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and she found every moment reason to regret her leaving country from whose manners she had in her early youth received the first impressions.

§ 4. Meanwhile Elizabeth employed herself in regulating the affairs of her own kingdom. She made some progress in paying those great debts which lay upon the crown; she regulated the coin, which had been much debased by her predecessors; she introduced into the kingdom the art of making gunpowder and brass cannon; fortified her frontiers on the side of Scotland; made frequent reviews of the militia; promoted trade and navigation; and so much increased the shipping of her kingdom, both by building vessels of force herself, and suggesting like undertakings to the merchants, that she was justly styled the Restorer of Naval Glory and the Queen of the Northern Seas. It is easy to imagine that so great a princess, who enjoyed such singular felicity and renown, would receive proposals of marriage from several foreign princes—as the archduke Charles, second son of the emperor; Casimir, son of the elector palatine; Eric, king of Sweden; Adolph, duke of Holstein; and the earl of Arran, heir to the crown of Scotland. Even some of her own subjects, though they did not openly declare their pretensions, entertained hopes of success. Among the latter, the person most likely to succeed was a younger son of the late duke of Northumberland, lord Robert Dudley, who, by means of his exterior qualities, joined to address and flattery, had become in a manner her declared favourite, and had great influence in all her councils. But the queen gave all these suitors a gentle refusal, which still encouraged their pursuit; and she thought that she should the better attach them to her interests if they were still allowed to entertain hopes of succeeding in their pretensions.

§ 5. The progress of the Reformation in France threatened not only to involve that country in a civil war, but also to embroil other nations in the quarrel. The change produced in the political parties of that country by the death of Francis II. has been already mentioned. The queen regent had formed the project of governing both parties by playing one against the other: for though religion was the pretence, ambition and the love of power were the real motives of the leaders. But faction, further stimulated by religious zeal and hatred, soon grew too violent to be controlled. The constable, Montmorency, joined himself to the duke of Guise: the king of Navarre embraced the same party: and Catherine, finding herself depressed by this combination, had recourse to Condé and the Huguenots,* as the French protestants were called, who gladly embraced the opportunity of fortifying themselves by her countenance and protection.

* This word is a corruption of the German *Eidgenossen*, i. e. "bound together by oath."



Condé, Coligny, and the other protestant leaders, assembled their friends, and flew to arms: Guise and Montmorency got possession of the king's person, and constrained the queen-regent to embrace their party: fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France: and each province, each city, each family, was agitated with intestine rage and animosity. The prince of Condé applied to Elizabeth for assistance, and offered to put Havre into the hands of the English. This offer was accepted by Elizabeth. An English army took possession of the town, and rendered important service to the Huguenots. But the captivity of Condé and Montmorency, who were soon afterwards taken prisoners in battle, and the assassination of the duke of Guise, made both parties anxious for peace; and the Huguenots accordingly concluded a treaty with the queen-mother without consulting Elizabeth. The English queen however refused to surrender Havre, and she sent orders to the earl of Warwick, the commander of the town, to prepare himself against an attack from the now united power of the French monarchy. The plague however crept in among the English soldiers; and being increased by their fatigue and bad diet, it made such ravages that Warwick found himself obliged to capitulate, and to content himself with the liberty of withdrawing his garrison. To increase the misfortune, the infected army brought the plague with them into England, where it swept off great multitudes, particularly in the city of London. About 20,000 persons there died of it in one year. Elizabeth was now glad to compound matters; and as the queen-regent desired to obtain leisure, in order to prepare measures for the extermination of the Huguenots, a treaty of peace was concluded between the two countries.

§ 6. In the convocation which assembled in 1563 the last hand was put to the Reformation in England, by the establishment of the 39 Articles in the form in which they now exist. The peace still continued with Scotland; and even a cordial friendship seemed to have been cemented between Elizabeth and Mary. These princesses made profession of the most entire affection, wrote amicable letters every week to each other, and had adopted, in all appearance, the sentiments as well as style of sisters. But Mary's close connexion with the house of Guise was the ground of just and insurmountable jealousy to Elizabeth. She always told the queen of Scots that nothing would satisfy her but her espousing some English nobleman; and she at last named lord Robert Dudley, now created earl of Leicester, as the person on whom she desired that Mary's choice should fall. The earl of Leicester, the great and powerful favourite of Elizabeth, possessed all those exterior qualities which are naturally alluring to the fair sex; a handsome person, a polite address, and insinuating behaviour; and by means of these accom-



he had been able to blind even the penetration of Elizabeth, and conceal from her the great defects, or rather odious vices, which attended his character. He was proud, insolent, interested, ambitious; without honour, without generosity, without humanity; and atoned not for these bad qualities by such abilities or courage as could fit him for that high trust and confidence with which she always honoured him. Her constant and declared attachment to him had naturally emboldened him to aspire to her hand; and in order to make way for these nuptials, he was universally believed to have murdered, in a barbarous manner, his wife, the heiress of one Robsart. The proposal of espousing Mary was by no means agreeable to him; and he always ascribed it to the contrivance of Cecil, his enemy. The queen herself had not any serious intention of effecting this marriage: the earl of Leicester was too great a favourite to be parted with; and when Mary seemed at last to hearken to Elizabeth's proposal, this princess receded from her offers. After two years had been spent in evasions and artifices, Mary's subjects and counsellors, and probably herself, began to think it full time that some marriage were concluded; and lord Darnley, son of the earl of Lenox, was the person selected for her consort. He was Mary's cousin-german, by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII., and was, after Mary, next heir to the crown of England.* He had been born and educated in England, where the earl of Lenox had constantly resided, since he had been banished by the prevailing power of the house of Hamilton. Elizabeth used all her efforts to prevent this marriage. She ordered Darnley immediately, upon his allegiance, to return to England; threw the countess of Lenox and her second son into the Tower, where they suffered a rigorous confinement; seized all Lenox's English estate; and though it was impossible for her to assign one single reason for her displeasure, she menaced, and protested, and complained, as if she had suffered the most grievous injury in the world. The marriage was celebrated on July 29, 1535. It also gave great offence to the Scottish reformers, because the family of Lenox was believed to adhere to the catholic faith; and though Darnley, who now bore the name of king Henry, went often to the established church, he could not, by this exterior compliance, gain the confidence and regard of the ecclesiastics. The earl of Murray, the half-brother of Mary, being an illegitimate son of James V., and other Scottish lords, being secretly encouraged by Elizabeth, had recourse to arms. But the nation was in no disposition for rebellion. The king and queen advancing to Edinburgh at the head of their army, the rebels found themselves under a necessity of abandoning their country, and of taking shelter in England. Elizabeth, when she

* See the genealogical table, p. 238.

and the event so much to disappoint her expectations, thought proper to disavow all connexions with the Scottish malcontents; and it was only by a sudden and violent incident, which, in the issue, brought on the ruin of Mary herself, that they were saved from the rigour of the law.

§ 7. The marriage of the queen of Scots with lord Darnley was so natural and so inviting in all its circumstances, that it had been precipitately agreed to by that princess and her council; and while she was allured by his youth and beauty and exterior accomplishments, she had at first overlooked the qualities of his mind, which nowise corresponded to the excellence of his outward figure. She had loaded him with benefits and honours; but having leisure afterwards to remark his weakness and vices, she began to see the danger of her profuse liberality, and was resolved thenceforth to proceed with more reserve in the trust which she should confer upon him. His resentment against this prudent conduct served but the more to increase her disgust; and the young prince, enraged at her imagined neglects, pointed his vengeance against every one whom he deemed the cause of this change in her measures and behaviour. There was in the court one David Rizzio, who had of late obtained a very extraordinary degree of confidence and favour with the queen of Scots. He was a Piedmontese of mean birth, son of a teacher of music. Mary's secretary for French despatches having incurred her displeasure, she promoted Rizzio to that office, which gave him frequent opportunities of approaching her person and insinuating himself into her favour. The favourite was of a disagreeable figure, but was not past his youth; and though the opinion of his criminal correspondence with Mary might seem of itself unreasonable, if not absurd, a suspicious husband could find no other means of accounting for that lavish and imprudent kindness with which she honoured him.

Rizzio, who had connected his interests with the Roman catholics, was the declared enemy of the banished lords; and by promoting the violent prosecutions against them, he had exposed himself to the animosity of their numerous friends and retainers. Morton, the chancellor, insinuating himself into Darnley's confidence, employed all his art to inflame the discontent and jealousy of that prince; and he persuaded him that the only means of freeing himself from the indignities under which he laboured was to bring the base stranger to the fate which he had so well merited. George Douglas, natural brother to the countess of Lenox, the lords Ruthven and Lindesey, and even the earl of Lenox, the king's father, concurred in the same advice. A messenger was despatched to the banished lords, who were hovering near the borders; and they were invited by the king to return to their native country. The design, so atrocious in itself, was



registered still more so by the circumstances which attended its execution: Mary, who was in the sixth month of her pregnancy, was supping in private (March 9, 1566) with Rizzio and others of her servants. The king entered the room by a private passage, and stood at the back of Mary's chair: lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and other conspirators, being all armed, rushed in after him; and the queen of Scots, terrified with the appearance, demanded of them the reason of this rude intrusion. They told her that they intended no violence against her person, but meant only to bring that villain, pointing to Rizzio, to his deserved punishment. Rizzio, aware of the danger, ran behind his mistress, and, seizing her by the waist, called aloud to her for protection; while she interposed in his behalf, with cries, and menaces, and entreaties. The impatient assassins, regardless of her efforts, rushed upon their prey. Douglas, seizing Henry's dagger, stuck it in the body of Rizzio, who, screaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary by the other conspirators, and pushed into the ante-chamber, where he was despatched with fifty-six wounds. The unhappy princess, informed of his fate, immediately dried her tears and said, she would weep no more, she would now think of revenge. The insult, indeed, upon her person; the stain attempted to be fixed on her honour; the danger to which her life was exposed on account of her pregnancy, were injuries so atrocious and so complicated, that they scarcely left room for pardon, even from the greatest lenity and mercy.

Mary shortly afterwards brought forth a son, in the castle of Edinburgh (June 19). This event caused the English parliament again to press Elizabeth for some settlement of the succession, at which she expressed her high displeasure, and eluded the application. It also gave additional zeal to the English party which favoured Mary's claims. The friends of the queen of Scots multiplied every day; and most of the considerable men in England, except Cecil, seemed convinced of the necessity of declaring her the successor. But all these flattering prospects were blasted by the subsequent incidents; where Mary's egregious indiscretions, or rather atrocious crimes, threw her from the height of her prosperity, and involved her in infamy and in ruin.

The earl of Bothwell, of a considerable family and power in Scotland, but a man of profligate manners, had of late acquired the favour and entire confidence of Mary; and all her measures were directed by his advice and authority. Reports were spread of more particular intimacies between them; and these reports gained ground from the continuance or rather increase of her hatred towards her husband. That young prince was reduced to such a state of desperation by the neglects which he underwent from his queen and the courtiers, that he had once resolved to fly secretly into France or Spain, and had



He provided a vessel for that purpose. Suddenly, however, Mary pretended to be reconciled to him, after his recovery from a dangerous illness. She lived in the palace of Holyrood-house, but for some reason an apartment was assigned him in a solitary house at some distance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary here gave him marks of kindness and attachment; she conversed cordially with him, and she lay some nights in a room below his; but on the 9th of February (1567) she told him that she would pass that night in the palace, because the marriage of one of her servants was there to be celebrated in her presence. About two o'clock in the morning the whole town was much alarmed at hearing a great noise, and was still more astonished when it was discovered that the noise came from the king's house, which was blown up by gunpowder; that his dead body was found at some distance in a neighbouring field; and that no marks, either of fire, contusion, or violence, appeared upon it.

No doubt could be entertained but Henry was murdered; and general conjecture soon pointed towards the earl of Bothwell as the author of the crime. But as his favour with Mary was visible, and his power great, no one ventured to declare openly his sentiments. Mary's subsequent conduct justified these suspicions. The earl of Lenox demanded speedy justice on his son's assassins. Mary took his demand very literally, assigned only 15 days for the examination of the matter, and cited Lenox to appear and prove his charge. But that nobleman was afraid to trust himself in Edinburgh; and as neither accuser nor witness appeared at the trial, Bothwell was acquitted. In the parliament which met two days after, he was the person chosen to carry the royal sceptre; and no notice was taken of the king's murder. On its dissolution, several of the nobility signed a paper promising to support Bothwell, and recommending him to the queen as her husband. Shortly afterwards, Mary having gone to Stirling to pay a visit to her son, Bothwell assembled a body of 800 horse, on pretence of pursuing some robbers on the borders, and, having waylaid her on her return, he seized her person near Edinburgh and carried her to Dunbar, with an avowed design of forcing her to yield to his purpose. Sir James Melvill, one of her retinue, was carried along with her, and says not that he saw any signs of reluctance or constraint: he was even informed, as he tells us, by Bothwell's officers, that the whole transaction was managed in concert with her. Bothwell was married to a sister of the earl of Huntley; but a suit for a divorce between Bothwell and his wife was opened at the same instant in two different or rather opposite courts—one being popish, the other protestant; was pleaded, examined, and decided in four days; and a sentence of divorce pronounced. The marriage was solemnised by the bishop of Orkney



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May 15) a protestant, who was afterwards deposed by the church for his scandalous compliance.

The protestant teachers, who had great authority, had long borne an animosity to Mary, and the opinion of her guilt was, by that means, the more widely diffused, and made the deeper impression on the people. Some attempts made by Bothwell, and, as is pretended, with her consent, to get the young prince into his power, excited the most serious attention; and the principal nobility met at Stirling, and formed an association for protecting the prince, and punishing the king's murderers. Having levied an army, they met the forces of the queen and Bothwell at Carberry Hill, about six miles from Edinburgh. Mary soon became sensible that her own troops disapproved of her cause, and she saw no resource but that of putting herself, upon some general promises, into the hands of the confederates. She was conducted to Edinburgh, amidst the insults of the populace, who reproached her with her crimes, and even held before her eyes a banner, on which were painted the murder of her husband, and the distress of her infant son. Meanwhile Bothwell fled unattended to Dunbar; and eventually made his escape to Denmark.

§ 8. The queen of Scots was sent under a guard to the castle of Lochleven, situated in the lake of that name. Elizabeth seemed touched with compassion towards the unfortunate queen; and sent sir Nicholas Throgmorton ambassador to Scotland, in order to remonstrate both with Mary and the associated lords. He was instructed to express to her Elizabeth's high dissatisfaction at her conduct, but at the same time to declare that the late events had touched Elizabeth's heart with sympathy, and that she was determined not to see her oppressed by her rebellious subjects. At the same time he was to demand that the punishment of Darnley's assassins should be intrusted to Elizabeth, and that Mary's infant son should be sent into England to be educated. But the associated lords were determined to proceed with severity, and they thought proper, after several affected delays, to refuse the English ambassador all access to Mary. Some were even of opinion that the captive queen should be publicly tried and imprisoned for life, or capitally punished. Having selected the earl of Murray for regent, who possessed the confidence of the more zealous reformers, three instruments were sent to Mary, by one of which she was to resign the crown in favour of her son, by another to appoint Murray regent, by the third to make a council which should administer the government until his arrival in Scotland. The queen of Scots, seeing no prospect of relief, was prevailed on, after a plentiful effusion of tears, to sign these three instruments; and in consequence of this forced resignation, the young prince was proclaimed king by the name of James VI. He was soon after crowned at Stirling (July 29, 1567), and the earl of



Morton took, in his name, the coronation oath; in which a promise to extirpate heresy was not forgotten. The earl of Murray arrived soon after from France, and took possession of his high office. He paid a visit to the captive queen, in which he treated her with great harshness; and the parliament which he assembled, after voting that she was undoubtedly an accomplice in her husband's murder, condemned her to imprisonment, ratified her resignation of the crown, and acknowledged her son for king, and Murray for regent. But many of the principal nobility from various motives, and all who retained any propensity to the Roman catholic religion, formed a party in favour of the queen. Meanwhile Mary had engaged, by her charms and caresses, a young gentleman, George Douglas, brother to the laird of Lochleven, to assist her in escaping. He conveyed her in disguise into a small boat, and himself rowed her ashore (May 2, 1568). She hastened to Hamilton, where her adherents had already assembled; and in a few days an army of 6000 men was ranged under her standard. The regent also made haste to assemble forces; and notwithstanding that his army was inferior in number to that of the queen of Scots, he took the field against her. A battle was fought at Langside, near Glasgow (May 13), which was entirely decisive in favour of the regent, and was followed by a total dispersion of the queen's party. That unhappy princess fled southwards from the field of battle with great precipitation, and at last embraced the resolution of taking shelter in England. She embarked on board a fishing-boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Workington, in Cumberland, about thirty miles from Carlisle; whence she immediately despatched a messenger to London, notifying her arrival, desiring leave to visit Elizabeth, and craving her protection, in consequence of former professions of friendship made her by that princess.

§ 9. Elizabeth now found herself in a situation when it was become necessary to take some decisive resolution with regard to her treatment of the queen of Scots; and upon the advice of Cecil it was determined that Mary should be detained in custody, and brought to trial for her husband's murder. A message was accordingly sent to her at Carlisle, expressing the queen's sympathy with her in her late misfortunes, but stating that her request of being allowed to visit Elizabeth could not be complied with, till she had cleared herself of her husband's murder, of which she was so strongly accused. So unexpected a check threw Mary into tears; and the necessity of her situation extorted from her a declaration that she would willingly justify herself to her sister from all imputations, and would submit her cause to the arbitration of so good a friend. This concession, which Mary could scarcely avoid without an acknowledgment of guilt, was the point expected and desired by



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Elizabeth: she immediately despatched a message to the regent of Scotland, requiring him both to desist from the further prosecution of his queen's party, and to send some persons to London to justify his conduct with regard to her. Murray might justly be startled at receiving a message so violent and imperious; but as his domestic enemies were numerous and powerful, and England was the sole ally which he could expect among foreign nations, he found it prudent to reply that he would willingly submit the determination of his cause to Elizabeth.

As the queen of Scots had subsequently, as well as before, discovered great aversion to the trial proposed, and as Carlisle, by its situation on the borders, afforded her great opportunities of contriving her escape, she was removed to Bolton, a seat of lord Scrope's in Yorkshire. The commissioners appointed by the English court for the examination of this great cause were the duke of Norfolk,* the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler. It would be impossible within our limits to enter into the details of this important trial. After it had proceeded some time, it was transferred to Hampton Court; and sir Nicholas Bacon, lord-keeper, the earls of Arundel and Leicester, lord Clinton, admiral, and sir W. Cecil, secretary, were added to the English commissioners. The regent Murray, alarmed at first by reports of Elizabeth's partiality for the queen of Scots, had kept back the most grievous part of the accusation against her; but, being encouraged by the assurances of Elizabeth, at length accused her in plain terms of being an accomplice with Bothwell in the assassination of the king: the earl of Lenox too appeared before the commissioners, and, imploring vengeance, repeated Murray's charge. To this public and distinct accusation Mary's commissioners refused to reply; and they grounded their silence on very extraordinary reasons. They had orders, they said, from their mistress, if anything were advanced that might touch her honour, not to make any defence, as she was a sovereign princess, and could not be subject to any tribunal: and they required that she should previously be admitted to Elizabeth's presence, to whom, and to whom alone, she was determined to justify her innocence. As if the conferences had been begun with any other end than to clear her from the accusations of her enemies! But Elizabeth's ministers, not satisfied with this evasion, and desirous to have proofs of Mary's guilt, summoned Murray before them, and reproved him, in the queen's name, for the atrocious imputations which he had the temerity to throw upon his sovereign. Murray, thus urged, made no difficulty in producing the proofs of his charge against the queen of Scots; and among the rest some love-letters and sonnets of hers to Bothwell, written all in her own hand, and two other papers, one written in her own hand,

Traced
Mary's
signature
Proved
guilty

* Son of the earl of Surrey executed by Henry VIII.

Other subscribed by her and written by the earl of Huntley; each which contained a promise of marriage with Bothwell, made before the pretended trial and acquittal of that nobleman. These papers, which had been intercepted when the associated lords were besieging the castle of Edinburgh, contained incontestable proofs of Mary's criminal correspondence with Bothwell, of her consent to the king's murder, and of her concurrence in the violence which Bothwell pretended to commit upon her. The objections made to their authenticity are, in general, of small force; but were they ever so specious they cannot now be hearkened to, since Mary, at the time when the truth could have been fully cleared, did, in effect, ratify the evidence against her, by recoiling from the inquiry at the very critical moment, and refusing to give an answer to the accusation of her enemies. Her commissioners, as soon as Murray opened his charge, endeavoured to turn the conference from an inquiry into a negotiation, and never would make any reply.

Elizabeth, though she had seen enough for her own satisfaction, was determined that the most eminent persons of her court should also be acquainted with these transactions, and should be convinced of the equity of her proceedings. She ordered her privy council, together with some of the principal nobility, to be assembled; all the proceedings were laid before them; and on the whole, Elizabeth told them, that, as she had from the first thought it improper that Mary, after such horrid crimes were imputed to her, should be admitted to her presence before she had in some measure justified herself from the charge, so now, when her guilt was confirmed by so many evidences, and all answer refused, she must, for her part, persevere more steadily in that resolution. Elizabeth next told the queen of Scots' commissioners that she must regard Mary's resolution of making no reply at all as the strongest confession of guilt; nor could they ever be deemed her friends who advised her to that method of proceeding. The queen of Scots had no other subterfuge than still to demand a personal interview with Elizabeth, a concession which, she was sensible, would never be granted. Orders were now given for removing the queen of Scots from Bolton, a place surrounded with catholics, to Tutbury, in the county of Stafford, where she was put under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury. Elizabeth promised to bury everything in oblivion, provided Mary would agree, either voluntarily to resign her crown, or to associate her son with her in the government; the administration to remain, during his minority, in the hands of the earl of Murray. But that high-spirited princess refused all treaty upon such terms, and declared that her last words should be those of a queen of Scotland.

§ 10. Soon after the trial of the queen of Scots, the ambition and imprudence of the duke of Norfolk engaged him in a scheme for



receiving her, which is said to have been suggested to him by the regent Murray. Mary expressed no aversion to the proposal; but the opposition of Elizabeth was anticipated, Norfolk, previously to applying for her consent, gained the approbation of the most considerable of the nobility to his scheme. Even the earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's declared favourite, pretended to enter zealously into Norfolk's interests, and wrote a letter to Mary, which was also signed by several of the first rank, recommending Norfolk for her husband, and stipulating conditions for the advantage of both kingdoms. Mary returned a favourable answer to this application, and Norfolk employed himself with new ardour in the execution of his project. And though Elizabeth's consent was always supposed as a previous condition to the finishing of this alliance, it was apparently Norfolk's intention, when he proceeded such lengths without consulting her, to render his party so strong that it should no longer be in her power to refuse it. She was acquainted with the conspiracy through Leicester, and frequently warned the duke to beware on what pillow he reposed his head; but he never had the prudence or the courage to open to her his full intentions.

Norfolk was a protestant; but among the nobility and gentry that seemed to enter into his views there were many who were zealously attached to the catholic religion, and who would gladly, by a combination with foreign powers, or even at the expense of a civil war, have placed Mary on the throne of England. The earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, who possessed great power in the north, were leaders of this party; and with other noblemen formed a plan for liberating Mary. Norfolk discouraged, and even in appearance suppressed, these conspiracies; and in order to repress the surmises spread against him, spoke contemptuously to Elizabeth of the Scottish alliance. But the suspicions of the government being awakened, he was committed to the Tower, under the custody of sir Henry Nevil; and several other noblemen were taken into custody. The queen of Scots herself was removed to Coventry; all access to her was, during some time, more strictly prohibited; and viscount Hereford was joined to the earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon in the office of guarding her.

The earls of Northumberland and Westmorland now attempted a rising, which was put down without striking a blow; and the leaders fled into Scotland. Great severity was exercised against such as had taken part in this rash enterprise. But the queen was so well pleased with Norfolk's behaviour, who, though in confinement, had raised levies for her service, that she released him from the Tower, allowed him to live, though under some show of confinement, in his own house, and only exacted a promise from him not to proceed any further in his negotiations with the queen of Scots.



Elizabeth now found that she had reason to expect little tranquillity so long as the Scottish queen remained a prisoner in her hands; and she entered into a negotiation with Murray respecting her liberation. It is probable that she would have been pleased, on any honourable or safe terms, to rid herself of a prisoner who gave her so much disquietude. But all these projects vanished by the sudden death of the regent, who was assassinated, in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton (Jan. 23, 1570). By the death of the regent, Scotland relapsed into anarchy. Mary's party assembled themselves together, and made themselves masters of Edinburgh: but Elizabeth despatched an army into Scotland to check their progress. Her subsequent policy was full of duplicity. She played one party against another, and seemed sometimes to favour Mary, sometimes the party which had set up the young king; and allowed them to choose his grandfather, Lenox, as regent. The queen of Scots could not but perceive Elizabeth's insincerity; and finding all her hopes eluded, was more strongly incited to make, at all hazards, every possible attempt for her liberty and security. An incident also happened about this time which tended to widen the breach between Mary and Elizabeth, and to increase the vigilance and jealousy of the latter princess. Pope Pius V., who had succeeded Paul, issued a bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, deprived her of all title to the crown, and absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance (April 25, 1570). John Felton affixed this bull to the gates of the bishop of London's palace; and scorning either to fly or deny the fact, he was seized and condemned, and received the crown of martyrdom, for which he seems to have entertained so violent an ambition.

§ 11. It was at this period that the sect of the puritans, who were afterwards to play so great a part in the affairs of England, first began to make themselves considerable. It is computed that during the Marian persecutions 800 protestants sought an asylum in Germany and Switzerland. Among them were many who, like Hooper, had been desirous of carrying reforms in the church of England, especially in the matter of ceremonies and vestments, further than Cranmer had done; and disputes upon these points broke out in 1554 among the Marian exiles settled at Frankfort. The exiles carried their quarrels back with them into England after the accession of Elizabeth, where they were the origin of dissent, or "the separation."* These controversies had already excited such ferment among the people, that in some places they refused to frequent the churches where the habits and ceremonies were used; would not salute the conforming clergy; and proceeded so far as to revile them

* For an account of the "Troubles of Frankfort" and origin of dissent in the English church, see Dyer's *Life of Calvin*, ch. xii.



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in the streets, to spit in their faces, and to use them with all manner of contumely. But there was another set of opinions adopted by these innovators, which rendered them in a peculiar manner the object of Elizabeth's aversion. The same bold and daring spirit which accompanied them in their addresses to the Divinity, appeared in their political speculations; and the principles of civil liberty, which, during some reigns, had been little avowed in the nation, and which were totally incompatible with the present exorbitant prerogative, had been strongly adopted by this new sect. Indeed so absolute was the authority of the crown, that the precious spark of liberty was kindled and preserved by the puritans alone; and it is to them that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution. Elizabeth neglected no opportunity of depressing those zealous innovators; and while they were secretly countenanced by some of her most favoured ministers, Cecil, Leicester, Knolles, Bedford, Walsingham, she was never, to the end of her life, reconciled to their principles and practices.

§ 12. The affairs of religion were in that age not only the cause of internal seditions and rebellions in various states, but also played a great part in the foreign policy of kingdoms. The cause of the queen of Scots was identified with that of the Roman catholic party in Europe, and was secretly favoured by the courts of France and Spain; and Elizabeth therefore could not regard with indifference the events that were passing in those countries. In France the wars of religion had already broken out, and the respective heads of the Roman catholic and Huguenot parties had fallen in the open field; the constable Montmorency on the plains of St. Denis, the duke of Condé at the battle of Jarnac. But their places were supplied by leaders of equal zeal and ability. The young duke of Guise was destined to eclipse the fame of his father; whilst, on the other side, the indomitable admiral Coligny had placed the young Condé and the prince of Navarre, then only 16, at the head of the Huguenots. To the latter party Elizabeth had secretly lent assistance; but in 1570 the court of France concluded a hollow peace with them, which was only intended to lure them to a surer and more fatal destruction. Among the other artifices employed to lull the protestants into a fatal security, Charles IX. of France affected to enter into close connexion with Elizabeth. The better to deceive her, proposals of marriage were made her with the duke of Anjou; terms of the contract were proposed, difficulties started and removed; and the two courts, equally insincere, though not equally culpable, seemed to approach every day nearer to each other in their demands and concessions. The queen had several motives for dissimulation. Besides the advantage of discouraging Mary's partisans by the prospect of an alliance between France and England, her situation with Philip demanded her utmost vigilance and



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and the violent authority established in the Low Countries made her desirous of fortifying herself even with the bare appearance of a new confederacy.

Philip had left the duchess of Parma governess of the Low Countries; and the plain good sense and good temper of that princess, had she been intrusted with the sole power, would have preserved the submission of those opulent provinces, which were lost from that refinement of treacherous and barbarous politics on which the king of Spain so highly valued himself. The cruelties exercised in the name of religion, and the establishment of the inquisition, had excited a disposition to revolt; and Philip determined to lay hold of the popular disorders as a pretence for entirely abolishing the privileges of the Low Country provinces; and for ruling them thenceforth with military and arbitrary authority. In the execution of this violent design he employed the duke of Alva, a proper instrument in the hands of such a tyrant. All the privileges of the provinces, the gift of so many princes, and the inheritance of so many ages, were openly and expressly abolished by edict; arbitrary and sanguinary tribunals erected; the counts Egmont and Horn, in spite of their great merits and past services, brought to the scaffold; multitudes of all ranks thrown into confinement, and thence delivered over to the executioner; and notwithstanding the peaceable submission of all men, nothing was heard of but confiscation, imprisonment, exile, torture, and death. Elizabeth gave protection to all the Flemish exiles who took shelter in her dominions; and as many of these were the most industrious inhabitants of the Netherlands, and had rendered that country celebrated for its arts, she reaped the advantage of introducing into England some useful manufactures, which were formerly unknown in that kingdom. She also seized some Genoese vessels which were carrying a large sum of money to Alva, and which had been obliged to take refuge in Plymouth and Southampton. These measures led to retaliations; but nothing could repair the loss which so well-timed a blow inflicted on the Spanish government in the Low Countries.

§ 13. Alva resolved to revenge the insult by exciting a rebellion in England, and procuring the marriage of the duke of Norfolk with the queen of Scots. Norfolk, finding that he had lost the confidence and favour of Elizabeth, was tempted to violate his word, and to open anew his correspondence with the queen of Scots. A promise of marriage was renewed between them, and the duke was induced to give his consent to enterprises still more criminal. It was agreed that the duke of Alva should land with a large body of troops at Harwich, where the duke of Norfolk was to join them with all his friends; should thence march directly to London, and oblige the queen to submit to whatever terms the conspirators should please to



independence upon her. The conspiracy, however, was discovered by means of a Sergeant of Norfolk's, who, being intrusted with a bag of gold and a letter for transmission to Scotland, became suspicious, and carried the letter to Cecil (now lord Burleigh). Three of the duke's agents were arrested, and confessed the whole truth when tortured. The duke was brought to trial, and was condemned of treason by a jury of 26 peers. The queen long hesitated to sign his death warrant, but at last, at the instance of the Commons, he was executed (June 2, 1572). The earl of Northumberland, being delivered up to the queen by the regent of Scotland, was also, a few months after, brought to the scaffold for his rebellion.

The queen of Scots was either the occasion or the cause of all these disturbances; but as she was a sovereign princess, Elizabeth durst not, as yet, form any resolution of proceeding to extremities against her. The parliament was so enraged against her, that the Commons made a direct application for immediate trial and execution. Elizabeth, however, satisfied with showing Mary the disposition of the nation, sent to the House her express commands not to deal any further at present in the affair of the Scottish queen.

§ 14. Shortly afterwards there was perpetrated at Paris (Aug. 24, 1572) that inhuman slaughter of the protestants which, from the day of its execution, has been called the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The admiral Coligny, together with about 500 noblemen and gentlemen, and nearly 10,000 persons of inferior rank, were butchered on this occasion. Charles, in order to cover this barba-



Medal of Pope Gregory XIII. commemorating the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Obv.: GREGORIVS . XIII . PONT . MAX . AN . I: bust to left. Rev.: VIGORVTORVM STRAGES . 1572: an angel slaying the Huguenots.

rous perfidy, pretended that a conspiracy of the Huguenots to seize his person had been suddenly detected, and that he had been necessitated, for his own defence, to proceed to this severity against them. He sent orders to Fénélon, his ambassador in England, to ask an audience, and to give Elizabeth this account of the late transaction.



The queen heard his apology without discovering any visible symptoms of indignation. She blamed the conduct of Charles, but, being sensible of the dangerous situation in which she now stood, she did not think it prudent to reject all commerce with him. She therefore allowed even the negotiations to be renewed for her marriage with the duke of Alençon, Charles's third brother: those with the duke of Anjou had already been broken off. The nobility and gentry of England indeed were roused to such a pitch of resentment, that they offered to levy an army of 22,000 foot and 4000 horse, to transport them into France, and to maintain them six months at their own charge; but Elizabeth, who was cautious in her measures, and who feared to inflame further the quarrel between the two religions by these dangerous crusades, refused her consent, and moderated the zeal of her subjects. But Elizabeth's best security lay in the strength of the Huguenots themselves. The sect which Charles had hoped at one blow to exterminate had soon an army of 18,000 men on foot, and possessed in different parts of France above 100 cities, castles, or fortresses. By the death of Charles (May 30, 1574) without issue, at the age of 25, the crown devolved to his brother, the duke of Anjou, now Henry III.; but his counsels were directed by the duke of Guise and his family. Henry was desirous of increasing his power by acting as umpire between the two parties. Guise, however, having formed the famous League, which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the entire suppression of the Huguenots, the king was forced to declare himself the head of it. Elizabeth secretly supported the Huguenots; but it was some years before any important transactions took place between her and France.

The affairs of the Netherlands were in as disturbed a state as those of France. In 1572 the provinces of Holland and Zealand revolted from the Spaniards and the tyranny of Alva. The prince of Orange, who had been declared a rebel, and whose ample possessions in the Low Countries had been confiscated, emerged from his retreat in Germany to put himself at the head of the insurgents; and by uniting the revolted cities in a league, he laid the foundation of that illustrious commonwealth, the offspring of industry and liberty, whose arms and policy long made so signal a figure in every transaction of Europe. The history of the memorable struggle of the prince of Orange against the duke of Alva and his successors cannot be related in this place. The Hollanders, anxious to secure the assistance of Elizabeth, offered her the possession and sovereignty of their provinces, if she would exert her power in their defence. But as an open war with the Spanish monarchy was the apparent consequence of her accepting this offer, she refused, in positive terms, the sovereignty proffered her; and she at present confined her efforts in



favour to an attempt at a mediation with Philip. But a few years afterwards, Elizabeth, seeing from the union of all the provinces a fair prospect of their making a long and vigorous defence against Spain, no longer scrupled to embrace the protection of their liberties; she concluded a treaty with them in which she stipulated to assist them with 5000 foot and 1000 horse, and to lend them 100,000*l.*, on receiving the bonds of some of the most considerable towns of the Netherlands, for repayment within the year (1577).

§ 15. During these years, while Europe was almost everywhere in great commotion, England enjoyed a profound tranquillity—owing chiefly to the prudence and vigour of the queen's administration, and to the wise precautions which she employed in all her measures. By means of her rigid economy she paid all the debts which she found on the crown, with their full interest, though some of these debts had been contracted even during the reign of her father. Some loans, which she had exacted at the commencement of her reign, were repaid by her—a practice in that age somewhat unusual. During this peaceable and uniform government England furnishes few materials for history; and except the small part which Elizabeth took in foreign transactions, there scarcely passed any occurrence which requires a particular detail.

Philip, though he had not yet come to an open rupture with the queen, was every day, both by the injuries which he committed and suffered, more exasperated against her. That he might retaliate the assistance which she gave to his rebels in the Low Countries, he had sent, under the name of the pope, a body of troops into Ireland, for the purpose of fomenting a rebellion (1579). When the English ambassador made complaints of this invasion, he was answered by like complaints of the piracies committed by Francis Drake, a bold seaman, who had assaulted the Spaniards in the place where they deemed themselves most secure, in the New World. Drake, with the queen's consent and approbation, set sail from Plymouth in 1577, with four ships and a pinnace, on board of which were 164 able sailors. He passed into the South Sea by the Straits of Magellan, and, attacking the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in those quarters, he took many rich prizes, and prepared to return with the booty which he had acquired. Apprehensive of being intercepted by the enemy if he took the same way homewards by which he had reached the Pacific Ocean, he attempted to find a passage by the north of California; and failing in that enterprise, he set sail for the East Indies, and returned safely by the Cape of Good Hope. He was the first Englishman who sailed round the globe, and the first commander-in-chief: for Magellan, whose ship executed the same adventure, died in his passage. His name became celebrated on account of so bold and fortunate an attempt; but many, appro-



and the resentment of the Spaniards, endeavoured to persuade the queen that it would be more prudent to disavow the enterprise, to punish Drake, and to restore the treasure. But Elizabeth, who admired valour, and was allured by the prospect of sharing in the booty, determined to countenance that gallant sailor: she conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ship which had achieved so memorable a voyage.

§ 16. The duke of Alençon, now created duke of Anjou, had never entirely dropped his pretensions to Elizabeth; and that princess, though her suitor was nearly 25 years younger than herself, and had no knowledge of her person but by pictures or descriptions, was still pleased with the image which his addresses afforded her of love and tenderness. The duke of Anjou, encouraged by the accounts sent him of the queen's prepossessions in his favour, paid her secretly a visit at Greenwich; and after some conference with her, the purport of which is not known, he departed (1579). It appeared that, though his figure was not advantageous, he had lost no ground by being personally known to her; and soon after she commanded her ministers to draw up the terms of a contract of marriage, which was to be celebrated ~~six weeks~~ after the ratification of the articles. Elizabeth, however, though she had proceeded thus far, betrayed a constant vacillation of purpose; and not only the court of France, but Walsingham himself, Burleigh, and all her wisest ministers, were in amazement, doubtful where this contest between inclination and reason, love and ambition, would at last terminate. The States of the Netherlands chose the duke of Anjou their governor; and having been successful in raising the siege of Cambray, he put his army into winter-quarters, and came over to England, in order to prosecute his suit to the queen. The reception which he met with made him expect entire success. In the midst of the pomp which attended the anniversary of her accession (Nov. 17, 1581), she was seen, after long and intimate discourse with him, to take a ring from her own finger, and put it upon his; and all the spectators concluded that in this ceremony she had given him a promise of marriage, and was even desirous of signifying her intentions to all the world. But the combat of her sentiments was not entirely over; her ambition, as well as prudence, rousing itself by intervals, still filled her breast with doubt and hesitation; and she was observed to pass several nights without any sleep or repose. At last her settled habits of prudence and ambition prevailed over her temporary inclination; and having sent for the duke of Anjou, she had a long conference with him in private, where she was supposed to have made him apologies for breaking her former engagements. He expressed great disgust on his leaving her; threw



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the ring which she had given him, and uttered many curses on the mutability of women, and of islanders (1582).

§ 17. Several conspiracies in which the Jesuits were active, some real, others imaginary, had excited the suspicion and vigilance of the government, and were imputed to the intrigues of the queen of Scots; and as her name was employed in all of them, the council thought that they could not use too many precautions against the danger of her claims, and the restless activity of her temper. An association was set on foot by the earl of Leicester and other courtiers, to defend the queen, to revenge her death, or any injury committed against her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants, by whose suggestion, or for whose behoof, any violence should be offered to her majesty. The queen of Scots was sensible that this association was levelled against her; and to remove all suspicion from herself, she also desired to subscribe it. Elizabeth, that she might the more discourage malcontents, by showing them the concurrence of the nation in her favour, summoned a new parliament, and she met with that dutiful attachment which she expected (Nov. 23, 1584). The association was confirmed by parliament, and a clause was added, by which the queen was empowered to name commissioners for the trial of any pretender to the crown, who should attempt or imagine any invasion, insurrection, or assassination against her. And for the greater security, a council of regency, in case of the queen's violent death, was appointed to govern the kingdom, to settle the succession, and to take vengeance for that act of treason. A severe law was also passed that all Jesuits and popish priests should depart the kingdom within 40 days; and the exercise of the catholic religion, which had formerly been prohibited under lighter penalties, and which was in many instances connived at, was totally suppressed. In 1568 a popish seminary for refugee priests had been established at Douay, under the auspices of Philip, and directed by the Jesuits, whence the priests were continually passing into England, to keep alive the expiring faith, and sometimes to excite sedition. Thus Parsons and Campion, two Jesuits, had made themselves busy in England in 1581, respecting pope Pius' bull of excommunication; and the latter, having been detected in treasonable practices, was publicly executed. Hence the necessity for these new laws.

But the most material subject agitated in this session was the court of ecclesiastical commission, and the oath *ex officio*, as it was called, exacted by that court. This is a subject of such importance as to merit some explanation. The first primate after the queen's accession was Parker, a man rigid in exacting conformity to the established worship, and in punishing, by fine or deprivation, all the puritanical clergymen who attempted to innovate any



in the habits, ceremonies, or liturgy of the church. He died in 1575, and was succeeded by Grindal, who, as he himself was inclined to the new sect, was with great difficulty brought to execute the laws against them, or to punish the nonconforming clergy. He declined obeying the queen's orders for the suppression of prophesying, or the assemblies of the zealots in private houses; and for this offence she had, by an order of the star-chamber, sequestered him from his archiepiscopal function, and confined him to his own house. Upon his death, which happened in 1583, she determined not to fall into the same error in her next choice; and she named Whitgift, a zealous churchman, who had already signalised his pen in controversy, and who, having in vain attempted to convince the puritans by argument, was now resolved to open their eyes by power, and by the execution of penal statutes. By his advice the queen issued a new commission more arbitrary than any of the former, and conveying more unlimited authority. She appointed 44 commissioners, 12 of whom were bishops: 3 commissioners made a quorum, and the jurisdiction of the court extended over the whole kingdom, and over all orders of men, though more particularly directed against the clergy. The commissioners were empowered to visit and reform all errors, heresies, schisms; and they were directed to make inquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries and witnesses, but by all other means and ways which they could devise. Where they found reason to suspect any person, they might administer to him an oath called *ex officio*, by which he was bound to answer all questions, and might thereby be obliged to accuse himself or his most intimate friend. In a word, this court was a real *inquisition*, except that it could not employ torture. Censure and deprivation were its usual punishments; and sometimes it resorted to fine and imprisonment; but these, as well as the whole constitution of the court, were always regarded as illegal by the courts of law. In a speech from the throne at the end of the session the queen reproved the Commons for touching upon this grievance in their petition; and so far from yielding to the displeasure of the parliament, granted, before the end of her reign, a new commission, in which she enlarged, rather than restrained, the powers of the commissioners. The act against Jesuits and seminary priests was violently opposed by one Parry, who had received the queen's pardon for a crime by which he was exposed to capital punishment. Having obtained permission to travel, he retired to Milan, where, according to his own confession, he was persuaded by a Jesuit that he could not perform a more meritorious action than to take away the life of his sovereign and benefactress: and his design, having been communicated to the pope through cardinal Como, received the approbation of the holy



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her. On his return to England Parry communicated his intention to Neville, by whom it was betrayed to the ministers, and he was condemned and executed as a traitor (1585).

§ 18. These bloody designs now appeared everywhere as the result of that bigoted spirit by which the two religions, especially the Roman catholic, were at this time actuated. About the same time Baltazar Gerard, a Burgundian, undertook and executed the same design against the prince of Orange; and that great man perished at Delft, by the hands of a desperate assassin. The states of the Netherlands now renewed their offer to Elizabeth, of acknowledging her for their sovereign, on condition of obtaining her protection and assistance. Elizabeth declined this proposal; but being determined not to permit, without opposition, the total subjection of the revolted provinces, she accepted the protectorate, and agreed to send over an army to their assistance (1585). The earl of Leicester was sent over to Holland, at the head of the English auxiliary forces. Elizabeth, finding that an open breach with Philip was unavoidable, resolved not to leave him unmolested in America. A fleet of 20 sail was equipped to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies, of which sir Francis Drake was appointed admiral. They made several conquests; and sailing along the coast of Virginia, they found the small remains of a colony which had been planted there by sir Walter Raleigh, and which had gone extremely to decay. This was the first attempt of the English to form such settlements; and though they have since surpassed all European nations, both in the situation of their colonies, and in the noble principles of liberty and industry on which they are founded, they had here been so unsuccessful, that the miserable planters abandoned their settlements, and prevailed on Drake to carry them with him to England. He returned with so much riches as encouraged the volunteers, and with such accounts of the Spanish weakness in those countries as served extremely to inflame the spirits of the nation to future enterprises.

Leicester's operations were much less successful than those of Drake. This man possessed neither courage nor capacity equal to the trust reposed in him by the queen; and as he was the only bad choice she made for any considerable employment, men naturally believed that she had here been influenced by an affection still more partial than that of friendship. He gained indeed advantages at first, but failed in an attempt which he made upon Zutphen. In a skirmish under the walls of this town sir Philip Sydney was mortally wounded, and soon after died (Sept. 22, 1586). This person is described by the writers of that age as the most perfect model of an accomplished gentleman that could be formed even by the wanton imagination of poetry or fiction. Virtuous con-



act, polite conversation, heroic valour, and elegant erudition, all occurred to render him the ornament and delight of the English court; and as the credit which he possessed with the queen and the earl of Leicester was wholly employed in the encouragement of genius and literature, his praises have been transmitted with advantage to posterity. No person was so low as not to become an object of his humanity. After this last action, while he was lying on the field mangled with wounds, a bottle of water was brought him to relieve his thirst; but, observing a soldier near him in a like miserable condition, he said, "This man's necessity is still greater than mine:" and resigned to him the bottle of water.

§ 19. Some priests of the English seminary at Rheims had wrought themselves up to a high pitch of rage and animosity against the queen. Intoxicated with admiration of the divine power and infallibility of the pope, they revered his bull, by which he excommunicated and deposed her. The assassination of heretical sovereigns, and of that princess in particular, was represented as the most meritorious of all enterprises; and they taught that whosoever perished in such pious attempts, enjoyed, without dispute, the glorious and never-fading crown of martyrdom. By such doctrines they instigated John Savage, a man of desperate courage, who had served some years in the Low Countries, to attempt the life of Elizabeth; and this assassin, having made a vow to persevere in his design, was sent over to England, and recommended to the confidence of the more zealous catholics. About the same time John Ballard, a priest of that seminary, when on a mission in England and Scotland, had observed a spirit of mutiny and rebellion to be very prevalent among the Roman catholic devotees in these countries, and had founded on that disposition the project of dethroning Elizabeth, and of restoring, by force of arms, the exercise of the ancient religion. Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, strongly encouraged Ballard to hope for succours. He accordingly returned to England in the disguise of a soldier, and assumed the name of captain Fortescue: and he bent his endeavours to effect at once the project of an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion (1586). With this view he addressed himself to Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of a good family and fortune, who had discovered an excellent capacity, and was accomplished in literature beyond most of his years or station. Babington had before been engaged with one Morgan in a secret correspondence with the queen of Scots; but after she was put under the custody of sir Amias Paulet, and reduced to a more rigorous confinement, he had desisted from every attempt of that nature. When Ballard began to open his intentions to Babington, he found his zeal suspended,



extinguished : his former ardour revived on the mention of any enterprise which seemed to promise success in the cause of Mary and of the catholic religion. Ballard proceeded to discover to him the design undertaken by Savage, and was well pleased to observe, that, instead of being shocked with the project, Babington only thought it not secure enough when intrusted to one single hand, and proposed to join five others with Savage in this desperate enterprise. In prosecution of these views, Babington employed himself in increasing the number of his associates, as he aimed at the deliverance of the queen of Scots at the very same instant when Elizabeth should be assassinated ; and he secretly drew into the conspiracy many catholic gentlemen discontented with the present government.

These desperate projects had not escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth's council, particularly of Walsingham, secretary of state, who by means of spies had got a hint of the designs entertained by the fugitives. But the bottom of the conspiracy was never fully known till Gifford, a seminary priest, came over, and made a tender of his services to Walsingham. By his means the discovery became of the utmost importance, and involved the fate of Mary, as well as of those zealous partisans of that princess. Babington and his associates employed Gifford to communicate their design to the queen of Scots, and Gifford immediately applied to Walsingham, that the interest of that minister might forward his secret correspondence with Mary. Gifford found a brewer who supplied Paulet's family with ale ; and bribed him to convey letters to the captive queen. The letters, by Paulet's contrivance, were thrust through a chink in the wall, and answers were returned by the same conveyance. Ballard and Babington were at first diffident of Gifford's fidelity ; and to make trial of him, they gave him only blank papers made up like letters ; but finding by the answers that these had been faithfully delivered, they laid aside all further scruple, and conveyed to Mary by his hands the particulars of the whole conspiracy. Mary replied that she approved highly of the design ; that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards which it should ever be in her power to confer ; and that the death of Elizabeth was a necessary circumstance, before any attempts were made, either for her own deliverance or an insurrection. These and other letters were carried by Gifford to secretary Walsingham, and copies taken of them. At length Ballard was seized ; and Babington, observing that he was watched, made his escape, and gave the alarm to the other conspirators. They all took to flight, covered themselves with several disguises, and lay concealed in St. John's-wood and other places, but were soon discovered and thrown into prison. In their examinations they contradicted each other, and the leaders were obliged to



make a full confession of the truth. Fourteen were condemned and executed, of whom seven acknowledged the crime on their trial: the rest were convicted by evidence.

§ 20. The lesser conspirators being despatched, measures were taken, after much deliberation, for the trial and conviction of the queen of Scots. She was conducted to Fotheringay castle in the county of Northampton, which it was determined to make the last stage of her trial and sufferings. Her two secretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot, were immediately arrested: her papers were sent up to the council, among which were found many letters from persons beyond sea, and several too from English noblemen, containing expressions of respect and attachment. It was resolved to try Mary, not by the common statute of treasons, but by an act which had passed the former year with a view to this very event; and the queen, in terms of that act, appointed a commission, consisting of 47 noblemen and privy counsellors, and empowered them to examine and pass sentence on Mary, whom she denominated the late queen of Scots, and heir to James V. of Scotland. Mary at first refused to answer, pleading her royal dignity; but the commissioners would not admit this objection; and at length, by a well-timed speech of sir Christopher Hatton, the vice-chamberlain, she was persuaded to answer before the court, though, on her first appearance before the commissioners, she renewed her protestation against the authority of her judges. The only part of the charge which Mary positively denied was her concurrence in the design of assassinating Elizabeth. This article, indeed, was the most heavy, and the only one that could fully justify the queen in proceeding to extremities against her. In order to prove the accusation, there was produced the following evidence: copies taken in secretary Walsingham's office of the intercepted letters between her and Babington, in which her approbation of the murder was clearly expressed; the evidence of her two secretaries, Nau and Curle, who had confessed, without being put to any torture, both that she received these letters from Babington, and that they had written the answers by her order; the confession of Babington that he had written the letters and received the answers; and the confession of Ballard and Savage that Babington had showed them these letters of Mary written in the cipher which had been settled between them. Her reply consisted chiefly of her own denial, and an insinuation of forgery against Walsingham, which was indignantly repelled, and which she afterwards withdrew. Such a defence cannot weigh against so overwhelming a weight of testimony; nor is it probable that she should have been made only partially acquainted with the nature of the conspiracy. Having finished the trial, the commissioners adjourned from Fotheringay castle, and met in the



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chamber at London, where they pronounced sentence of death on the queen of Scots, and confirmed it by their seals and subscriptions (Oct. 25, 1586).

The queen had now brought affairs with Mary to that situation which she had long ardently desired; but she foresaw the invidious colours in which this example of uncommon jurisdiction would be represented by the numerous partisans of Mary, and the reproach to which she herself might be exposed with all foreign princes, perhaps with all posterity. She therefore pretended the utmost reluctance to proceed to the execution of the sentence; affected the most tender sympathy with her prisoner; displayed all her scruples and difficulties; rejected the solicitation of her courtiers and ministers; and affirmed that, were she not moved by the deepest concern for her people's safety, she would not hesitate a moment in pardoning all the injuries which she herself had received from the queen of Scots. That the voice of her people might be more audibly heard in the demand of justice upon Mary, she summoned a new parliament; and she knew, both from the usual dispositions of that assembly, and from the influence of her ministers over them, that she should not want the most earnest solicitation to consent to that measure which was so agreeable to her secret inclinations. The event answered her expectations; the sentence against Mary was unanimously ratified by both Houses; and an application was voted to obtain Elizabeth's consent to its publication and execution. She gave an answer, ambiguous, embarrassed; full of real artifice and seeming irresolution; and she begged them to think once again, whether it were possible to find any expedient, besides the death of the queen of Scots, for securing the public tranquillity. The parliament, in obedience to her commands, took the affair again under consideration, but could find no other possible expedient. The queen then published the sentence by proclamation; and this act seemed to be attended with the unanimous and hearty rejoicings of the people (Dec. 6). When the sentence was notified to her, Mary was nowise dismayed at the intelligence: and as she was told that her death was demanded by the protestants for the establishment of their faith, she insisted that she was really a martyr to her religion, and was entitled to all the merits attending that glorious character. In her last letter to Elizabeth, which was full of dignity, without departing from that spirit of meekness and of charity which appeared suitable to this concluding scene of her unfortunate life, she preferred no petition for averting the fatal sentence: on the contrary, she expressed her gratitude to Heaven for thus bringing to a speedy period her sad and lamentable pilgrimage. She merely desired to be buried in France, and made some requests in favour of her servants. The king of France sent an ambassador to intercede for



life of Mary, but without success. The interposition of the king of Scots, though not able to change Elizabeth's determination, seemed, on every account, to merit more regard. As soon as James heard of the trial and condemnation of his mother, he sent sir William Keith, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, to London, and wrote a letter to the queen, in which he remonstrated, in very severe terms, against the indignity of the procedure. Soon after, James sent the Master of Gray and sir Robert Melvil to enforce the remonstrances of Keith, and to employ with the queen every expedient of argument and menaces. Elizabeth however still retained her resolution of executing the sentence against Mary; and it is believed that the Master of Gray, gained by the enemies of that princess, secretly gave his advice not to spare her, and undertook, in all events, to pacify his master.

§ 21. When Elizabeth thought that as many importunities had been used, and as much delay interposed, as decency required, she at last determined to carry the sentence into execution; but even in this final resolution she could not proceed without displaying a new scene of duplicity and artifice. In order to alarm the vulgar, all sorts of rumours were dispersed respecting invasions from France, Spain, and Scotland, and of attempts and projects against the queen's life. Elizabeth, affecting to be in terror and perplexity, was observed to sit much alone, pensive and silent, and sometimes to mutter to herself half sentences importing the difficulty and distress to which she was reduced. She ordered secretary Davison privately to draw a warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots, but next day she enjoined him to delay; and when Davison told her that the warrant had already passed the great seal, she seemed to be somewhat moved, and blamed him for his precipitation; but the council persuaded him to send off the warrant, and promised to justify his conduct, and to take on themselves the whole blame of this measure. The warrant was accordingly despatched to the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, and some others, ordering them to see the sentence executed upon the queen of Scots.

The two earls came to Fotheringay castle, and, being introduced to Mary, informed her of their commission, and desired her to prepare for death next morning at eight o'clock. She seemed nowise terrified, though somewhat surprised, with the intelligence. She said, with a cheerful and even a smiling countenance, that she did not think the queen, her sister, would have consented to her death, or have executed the sentence against a person not subject to the laws and jurisdiction of England. "But as such is her will," said she, "death, which puts an end to all my miseries, shall be to me most welcome; nor can I esteem that soul worthy the felicities of heaven which cannot support the body under the horrors of the last passage



these blissful mansions." When the earls had left her she ordered her to be hastened, that she might have the more leisure after it to finish the few affairs which remained to her in this world, and to prepare for her passage to another. She supped sparingly, as her manner usually was, and her wonted cheerfulness did not even desert her on this occasion. She comforted her servants under the affliction which overwhelmed them, and which was too violent for them to conceal it from her. Towards morning she arose and dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, the only one which she had reserved to herself. Having passed into the hall, where was erected the scaffold covered with black, she saw with an undismayed countenance the executioners and all the preparations of death. Here her old servant, sir Andrew Melvil, took an affecting leave of her. The warrant for her execution was then read to her; and during this ceremony she was silent, but showed in her behaviour an indifference and unconcern as if the business had nowise regarded her. Before the executioners performed their office, the dean of Peterborough stepped forth; and though the queen frequently told him that he needed not concern himself about her, that she was settled in the ancient catholic and Roman religion, and that she meant to lay down her life in defence of that faith, he still thought it his duty to persist in his lectures and exhortations. She now began, with the aid of her two women, to disrobe herself; and the executioner also lent his hand to assist them. She smiled, and said that she was not accustomed to undress herself before so large a company, nor to be served by such valets. Her servants, seeing her in this condition ready to lay her head upon the block, burst into tears and lamentations. She turned about to them, put her finger upon her lips as a sign of imposing silence upon them, and, having given them her blessing, desired them to pray for her. One of her maids, whom she had appointed for that purpose, covered her eyes with a handkerchief; she laid herself down without any sign of fear or trepidation, and her head was severed from her body at two strokes by the executioner. He instantly held it up to the spectators, streaming with blood and agitated with the convulsions of death. The dean of Peterborough alone exclaimed, "So perish all queen Elizabeth's enemies!" The earl of Kent alone replied, "Amen!" The attention of all the other spectators was fixed on the melancholy scene before them, and zeal and flattery alike gave place to present pity and admiration of the expiring princess (Feb. 8, 1587).

Thus perished, in the 45th year of her age and 19th of her captivity in England, Mary queen of Scots, a woman of great accomplishments both of body and mind, natural as well as acquired, but unfortunate in her life, and during one period very unhappy in her conduct. In order to form a just idea of her character, we must set



aside one part of her conduct, while she abandoned herself to the guidance of a profligate man; and must consider these faults, whether we admit them to be imprudences or crimes, as the result of an inexplicable though not uncommon inconstancy in the human mind, of the frailty of our nature, of the violence of passion, and of the influence which situations, and sometimes momentary incidents, have on persons whose principles are not thoroughly confirmed by experience and reflection. An enumeration of her qualities might carry the appearance of a panegyric; an account of her conduct must in some parts wear the aspect of severe satire and invective.

§ 22. When the queen was informed of Mary's execution she affected the utmost surprise and indignation. She put herself in deep mourning, and she was seen perpetually bathed in tears, and surrounded only by her maids and women. None of her ministers or counsellors dared to approach her; or if any had such temerity, she chased them from her with the most violent expressions of rage and resentment; they had all of them been guilty of an unpardonable crime in putting to death her dear sister and kinswoman, contrary to her fixed purpose, of which they were sufficiently apprised and acquainted. No sooner was her sorrow so much abated as to leave room for reflection than she wrote a letter of apology to the king of Scots; and in order the better to appease him, she committed Davison to prison, and ordered him to be tried in the star-chamber for his misdemeanour. He was condemned to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure, and to pay a fine of 10,000*l*. He remained a long time in custody; and the fine, though it reduced him to beggary, was rigorously levied upon him. James discovered the highest resentment, and refused to admit Elizabeth's envoy into his presence. He recalled his ambassadors from England, and seemed to breathe nothing but war and vengeance. The states of Scotland, being assembled, took part in his anger; and professed that they were ready to spend their lives and fortunes in revenge of his mother's death, and in defence of his title to the crown of England. But the judicious representations made to him by Walsingham, joined to the peaceable unambitious temper of the young prince, prevailed over his resentment; and he fell gradually into a good correspondence with the court of England. It is probable that the queen's chief object in her dissimulation with regard to the execution of Mary was that she might thereby afford James a decent pretence for renewing his friendship with her, on which their mutual interests so much depended.



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Dutch medal on the overthrow of the Armada. Obv.: FLAVIT . IVLIA . ET . DISSIPATI SVNT . 1588: the Armada advancing in order.

CHAPTER XIX.

ELIZABETH CONTINUED. FROM THE EXECUTION OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH. A.D. 1587-1603.

§ 1. Preparations of Philip for an invasion of England. The Invincible Armada. § 2. Defeat of the Spanish Armada. § 3. Expedition against Portugal. § 4. French affairs. Elizabeth assists Henry IV. Naval enterprises against Spain. § 5. Elizabeth's proceedings with her parliament. § 6. Affairs of France. Raleigh's expedition to Guiana. § 7. Expeditions to Cadiz and Ferrol. The earl of Essex. Death of Burleigh and of Philip II. § 8. Affairs of Ireland. Tyrone's rebellion. Essex lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Disgrace of Essex. § 9. His insurrection. His trial and execution. § 10. Death and character of Elizabeth. § 11. General reflections on the period of the Tudors. Power of the crown under that dynasty. § 12. The constitution intact in theory. Benevolences. Monopolies. § 13. Relations of the crown and commons. § 14. Administration of justice. § 15. Consequences of the Reformation. Court of High Commission. § 16. General state of the nation.

§ 1. WHILE Elizabeth insured tranquillity from the attempts of her nearest neighbour, she was not negligent of more distant dangers. She knew that Philip, eager for revenge and zealous to exterminate heresy, had formed, with the sanction and co-operation of the pope and of the Guises in France, the ambitious project of subduing England, and was secretly preparing a great navy to attack her. Accord-



Reverse of medal on preceding page. ALLIDOR . NON . LMDOR. the Church on a rock in the midst of a stormy sea.

ingly she sent sir Francis Drake with a fleet, soon after Mary's death (1587), to pillage the Spanish coast and destroy the shipping. Drake burned more than 100 ships off Cadiz, and destroyed a vast quantity of stores which had been collected for the invasion of England. Meanwhile Philip continued his preparations with the greatest energy; every part of his vast empire resounded with the noise of armaments; and all his ministers, generals, and admirals, were employed in forwarding the design. Vessels of uncommon size and force were built; vast armies were assembled; nor were any doubts entertained but such vast preparations, conducted by officers of consummate skill, must finally be successful; and the Spaniards, ostentatious of their power, and elated with vain hopes, had already denominated their navy the *Invincible Armada*. Elizabeth meantime made preparations for resistance; nor was she dismayed with that power by which all Europe apprehended she must of necessity be overwhelmed. Her force indeed seemed very unequal to resist so potent an enemy. All the sailors in England amounted at that time to about 14,000 men. The size of the English shipping was in general so small, that, except a few of the queen's ships of war, there were not four vessels belonging to the merchants which exceeded 400 tons. The royal navy consisted of only 34 sail, many of which were of small size; none of them exceeded the bulk of our largest frigates, and most of them deserved rather the name of pinnaces than of ships. The only advantage of the English fleet consisted in the dexterity and courage of the seamen. All the commercial towns of England were required to furnish ships for reinforcing this small navy; and



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the citizens of London, in order to show their zeal in the common cause, instead of 15 vessels which they were commanded to equip, voluntarily fitted out double the number. The gentry and nobility hired, and armed, and manned 43 ships at their own charge; and all the loans of money which the queen demanded were frankly granted by the persons applied to. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of courage and capacity, was admiral, and took on him the command of the navy; Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. On land three large armies were assembled; but the men were raised in haste, and such raw levies were much inferior to the Spaniards in discipline and reputation. The queen did everything in her power to animate her soldiers and excite the martial spirit of the nation. She appeared on horseback in the camp that was formed at Tilbury; and riding through the lines, discovered a cheerful and animated countenance, exhorted the soldiers to remember their duty to their country and their religion, and professed her intention, though a woman, to lead them herself into the field against the enemy, and rather to perish in battle than survive the ruin and slavery of her people.

§ 2. The sailing of the Spanish Armada was delayed by the death of the admiral and vice-admiral; and Philip appointed the duke of Medina Sidonia to the command, a nobleman of great family, but entirely unacquainted with sea affairs. The Armada at last set sail from Lisbon (May 29, 1588); but being dispersed by a storm, was obliged to put into the Groine (Corunna) to refit. When this was accomplished, the Spaniards with fresh hopes set out again to sea, in prosecution of their enterprise. The fleet consisted of 130 vessels, of which nearly 100 were galleons, and were of greater size than any ever before used in Europe. It carried on board 20,000 soldiers. The plan formed by the king of Spain was that the Armada should sail to Dunkirk; and having taken on board the Spanish troops in the Netherlands, under the command of the duke of Parma, should thence make sail to the Thames, and, having landed the whole Spanish army, thus complete at one blow the entire conquest of England. On the 19th of July the Spaniards were descried off the Lizard; and Effingham had just time to get out of Plymouth when he saw the Armada coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles from the extremity of one division to that of the other. He gave orders not to come to close fight with the Spaniards, where the size of the ships and the number of the soldiers would be a disadvantage to the English; but to cannonade them at a distance, and to wait the opportunity which winds, currents, or various accidents, must afford him of intercepting some scattered vessels of the enemy. Nor was it long before the event answered expectation. A great ship of Biscay, on board of which



was a considerable part of the Spanish money, took fire by accident; and while all hands were employed in extinguishing the flames, she fell behind the rest of the Armada; the great galleon of Andalusia was detained by the springing of her mast; and both these vessels were taken, after some resistance, by sir Francis Drake. As the Armada advanced up the Channel, the English hung upon its rear, and still infested it with skirmishes; whilst, the alarm having now reached the coast of England, the nobility and gentry hastened out with their vessels from every harbour, and reinforced the admiral. The Armada cast anchor before Calais, in expectation that the duke of Parma, who had received intelligence of their approach, would put to sea and join his forces to them. The English admiral practised here a successful stratagem upon the Spaniards. He took 8 of his smaller ships, and, filling them with all combustible materials, sent them one after another into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards fancied that they were fireships of the same contrivance with a famous vessel which had lately done so much execution in the Scheldt, near Antwerp; and they immediately cut their cables, and took to flight with the greatest disorder and precipitation. The English fell upon them next morning while in confusion; and, besides doing great damage to other ships, they took or destroyed about 12 of the enemy.

By this time it was become apparent that the intention for which these preparations were made by the Spaniards were entirely frustrated. The duke of Parma positively refused to leave the harbour; and the Spanish admiral, finding that in many rencounters, while he lost so considerable a part of his own navy, he had destroyed only one small vessel of the English, prepared to return homewards. But as the wind was contrary to his passage through the Channel, he resolved to sail northwards, and, making the tour of the island, reach the Spanish harbours by the ocean. The English fleet followed him during some time; and had not their ammunition fallen short, by the negligence of the officers in supplying them, they had obliged the whole Armada to surrender at discretion. A violent tempest overtook the Armada after it passed the Orkneys, and many of the ships were miserably wrecked. Not a half of the navy returned to Spain; and the seamen as well as soldiers who remained were so overcome with hardships and fatigue, and so dispirited by their discomfiture, that they filled all Spain with accounts of the desperate valour of the English, and of the tempestuous violence of that ocean which surrounds them. Such was the miserable and dishonourable conclusion of an enterprise which had been preparing for three years, which had exhausted the revenue and force of Spain, and which had filled all Europe with anxiety or expectation.

§ § The discomfiture of the Armada had begotten in the nation a



of enthusiastic passion for enterprises against Spain; and a design formed in the following year (1589) to conquer the kingdom of Portugal for don Antonio, an illegitimate branch of the royal family of that country. Sir Francis Drake and sir John Norris were the leaders in this romantic enterprise, which was afterwards joined by the earl of Essex; but the queen only allowed six of her ships of war to attend the expedition. The English gained several advantages over the Spaniards, and even got possession of the suburbs of Lisbon; yet their ammunition and provisions being exhausted, and the army wasted by fatigue and intemperance, it was found necessary to make all possible haste to re-embark. They sailed thence to Vigo, which they took and burned, and, having ravaged the country around, they set sail and arrived in England. It is computed that 1100 gentlemen embarked on board the fleet, and that only 350 survived the multiplied disasters to which they had been exposed through fatigue, famine, sickness, and the sword.

§ 4. Meanwhile a revolution was in progress in France which finally engaged Elizabeth to take a part in the affairs of that country. Henry III., to disembarass himself of the tyranny of the league, had caused its leaders, the duke of Guise and his brother the cardinal, to be assassinated; and having entered into a confederacy with the Huguenots and the king of Navarre, was himself murdered by Jaques Clement, a Dominican friar (Aug. 9, 1589). The king of Navarre, next heir to the crown, assumed the government by the title of Henry IV.; but the league, governed by the duke of Mayenne, brother to Guise, gathered new force, and the king of Spain entertained views either of dismembering the French monarchy or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. In these distressful circumstances Henry addressed himself to Elizabeth, who made him a present of 22,000*l.*, and sent him a reinforcement of 4000 men under lord Willoughby (1590). In the following year she sent over, at two different times, a large body of men to the assistance of Henry, with the view of expelling the leaguers from Normandy. The earl of Essex was appointed general of these forces, a young nobleman who by many exterior accomplishments, and still more real merit, was daily advancing in favour with Elizabeth, and seemed to occupy that place in her affections which Leicester, now deceased, had so long enjoyed. During these military operations in France, Elizabeth employed her naval power against Philip, and endeavoured to intercept his West Indian treasures, the source of that greatness which rendered him so formidable to all his neighbours. This war did great damage to Spain, but it was attended with considerable expense to England.

§ 5. Elizabeth summoned therefore a parliament in order to obtain a supply of money (1593); but far from making any concessions in



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There never was any parliament whom she treated in a more haughty manner, whom she made more sensible of their own weakness, or whose privileges she more openly violated. She sent Peter Wentworth to the Tower for moving a petition for the settlement of the succession; committed sir Thomas Bromley, who had seconded him, to the Fleet prison, together with Stevens and Welsh, two members to whom sir Thomas had communicated his intention. Morrice, chancellor of the duchy, and attorney of the court of wards, having made a motion for redressing the abuses in the bishops' courts, but, above all, in the High Commission, was seized in the house itself by a serjeant-at-arms, discharged from his office, incapacitated from any practice in his profession as a common lawyer, and kept some years prisoner in Tilbury castle. The queen expressly pointed out both what the House should and should not do, and the Commons were as obsequious to the one as to the other of her injunctions. They accordingly passed a law against recusants, intituled 'An Act to retain her majesty's subjects in their due obedience,' by which an obstinate and prolonged refusal to attend public worship was made a capital felony. This law bore equally hard upon the catholics and the puritans. Nevertheless the Commons not only voted a subsidy, but even enlarged it at the instance of the peers.

§ 6. Meanwhile Henry IV., moved by the necessity of his affairs, had resolved to renounce the protestant religion, and was solemnly received by the French prelates of his party into the bosom of the church (July 25, 1593). Elizabeth pretended to be extremely displeased with this abjuration of Henry; and she wrote him an angry letter, reproaching him with this interested change of his religion. Sensible, however, that the league and the king of Spain were still their common enemies, she hearkened to his apologies, continued her succours both of men and money, and formed a new treaty, in which they mutually stipulated never to make peace but by common agreement. She assisted Henry in finally breaking the force of the league, which, after the conversion of that monarch, went daily to decay, and was threatened with speedy ruin and dissolution. The English forces rendered Henry considerable assistance till he made peace with Spain in 1598.

This was the age of naval enterprises, and several were undertaken about this time by sir John Hawkins and his son Richard Hawkins, sir Francis Drake, and others. In 1595 sir Walter Raleigh, who had been thrown into prison for an intrigue with a maid of honour, no sooner recovered his liberty than he was pushed by his active and enterprising genius to attempt some great action. It was imagined that in the inland parts of South America, called Guiana, a country as yet undiscovered, there were mines and treasures far exceeding any which Cortez or Pizarro had met with. Raleigh, whose turn of



and was somewhat romantic and extravagant, undertook, at his own charge, the discovery of this wonderful country. Having taken the small town of St. Joseph, in the isle of Trinidad, where he found no riches, he left his ship and sailed up the river Oroonoko in pinnaces, but without meeting anything to answer his expectations.

§ 7. In 1596 the English attempted the Spanish dominions in Europe, where they heard Philip was making great preparations for a new invasion of England. A powerful fleet was equipped at Plymouth, in which were embarked near 7000 soldiers. The land forces were commanded by the earl of Essex; the navy by lord Effingham, high admiral. The fleet set sail on the 1st of June, and bent its course to Cadiz, which place was taken chiefly through the impetuous valour of Essex, who disregarded the more cautious counsels of Effingham. The admiral was afterwards created earl of Nottingham, and his promotion gave great disgust to Essex. In the preamble of the patent it was said that the new dignity was conferred on him on account of his good services in taking Cadiz, a merit which Essex pretended to belong solely to himself. Next year the queen, having received intelligence that the Spaniards were preparing a squadron in order to make a descent upon Ireland, equipped a large fleet, in which she embarked about 6000 troops, and appointed the earl of Essex commander-in-chief both of the land and sea forces. The design was to attack Ferrol and the Groine, where the Spanish expedition was preparing; but the English fleet having been dispersed and shattered by a storm, and their provisions much spent, Essex confined his enterprise to the intercepting of the Indian fleet; but the Spaniards contrived to get to Terceira, and Essex intercepted only three ships, which however were so rich as to repay all the charges of the expedition.

The earl of Essex continued daily to increase in the queen's favour, but his lofty spirit could ill submit to that implicit deference which her temper required, and which she had ever been accustomed to receive from all her subjects. Being once engaged in a dispute with her about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was so heated in the argument that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility, and turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Her anger, naturally prompt and violent, rose at this provocation; and she instantly gave him a box on the ear, adding a passionate expression suited to his impertinence. Instead of recollecting himself, and making the submissions due to her sex and station, he clapped his hand to his sword, and swore that he would not bear such usage were it from Henry VIII. himself; and he immediately withdrew from court. Yet the queen's partiality reinstated him in his former favour, and her kindness to him appeared rather to have acquired new force



From this short interval of anger and resentment. The death of Lord Burleigh, who had always opposed Essex, which happened about the same time (1598), seemed to insure him constant possession of the queen's confidence; and nothing indeed but his own indiscretion could thenceforth have shaken his well-established credit. Soon after the death of Burleigh, the queen, who regretted extremely the loss of so wise and faithful a minister, was informed of the death of her capital enemy, Philip II., who, after languishing under many infirmities, expired in an advanced age at Madrid (Sept. 13).

§ 8. About this time Elizabeth's attention was called to the affairs of Ireland. Though the dominion of the English over that country had been established above four centuries, their authority hitherto had been little more than nominal. A body of 1000 men was supported there, which on extraordinary emergencies was augmented to 2000. No wonder that such a force was unable to control the half-civilised Irish, and that their ancient animosity against the tyranny of the English, now further inflamed by religious antipathy, should have broken out in several dangerous rebellions. Hugh O'Neale, nephew to Shan O'Neale, or the Great O'Neale, had been raised by the queen to the dignity of earl of Tyrone; but having murdered his cousin, son of that rebel, and being acknowledged head of his clan, he preferred the pride of barbarous licence and dominion to the pleasures of opulence and tranquillity, and he fomented all those disorders by which he hoped to weaken or overturn the English government. He entered into a correspondence with Spain; he procured thence a supply of arms and ammunition; and, having united all the Irish chieftains in a dependence upon himself, he began to be regarded as a formidable enemy. Tyrone defied and eluded for some years the arms of sir John Norris, the English commander; and defeated his successor, sir Henry Bagnal, in a pitched battle at Blackwater, where 1500 men, together with the general himself, were left dead upon the spot. This victory, so unusual to the Irish, roused their courage, supplied them with arms and ammunition, and raised the reputation of Tyrone, who assumed the character of the deliverer of his country and patron of Irish liberty. The English council, sensible that the rebellion of Ireland was now come to a dangerous head, resolved to push the war by more vigorous measures; and Essex prevailed upon the queen to appoint him governor of Ireland by the title of lord-lieutenant; and to insure him of success, she levied an army of 18,000 men. Essex landed at Dublin in April (1599); but instead of bringing the war to an end, as had been expected, he found himself at the end of the campaign unable to effect anything against the enemy. By long and tedious marches, and by sickness, his numbers were reduced to 4000 men. Essex hearkened therefore to a message sent him by Tyrone, who desired a conference; and a cessation of arms was agreed



Essex also received from Tyrone proposals for a peace, in which that rebel had inserted many unreasonable and exorbitant conditions; and there appeared afterwards some reason to suspect that he had here commenced a very unjustifiable correspondence with the enemy.

So unexpected an issue of an enterprise, the greatest and most expensive that Elizabeth had ever undertaken, provoked her extremely against Essex. She took care to inform him of her dissatisfaction, but commanded him to remain in Ireland till further orders. Essex, however, dreading that, if he remained any longer absent, the queen would be totally alienated from him, immediately set out for England; and, making speedy journeys, he arrived at court before any one was in the least apprised of his intentions. Though besmeared with dirt and sweat, he hastened up stairs to the presence chamber, thence to the privy chamber, nor stopped till he was in the queen's bed-chamber, who was newly risen, and was sitting with her hair about her face. He threw himself on his knees, kissed her hand, and had some private conference with her, where he was so graciously received that on his departure he was heard to express great satisfaction, and to thank God that, though he had suffered much trouble and many storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home. But this placability of Elizabeth was merely the result of her surprise, and of the momentary satisfaction which she felt on the sudden and unexpected appearance of her favourite. When Essex waited on her in the afternoon, he found her extremely altered in her carriage towards him. She ordered him to be confined to his chamber; to be twice examined by the council; and though his answers were calm and submissive, she committed him to the custody of lord keeper Egerton, and held him sequestered from all company, even from that of his countess. The vexation of this disappointment, and of the triumph gained by his enemies, preyed upon his haughty spirit; and he fell into a distemper which seemed to put his life in danger. When Elizabeth heard of his sickness, she was not a little alarmed with his situation; and sent him word that, if she thought such a step consistent with her honour, she would herself pay him a visit. Essex rapidly recovered; but a belief was instilled into Elizabeth that his distemper had been entirely counterfeit, in order to move her compassion, and she relapsed into her former rigour against him. There were several incidents which kept alive the queen's anger. Every account which she received from Ireland convinced her more and more of his misconduct in that government, and of the insignificant purposes to which he had employed so much force and treasure. The comparison of his successor Mountjoy's vigorous and successful administration with that of Essex contributed to alienate Elizabeth from her favourite; and she received additional disgust from the par-

... of the people, who, prepossessed with an extravagant idea of Essex's merit, complained of the injustice done him by his removal from court, and by his confinement. Elizabeth had often expressed her intentions of having him tried in the star-chamber; but her tenderness for him prevailed at last over her severity, and she was contented to have him only examined by the privy council. Essex pleaded in his defence with great humility; but the council deprived him of all his public offices, and sentenced him to return to his own house, there to continue a prisoner till it should please her majesty to release this and all the rest of his sentence. Sir Robert Cecil, the younger son of Burleigh,* who was now secretary, used all his influence to ruin Essex. Bacon, so much distinguished afterwards by his high offices, and still more by his profound genius for the sciences, pleaded against him before the council; although Essex, who could distinguish merit, and who passionately loved it, had entered into an intimate friendship with Bacon; had zealously attempted, though without success, to procure him the office of solicitor-general; and, in order to comfort his friend under the disappointment, had conferred on him a present of land to the value of 1800*l*.

§ 9. All the world expected that Essex would soon be reinstated in his former credit, when they saw that, though he was still prohibited from appearing at court, he was continued in his office of master of horse, and was restored to his liberty. But Elizabeth, though gracious in her deportment, was of a temper somewhat haughty and severe; and being continually surrounded with Essex's enemies, means were found to persuade her that his lofty spirit was not sufficiently subdued, and that he must undergo a further trial before he could again be safely received into favour. He possessed a monopoly of sweet wines; and as his patent was near expiring, he patiently expected that the queen would renew it, and he considered this event as the critical circumstance of his life, which would determine whether he could ever hope to be reinstated in credit and authority; but she denied his request, and even added, in a contemptuous style, that an ungovernable beast must be stinted in his provender. This rigour, pushed one step too far, proved the final ruin of this young nobleman, and was the source of infinite sorrow and vexation to the queen herself. Being now reduced to despair, he gave entire reins to his violent disposition, and threw off all appearance of duty and respect. Intoxicated with the public favour, which he already possessed, he practised anew every art of

* The eldest son, Thomas Cecil, succeeded his father as lord Burleigh in 1598. He was created earl of Exeter in 1605, and from him the present marquis of Exeter is descended. Robert Cecil, mentioned above, was made earl of Salisbury in 1605, and is the ancestor of the present marquis of Salisbury.



He secretly courted the confidence of the catholics; but his chief trust lay in the puritans, whom he openly caressed, and whose manners he seemed to have entirely adopted. He engaged the most celebrated preachers of that sect to resort to Essex-house, he had daily prayers and sermons in his family, and he invited all the zealots in London to attend those pious exercises. He also indulged himself in great liberties of speech, and was even heard to say of the queen that she was now grown an old woman, and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body. These stories were carried to Elizabeth, who was ever remarkably jealous on this head; and though she was now approaching to her 70th year, she allowed her courtiers, and even foreign ambassadors, to compliment her upon her beauty; nor had all her good sense been able to cure her of this preposterous vanity. Essex even made secret applications to the king of Scots, and assured him that he was determined to use every expedient for extorting an immediate declaration in favour of that monarch's right of succession. James willingly hearkened to this proposal, but did not approve of the violent methods by which Essex intended to carry it out.

But Essex now resorted to more desperate counsels. A select council of malcontents was formed, by whom it was agreed that Essex should seize the palace, should oblige the queen to assemble a parliament, and should with common consent settle a new plan of government. While these desperate projects were in agitation, many reasons of suspicion were carried to the queen; and Essex received a summons to attend the council, which met at the treasurer's house. While he was musing on this circumstance a private note was conveyed to him, by which he was warned to provide for his own safety. He concluded that all his conspiracy was discovered, at least suspected; and he immediately despatched messages to his more intimate confederates, requesting their advice and assistance in the present critical situation of his affairs. Flight was proposed, but rejected by Essex; to seize the palace seemed impracticable, without more preparations; there remained therefore no expedient but that of raising the city, which was immediately resolved on, but the execution of it was delayed till next day; and emissaries were despatched to all Essex's friends, informing them that Cobham and Raleigh had laid schemes against his life, and entreating their presence and assistance.

Next day (Feb. 8, 1601) there appeared at Essex-house the earls of Southampton and Rutland, the lords Sandys and Monteagle, with about 300 gentlemen of good quality and fortune; and Essex informed them of the danger to which he pretended the machinations of his enemies exposed him. The queen, being informed of these designs, sent some of the chief officers of state to Essex-house to



learn the cause of these unusual commotions. Essex detained them in his house, and proceeded to the execution of his former project. He sallied forth with about 200 attendants, armed only with walking swords; and in his passage to the city was joined by the earl of Bedford and lord Cromwell. He cried aloud, "For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life!" and then proceeded to the house of Smith, the sheriff, on whose aid he had great reliance. The citizens flocked about him in amazement, but no one showed a disposition to join him. The sheriff, on the earl's approach to his house, stole out at the back door, and made the best of his way to the mayor. Essex meanwhile, observing the coldness of the citizens, after in vain attempting to force his way through the streets, retired towards the river, and, taking boat, arrived at Essex-house. He was now reduced to despair, and surrendered in the evening to the earl of Nottingham.

The queen soon gave orders for the trial of the most considerable of the criminals, and the earls of Essex and Southampton were arraigned before a jury of 25 peers, by whom they were found guilty. Bacon, though he was none of the crown lawyers, yet did not scruple, in order to obtain the queen's favour, to be active in bereaving of life his friend and patron, whose generosity he had often experienced. After Essex had passed some days in the solitude and reflections of a prison, his proud heart was at last subdued, not by the fear of death, but by the sentiments of religion, a principle which he had before attempted to make the instrument of his ambition, but which now took a more firm hold of his mind, and prevailed over every other motive and consideration. He made a full confession of his disloyalty, in which he spared not even his most intimate friends.

The present situation of Essex called forth all the queen's tender affections, and kept her in the most real agitation and irresolution. She signed the warrant for his execution; she countermanded it; she again resolved on his death; she felt a new return of tenderness. What chiefly hardened her heart against him was his supposed obstinacy in never making, as she hourly expected, any application to her for mercy; and she finally gave her consent to his execution. He discovered at his death symptoms rather of penitence and piety than of fear, and willingly acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered. The execution was private, in the Tower, agreeably to his own request (Feb. 25). The earl of Essex was but 34 years of age when his rashness, imprudence, and violence brought him to this untimely end. Some of Essex's associates were tried, condemned, and executed. Southampton's life was saved with great difficulty, but he was detained in prison during the remainder of this reign.

§ 10. The remaining transactions of this reign are neither nume-



not important. The war was continued against the Spaniards success; and in 1602 Tyrone appeared before Mountjoy, and made an absolute surrender of his life and fortunes to the queen's mercy. But Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any satisfaction from this fortunate event. She had fallen into a profound melancholy, which all the advantages of her high fortune, all the glories of her prosperous reign, were unable in any degree to alleviate or assuage. Her dejection has been ascribed to various causes, and particularly to compunction for the fate of Essex; but it was probably the natural result of disease and old age. Her anxious mind at last had so long preyed on her frail body that her end was visibly approaching; and the council, being assembled, sent the keeper, admiral, and secretary, to know her will with regard to her successor. She answered, with a faint voice, that, as she had held a regal sceptre, she desired no other than a royal successor. Cecil requesting her to explain herself more particularly, she subjoined that she would have a king to succeed her; and who should that be but her nearest kinsman, the king of Scots? Being then advised by the archbishop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts upon God, she replied that she did so, nor did her mind in the least wander from him. Her voice soon after left her; her senses failed; she fell into a lethargic slumber, which continued some hours; and she expired gently, without further struggle or convulsion, in the 70th year of her age and 45th of her reign (March 24, 1603).

So dark a cloud overcast the evening of that day which had shone out with a mighty lustre in the eyes of all Europe. There are few great personages in history who have been more exposed to the calumny of enemies and the adulation of friends than queen Elizabeth, and yet there is scarcely any whose reputation has been more certainly determined by the almost unanimous consent of posterity. Her vigour, her constancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, address, are allowed to merit the highest praises, and appear not to have been surpassed by any person that ever filled a throne; a conduct less rigorous, less imperious, more sincere, more indulgent to her people, would have been requisite to form a perfect character. By the force of her mind she controlled all her more active and stronger qualities, and prevented them from running into excess; her heroism was exempt from temerity, her frugality from avarice, her active temper from turbulency and a vain ambition; she guarded not herself with equal care or equal success from lesser infirmities: the rivalry of beauty, the desire of admiration, the jealousy of love, and the sallies of anger.

§ 11. The many arbitrary acts of power exercised by the Tudor princes have, by some historians, been ascribed to an actual increase



the prerogative, nor can it be justly doubted that the crown gained an accession of strength under that dynasty. To be persuaded of this, we need only advert to the succession of the crown. Under the early Plantagenets the notion was not altogether obsolete that the sovereign was in a certain degree elective; and the invariable right of succession in the eldest branch was not completely established till the reign of Edward I. But under Henry VIII. an act was passed empowering that monarch to bequeath the crown to whomsoever he pleased, even to one not of the blood royal. So, too, an alteration was made in the coronation oath of Edward VI.: and that prince was crowned, as the rightful and undoubted heir, before he had sworn to preserve the liberties of the realm, and without the consent of the people having been asked to his accession.

This augmented power of the crown under the Tudors was not supported by military force, and seems to have rested mainly upon public opinion. Such a state of opinion was a natural consequence of the long and bloody wars of the Roses; which, being carried on merely for the choice of a sovereign, must have filled the public mind with an exaggerated idea of his personal importance. The same wars, however, undoubtedly added to the material, as well as to the ideal, power of the crown. The great nobility were nearly exterminated by them, who had hitherto been the chief support of the people in their struggles with the throne. The nobles were further overawed and depressed by several severe and unjust executions; as those of the earl of Warwick, the earl of Suffolk, and the duke of Buckingham, under Henry VIII., and of several others in the subsequent reigns. On the other hand, the dissolution of the monasteries, and various encroachments upon the property of the church, supplied Henry and his successors with funds to purchase the affection of the nobles, and to attach them by the grateful bonds of self-interest.

§ 12. Yet in theory at least the constitution remained intact, however it might be sometimes violated in practice. This is evident from several works,* written in the reign of Elizabeth, which represent the English constitution as a monarchy limited by law. The two chief privileges of parliament, that of legislation, and that of taxation, were regarded as indisputable. Henry VIII. procured indeed a statute to enable the king, on attaining the age of 24, to repeal any acts passed since his accession; and another to give his proclamations the force of laws. Yet here the constitution is acknowledged, in the very breach and suspension of it; for the king does not assume these powers, but has them conferred upon him by

* Such are Aylmer's *Harbourove for faithful Subjects*; Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*; Sir T. Smith's *Commonwealth*, &c. Compare a letter of Henry VIII. himself to the pope, quoted by Mr. Froude, *Hist. of Eng.* i. 187.



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liament. On the other hand, the parliamentary right of taxation was sometimes evaded, or attempted to be evaded, by the crown. One of the devices for this purpose was called a *Benevolence*; which, under the pretence of a free gift, was in reality an extortion of money from those who could afford to contribute. In this sense, the first clear precedent for a *benevolence* was that extorted by Edward IV. in 1474. His successor passed an act (1 Rich. III. c. 2) declaring such a method of raising money illegal. Nevertheless, Henry VII. levied a *benevolence* in 1491; but appears not to have succeeded in obtaining the money till he had procured an act a few years afterwards (11 Hen. VII. c. 10). In 1505, however, he levied a *benevolence* without any fresh act. Henry VIII. seems to have made two similar attempts, in 1525 and 1544. The first of these was abandoned, from the appearance of symptoms of rebellion, and for the second he seems to have been ultimately compelled to come to parliament for an act. These are the only instances of such attempts under the Tudors. Henry VIII. exercised an act of great arbitrary power. Read, an alderman of London, who had refused to contribute, was enrolled as a foot soldier, and sent to the wars in Scotland, where he was taken prisoner. Henry VIII. sometimes also resorted to forced loans, from the obligation of which he in one case procured the parliament to release him. Elizabeth also raised compulsory loans, but she was punctual in repaying them.

The sovereigns of this period still continued to derive an income from some feudal rights, as escheats, purveyance, &c. Another source of income was the sale of pardons, and sometimes of bishoprics. The sovereign also enjoyed the means of rewarding his favourites and adherents by the erection of monopolies; that is, the granting of patents for the exclusive sale of certain articles. Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign this abuse had reached an intolerable height; and some of the most necessary articles of life, as salt, iron, calfskins, train oil, vinegar, sea coals, lead, paper, and a great many more, were in the hands of patentees. The parliament was at length aroused, and some stormy debates ensued on the subject in the session of 1601. Elizabeth was obliged to promise that the monopolies complained of should be abolished, but it does not appear that her word was very strictly kept.

§ 13. The narrative will have conveyed some idea of the haughty manner in which the Tudor sovereigns treated the Commons. Elizabeth prescribed to them what subjects they should debate, reprimanded unruly members, and committed some of them to the

* It should be borne in mind that the term *benevolence* was also applied to the supply constitutionally granted by parliament; as in the ordinary formula of assent: *Le roy remercie ses loyaux sujets, accepte leur benevolence, &c.* but this is quite a different thing.

But though they submitted to this treatment, we are not to suppose that they were ignorant of their privileges, or disposed to surrender them. There was little or no public opinion to support them in resisting the crown; their debates were hardly known, and met with but little sympathy out of doors; and the press was under a censorship. Yet instances are not wanting in which the Commons boldly asserted their privileges. In the debate on a subsidy in 1601, Mr. Serjeant Heyle having observed that the queen might take it at her pleasure, and that she had as much right to their land and goods as to any revenue of the crown, Mr. Montague replied that it would be found from former grants that subsidies were a free gift. "And though," he observed, "her majesty requires this at our hands, yet it is in us to give, not in her to exact of duty."* And speaker Onslow, in his address to the queen herself, at the close of the session of 1566, plainly pointed out the limits of her prerogative. "By our common law," he said, "although there be for the prince provided many princely prerogatives and royalties, yet it is not such as the prince can take money or other things, or do as he will at his own pleasure, without order; but quietly to suffer his subjects to enjoy their own, without wrongful oppression: wherein other princes, by their liberty, do take as pleaseth them."†

The Commons gained ground as the Tudor dynasty proceeded. In the reign of Henry VIII. they ventured to throw out only one bill recommended by the crown; but there are many instances under his successors of their doing so. On the other hand, the crown did not scruple to reject bills which had passed both houses; and in 1597 Elizabeth refused no fewer than 48. The interference of the crown in elections shows the opinion entertained of the power of the Commons; and the same fact is evident from the creation of what we should now call rotten boroughs. In the short reign of Edward VI. 22 boroughs were created or restored; in that of Mary, 14; whilst Elizabeth added no fewer than 62 members to the house, of whom a large proportion sat for petty boroughs under the influence of the crown. Thus a great many placemen, officers of the court, and lawyers on the look-out for promotion, were introduced into the house; a circumstance which, together with the manners of the times, accounts for the occasionally servile tone of the debates.

§ 14. Turning from the legislature to the executive and the administration of justice, we shall find, in like manner, that the liberty of the subject, though secure in legal theory, was frequently violated in practice. The law forbade any man to be thrown into

* D'Ewes' Journal, p. 633. Hume's whole account of this debate (in the note) is very garbled; and though he gives Serjeant Heyle's speech, he omits Montague's answer.

† D'Ewes, p. 115.



without legal warrant; or to be kept there without being brought to trial; or to be condemned without a trial by his peers; yet, in fact, all these things were frequently done. Even under the Plantagenets, the king's ordinary council sometimes exercised an arbitrary jurisdiction; depriving an accused person of trial by jury, or punishing jurors whose verdict had displeased them, by fine and imprisonment. Under the Tudors, these illegal proceedings were still further aggravated by means of the same council, or rather a committee of it, called the Court of Star Chamber.* The most flagrant violations of justice were naturally displayed in political trials, which, Mr. Hallam has not scrupled to say, "rendered our courts of justice little better than the caverns of murderers."† The state trials conducted in parliament were no better than those in the ordinary courts of law. Cromwell, the minister of Henry VIII., introduced the precedent of condemning an accused person without hearing him in his defence; but by a just retribution he himself was one of the first to fall by his own invention.

§ 15. The reforms of the church introduced by Henry VIII. proceeded little beyond the abolishment of the papal jurisdiction in England; those of Edward VI. went a great way in the direction of Calvinism. Elizabeth was inclined to the Lutheran rites: and these might seem the fairest compromise between protestant and papist, in the uniformity of worship which she had determined to establish. Of course the zealots of neither sect were satisfied, and thus she raised up two political as well as religious parties against her, both of which occasioned her great trouble. In her first year two important acts were passed, that of supremacy and that of uniformity; by the latter of which the use of any but the established liturgy was prohibited under severe penalties. In order to enforce this law, a new court, called the Court of High Commission, was erected, with powers hitherto unknown to the constitution; of which an account has been already given (p. 331). The courts of law regarded this tribunal from the first as illegal, and frequently granted prohibitions against its acts. On one occasion the judges refused to entertain a charge of murder against a man who had killed one of the pursuivants of the commissioners whilst attempting to enter his house by virtue of their warrant. Under the Stuarts, however, when the judges had been rendered more dependent and servile, we shall find this court emancipated from all control of the laws.

§ 16. If we turn our attention from constitutional questions to the general state of the nation, we must, on the whole, pronounce the period of the Tudors to have been one of advancement and improvement. The arms and negotiations of Henry VIII., though not always well directed, extended English influence on the continent:

* See Notes and Illustrations—the Star Chamber. † *Const. Hist.* i. 231.



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Obverse of medal of James I. IAC. I. TOTIVS. INS. : BRIT. IMP. ET. FRAN. ET. HIB. REX. (The title Imperator is to be noted.) Bust of king, facing.

BOOK V.

✓ THE HOUSE OF STUART, TO THE ABDICATION OF JAMES II.

A.D. 1603-1688.

CHAPTER XX.

JAMES I. A.D. 1603-1625.

- § 1. Introduction. § 2. Accession of James. § 3. Conspiracy in favour of Arubella Stuart. Conference at Hampton-court. § 4. Proceedings of Parliament. Peace with Spain. § 5. The Gunpowder plot. § 6. Struggles with the parliament. Assassination of Henry IV. of France. § 7. State of Ireland, and settlement of Ulster. Death of prince Henry, and marriage of the princess Elizabeth. § 8. Rise of Somerset. Murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. § 9. Somerset's fall and rise of Buckingham. § 10. English colonisation. Raleigh's expedition to Guiana. His execution. § 11. Negotiations for the Spanish match. Affairs of the palatinate. § 12. Discontent of the English. A parliament. Impeachments. Fall of lord Bacon. § 13. Rupture between the king and Commons. § 14. Progress of the Spanish match. Prince Charles and Buckingham visit Madrid. § 15. The marriage treaty broken by Buckingham. Triumph of the Commons. § 16. Rupture with Spain, and treaty with France. Mansfeldt's expedition. Death and character of the king.

- § 1. In the preceding narrative we have seen the liberties of the nation commenced and founded under the Plantagenets, eclipsed but ENGLAND.



notwithstanding under the Tudors; in the present book we shall be told them tending through many dangers to their secure establishment. The Reformation having been completed under the Tudor dynasty, the nation had more leisure to devote their attention to their political condition; whilst the same movement had awakened in a large party, not only a desire for further ecclesiastical reforms, but also for an extension of civil freedom. Fortunately for the people, the sceptre had passed into the hands of a weak sovereign, whose vanity and presumption continually led him to parade that opinion of his absolute sovereignty which he had neither the means nor the ability successfully to assert. Thus, to the ruin of his son and successor, but to the everlasting benefit of the English nation, he provoked and precipitated the decision of the question as to what were the privileges of the crown, and what were the constitutional liberties of the people. With the history of the progress of this great debate the following book will be chiefly occupied; for its engrossing nature left comparatively little leisure for other transactions.

§ 2. The crown of England was never transmitted from father to son with greater tranquillity than it passed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart, in spite of the will of Henry VIII., sanctioned by act of parliament, by which the succession had been settled on the house of Suffolk, the descendants of his younger sister Mary. Queen Elizabeth, on her deathbed, had recognised the title of her kinsman James; and the whole nation seemed to dispose themselves with joy and pleasure for his reception. Great were the rejoicings, and loud and hearty the acclamations, which resounded from all sides. But James, though sociable and familiar with his friends and courtiers, hated the bustle of a mixed multitude; and though far from disliking flattery, yet was he still fonder of tranquillity and ease. He issued therefore a proclamation, forbidding the resort of people, on pretence of the scarcity of provisions, and other inconveniences, which, he said, would necessarily attend it; and by his repulsive, ungainly manners, as well as by symptoms which he displayed of an arbitrary temper, he had pretty well lost his popularity even before his arrival in London.

James, at his accession, was 36 years of age, and had by his queen, Anne of Denmark, two sons, Henry and Charles, and one daughter, Elizabeth. His education having been conducted by the celebrated George Buchanan, he had acquired a considerable stock of learning, but at the same time an immeasurable conceit of his own wisdom. He took every occasion to make a pedantic display of his acquirements, both in conversation and in writing; for he was an author, and had published, for the use of his son, a book called *Basileikon Doron* (Βασιλικὸν δῶρον) or *Royal Gift*, besides works on demon-



logy and other subjects. These qualities led the duke ofully to characterize him as the most learned fool in Christendom; while his courtiers and flatterers gave him the name of the British Solomon.

James signalled his accession by distributing a profusion of titles; and in three months after his entrance into the kingdom he is computed to have bestowed knighthood on no fewer than 700 persons. He had brought with him, to what he called the "Land of Promise," great numbers of his Scottish courtiers, many of whom were immediately added to the English privy-council. Yet he left almost all the chief offices in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers, and trusted the conduct of political concerns, both foreign and domestic, to his English subjects. Among these, secretary Cecil, afterwards created earl of Salisbury, was always regarded as his prime minister and chief counsellor. The secret correspondence into which he had entered with James, and which had sensibly contributed to the easy reception of that prince in England, had laid the foundation of Cecil's credit.

§ 3. Shortly after the accession of James a double conspiracy to subvert the government was discovered. One of these plots, called the *Main*, is said to have been chiefly conducted by sir Walter Raleigh and lord Cobham, and consisted of a plan to place Arabella Stuart, the cousin of the king,* on the throne, with the assistance of the Spanish government. The other plot, called the *Bye*, the *Surprise*, or the *Surprising Treason*, was led by Broke, brother of lord Cobham, and by sir Griffin Markham, and was a design to surprise and imprison the king, and to remodel the government. Broke was engaged in both plots, and formed the connecting link between them. In this wild undertaking men of all persuasions were enlisted; as lord Grey, a puritan, Watson and Clarke, two Roman catholic priests, and others. Their designs came to the ears of secretary Cecil, and the conspirators were arrested. The two priests and Broke were executed; Cobham, Grey, and Markham, were pardoned, after they had laid their heads upon the block. Raleigh too was reprieved, not pardoned; and he remained in confinement many years afterwards. His guilt rested on the evidence of Cobham; and there are good reasons for thinking that he was entirely innocent.

The religious disputes between the church and the puritans induced James to call a conference at Hampton-court, on pretence of finding expedients which might reconcile both parties. The church of England had not yet abandoned the rigid doctrines of grace and predestination: the puritans had not yet separated themselves from the church, nor openly renounced episcopacy. The conference was opened Jan. 14, 1604. The demands of the puritans were for

* She was the daughter of the duke of Lenox, the brother of lord Darnley, the king's father. See genealogical table, p. 238.



of doctrine, good pastors, a reform in church government and in the book of Common-prayer. The king, from the beginning of the conference, showed the strongest propensity to the established church, and frequently inculcated the maxim, NO BISHOP, NO KING. The bishops, in their turn, were very liberal of their praises towards the royal disputant; and after a few alterations in the liturgy had been agreed to, both parties separated with mutual dissatisfaction. James was glad of this opportunity to display his learning, and boasted mightily of his performance.

§ 4. Upon the assembling of the parliament the Commons granted the king tonnage and poundage,* but they demurred to vote him a supply, when the question was brought before them by some members attached to the court. In order to cover a disappointment which might bear a bad construction both at home and abroad, James sent a message to the House, in which he told them that he desired no supply; and he was very forward in refusing what was never offered him. Soon after, he prorogued the parliament, not without discovering, in his speech, visible marks of dissatisfaction. The struggle between the Stuarts and the Commons was already begun.

This summer a peace with Spain was finally concluded, and was signed by the Spanish ministers at London.

§ 5. The Roman catholics had expected great favour and indulgence on the accession of James; and it is pretended that he had even entered into positive engagements to tolerate their religion as soon as he should mount the throne of England. Very soon they discovered their mistake; and were at once surprised and enraged to find James, on all occasions, express his intention of strictly executing the laws enacted against them, and of persevering in all the rigorous measures of Elizabeth. Catesby, a gentleman of good parts and of an ancient family, first thought of a most extraordinary method of revenge; and he opened his intention to Percy, a descendant of the illustrious house of Northumberland. The scheme was, to destroy, at one blow, the king, the royal family, the Lords, and the Commons, when assembled on the first meeting of the parliament, by blowing them up with gunpowder. Percy was charmed with this project of Catesby; and they agreed to communicate the matter to a few more, and among the rest to Thomas Winter, whom they sent over to Flanders in quest of Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, with whose zeal and courage they were all thoroughly acquainted. When they enlisted any new conspirator, in order to bind him to secrecy, they always, together with an oath, employed the sacrament, the most sacred rite of their religion. All this

* These, which are the origin of our custom-house duties, consisted chiefly of a duty of 3s. upon every tun of wine imported, and of 1s. in the pound on other articles.

assess in the spring and summer of the year 1604; when the conspirators also hired in Percy's name the vault below the House of Lords. Thirty-six barrels of powder were lodged in it, the whole covered up with faggots and billets, the doors of the cellar boldly flung open, and everybody admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous.

The dreadful secret, though communicated to above 20 persons, had been religiously kept during the space of nearly a year and a half. But Catesby's money being exhausted, he was compelled to seek the means of proceeding with the conspiracy by enlisting other persons; and particularly sir Everard Digby, of Gothirst, in Buckinghamshire, and Francis Tresham, of Rushton, in Northamptonshire, two opulent Roman catholic gentlemen. It is suspected that the plot was revealed by the latter. Ten days before the meeting of parliament, lord Monteagle, a catholic, son to lord Morley, and brother-in-law of Tresham, received the following letter, which had been delivered to his servant by an unknown hand. "My lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement; but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they will receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them." Monteagle communicated it to lord Salisbury, and he to the king, who conjectured, from the serious earnest style of the letter, that it implied something dangerous and important. A *terrible blow*, and yet the *authors concealed*, seemed to denote some contrivance by gunpowder; and it was thought advisable to inspect all the vaults below the Houses of Parliament. This care belonged to the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, who purposely delayed the search till the day before the meeting of parliament. He remarked those great piles of wood and faggots which lay in the vault under the upper House, and he cast his eye upon Fawkes, who stood in a dark corner, and passed himself for Percy's servant. These circumstances appeared suspicious, and it was resolved that a more thorough inspection should be made. About midnight, sir Thomas Knevet, a justice of peace, was sent with proper attendants; and before the door of the vault finding Fawkes, who had just finished all his preparations, he immediately seized him, and, turning over the faggots, discovered the powder (Nov. 5). The matches, and every thing proper for setting fire to the train, were taken in Fawkes's pocket; who, finding his guilt now apparent, and seeing no refuge but in boldness and despair, expressed the utmost regret that he had



lost the opportunity of firing the powder at once, and of sweetening his own death by that of his enemies. Before the council he displayed the same intrepid firmness; and though he was put to the rack in the Tower, he does not appear to have disclosed the names of his associates till they had already risen in arms.

Catesby, Percy, and the other criminals, hearing that Fawkes was arrested, hurried down to Warwickshire, where sir Everard Digby, thinking himself assured that success had attended his confederates, was already in arms in order to seize the princess Elizabeth. Hence they proceeded to Holbeach in Staffordshire; and they were obliged to put themselves on their defence against the country, who were raised from all quarters and armed by the sheriff. The conspirators, with all their attendants, never exceeded the number of 50 persons; and being surrounded on every side, could no longer entertain hopes either of prevailing or escaping. Having therefore confessed themselves, and received absolution, they boldly prepared for death, and resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible to the assailants. But even this miserable consolation was denied them. Some of their powder took fire, and disabled them for defence. The people rushed in upon them. Percy and Catesby were killed by one shot. Digby, Rookwood, Thomas Winter, and others, being taken prisoners, were tried, confessed their guilt, and died by the hands of the executioner, as well as Garnet, superior of the Jesuits in England, who was privy to the conspiracy. Tresham was committed to the Tower, where he died on the 27th Dec. On the meeting of parliament, James, in his opening speech, declared that he would only punish those who were actually concerned in the plot, but the parliament passed some new statutes of an oppressive character against the catholics.

§ 6. The little concern which James took in foreign affairs renders the domestic occurrences, particularly those of parliament, the most interesting of his reign. A new session was held this spring (1610), the king full of hopes of receiving supply, the Commons of circumscribing his prerogative. The earl of Salisbury laid open the king's necessities, first to the Peers, then to a committee of the lower House. The Commons, not to shock the king with an absolute refusal, granted him one subsidy and one fifteenth, which would scarcely amount to 100,000*l*. The king sought to indemnify himself by raising the customs rates payable upon commodities; but a spirit of liberty had now taken possession of the House; the leading members, men of an independent genius and large views, began to regulate their opinions more by the future consequences, which they foresaw, than by the former precedents which were set before them. Though expressly forbidden by the king to touch his prerogative, they passed a bill abolishing these impositions,



which was rejected by the House of Lords. They likewise discovered some discontent against the king's proclamations, against the practice of borrowing on privy seals, and other abuses; and they made remonstrances against the proceedings of the *high commission court*, with which, however, James refused compliance. But the business which chiefly occupied them during this session was the abolition of wardships and purveyance, prerogatives which had been more or less touched on every session during the whole reign of James. They offered the king a settled revenue as an equivalent for the powers which he should part with, and the king was willing to hearken to terms; but the session was too far advanced to bring so difficult a matter to a full conclusion. We know not exactly the reason of this failure: it only appears that the king was extremely dissatisfied with the conduct of the parliament, and soon after dissolved it. This was his first parliament, and it sat nearly seven years.

This year was distinguished by the murder of the French monarch, Henry IV., by the poniard of the fanatical Ravallac. In England the antipathy to the catholics was increased by this tragical event; and some of the laws which had formerly been enacted, in order to keep these religionists in awe, began now to be executed with greater rigour and severity.

§ 7. About this time the king brought to a conclusion the institutions which he had framed to civilise the Irish, and to render their subjection durable and useful to the crown of England. James proceeded in this work by a steady, regular, and well-concerted plan. In particular, the whole province of Ulster having fallen to the crown by the attainder of rebels, a company was established in London for planting new colonies in that fertile country; the property was divided into moderate shares, the largest not exceeding 2000 acres; tenants were brought over from England and Scotland; and by these means Ulster, from being the most wild and disorderly province of all Ireland, soon became the best cultivated and most civilized. On this settlement the earl of Salisbury founded a financial scheme. On pretence of raising money for its defence, a new order of nobility, called baronetcy, was invented, and the patents sold for 1095*l.* apiece. Hence baronets bear on their shields the arms of Ulster, a bloody hand.

The sudden death of Henry prince of Wales (Nov. 6, 1612) diffused a universal grief throughout the nation. It is with peculiar fondness that historians mention him, and in every respect his merit seems to have been extraordinary. He had not reached his 18th year, and he already possessed more dignity in his behaviour, and commanded more respect, than his father, with all his age, learning, and experience. The marriage of the princess Elizabeth with



design of taking him off secretly by poison. Fruitless attempts were reiterated by weak poisons, but at last they gave him one so sudden and violent that the symptoms were apparent to every one who approached him (Sept. 15, 1613). His interment was hurried on with the greatest precipitation; and though a strong suspicion immediately prevailed among the public, the full proof of the crime was not brought to light till some years afterwards.

§ 9. But the favourite had not escaped that still voice which can make itself heard amidst all the hurry and flattery of a court. Conscious of the murder of his friend, Somerset received small consolation from the enjoyments of love, or the utmost kindness and indulgence of his sovereign. The graces of his youth gradually disappeared, the gaiety of his manners was obscured, his politeness and obliging behaviour were changed into sullenness and silence; and the king, whose affections had been engaged by these superficial accomplishments, began to estrange himself from a man who no longer contributed to his amusement. The sagacious courtiers observed the first symptoms of this disgust. Somerset's enemies seized the opportunity, and offered a new minion to the king. George Villiers, a youth of one-and-twenty, younger brother of a good family, returned at this time (1615) from his travels, and was remarked for the advantages of a handsome person, genteel air, and fashionable apparel. At a comedy he was purposely placed full in James's eye, and immediately engaged the attention, and in the same instant the affections, of that monarch. After some manœuvres to save appearances, James bestowed the office of cupbearer on young Villiers. The whole court was now thrown into parties between the two minions, while the king himself, divided between inclination and decorum, increased the doubt and ambiguity of the courtiers; but the discovery of Somerset's guilt in the murder of Overbury at last decided the controversy, and exposed him to the ruin and infamy which he so well merited. An apothecary's apprentice, who had been employed in making up the poisons, having retired to Flushing, began to talk very freely of the whole secret; and the affair at last came to the ears of the king's envoy in the Low Countries. By his means sir Ralph Winwood, secretary of state, was informed, and he immediately carried the intelligence to James. Sir Edward Coke was employed to unravel the labyrinth of guilt. All the accomplices in Overbury's murder were brought to trial, and received the punishment due to their crime; but the king bestowed a pardon on the principals, Somerset and the countess. To soften the rigour of their fate, after some years' imprisonment, he restored them to their liberty, and conferred on them a pension, with which they retired, and languished out old age in infamy and obscurity. Their guilty loves were turned into the most deadly hatred; and they passed many



year together in the same house, without any intercourse or correspondence with each other. From the conduct of James to the guilty pair, as well as from the improbability that the countess should have procured Overbury's murder merely out of revenge for his having dissuaded Somerset from marrying her, we are irresistibly led to infer that there was some dark and unrevealed secret connected with this event in which the king himself was implicated.*

The fall of Somerset, and his banishment from court, opened the way for Villiers to mount up at once to the full height of favour, of honours, and of riches. In the course of a few years James created him viscount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, and conferred upon him some of the highest offices in the kingdom; and thus the fond prince, by loading his favourite with premature and exorbitant honours, took an infallible method to render him rash, precipitate, and insolent.

§ 10. The commencement of English colonisation dates from the reign of James. In that of Elizabeth, Raleigh endeavoured to plant a colony in North America, in the district called after the queen, Virginia; but it proved a failure. Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, and the beginning of that of James, several discoveries and surveys were made in North America; and in 1606 James granted charters to two companies—the London or South Virginia Company, and the Plymouth Company—for planting colonies in that quarter: in consequence of which James Town, in the Bay of Chesapeake, was founded in the following year, and was kept from perishing by the courage and fortitude of James Smith. In 1610 lord Delaware proceeded thither as governor of Virginia, with a new body of emigrants, who were again reinforced in the following year; and from this time the colony flourished and increased. In 1610 a charter was also granted for the colonisation of Newfoundland. At the same period the trade to the east was fostered and encouraged by the government. On the 31st Dec. 1600, the East India Company was established by a charter of Elizabeth for 15 years, which was renewed by James in 1609 for an unlimited period; and in 1612 the first English factory was established at Surat.)

But the man who had given the first impulse to British colonisation was still languishing in prison. The long sufferings of Raleigh had worn out his unpopularity. People forgot that he had been the bitter enemy of their great favourite the earl of Essex, and were struck with the extensive genius of the man who, being educated amidst naval and military enterprises, had surpassed in the pursuits of literature even those of the most recluse and sedentary lives. They admired his unbroken magnanimity, which at his age and under his

* See Arnos, 'Great Oyer of Poisoning; Trial of the Earl of Somerset for poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower of London.' Lond. 1846.



circumstances could engage him to undertake and execute so great a work as his 'History of the World.' To increase these favourable dispositions, on which he built the hopes of recovering his liberty, he spread the report of a gold mine in Guiana, a country discovered by him about 23 years before, and which was sufficient, according to his representation, not only to enrich all the adventurers, but to afford immense treasures to the nation. The king released Raleigh from the Tower, and conferred on him authority over his fellow-adventurers, though he still refused to grant him a pardon. Raleigh maintained that the English title to the whole of Guiana, by virtue of its discovery, remained certain and indefeasible; but it happened in the mean time that the Spaniards, not knowing or not acknowledging this claim, had taken possession of a part of Guiana, had formed a settlement on the river Oroonoko, had built a little town called St. Thomas, and were there working some mines of small value. Gondomar therefore, the Spanish ambassador, complained of Raleigh's preparations; but the latter protested the innocence of his intentions, and James assured Gondomar that he should pay with his head for any hostile attempt. Raleigh bent his course to St. Thomas; and remaining himself at the mouth of the river, with five of the largest ships, he sent up the rest to St. Thomas, under the command of his son and a captain Keymis, a person entirely devoted to him. The Spaniards, who had expected this invasion, fired on the English at their landing, were repulsed, and pursued into the town; but young Raleigh received a shot, of which he immediately expired. This dismayed not Keymis and the others. They carried on the attack; got possession of the town, which they afterwards reduced to ashes; and found not in it anything of value. But Keymis, being unable to penetrate to the real or supposed mine, returned to Raleigh with the melancholy news of his son's death and the ill success of the enterprise; and then, stung with the reproaches of Raleigh, retired into his cabin and put an end to his own life. The other adventurers now concluded that they were deceived by Raleigh, and thought it safest to return immediately to England, and carry him along with them to answer for his conduct. The Spanish ambassador demanded the execution of Raleigh; and James, in order to please the Spanish court, made use of that power which he had purposely reserved in his own hands, and signed the warrant for his execution upon his former sentence.

Raleigh, finding his fate inevitable, collected all his courage. "Tis a sharp remedy," he said, "but a sure one for all ills," when he felt the edge of the axe by which he was to be beheaded. With the utmost indifference he laid his head upon the block, and received the fatal blow; and in his death there appeared the same great mind which during his life had displayed itself in all his conduct and behaviour (Oct. 29, 1618). No measure of James's reign was



attended with more public dissatisfaction. It was regarded as a piece of complaisance towards Spain, with which country James was now meditating more intimate connexions.

§ 11. Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, had made offer of the second daughter of Spain to prince Charles; and, that he might render the temptation irresistible to the necessitous monarch, he gave hopes of an immense fortune which should attend the princess. The court of Spain, though determined to contract no alliance with a heretic, entered into negotiations with James, which they artfully protracted; and the transactions in Germany, so important to the Austrian greatness, became every day a new motive for this duplicity of conduct. The States of Bohemia, which were in open revolt against the emperor Ferdinand II. for the defence of their religious liberties, had elected Frederick, elector palatine, for their king, since, in addition to his own forces, he was son-in-law to the king of England, and nephew to prince Maurice, whose authority was become almost absolute in the United Provinces. They hoped that these princes, moved by the connexions of blood, as well as by the tie of their common religion, would interest themselves in all the fortunes of Frederick, and would promote his greatness. On the other hand, all the catholic princes of the empire had embraced Ferdinand's defence; and, above all, the Spanish monarch, deeming his own interest closely connected with that of the younger branch of his family, prepared powerful succours from Italy and from the Low Countries.

The news of these events no sooner reached England than the whole kingdom was on fire to engage in the quarrel. But James, besides that his temper was too little enterprising for such vast undertakings, was restrained by another motive which had a mighty influence over him: he refused to patronise the revolt of subjects against their sovereign, and from the very first denied to his son-in-law the title of king of Bohemia. After much irresolution he resolved to defend the hereditary dominions of the palatine, but to leave the king of Bohemia to his fate. Meanwhile affairs everywhere hastened to a crisis. Almost at one time it was known in England that Frederick, being defeated in the great and decisive battle of Prague, had fled with his family into Holland, and that Spinola, the Spanish commander, had invaded the palatinate, and, meeting with no resistance, except from some princes of the union, and from one English regiment of 2400 men, commanded by the brave sir Horace Vere, had in a little time reduced the greater part of that principality (1620).

§ 12. High were now the murmurs and complaints against the king's neutrality and inactive disposition; but the only attention James paid to this feeling was to make it a pretence for obtaining money. He first tried the expedient of a benevolence, but the

of liberty was now roused, and the nation regarded such exactions as real extortions, contrary to law, and dangerous to freedom. A parliament was found to be the only resource which could furnish any large supplies; and writs were accordingly issued for summoning that great council of the nation (Jan. 30, 1621). In this parliament, although there appeared at first nothing but duty and submission on the part of the Commons, there were first regularly formed, though without acquiring these denominations, the parties of court and country. The Commons, being informed that the king had remitted several considerable sums to the palatine, without a negative voted him two subsidies. Afterwards they proceeded to the examination of grievances. They found that patents had been granted to sir Giles Mompesson for licensing inns and alehouses, and for gold and silver thread, which he made of a baser metal. The Commons proceeded against him by way of impeachment—a revival of a practice they had sometimes adopted under the Lancastrian kings, but of which there had been no instance under the Tudors. Encouraged by this success, the Commons carried their scrutiny into other abuses of importance, and sent up an impeachment to the Peers against the celebrated Bacon, now viscount St. Alban's and chancellor. His want of economy and his indulgence to servants had involved him in necessities; and, in order to supply his prodigality, he had been tempted to take bribes, by the title of presents, and that in a very open manner, from suitors in chancery. The chancellor, conscious of guilt, deprecated the vengeance of his judges; and endeavoured, by a general avowal, to escape the confusion of a stricter inquiry. The Lords insisted on a particular confession of all his corruptions. He acknowledged 28 articles; and was sentenced to pay a fine of 40,000*l.*, to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure, to be for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment, and never again to sit in parliament, or come within the verge of the court. In consideration of his great merit, the king released him in a little time from the Tower, remitted his fine, as well as all the other parts of his sentence, conferred on him a pension of 1800*l.* a-year, and employed every expedient to alleviate the weight of his age and misfortunes. And that great philosopher at last acknowledged with regret that he had too long neglected the true ambition of a fine genius; and by plunging into business and affairs which require much less capacity, but greater firmness of mind, than the pursuits of learning, had exposed himself to such grievous calamities.

§ 13. The Commons were proceeding with the reformation of abuses when they were adjourned by the king's commission, who was displeased to see his prerogative too nearly touched. Before separating they passed a unanimous resolution to spend their lives and fortunes in defence of their religion and of the palatinate, "lifting up their



in their hands so high as they could hold them, as a visible testimony of their unanimous consent, in such sort that the like had scarce ever been seen in parliament." This solemn protestation and pledge was recorded in the Journals. During the recess of parliament the king had been so imprudent as to commit to prison sir Edwin Sandys, without any known cause except his activity and vigour in discharging his duty as a member of parliament; and, above all, the transactions in Germany, joined to the king's cautions, negotiations, and delays, inflamed that jealousy of honour and religion which prevailed throughout the nation. This summer the ban of the empire had been published against the elector palatine, and the execution of it was committed to the duke of Bavaria. The upper palatinate was in a little time conquered by that prince; and the progress of the Austrian arms was attended with rigours and severities exercised against the professors of the reformed religion. The zeal of the Commons immediately moved them, upon their reassembling (Nov. 14), to take all these transactions into consideration. They framed a remonstrance against the growth of popery, adverting particularly to the contemplated Spanish match and to the conquest of the palatinate. As soon as the king heard of the intended remonstrance he wrote a letter to the speaker, in which he sharply rebuked the House for openly debating matters far above their reach and capacity; and he strictly forbade them to meddle with anything that regarded his government or deep matters of state. By this violent letter the Commons were inflamed, not terrified. In a new remonstrance they insisted on their former remonstrance and advice; and they maintained, though in respectful terms, that they were entitled to interpose with their counsel in all matters of government, and to possess entire freedom of speech in their debates. So vigorous an answer was nowise calculated to appease the king. It is said, when the approach of the committee who were to present it was notified to him, he ordered twelve chairs to be brought, for that there were so many kings a-coming. In his answer he commented on the unfitness of the House to enter on affairs of government, and told them that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of his ancestors, but that, as long as they contained themselves within the limits of their duty, he would be careful to maintain and preserve their lawful liberties and privileges.

This open pretension of the king's naturally gave great alarm to the House of Commons. They therefore framed a protestation, in which they repeated all their former claims for freedom of speech, and an unbounded authority to interpose with their advice and counsel; and they asserted "that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of England." The king, being



informed of this proceeding, sent immediately for the journals of the Commons, and with his own hand, before the council, he tore out this protestation, and ordered his reasons to be inserted in the council-book. He then prorogued the parliament, and soon after dissolved it by proclamation. Several of the leading members of the House, among whom was sir Edward Coke,* were committed to prison; and others, as a lighter punishment, were sent to Ireland, in order to execute some business.

§ 14. Meanwhile the efforts made by Frederick for the recovery of his dominions were vigorous but unsuccessful. Count Tilly defeated his armies; and though James negotiated for him with the emperor, he neglected to give him any material support. At length he persuaded his son-in-law to disarm, under colour of duty and submission to the emperor. James's eyes were now entirely turned towards Spain; and he doubted not, if he could effect his son's marriage with the infanta, but that, after so intimate a conjunction, the restoration of the palatine could easily be obtained. A dispensation from Rome was requisite for the marriage of the infanta with a protestant prince; and the king of Spain, having undertaken to procure that dispensation, had thereby acquired the means of retarding at pleasure or of forwarding the marriage, and at the same time of concealing entirely his artifices from the court of England. In order to soften the objection on the score of religion as much as possible, James issued public orders for discharging all popish recusants who were imprisoned; and it was daily apprehended that he would forbid, for the future, the execution of the penal laws enacted against them. By this concession, as well as by the skilful negotiations of the earl of Bristol, James's ambassador to Philip IV., matters seemed to have been nearly brought to a successful conclusion, when all these flattering prospects were blasted by the temerity of a man whom the king had fondly exalted from a private condition to be the bane of himself, of his family, and of his people. Buckingham represented to the prince of Wales that a journey to Madrid would be an unexpected gallantry which would equal all the fictions of Spanish romance, and must immediately introduce him to the princess under the agreeable character of a devoted lover and daring adventurer. The mind of the young prince was inflamed by these generous and romantic ideas; and having with difficulty obtained the consent of the king, the prince and Buckingham, with three attendants, passed disguised and undiscovered through France, under the names of John and Thomas Smith. They even ventured into a court-ball at Paris, where Charles saw the princess Henrietta,

* Sir Edward Coke, the rival and enemy of Bacon, and the most eminent lawyer of those times, had been created chief justice of the King's Bench in 1613; but having lost the favour of James by his opposition to the illegal exercise of the royal prerogative, he was deprived of his seat upon the Bench in 1616, and was returned to parliament in 1621.



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when he afterwards espoused, and who was at that time in the bloom of youth and beauty. In eleven days after their departure from London they arrived at Madrid (March 7, 1623), and surprised everybody by a step so unusual among great princes. The Spanish monarch, by the most studious civilities, showed the respect which he bore to his royal guest. He gave him a golden key which opened all his apartments, that the prince might, without any introduction, have access to him at all hours; and he introduced him into the palace with the same pomp and ceremony that attends the kings of Spain on their coronation. The infanta, however, was only shown to her lover in public, the Spanish ideas of decency being so strict as not to allow of any further intercourse till the arrival of the dispensation. A treaty was soon concluded in which nothing could reasonably be found fault with, except one article, in which the king promised that the children should be educated by the princess till ten years of age. This condition could not be insisted on, but with a view of seasoning their minds with catholic principles; and though so tender an age seemed a sufficient security against theological prejudices, yet the same reason which made the pope insert that article should have induced James to reject it. But besides the public treaty there were separate articles, privately sworn to by the king, in which he promised to suspend the penal laws enacted against catholics, to procure a repeal of them in parliament, and to grant a toleration for the exercise of the catholic religion in private houses. But meanwhile Gregory XV., who granted the dispensation, died, and Urban VIII., his successor, delayed sending a new dispensation in hopes of extorting fresh concessions. The king of England, as well as the prince, became impatient. On the first hint Charles obtained permission to return, and Philip graced his departure with all the circumstances of elaborate civility and respect which had attended his reception. But Buckingham's behaviour, composed of English familiarity and French vivacity, his sallies of passion, his indecent freedoms with the prince, his dissolute pleasures, his arrogant, impetuous temper, which he neither could nor cared to disguise, had disgusted the Spaniards. Sensible how odious he was become to them, and dreading the influence which that nation would naturally acquire after the arrival of the infanta, he resolved to employ all his credit in order to prevent the marriage. His impetuous and domineering character had acquired, what it ever after maintained, a total ascendant over the temper of Charles; and when the prince left Madrid he was firmly determined, notwithstanding all his professions, to break off the treaty with Spain.

§ 15. A rupture with Spain, the loss of two millions, were prospects little agreeable to the pacific and indigent James; but finding his only son bent against a match which had always been opposed by his people and his parliament, he yielded to difficulties which he had

of courage or strength of mind sufficient to overcome. Buckingham assumed entirely the direction of the negotiations; and Bristol received positive orders not to deliver the proxy, which had been left in his hands, or to finish the marriage, till security were given for the full restitution of the palatinate. Philip understood this language; but being determined to throw the blame of the rupture entirely on the English, he delivered into Bristol's hand a written promise, by which he bound himself to procure the restoration of the palatinate, either by persuasion or by every other possible means; and when he found that this concession gave no satisfaction, he ordered the infant to lay aside the title of princess of Wales, which she bore after the arrival of the dispensation from Rome, and to drop the study of the English language; and thinking that such rash counsels as now governed the court of England would not stop at the breach of the marriage treaty, he ordered preparations for war immediately to be made throughout all his dominions.

The king, having broken with Spain, was obliged to concert new measures; and without the assistance of parliament no effectual step of any kind could be taken. It might be hoped that, the Spanish alliance, which gave such umbrage, being abandoned, the Commons would now be better satisfied with the king's administration. In his speech to the Houses (Feb. 19, 1624) James dropped some hints of his cause of complaint against Spain; and he graciously condescended to ask the advice of parliament, which he had ever before rejected, with regard to the conduct of so important an affair. Buckingham delivered to a committee of Lords and Commons a long narrative, which he pretended to be true and complete, of every step taken in the negotiations with Philip; but partly by the suppression of some facts, partly by the false colouring laid on others, this narrative was calculated entirely to mislead the parliament, and to throw on the court of Spain the reproach of artifice and insincerity. The prince of Wales, who was present, vouched for its truth; and the king himself lent it, indirectly, his authority, by telling the parliament that it was by his orders Buckingham laid the whole affair before them. Such, on the threshold of manhood, was Charles's initiation in insincerity. The narrative concurred so well with the passions and prejudices of the parliament that no scruple was made of immediately adopting it; and they immediately advised the king to break off both treaties with Spain, as well that which regarded the marriage as that for the restitution of the palatinate. The people displayed their triumph by public bonfires and rejoicings, and by insults on the Spanish ministers; and Buckingham became the favourite of the public and of the parliament. The Commons voted a sum of 300,000*l.*, which, at the king's own proposition, was paid to a committee of parliament, and issued by them, without being intrusted to his management. Advantage was also taken of the present juncture to pass the bill.



aggravated monopolies, which had formerly been encouraged by the king, but which had failed by the rupture between him and the last House of Commons; and the Commons corroborated their newly-revived power of impeachment by preferring one against the earl of Middlesex, the treasurer, who was found guilty of accepting presents and of other misdemeanours.

§ 16. All James's measures, and all the alliances into which he entered, were now founded on the system of enmity to the Austrian family, and of war to be carried on for the recovery of the palatinate. An army of 6000 men was levied in England and sent over to Holland, which had renewed the war with the Spanish monarchy. A treaty was entered into with France, which included a marriage between Charles and the princess Henrietta: and as the prince during his abode in Spain had given a verbal promise to allow the infanta the education of her children till the age of thirteen, this article was here inserted in the treaty. In the spring of 1625 James was seized with a tertian ague; and after some fits expired on the 27th of March, after a reign over England of 22 years and some days, and in the 59th year of his age. His reign over Scotland was almost of equal duration with his life. No prince was ever so much exposed to the opposite extremes of calumny and flattery, of satire and panegyric. His generosity bordered on profusion, his learning on pedantry, his pacific disposition on pusillanimity, his wisdom on cunning, his friendship on light fancy and boyish fondness. His capacity was considerable, but fitter to discourse on general maxims than to conduct any intricate business. Awkward in his person and ungainly in his manners, he was ill qualified to command respect; partial and undiscerning in his affections, he was little fitted to acquire general love. Never had sovereign a higher notion of the kingly dignity, never was any less qualified by nature to sustain it. He spent much of his time in hunting, and in the coarse and vulgar sports of cock-fighting and baiting bulls and bears; and the manners of his court were disgraced by buffoonery, drunkenness, and debauchery. >

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.	A.D.
1603. Accession of James I. A conspiracy to place Arabella Stuart on the throne.	convicted of the murder of sir Thomas Overbury.
1604. Hampton-court conference.	1618. Sir Walter Raleigh executed after his unfortunate expedition to Guiana.
1605. The Gunpowder Plot.	1621. Rupture between the king and the Commons.
1607. James Town in Virginia founded.	1623. Prince Charles and Buckingham proceed to Madrid.
1611. Ulster colonised by Londoners and others.	1625. Death of James I., March 27.
1616. The earl and countess of Somerset	



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Obverse of pattern for a Broad of Charles I. CAROLVS. D G : MAG BRIT : FR : ET HI : REX. Bust of king to left.

CHAPTER XXI.

CHARLES I.—FROM HIS ACCESSION TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CIVIL WAR. A.D. 1625-1642.

§ 1. Accession of Charles. Proceedings in parliament. § 2. Expedition against Spain. Second parliament. Impeachment of Buckingham. § 3. Illegal taxation. War with France. Expedition to the isle of Rhé. § 4. Third parliament. Petition of right. Struggle between the king and Commons. § 5. Assassination of Buckingham. Surrender of Rochelle. § 6. New session. Tonnage and poundage. Religious disputes. Dissolution of parliament. § 7. Peace with France and Spain. The king's advisers, Laud's innovations in the church. Arbitrary and illegal government. § 8. Ship-money. Trial of Hampden. § 9. Discontents in Scotland. The covenant. Episcopacy abolished. Scotch wars. § 10. Fourth English parliament. Riots in London. § 11. Scotch war. Rout at Newburn, and treaty of Ripon. Council at York, and summoning of the Long Parliament. § 12. Meeting of the Long Parliament. Impeachment of Strafford. Great authority of the Commons. Triennial bill. § 13. Strafford's trial. His attainder and execution. § 14. Court of High Commission and Star Chamber abolished. King's journey to Scotland. § 15. Irish rebellion. § 16. Meeting of the English parliament. The remonstrance. Impeachment of the bishops. § 17. Accusation of lord Kimbolton and the five members. The king leaves London. The militia bill. The king arrives at York. § 18. Preparations for a civil war. The king erects his standard at Nottingham.

§ 1. Soon after his accession, Charles, now in his 25th year, completed his marriage with the French princess Henrietta. He had espoused her by proxy at Paris, and on the 22nd June, 1625, Buckingham conducted her to England. On the 18th of that month a new parliament assembled at Westminster, and Charles



It was naturally expected that at the commencement of his reign the king would display their affection by granting him supplies adequate to conduct a war which had been undertaken with the apparent approbation of the people. But the House of Commons was almost entirely governed by a set of men of the most uncommon capacity and the largest views: men who were now formed into a regular party, and united, as well by fixed aims and projects, as by the hardships which some of them had undergone in prosecution of them. Among these we may mention the names of sir Edward Coke, sir Edwin Sandys, sir Robert Philips, sir Francis Seymour, sir Dudley Digges, sir John Elliot, sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Pym. Animated with a warm regard to liberty, these generous patriots saw with regret an unbounded power exercised by the crown, and were resolved to seize the opportunity which the king's necessities offered them of reducing the prerogative within more reasonable compass. The end they esteemed beneficent and noble—the means regular and constitutional. To grant or refuse supplies was the undoubted privilege of the Commons; and with these views they voted only two subsidies (about 140,000*l.*) to meet the expenses of the formidable war into which Charles was about to plunge. Not discouraged, however, by this failure, Charles, though he was constrained to adjourn the parliament by reason of the plague, which at that time raged in London, immediately re-assembled them at Oxford, and made a new attempt to gain from them some supplies. But though he laid bare to them all his necessities—though he showed that upwards of a million a year was necessary for the conduct of the war and for the defence of Ireland, and even condescended to use entreaties, the Commons remained inexorable. Besides all their other motives, they had made a discovery which inflamed them against the court and against the duke of Buckingham. The French court, not without the connivance, it was suspected, of Charles and his ministers, had attempted to employ against the Huguenots of Rochelle some English vessels which had been sent to Dieppe on pretence of serving against the Genoese. When, on discovery of his destination, Pennington, the commander, had sailed with his squadron to England, Buckingham, lord admiral, had compelled him to return; and the contemplated enterprise was frustrated only by the mutiny and desertion of the crews. The king, finding that the parliament was resolved to grant him no supply, took advantage of the plague, which began to appear at Oxford, and on that pretence immediately dissolved them (Aug. 12). To supply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles issued privy seals for borrowing money from his subjects. The advantage reaped by this expedient was a small compensation for the disgust which it occasioned: by means, however,



of that supply, and by other expedients, he was, though with difficulty, enabled to equip his fleet, which consisted of 80 vessels, and carried on board an army of 10,000 men, under sir Edward Cecil, lately created viscount Wimbeldon.

§ 2. Cecil undertook an expedition against Cadiz, which proved a complete failure, and increased the complaints against the court. A little prudence might have discovered to Charles the folly of persisting in hostilities which he had not the means of carrying on without the surrender of his dearest pretensions, and from which he had an opportunity to escape, as war was not actually declared against Spain till after the dissolution of his first parliament. But his evil genius, and the violent counsels of Buckingham, urged him on to his destruction. The abortive attempt upon Cadiz increased his necessities, and obliged him to call a new parliament (Feb. 6, 1626). But the views of the last parliament were immediately adopted by this, as if the same men had been everywhere elected, and no time had intervened since their meeting. The inadequate supplies which they voted were coupled with the condition that they were to proceed in regulating and controlling every part of government which displeased them: to which the king's urgent necessities obliged him to submit. The duke of Buckingham, who became every day more unpopular, was obliged to sustain two violent attacks this session—one from the earl of Bristol, another from the House of Commons. The earl of Bristol had mortally offended Buckingham in the affair of the Spanish marriage, and was consequently obnoxious to Charles. When the parliament was summoned, Charles, by a stretch of prerogative, had given orders that no writ, as is customary, should be sent to Bristol. That nobleman applied to the House of Lords by petition, and craved their good offices with the king for obtaining what was his due as a peer of the realm. His writ was sent him, but accompanied with a letter from the lord-keeper, Coventry, commanding him, in the king's name, to absent himself from parliament. This letter Bristol conveyed to the Lords, and asked advice how to proceed in so delicate a situation. The king's prohibition was withdrawn, and Bristol took his seat. Provoked at these repeated instances of vigour, which the court denominated contumacy, Charles ordered his attorney-general to enter an accusation of high treason against him. By way of recrimination Bristol accused Buckingham of high treason, and proved that he was the author of the war with Spain. The lower House also, after having voted that common fame was a sufficient ground of accusation by the Commons, proceeded to frame regular articles against Buckingham. They accused him of having united many offices in his person; of neglecting to guard the seas, insomuch that many merchant-ships had fallen into the hands of the enemy; of delivering ships to the



French king, in order to serve against the Huguenots; of being employed in the sale of honours and offices; of accepting extensive grants from the crown; of procuring many titles of honour for his kindred; and of administering physic to the late king without acquainting his physicians. It is probable that several of these articles were well founded; but as the Commons called for no evidence, it is impossible to give a decided opinion upon them. The parliament was dissolved before any of these impeachments was brought to a termination; but Bristol recorded a satisfactory answer on the journals; whilst the fact that Buckingham made none at all to that in the Lords renders his cause very suspicious.

§ 3. Having thus failed in obtaining a grant, certain *new counsels*, with which Charles had threatened the parliament, were now to be tried, in order to supply his necessities. A commission was openly granted to compound with the catholics, and agree for dispensing with the penal laws enacted against them. From the nobility he desired assistance: from the city he required a loan of 100,000*l*. The former contributed slowly; but the latter, covering themselves under many pretences and excuses, gave him at last a flat refusal. Each of the maritime towns was required, with the assistance of the adjacent counties, to arm so many vessels as were appointed them. The city of London was rated at 20 ships. This is the first appearance, in Charles's reign, of ship-money; a taxation which had once been imposed by Elizabeth, but which afterwards, when carried some steps further by Charles, created such violent discontents. But after the news of the battle of Lutter, between the king of Denmark and count Tilly, the imperial general, in which the former was totally defeated, money, more than ever, became necessary, in order to support a prince who was so nearly allied to Charles. After some deliberation, an act of council was passed, importing that, as the urgency of affairs admitted not the way of parliament, the most speedy, equal, and convenient method of supply was by a GENERAL LOAN from the subject, according as every man was assessed in the rolls of the last subsidy. Commissioners, invested with an almost inquisitorial power, were appointed to levy the money. That religious prejudices might support civil authority, sermons were preached by Sibthorpe and Mainwaring in favour of the general loan; and the court industriously spread them over the kingdom. Passive obedience was there recommended in its full extent, the whole authority of the state was represented as belonging to the king alone, and all limitations of law and a constitution were rejected as seditious and impious. Throughout England many refused these loans; some were even active in encouraging their neighbours to insist upon their common rights and privileges. By warrant of the council *these* were thrown into prison.



the conduct of Buckingham, whose name hitherto they had cautiously forbore to mention. After some abortive attempts to avert the tempest that was ready to burst on the duke, the king thought proper, upon a joint application of the Lords and Commons, to come to the House of Peers, and, by pronouncing the usual form of words, "Let it be law as is desired," to give full sanction and authority to the petition.* The Commons, nevertheless, continued to carry their scrutiny into every part of government, and resumed their censure of Buckingham's conduct, to whom they attributed all their grievances. They also complained that the levying of tonnage and poundage, without consent of parliament, was a palpable violation of the ancient liberties of the people, and an open infringement of the petition of right, so lately granted. The king, in order to prevent the finishing and presenting this remonstrance, came suddenly to the parliament, and ended this session by a prorogation (June 26).

§ 5. But the object of the displeasure of the Commons was soon after removed in a sudden and unexpected manner. The duke of Buckingham repaired to Portsmouth to superintend the preparations for an expedition to relieve Rochelle. Here he engaged in conversation with Soubise, and other French gentlemen; after which he drew towards the door; and in that passage, turning himself to speak to sir Thomas Fryar, a colonel in the army, he was, on the sudden, over sir Thomas's shoulder, struck upon the breast with a knife. Without uttering other words than "The villain has killed me," in the same moment pulling out the knife, he breathed his last (Aug. 23). Soon after a man without a hat was seen walking very composedly before the door. One crying out "Here is the fellow who killed the duke," everybody ran to ask "Which is he?" The man very sedately answered "I am he." He was now known to be one Felton, who had served under the duke in the station of lieutenant. His captain being killed in the retreat at the isle of Rhé, Felton had applied for the company; and when disappointed he threw up his commission, and retired in discontent from the army. When asked at whose instigation he had performed the horrid deed, he replied that the resolution proceeded only from himself, and the impulse of his own conscience; and that his motives would appear if his hat were found: for that, believing he should perish in the attempt, he had there taken care to explain them. The king urged that Felton should be racked in order to extort from him a discovery of his accomplices; but the judges declared that practice altogether illegal: so much more exact reasons, with regard to law, had they become, from the jealous

* This celebrated PETITION OF RIGHT, which is the second great charter of English liberties, is printed in extenso in Notes and Illustrations, p. 410.



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members of the House of Commons. Felton was soon afterwards executed for the murder.

Meanwhile the distress of Rochelle had risen to the utmost extremity. After Buckingham's death the command of the fleet and army was conferred on the earl of Lindsey, who, arriving before Rochelle, made some attempts to break through the mole erected across the harbour by Richelieu; but by the delays of the English that work was now fully finished and fortified; and the inhabitants, finding their last hopes fail them, were reduced to surrender at discretion, even in sight of the English admiral (Oct. 18, 1628).

§ 6. The failure of an enterprise in which the English nation, from religious sympathy, so much interested themselves, could not but diminish the king's authority in the parliament during the approaching session (Jan. 20, 1629): but the Commons, when assembled, found many other causes of complaint. All the copies of the petition of right, which were dispersed, had by the king's orders annexed to them the first answer, which had given so little satisfaction to the Commons. Selden also complained in the House that one Savage, contrary to the petition of right, had been punished with the loss of his ears, by a discretionary or arbitrary sentence of the star-chamber. But the great article on which the House of Commons broke with the king was their claim with regard to tonnage and poundage.

The duty of tonnage and poundage, in more ancient times, had been commonly a temporary grant of parliament; but it had been conferred on Henry V. during life, with the special proviso, however, that the grant was not to form a precedent; and though the grant for life had been renewed under subsequent sovereigns, yet it was clearly in the power of parliament to withhold it. In Charles's first parliament the Commons had voted it only for a year; but the Peers rejected this bill: and as a dissolution of parliament followed soon after, no attempt seems to have been made for obtaining tonnage and poundage in any other form. Charles, meanwhile, continued still to levy this duty by his own authority, and the nation was so accustomed to that exertion of royal power, that no scruple was at first entertained of submitting to it. But the Commons now insisted that the king should at once entirely desist from levying these duties; after which they were to take it into consideration how far they would restore him to the possession of a revenue of which he had clearly divested himself. Charles was not disposed to comply with this condition; yet he contented himself, for the present, with soliciting the House by messages and speeches. But the Commons, instead of hearkening to his solicitations, proceeded to carry their scrutiny into his management of religion, which was the only grievance to which, in their opinion,



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629. Not, as yet, by their petition of right, applied a sufficient remedy.

Amidst that complication of disputes in which men were then involved, we may observe that the appellation *puritan* stood for three parties, which, though commonly united, were yet actuated by very different views and motives. There were the political puritans, who maintained the highest principles of civil liberty; the puritans in discipline, who were averse to the ceremonies and episcopal government of the church; and the doctrinal puritans, who rigidly defended the speculative system of the Swiss reformers. In opposition to all these stood the court party, the hierarchy, and the Arminians; only with this distinction, that the latter sect, being introduced a few years before, did not, as yet, comprehend all those who were favourable to the church and to monarchy. Till towards the end of James's reign the tenets of the church of England had been Calvinistic. James himself, in the pride of his theological learning, had been a rigid opponent of Arminius, the champion of free-will. In 1611 he had condescended to procure from the Dutch the banishment of Vorstius, a professor of divinity and disciple of Arminius, and had even given them a hint that he was worthy of the flames: and the divines whom he sent to the synod of Dort in 1618 assisted to procure the condemnation of the Arminians in Holland. But soon after this he changed his opinion: the clergy were forbidden to preach the doctrine of predestination; and Laud, Howson, and Corbet, notorious Arminians, were advanced to bishoprics. These men and their disciples and successors were the strenuous preachers of passive obedience, and of entire submission to princes; and if these could once be censured, and be expelled the church and court, the Commons concluded that the hierarchy would receive a mortal blow, the ceremonies be less rigidly insisted on, and the king, deprived of his most faithful friends, be obliged to abate those high claims of prerogative on which at present he insisted. But Laud had unfortunately acquired a great ascendancy over Charles: and as all those prelates, obnoxious to the Commons, were regarded as his chief friends and most favourite courtiers, he was resolved not to disarm and dishonour himself by abandoning them to the resentment of his enemies.

The inquiries and debates concerning tonnage and poundage went hand in hand with these theological or metaphysical controversies. Sir John Eliot framed a remonstrance against levying those duties without consent of parliament, and offered it to the clerk to read. It was refused. He read it himself. The question being then called for, the speaker, sir John Finch, said, "That he had a command from the king to adjourn, and to put no question." Upon which he rose and left the chair. The whole House was



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man appear. The speaker was pushed back into the chair, and forcibly held in it by Hollis and Valentine, till a short remonstrance was framed, and was passed by acclamation rather than by vote. Papists and Arminians were there declared capital enemies to the commonwealth. Those who levied tonnage and poundage were branded with the same epithet. And even the merchants who should voluntarily pay these duties were denominated betrayers of English liberty, and public enemies. The doors being locked, the gentleman usher of the House of Lords, who was sent by the king, could not get admittance till this remonstrance was finished. By the king's order, he took the mace from the table, which ended their proceedings. And a few days after the parliament was dissolved (March 10, 1629.) Several members were committed to prison, on account of the last tumult in the House, which was called sedition; nor were they released without great difficulty, and after several delays. Sir John Eliot, Hollis, and Valentine, were summoned to their trial in the king's bench, for seditious speeches and behaviour in parliament; but refusing to answer before an inferior court for their conduct as members of a superior, they were condemned to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, to find sureties for their good behaviour, and to be fined, the two former 1000*l.* apiece, the latter 500*l.* But they unanimously refused to find sureties, and disdained to accept of deliverance on such terms. Sir John Eliot died while in custody; a great clamour was raised against the administration, and he was universally regarded as a martyr to the liberties of England.

§ 7. Charles, being destitute of all supply, and having resolved to call no more parliaments till he should see greater indication of a compliant disposition in the nation, was necessarily reduced to make peace with the two crowns against which he had hitherto waged a war, entered into without necessity, and conducted without glory. After the death of Buckingham, who had somewhat alienated Charles from the queen, she is to be considered as his chief friend and favourite. His ministers he began to choose from the popular leaders—a sure proof that a secret revolution had happened in the constitution, and had necessitated the prince to adopt new maxims of government. But the views of the king were at this time so repugnant to those of the puritans, that the leaders whom he gained lost from that moment all interest with their party, and were even pursued as traitors with implacable hatred and resentment. This was the case with sir Thomas Wentworth, whom the king created, first a baron, then a viscount, and afterwards earl of Strafford; made him president of the council of York, and deputy of Ireland; and regarded him as his chief minister and counsellor. Sir Dudley Digges was about the same time created master of the rolls; Noy,

Charles was at this time the surprise of all men when Charles, limited in every attempt against the Austrian dominions, embroiled with his own subjects, unsupplied with any treasure but what he extorted by the most invidious and most dangerous measures, as if the half of Europe, now his enemy, were not sufficient for the exercise of military prowess, wantonly attacked France. This war is commonly ascribed to a personal pique between Buckingham and Richelieu; but it can scarcely be doubted that there were other motives for it: on the part of France, disgust, fanned by the pope, at the non-fulfilment of the articles of the marriage treaty; on that of England, disappointment at having received no assistance in the German war. Buckingham had persuaded Charles to dismiss at once all his queen's French servants, contrary to the articles of the marriage treaty, and encouraged the English ships of war and privateers to seize vessels belonging to French merchants. But finding that all these injuries produced only remonstrances and embassies, or at most reprisals, on the part of France, he resolved to undertake at once a military expedition against that kingdom. Buckingham sailed first to Rochelle, with a fleet of nearly 100 sail and an army of 7000 men; but though Rochelle was in possession of the Huguenots, and was then besieged by cardinal Richelieu, the inhabitants, mistrusting the English commander, refused to admit him. Buckingham then bent his course to the isle of Rhé; but all his measures were so ill concerted, that in a few months he returned to England, having lost two-thirds of his land forces—totally discredited both as an admiral and a general, and bringing no praise with him but the vulgar one of courage and personal bravery (Oct. 1627).

§ 4. Meanwhile (the money levied, or rather extorted, under colour of prerogative, had come in very slowly, and had left such ill-humour in the nation, that it appeared dangerous to renew the experiment, and the absolute necessity of supply forced the king to call a third parliament. When the Commons assembled (March 17, 1628) they appeared to be men of the same independent spirit with their predecessors, and possessed of such riches that their property was computed to surpass three times that of the House of Peers. Many of the members had been cast into prison, and had suffered by the measures of the court; yet, notwithstanding these circumstances, which might prompt them to embrace violent resolutions, they entered upon business with perfect temper and decorum. The king told them, in his first speech, that, if they should not do their duties in contributing to the necessities of the state, he must, in discharge of his conscience, use those other means which God had put into his hands. "Take not this for a threatening," added the king, "for I scorn to threaten any but my equals; but as an admo-



not from him who, by nature and duty, has most care of your preservation and prosperity." The lord-keeper, by the king's direction, added a speech to the same effect; but these haughty and unwise rebukes made no impression upon the Commons. After some excellent speeches from sir Francis Seymour, sir Robert Philips, sir Thomas Wentworth, and others, in favour of liberty, a vote was passed without opposition against arbitrary imprisonments and forced loans. And the spirit of liberty having obtained some contentment by this exertion, the reiterated messages of the king, who pressed for supply, were attended to with more temper. Five subsidies were voted him; with which, though much inferior to his wants, he declared himself well satisfied. The supply, though voted, was not as yet passed into a law, and the Commons resolved to employ the interval in providing some barriers against the violation of their rights and liberties. Forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonments, the billeting of soldiers, martial law; these were the grievances complained of, and against these an eternal remedy was to be provided. The Commons pretended not, as they affirmed, to any unusual powers or privileges: they aimed only at securing those which had been transmitted from their ancestors: and their law, which provided against all these abuses, and which was founded on Magna Charta and other ancient statutes, they resolved to call a PETITION OF RIGHT—as implying that it contained a corroboration or explanation of the ancient constitution, not any infringement of royal prerogative, or acquisition of new liberties.

The king attempted to elude the bill, by persuading the House of Lords to induce the Commons so to modify it that a saving clause should still be left for his sovereign power. But the Commons, who saw through these artifices, sent the bill in its original state to the upper House, and the Peers passed the petition without any material alteration; and nothing but the royal assent was wanting to give it the force of a law. The king accordingly came to the House of Peers, sent for the Commons, and, being seated in his chair of state, the petition was read to him. Great was now the astonishment of all men, when, instead of the usual concise and clear form, by which a bill is either confirmed or rejected, Charles said, in answer to the petition, "The king willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm, and that the statutes be put into execution; that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong, or oppression, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as much obliged as of his own prerogative." The result might have been foreseen. The Commons returned in very ill humour, which they vented by impeaching Dr. Mainwaring. They next proceeded to



Attorney-general; Littleton, solicitor-general. All these had likewise been parliamentary leaders; and were men eminent in their profession. In all ecclesiastical affairs, and even in many civil, Laud, bishop of London, acquired a great ascendant over Charles, and led him, by the facility of his temper, into a conduct which proved fatal to himself and to his kingdom. Laud, and the other prelates who embraced his measures, by adopting many of those religious sentiments which prevailed during the fourth and fifth centuries, could not fail of giving the English faith and liturgy some resemblance to the catholic superstition, which the kingdom in general, and the puritans in particular, held in the greatest horror and detestation. Alterations were made in the ritual. The communion table was removed from the centre of the churches, placed at the east end, railed in, and called the altar; the use of copes, pictures, crucifixes, &c., was restored; in short, those usages were introduced which characterise the party called *high church*. Hence, not only the discontented puritans believed the church of England to be relapsing fast into Romish superstition: the court of Rome itself entertained hopes of regaining its authority in this island; and, in order to forward Laud's supposed good intentions, an offer was twice made him, in private, of a cardinal's hat, which he declined accepting. In return for Charles's indulgence towards the church, Laud and his followers took care to magnify, on every occasion, the regal authority, and to treat with the utmost disdain or detestation all puritanical pretensions to a free and independent constitution. The principles which exalted prerogative were not entertained by the king merely as soft and agreeable to his royal ears: they were also put in practice during the time that he ruled without parliaments. He levied money either by the revival of obsolete laws, or by violations, some more open, some more disguised, of the privileges of the nation; and he gave way to severities in the star-chamber and high commission, which seemed necessary in order to support the present mode of administration, and repress the rising spirit of liberty throughout the kingdom. He issued a proclamation, from which it was generally inferred that during this reign no more parliaments were intended to be summoned. Tonnage and poundage continued to be levied by the royal authority alone. Compositions were openly made with recusants, and the popish religion became a regular part of the revenue. Under a law of Edward II., persons possessed of 40*l.* a year and upwards in land were summoned to receive knighthood, or compound for their neglect. Commissioners were appointed for fixing the rates of composition, and instructions were given to these commissioners not to accept of a less sum than would have been due by the party, upon a tax of three subsidies and a half. Monopolies



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reversed, and many other illegal methods of raising money were resorted to. The court of star-chamber extended its authority, and it was a matter of complaint that it encroached upon the jurisdiction of the other courts—imposing heavy fines and inflicting severe punishment, beyond the usual course of justice. One case may be mentioned by way of example. Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's-Inn, had written an enormous quarto of a thousand pages, which he called *Histrio-Mastix*. Its professed purpose was to decry stage-plays, comedies, interludes, music, dancing; but the author likewise took occasion to declaim against hunting, public festivals, Christmas-keeping, bonfires, and maypoles. It was thought somewhat hard that general invectives against plays should be interpreted into satires against the king and queen, merely because they frequented these amusements, and because the queen sometimes acted a part in pastorals and interludes which were represented at court. Yet Prynne was indicted in the star-chamber as a libeller; was condemned to be put from the bar; to stand in the pillory in two places, Westminster and Cheapside; to lose both his ears, one in each place; to pay 5000*l.* fine to the king; and to be imprisoned during life (1633). To mortify the puritans, Charles renewed his father's edict for allowing sports and recreations on Sunday to such as attended public worship; and he ordered his proclamation for that purpose to be publicly read by the clergy after divine service. Those who were puritanically affected refused obedience, and were punished by suspension or deprivation. Some encouragement and protection which the king and the bishops gave to wakes, church-ales, bride-ales, and other cheerful festivals of the common people, were the objects of like scandal to the puritans.

§ 8. Several years were passed in the quiet endurance of these and other illegal proceedings. In 1634 a new grievance was introduced, that of ship-money. The first writs of this kind had been directed to seaport towns only: but ship-money was at this time levied on the whole kingdom; and each county was rated at a particular sum, which was afterwards assessed upon individuals. The tax seems to have been moderately and equitably assessed, and the money to have been expended on the navy; but the imposition was entirely arbitrary: by the same right any other tax might be imposed: and men thought a powerful fleet, though very desirable both for the credit and safety of the kingdom, but an unequal recompense for their liberties, which, they apprehended, were thus sacrificed to the obtaining of it.

It would be endless to recount all the acts of tyranny exercised at this period by the crown and the star-chamber, as well as by the ecclesiastical supremacy of Laud, now archbishop of Canterbury.

puritans, restrained in England, shipped themselves off for America, and laid there the foundations of a government, which possessed all the liberty, both civil and religious, of which they found themselves bereaved in their native country. The charter of Massachusetts Bay had been obtained from the crown in 1629, and about 350 nonconformists, chiefly of the independent sect, sailed with the first fleet. At last, in 1637, John Hampden acquired, by his spirit and courage, universal popularity throughout the nation, and has merited great renown with posterity, for the bold stand which he made in defence of the laws and liberties of his country. Hampden, having been rated at 20 shillings, as ship-money, for an estate which he possessed in the county of Buckingham, resolved, rather than tamely submit to so illegal an imposition, to stand a legal prosecution, and expose himself to all the indignation of the court. The case was argued during twelve days in the exchequer-chamber, before all the judges of England; and the nation regarded with the utmost anxiety every circumstance of this celebrated trial. The event was easily foreseen: the prejudiced judges, two excepted, gave sentence in favour of the crown as to the general right of levy; though three others also decided for Hampden, on merely technical grounds relating to his particular case. Hampden, however, obtained by the trial the end for which he had so generously sacrificed his safety and his quiet: the people were roused from their lethargy, and became sensible of the dangers to which their liberties were exposed. These national questions were canvassed in every company; and the more they were examined, the more evidently did it appear to many that liberty was totally subverted, and an unusual and arbitrary authority exercised over the kingdom.

§ 9. But notwithstanding the discontents in England, affairs might long have continued on the same footing there, had they not been influenced by the proceedings in Scotland. Charles, from his love of prelacy, which order he considered best fitted to inculcate obedience and loyalty among the people, had raised many of the Scotch prelates to the chief dignities of the state. The Scotch nobility, whose power was great, and whose connexion with the king had been much loosened by his long absence, were disgusted to find the prelates superior to themselves in power and influence. The inferior ranks of the Scotch clergy themselves equalled, if not exceeded, the nobility, in their prejudices against the court, against the prelates, and against episcopal authority. The people, under the influence of the nobility and clergy, could not fail to partake of their discontents, and were imbued with the same horror against popery with which the English puritans were possessed. Yet, in spite of these symptoms, the king's great aim was to complete the work begun by his father; to establish discipline in Scotland upon a regular system of canons, to