aid upon the sole ground that it was the intention of France to make a conquest of Scotland, and then to dispossess the queen of England of her throne. In January 1560 a treaty was concluded at Berwick, in which the duke of Norfolk agreed with the commissioners of the Congregation, that Elizabeth should send assistance, and that she would support the confederated lords, whilst they recognised Mary as their queen, and maintained the rights of the crown. They stipulated that they would not sanction any other union of Scotland with France than then existed, and, if England should be attacked by France, would furnish an auxiliary force of four thousand men. On the 2nd of April, 1560, lord Grey entered Scotland with an army of two thousand horse and six thousand foot, and was joined at Preston by the army of the Congregation, to the number of eight thousand. The English Council very wisely did not encumber the commander of their army with more than a soldier's work. They sent sir Ralph Sadler to negotiate, and wrote to lord Grey, "Stick not to go through with this enterprise, and your praise will be more than all the rest of your life, if all your life were laid together. Take heed of French enchantments. They will win time of you, if ye take not good heed. Well; thus we leave your lordship to your business."

The Scottish and English army marched on to Leith. The English fleet, under the command of William Winter, had entered the Frith of Forth at the end of January. When Cecil had despatched the squadron, he wrote to Sadler, "our ships be on the seas, God speed them." In the northern parts of Scotland the French had succeeded in forming a league, by which the clans and

\* The French title of the earl of Arran, who had been regent at a former period.